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VALORES DE UNA ARQUITECTURA
CONTRADOGMÁTICA.

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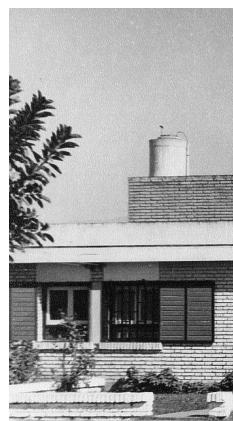
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FOTOGRAFÍA PORTADA
Casa tipo chalet californiano de Barrio Jardín.
Fuente: Susana Villavicencio

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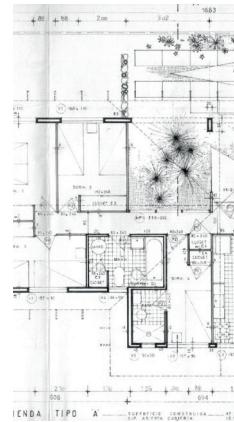
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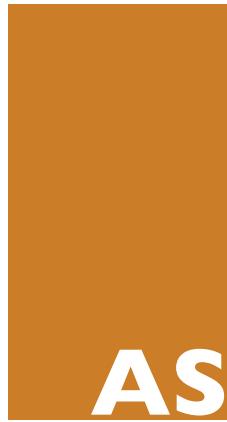
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El relevamiento de valores sociales asociados a una realidad nada ortodoxa, líquida, huidiza, donde conceptos como lo puro, lo claro y lo perfecto han quedado superados por las tensiones de la vida contemporánea, hacen que los dogmas arquitectónicos hayan entrado en franca crisis desde hace por lo menos cincuenta años. Venturi fue de los primeros que hizo esa reflexión asociada a una idea cromática donde lo gris se asentaba sobre lo blanco o lo negro. Se trataba del fin de los grandes relatos de la arquitectura moderna y también, ya para entonces, histórica. Desde ese momento, la posibilidad de que la otredad, la diversidad, la diferencia se instalara sobre borrosos intersticios que la racionalidad arquitectónica había dejado sin sutura ni cierre.

Esta ruta, aparentemente secundaria, sin pavimento y entera de curvas y pendientes, se ofrece como un camino bastante más arriesgado, pero amplio en alternativas, roces y perspectivas. Nuestra sociedad contemporánea parece dispuesta a corroborar, a revisar y hasta a modificar todo aquello de lo cual tenía certeza. Es normal entonces que se instale el miedo, pero más normal es que el arrojo, la valentía y el desprejuicio afloren como los soportes genuinos de un nuevo tiempo.

La arquitectura ya no soporta guías definitivas, manuales ni catálogos. Las recetas se presentan como momentos efímeros, dispuestas a desaparecer o ser alteradas. Aquí, el surgimiento de una arquitectura, más amplia y más ancha, donde los matices, las torsiones y distorsiones se enemistan con la regularidad y el canon, brindan espacio y cobijo a esas inevitables otredades. Se valida, consecuentemente, lo híbrido, lo que proviene de entidades de distinta naturaleza, donde la mezcla, el mestizaje, eclosiona con presencia elocuente, sin soberbia, pero nunca más oculta.

The survey of social values associated with an unorthodox, liquid, elusive reality, where concepts such as the pure, the clear, and the perfect, have been overcome by the tensions of contemporary life, has led architectural dogma into a frank crisis for at least fifty years. Venturi was one of the first to reflect on this, associating it with a chromatic idea where gray settled on white or black. It was the end of the great stories of modern and already historic architecture. From then, the possibility that otherness, diversity, and difference were installed in the blurred spaces that architectural rationality had left without suture or closure.

This route, apparently secondary, unpaved, and full of curves and slopes, is offered as a rather riskier path, but broad in alternatives, friction, and perspectives. Our contemporary society seems ready to corroborate, revise, and even modify all that was certain. It is normal then that fear sets in, but more normal is that boldness, courage, and open-mindedness abound as the genuine pillars of a new time.

Architecture no longer supports definitive guides, manuals, or catalogs. Recipes are presented as ephemeral moments, ready to disappear or be altered. Here, the emergence of a broader wider architecture, where nuances, twists, and distortions are at odds with regularity and canon, provides space and shelter to the inevitable otherness. Thus, the hybrid, which comes from entities of different nature, is validated, where the mixture, the miscegenation, emerges with eloquent presence, without hubris, but hidden no more.

EDITORIAL

EDITORIAL

O mapeamento dos valores sociais associados a uma realidade pouco ortodoxa, líquida e elusiva, onde conceitos como o puro, o claro e o perfeito foram superados pelas tensões da vida contemporânea, implicou que os dogmas arquitetônicos estivessem em clara crise por pelo menos cinquenta anos. Venturi foi um dos primeiros a associar esta reflexão a uma ideia cromática na qual o cinza assentava sobre o preto ou o branco. Era o fim das grandes narrativas da arquitetura moderna e, já à altura, histórica. A partir daquele momento, existia a possibilidade de que a alteridade, a diversidade, a diferença se instalassem nos interstícios desfocados que a racionalidade arquitetônica havia deixado sem sutura ou fechamento.

Esta rota, aparentemente secundária, não pavimentada e cheia de curvas e declives, se oferece como um caminho muito mais arriscado, porém com uma ampla gama de alternativas, fricções e perspectivas. Nossa sociedade contemporânea parece pronta para corroborar, revisar e até mesmo modificar tudo aquilo de que tinha certeza. É normal então que o medo se instale, mas é ainda mais normal que a ousadia, a coragem e a falta de preconceito surjam como os verdadeiros suportes de um novo tempo.

A arquitetura já não suporta guias, manuais ou catálogos definitivos. As receitas são apresentadas como momentos efêmeros, prontas para desaparecer ou ser alteradas. Aqui, o surgimento de uma arquitetura mais ampla e abrangente, na qual nuances, torções e distorções estão em desacordo com a regularidade e o cânones, oferecem espaço e abrigo a essas inevitáveis alteridades. Consequentemente, valida-se o híbrido, aquele que vem de entidades de natureza diferente, no qual a mistura, a mestiçagem, eclode com uma presença eloquente, sem soberba, porém jamais oculta.

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TUCUMÁN'S FIRST "GARDEN NEIGHBORHOOD". THE SETTING FOR THE EVOLUTION OF TWENTIETH-CENTURY ARCHITECTURE AND URBANISM

EL PRIMER "BARRIO JARDÍN" DE TUCUMÁN. ESCENARIO DE LA EVOLUCIÓN DE LA ARQUITECTURA Y EL URBANISMO DEL SIGLO XX

O PRIMEIRO "BAIRRO JARDIM" DE TUCUMÁN. CENÁRIO DA EVOLUÇÃO DA ARQUITETURA E DO URBANISMO DO SÉCULO XX



Figura 0. Rationalist aesthetics house of Manzana 20. Source: Photograph taken from the book by Deheza, M. G. (2015).

The article is based on the results of the National University of Tucuman research project: "La Arquitectura del siglo XX del NOA: análisis y valoración crítica de la producción arquitectónica del Movimiento Moderno, Tardomoderno y Posmoderno. Catalogación, difusión y pautas de conservación" Project Code: 60120170100445TU

RESUMEN

El presente artículo aborda el estudio del primer barrio diseñado y financiado por la Caja Popular de Ahorros, denominado Barrio Jardín y ubicado en la ciudad de San Miguel de Tucumán. Los destinatarios de esta operación fueron los empleados de comercio y los trabajadores de la industria de la provincia, a quienes se facilitó el acceso al crédito hipotecario. Ésta fue la primera respuesta dada por la entidad provincial, ante la falta de viviendas, a un sector de bajos recursos de la sociedad. El proyecto de urbanización, inspirado en los lineamientos de la ciudad jardín inglesa, transformados y aplicados en el concepto de suburbio jardín, tuvo su expresión arquitectónica en el chalet californiano. Las tres ampliaciones que experimentó en décadas posteriores siguieron las tendencias del Movimiento Moderno, tanto en lo que respecta a la implantación urbana, como a su arquitectura. La metodología empleada en la investigación fue de tipo cualitativo y el problema se desarrolló desde una perspectiva histórica. Si bien las obras se iniciaron en el contexto del primer gobierno de Juan Domingo Perón (1946-1952), las ampliaciones se llevaron a cabo entre 1962 y 1973, en otras circunstancias políticas y económicas. La unidad de análisis es acotada, el primer barrio jardín de San Miguel de Tucumán, con sus diferentes etapas de ampliación, pero el arco temporal corresponde a las décadas de 1940, 1960 y 1970. El objetivo de este trabajo fue realizar un recorrido por las líneas urbanas – arquitectónicas aplicadas en los diseños de Barrio Jardín en sus diferentes etapas, en las que se desarrolló una ocupación del suelo urbano y una arquitectura que fueron producto de los principios imperantes en cada momento.

Palabras clave: Tucumán, ciudad jardín, chalet californiano, urbanismo moderno, arquitectura moderna.

ABSTRACT

This article addresses the study of the first neighborhood designed and financed by the Caja Popular de Ahorros, called Barrio Jardín and located in the city of San Miguel de Tucumán. Its recipients were the province's salespeople and industrial workers, who were given access to mortgages. This was the first response from the provincial entity for a low-income sector; to face the lack of housing. The housing development, inspired by the English garden city structure, transformed and applied to the garden suburb concept, had its architectural expression in the Californian chalet. The three extensions it underwent in subsequent decades followed the trends of the Modern Movement, both in terms of urban layout and its architecture. The research adopted a qualitative methodology, viewing the problem from a historical perspective. Although work began in the context of Juan Domingo Perón's first government (1946-1952), the extensions were made between 1962 and 1973, in other political and economic circumstances. The unit of analysis is limited to the first garden neighborhood of San Miguel de Tucumán, with its different stages of expansion, but the timeline covers the 1940s, 1960s, and 1970s. The goal of this article was to look through the urban–architectural lines applied in the different stages of the Garden Neighborhood's design, where urban land occupation and architecture were the product of the prevailing principles at their times.

Keywords: Tucumán, Garden city, Californian chalet, Modern urbanism, Modern architecture.

RESUMO

O presente trabalho aborda o estudo do primeiro bairro projetado e financiado pela Caja Popular de Ahorros, denominado "Barrio Jardín", na cidade de San Miguel de Tucumán, Argentina. Os destinatários desta operação foram os trabalhadores do comércio e da indústria desta província, que tiveram acesso a créditos hipotecários. Esta foi a primeira resposta dada pela entidade provincial à falta de moradia para um setor de baixa renda da sociedade. O projeto de urbanização, inspirado nas diretrizes da "cidade jardim inglesa", transformado e aplicado no conceito de subúrbio jardim, teve sua expressão arquitetônica no chalé californiano. As três ampliações pelas quais passou nas décadas posteriores seguiram as tendências do Movimento Moderno tanto em termos de implementação urbana quanto de arquitetura. A metodologia utilizada na pesquisa foi qualitativa e o problema foi abordado a partir de uma perspectiva histórica. Embora as obras tenham sido iniciadas no primeiro governo de Juan Domingo Perón (1946-1952), as ampliações foram realizadas entre 1962 e 1973, em outras circunstâncias políticas e econômicas. A unidade de análise limita-se ao primeiro bairro jardim de San Miguel de Tucumán com seus diferentes estágios de ampliação, mas o arco temporal corresponde às décadas de 1940, 1960 e 1970. O objetivo deste trabalho foi percorrer as linhas urbano-arquitetônicas aplicadas nos projetos do "Barrio Jardín" em suas diversas etapas, nas quais houve uma ocupação do solo urbano e uma arquitetura que refletia os princípios vigentes em cada momento.

Palavras-chave: Tucumán, cidade jardim, chalé californiano, urbanização moderna, arquitetura moderna

INTRODUCTION

This article studies the first neighborhood designed and financed by the Caja Popular de Ahorros, Barrio Jardín (Garden Neighborhood), located in the city of San Miguel de Tucumán. It was approached using a historical perspective to tour the urban–architectural design lines applied to this setting.

In the final years of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth, urban approaches emerged in Europe looking to find solutions to the chaotic growth of cities, caused by the industrial revolution. Among the different proposals that criticized the poor living conditions of the working classes in the urban peripheries, was the “garden city” model of Ebenezer Howard. The proposal, published in his book, *Garden Cities of Tomorrow* (1902), sought to blend the benefits of rural and city life in a new urban layout, based on a central city surrounded by garden cities¹. These connected directly with the main hub but were far enough apart to guarantee their independence (Montiel Álvarez, 2015, pp. 120-121). Howard’s model, where agriculture and industry were combined, based on cooperative principles, was put into practice by Raymond Unwin (1863-1940) and Barry Parker (1868-1947), in Letchworth (1903-1904), who endowed the garden city with picturesque architectural features. However, the dissemination of Howard’s ideas was carried out through the “garden suburb”, namely, low-density urban spaces, far removed from the original proposal of an independent city with a limited size. The article by Blasco (2016), published in the journal, Historia Industrial, clearly explains the details of the original garden city plan, and the one by Montiel Álvarez (2015), in the digital journal Artes y Humanidades, illustrates precisely how this model influenced the twentieth-century city.

In many European countries, the housing shortage worsened as a result of the First World War, which led to more resolute state intervention, either through loans or direct participation. In this context, new urban approaches were implemented, among which those inspired by the principles of the Modern Movement, matured between the end of the war and the crisis of 1929, stand out (Benévol, 1996, p. 527). These were based on strict zoning, the disappearance of the urban block and street, and the concentration of housing units in a linear high-rise block, set within extensive green areas. Monclús and Diez (2015), based on this, made a comparative analysis of the modern urban principles of housing complexes of a given complexity for European cities, which can be extrapolated to those applied in Latin America from the second half of the 1940s.

In Argentina, the appearance of the first garden cities occurred in urban developments intended for social classes with high or medium purchasing power, but over time they spread to state-run neighborhoods for the less favored sectors. Ballent (2005) studied these developments and their architecture, promoted by Peronism,

¹ Howard’s Garden City considered a maximum population of 32,000 inhabitants, set on a site of about 6,000 acres, of which 1,000 were destined for the city (about four hundred hectares), and the remaining 5,000 acres (more than two thousand hectares), for agricultural activities.

considering their continuity with the 1930s. Similarly, Ballent and Liernur (2014) raised the housing issue in its cultural and historical dimensions, where politics played a fundamental role. Domestic and local housing plans are key to understanding the long process that would culminate in the policies that today show the irreplaceable role of the State in the housing problem. To complete the overview, the works of Cravino (2020; 2016), Gómez (2015), Gargantini (2012), Baer and Duarte (2011), and Larrosa (1947) were reviewed, which address the issue of the country's housing crisis and the different solutions applied, from the end of the nineteenth century to the middle of the twentieth.

The context of Tucumán and the housing deficit were also viewed, using the publications of Páez de la Torre (1987) and Tío Vallejo and Wilde (2017), to grasp the situation in the decades mentioned. The articles by Costa (2020), Blanco (2019), and Jáuregui (2018) were analyzed regarding the political and economic circumstances, under which the initial construction and subsequent extensions of Barrio Jardín took place.

Finally, viewing the publication of Deheza (2015), on the activity of the Caja Popular de Ahorros de Tucumán, was completely necessary, as it outlines the different operations carried out by the credit institution over time.

Working class housing policies in Argentina

The construction of working-class housing neighborhoods had been a hot topic since the late nineteenth century in Argentina, before the arrival of immigrants who settled in the tenements, especially in the coastal cities and Buenos Aires. The industrialization process also induced internal migration from the countryside to the city with the resulting urban growth of the peripheries. These two situations led to the housing capacity being completely surpassed in large cities with the well-known consequences of overcrowding, precariousness, lack of infrastructure, etc.

Despite this, at the turn of the twentieth century, the State did not consider the social housing issue as a matter within its purview, delegating it to the market, in line with the liberal conceptions of the time. Public works were focused on building large-scale equipment such as ports, power plants, and institutional buildings, and also urban infrastructure works, such as the provision of drinking water, sewage disposal, and garbage collection, among others (Cravino, 2016, p. 9).

As for the housing problem, the governments implemented some specific actions, which fell short due to their small volume. Likewise, private, religious, or trade union institutions such as the El Hogar Obrero Cooperative, the Sociedad San Vicente de Paul, or the Argentine Catholic Working Class Union presented their proposals. However, these

were limited to certain sectors of the population, resulting in partial solutions.

The National Mortgage Bank (BHN), which had been created in 1886 to facilitate mortgages throughout the Republic, issuing credit to promote growth, went through different stages without great significance. It would be in the mid-twentieth century that its mortgage activity expanded, facilitating access to housing, and satisfactorily fulfilling its mission.

The coup d'état of 1943, initiated a change in the State's role vis-a-vis working-class housing. In this period, Colonel Juan Domingo Perón gained recognition by holding key positions in the administration that projected him publicly, until his consecration as President of the Nation, in the elections held in February 1946. During his first government, a public policy on mass-scale housing construction was implemented, which was included in the five-year plans. This policy was based, according to Baer and Duarte (2011), on two main pillars: on one hand, direct State construction and a series of measures that affected both the supply and demand of the real estate market and, on the other, its regulation by granting mortgages, controlling the rental market, lifting import duties for construction materials, sanctions of the Horizontal Property Law, and measures aimed at regulating lots. This is how the loans recorded rose from 5,838 in 1945 to 47,379 in 1949. They became widespread, not just in Buenos Aires, but within the country, and promoted operations related to individual housing, collective housing, horizontal property, and cooperative production (Ballent & Liernur, 2014, pp. 285- 288).

Working-class housing in Tucumán

The province of Tucumán, in the last three decades of the nineteenth century, experienced major economic and social transformations with the rise of the sugar industry, which through tariff protection implied the introduction of agribusiness in the national market and insertion into the agro-export model. The transition from an agricultural and commercial economy to an agro-industrial one, derived from the expansion of sugarcane cultivation and industrialization, meant the establishment of new economic, social, and political relations and the integration of numerous activities and actors into this process (Álvarez & Correa Deza, 2013, p. 129).

Its capital, San Miguel de Tucumán, at the beginning of the twentieth century was considered an intermediate city that had been developed in concentric rings, where three differentiated areas were recognized. The first was the "Historic City Center" of 1685, comprising traditional 9 x 9 square-shaped blocks. It was followed by the suburban area or "Liberal center" of the late nineteenth century, marked by four

boulevards, today called "the four avenues", whose layout continued with the block structure. Both sectors constitute a functional and symbolic unit, although they have particular traits regarding the urban fabric and landscape, a consequence of the historical period in which they were built (Paterlini, 2010, p. 58). Then, there was a wide area formed by the neighborhoods or small settlements that emerged independently from the consolidated structure, since often the original layout was not continued. These neighborhoods constituted the first periphery formed, first spontaneously, but, over the years, more planned as State action that provided infrastructure took hold. Between 1935 and 1950, the expansion of the city was directed especially toward the north of the city center, along the railroad and following the area's morphology (Mansilla, 1993-94, p. 78).

Housing policies implemented in Tucumán, until practically the mid-twentieth century, had been unsuccessful, on being isolated actions promoted by some specific sectors. The Provincial Government's first measure on this issue would take place during the administration of Luis F. Nougués (1906-1909), although the whole operation ended in failure. The province's People's Savings Bank (CPA), on the other hand, which had been created in 1915, would not address this issue as an institutional objective. It was only during the first government of Miguel Campero (1924-1928) that a regulation was approved authorizing the investment of 60% of the reserve's funds for the purchase of land for provincial and municipal employees and retirees to have their Own Homes, although, this action had little significance.

In 1938, Law 1728 was enacted, amending the law which created the CPA. This authorized using the reserve's funds for loans to State employees and retirees, including loans to build homes (Deheza, 2015, 43-44). It would facilitate access to housing for population groups who could not access them through other types of loans. Along this line, the *Permanent Board for the Own Home* was created in 1939, with offices in the Popular Savings Bank, and governed by the latter's regulations. Its purpose was to build housing for trade and industrial employees, by granting mortgages for 10, 15, 20, and 25 years. However, this modality did not prosper either.

Tucumán Garden Neighborhood

The arrival of Colonel Juan Domingo Perón to power (1946-1952) meant a change in the direction of policies addressing the housing issue. The first Five-Year Plan empowered different agencies to formulate mass housing plans, in which provincial governments could take part, contrary to the previous centralizing trend of the National Housing Administration (Ballent, 2005, p. 75). This was how, under the flag of mass-scale construction and the plurality of operations of different entities, including provincial ones, management was diversified and the

State's action in different parts of the country emerged in the short term.

In Tucumán, Carlos Domínguez, who closely identified with the national government, had won the February 1946 elections. His administration was characterized by the construction of abundant public works throughout the province. To alleviate the housing deficit, the construction of the "Eva Duarte de Perón", "Juan Domingo Perón", "El Bosque", "San Martín", "Concepción", and "Tafí Viejo" neighborhoods was fostered, located both in the capital and in the surrounding municipalities of Greater San Miguel de Tucumán (Páez de la Torre, 1987, p. 674).

In line with this policy, the CPA implemented direct construction of housing neighborhoods, whereby houses were put up for sale by public tender or by a system where stakeholders signed up beforehand, made an initial down payment, and could pay the balance in the long term.

The first neighborhood financed entirely by the institution was the Juan Bautista Alberdi neighborhood, later called "Barrio Jardín", intended for employees and workers of industry and commerce. It was located in front of the military barracks, northwest of the central area of San Miguel de Tucumán, between Castelli and Viamonte streets, from west to east and Belgrano and Italia Avenues, from south to north, in the Las Muñecas area (Tío Vallejo & Wilde, 2017, p. 141). It was designed following the "garden suburb" urban model, namely, low density. It had fourteen rectangular blocks, each with twenty-eight lots, on which one house per plot was located, on the municipal line, with a small back garden.

The works of the first sector, the largest, began in 1947, with detached individual houses, a square that occupied one block, alongside this, there was a doctor's surgery, a school that occupied another block (in front of the square), a building for the market, a social and sports club. Outside the square, a plot was allocated for the church (Figure 1). The project's plans included the works for the provision of running water, electricity lines, street lighting, and paving.

There were four types of houses. Type A totaling 60m², was designed with an access hall, living-dining room, two bedrooms, bathroom, kitchen, laundry room, and a small hallway (Figure 2). Types B, C, and D had a living-dining room, one bedroom, a kitchen, bathroom, and laundry room and were 48, 50, and 53m², respectively. The last one-bedroom ones, varied very little in their design, only C had a porch or access hall, so its value increased; then came D and, finally, B, the most economical.

The architectural language adopted was the Californian chalet² which, according to Ballent and Liernur (2014), had emerged in the country in the 1920s, as one of the suburban architecture languages of the upper and middle sectors. In the following decade, two models were adopted,

2 The Californian chalet owes its name to a domestic architecture that emerged in California, in the United States, in the early twentieth century. Its dissemination occurred after the First World War due to the prevalence of American culture around the world, through magazines, specialized publications, and, especially, through the cinema.



Ubicación de Barrio Jardín

- 1 Sector original de 1947, ubicado entre avenida Belgrano al sur, Italia al norte y calles Castelli al este y Viamonte al oeste.
- 2 Primera ampliación de 1962, sobre avenida Manuel Belgrano al sur, España al norte y Viamonte al este y Juan L. Nougués al oeste.
- 3 Segunda ampliación de 1968, sobre España al sur, Italia al norte y Viamonte al este y Caseros al oeste.
- 4 Tercera ampliación de 1972-1973, dentro del sector original, en la manzana comprendida entre Viamonte y Azcuénaga, de oeste a este, y entre Brandsen y España, de sur a norte.

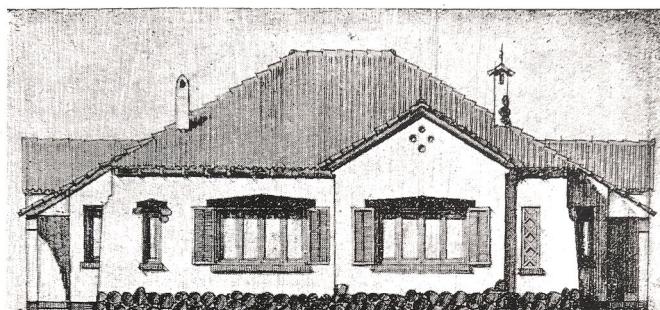


Figure 1. Location of Barrio Jardín with the different extensions. Source: Photograph extracted from Google Maps, worked by the author.

Figure 2. Type A house from 1947. Source: Photograph taken from the book by Deheza, M. G. (2015).

CASA TIPO "A"

VALOR ASIGNADO \$ 8.100

Mensualidad a pagar

\$ 61.30

incluso:

Amortización, intereses, seguro de incendio y seguro hipotecario o de vida.

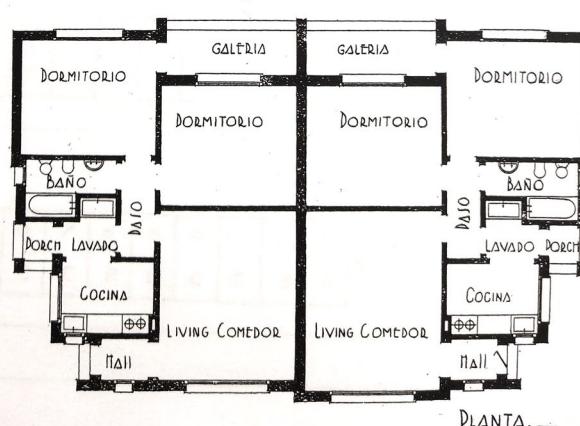




Figure 3. Californian chalet-style house in Barrio Jardín. Source: Photograph by the author..

namely the compact house of rationalist aesthetics for urban housing and the Californian chalet that, along with other rustic and picturesque variants, was the par excellence model for suburban, rural, or summer housing. However, it would undergo formal, functional, and symbolic reformulations at the request of the various social groups that used it, giving rise to large picturesque, small suburban, and popular chalet variants (Chiarello, 2015, pp. 186-187). The elements that characterized these houses were white walls, gently sloped tile roofs, and a low plinth in exposed stone or brick (Figure 3), widely disseminated in some magazines such as *Casas y Jardines* (*Houses and Gardens*)³, in the 1930s and 1940s.

It is possible to find background information on the type of urban development used by the CPA in the Suboficiales Sargent Cabral neighborhood, built between 1934 and 1937, in Campo de Mayo, Buenos Aires, on the initiative of the Ministry of War. It was conceived as a garden neighborhood, with Californian chalets, an orchard, and a chicken coop, located around collective equipment, among which the church stood out. This synthesis between modernity and tradition and, especially, national identity had been projected by the architects Alberto Prebisch, Fermín Bereterbide, and Carlos Muzio (Ballent, 2005, pp. 20-21).

³ The magazine, *Casas y Jardines* (*Houses and Gardens*) was a widely read Argentine publication of the Contémpora Publishing House that began its circulation in 1932.

Barrio Jardín's extensions

The rationalist aesthetics house, disseminated in the 1930s for urban housing, began to compete in the following decade with the concept of

"collective room". Both alternatives were debated since the latter was presented as a suitable resource for the Peronist government in its task of democratizing access to one's own housing. With the "pavilion", "block", or "monoblock", an open, exempt formal type of linear variable height development was alluded to, which incorporated community spaces and uses and proposed a new relationship with the street, with the green space, suitably ventilated and visible from the outside (Ballent, 2005, pp. 185-186). A paradigmatic example was the Manuel Dorrego neighborhood, better known as Los Perales (1946-1952), in the city of Buenos Aires. The complex, located in a large green area, in the Mataderos area, broke with the traditional amanzanamiento⁴. It consisted of 46 three-level blocks, with two- and three-bedroom apartments, totaling 1068 units. This was one of the most important undertakings carried out by the Peronist administration, at the beginning of its government.

In 1948, the Horizontal Property Law was enacted, which established the coexistence, in the same building, of individually owned units, sharing common sectors of collective ownership. The year after its passing, through a regulatory decree, a credit line destined for the new system was incorporated into the BHN. This was a stimulus for this type of construction and was widely disseminated (Ballent, 2005, pp. 216-217).

The 1960s was, according to Jáuregui (2017), a period of significant growth in the Argentine economy. The government of President Arturo Frondizi (1958-1962) supported the development of national industry in all sectors and proposed active State participation as a regulator in the economy, but also respected the free market, considering private initiatives as a dynamizing element of growth (Blanco, 2019, 14). During the de facto "Argentine Revolution" regime (1966-1973), modernization was promoted through state-led industrialization. In these years, despite successive political crises, economic planning, energy, industry, transport programs and even architecture for development emerged, understood as the framework of a modernizing or developmental political-economic project (Costa, 2020, 103).

Specifically, in 1962, the first expansion of the Barrio Jardín was proposed at the corner of Viamonte and Avenida Belgrano, already a busy area, which was carried out following the urban model of the Modern Movement. Thus, north-south facing apartment blocks were designed, sufficiently separated to get the best benefits of the sun and ventilation, over a large green area, totally indifferent to the layout of rectangular blocks of the original Barrio Jardín that it faced.

The complex comprised three three-level monoblocks, built under the horizontal property system. Two of the buildings had thirty-six units, and one only twenty-eight, which gave a total of one hundred two-, three-, and four-bedroom apartments of 75m², 80m², and 120m² respectively. The design of the units was in a duplex, namely, two levels, located side by side, facing the horizontal circulation. The architecture belonged to

⁴ Amanzamiento: term that refers to the design of urban blocks that can be square or rectangular.



Figura 4. Monoblock of Av. Belgrano and Viamonte, towards the end of the 1960s. Source: Photograph taken from the book of Deheza, M. G. (2015).

the “brutalist” current since the reinforced concrete structure and the brick masonry foundations were left exposed, as well as the stairs at the ends of the block, designed as sculptural elements in exposed concrete (Figure 4).

A new expansion occurred in 1968. This involved the construction of twenty single-family homes, in what was called the “Manzana 20 or Block 20”. The sites, located on Viamonte Street to the east and Caseros to the west, between Italia and España, behind the monoblocks, occupied three rectangular blocks running perpendicular to the original layout of the neighborhood.

The houses were larger than the first ones of 1947 and their design was more functional. There were three different types: A, B, and C with an area of 90m², distributed in a living-dining room, three bedrooms, a bathroom, and a kitchen with a laundry room; only A had a small rear hallway (Figure 5). Regarding its architectural language, a group of houses was prepared with the rationalist principles of flat roofs and lacking ornamentation (Figure 6). On the other hand, the remaining ones, in the manner of the Californian chalets, had tiled gable roofs, but without the rustic appearance of the 1940s (Figure 7).

A new extension was made between 1972 and 1973. This was the fourth and fifth three-level monoblocks, this time located on a quarter of the west block facing the school, inside the original neighborhood. The first building, on the corner of Azcuénaga and Brandsen, had 36 units of 63m² each one, and the second one, on the corner of Azcuénaga and España (Figure 8), also on three levels, had 24 apartments, with the same area as the former. Each of them was articulated with a smaller volume,

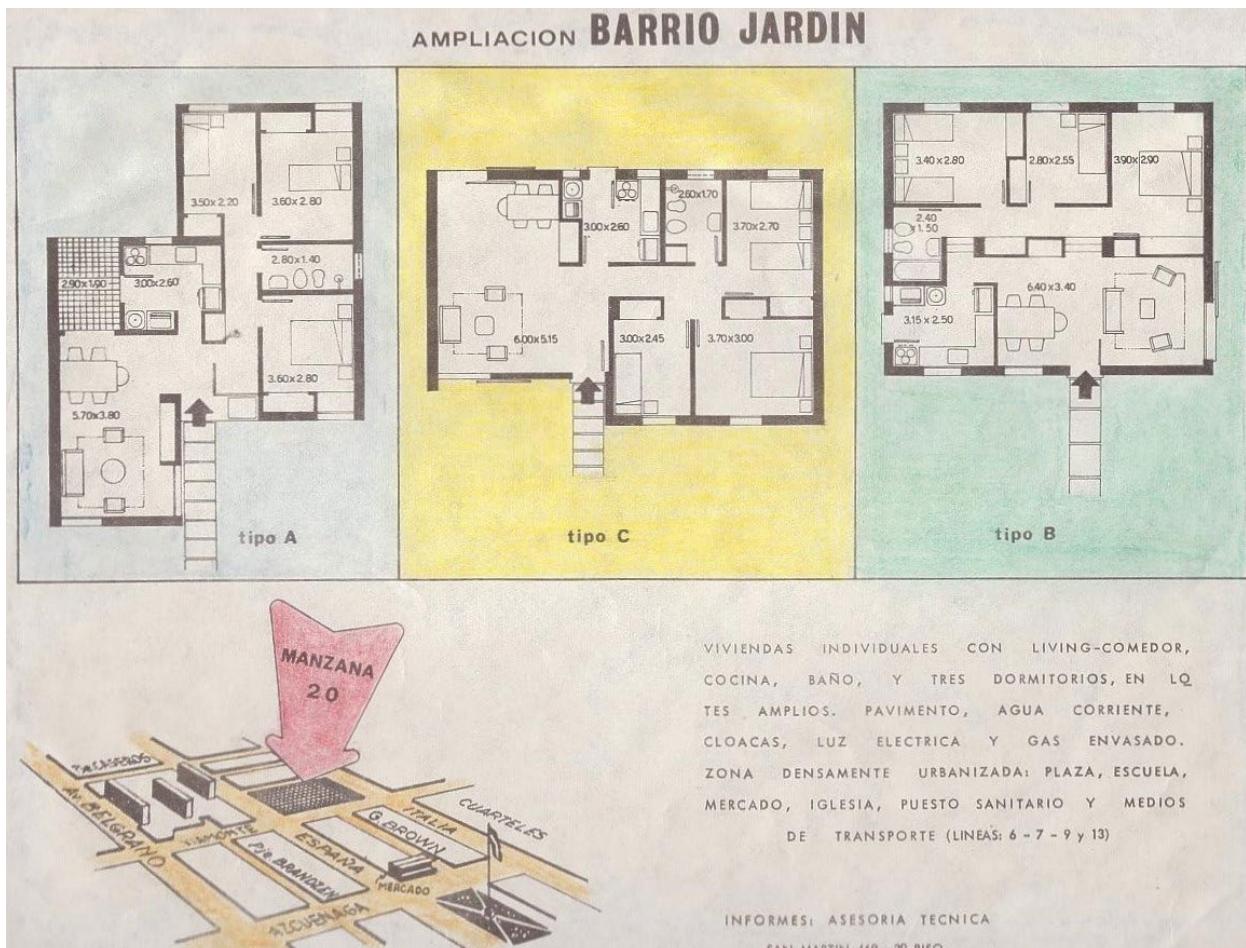


Figure 5. Floor plans of the houses of the Manzana 20 extension. Source: Photograph taken from the book by Deheza, M. G. (2015).

Figure 6. Rationalist aesthetics house of Manzana 20. Source: Photograph taken from the book by Deheza, M. G. (2015).

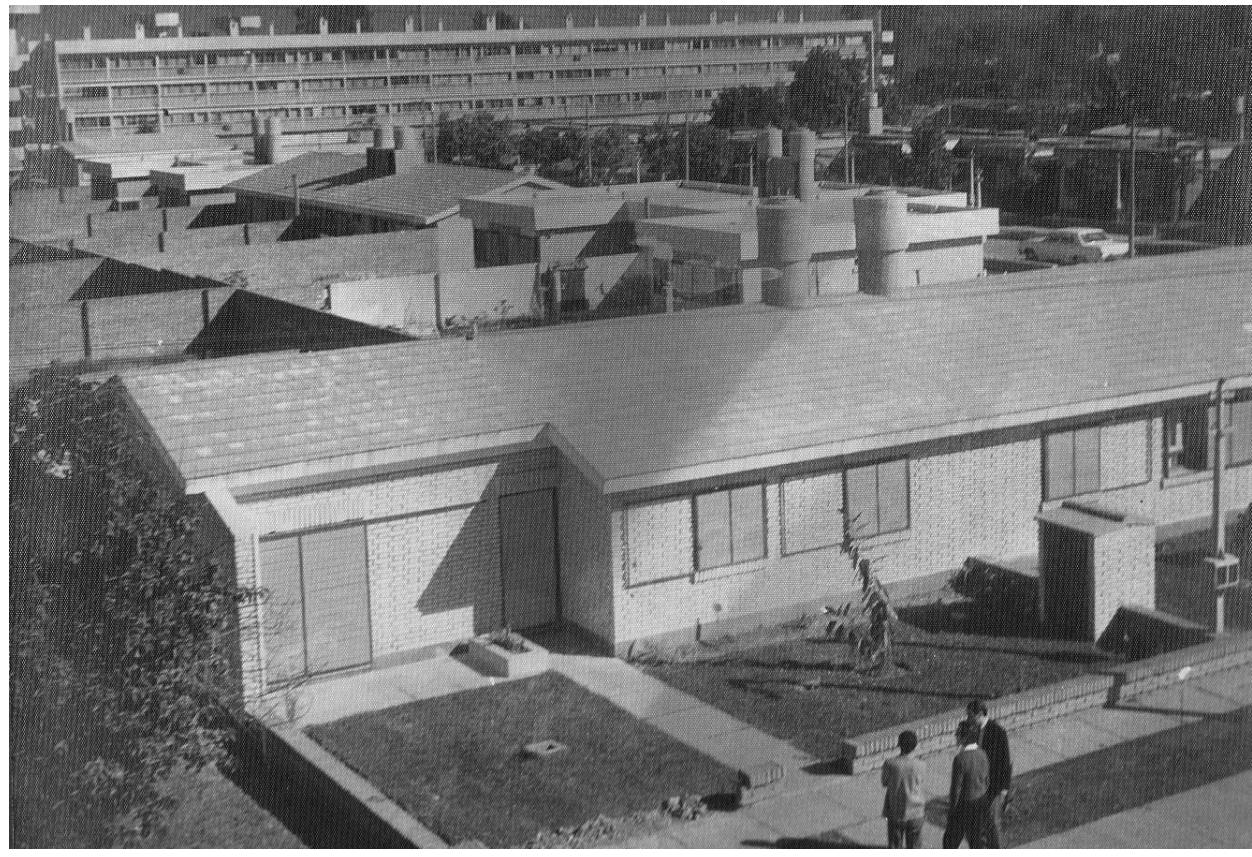


Figure 7. House with a gable roof of Manzana 20. Source: Photograph taken from the book by Deheza, M. G. (2015)

Figura 8. Monoblock on the corner of España and Azcuénaga. The third expansion of 1972-1973. Source: Photograph by the author.



with which they formed more private access spaces for each block, where the staircase was located. Their architecture is simpler and more austere, with whitewashed facades, and lacking any distinctive elements, compared to the whole of the 1960s.

It was in this way that "Barrio Jardín" acquired the characteristics of heterogeneous development, due to the various modes of urban implementation and the variety of architectural languages of the buildings.

The resulting plurality, a manifestation of the dominant urban and architectural principles of each moment, far from affecting the perception of the whole, enriched it, giving the neighborhood unique characteristics.

The proposals to solve the housing deficit of low-income sectors in the city of San Miguel de Tucumán found solutions in the CPA's operations that varied in scale, urban implementation, and architectural language. The political and economic circumstances were key in the creation of "Barrio Jardín" and its three extensions, all of which reveal particular traits. The complex comprising around five hundred houses, intended for employees of the city's public administration, commerce, and industry, was the largest the institution was responsible for in its over 100 years of management.

In the original 1947 design, the garden suburb model prevailed, expressed in the low density, through the delineation of rectangular blocks, with individual lots for each of the houses totaling 324 units. Regarding architecture, an effort was made to satisfy the tastes and aspirations of the less favored sectors of society who longed for their "own house", through the Californian chalet. The incorporation of urban infrastructure and equipment generated the right conditions so that, years later, three extensions could be completed, adding 180 more homes.

The first of these took place at the beginning of the 1960s, with the development of three three-level monoblocks, on a large green space. International examples show that this alternative had its weak points in the denial of the street, the large scale, and the difficulty to administer the green spaces on which they were set. However, in the first expansion of "Barrio Jardín", these problems were not evident due to the small scale of the complex, hence it could be satisfactorily integrated into the setting, a suburb of a small city in northwestern Argentina.

In a second expansion stage, twenty individual houses were built, which returned to the scale and urban model proposed in the first phase of the neighborhood. Although the delineation of the rectangular blocks was done perpendicularly to the original ones, this did not affect the perception of the whole. As for the architecture, the housing was designed following the functionalist principles of modern architecture and devoid of all ornamentation with flat and gabled roofs.

Finally, the monoblocks built in 1972 and 1973 were adapted to the urban structure of the original rectangular blocks, establishing a less categorical mode of occupation than the buildings on Avenida Belgrano. Its architecture is very simple, stripped of any element that could distinguish them.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The validity of the garden suburb and the modern urban models used show that, if the scale is suitable, the buildings are integrated without major difficulties, and the community makes them its own. Likewise, the variety of solutions contributed to avoiding monotony, a distinctive quality of the huge modern ensembles that were harshly criticized from the 1950s onwards.

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TWO MEXICAN METROPOLITAN-SCALE PROJECTS AT THE END OF THE 20TH CENTURY - PLAZA TAPATÍA IN GUADALAJARA AND MACRO PLAZA IN MONTERREY

DOS PROYECTOS DE ESCALA METROPOLITANA DE FIN DE SIGLO XX EN MÉXICO: LA PLAZA TAPATÍA EN GUADALAJARA Y LA MACRO PLAZA EN MONTERREY

DOIS PROJETOS À ESCALA METROPOLITANA DO FINAL DO SÉCULO XX NO MÉXICO: A PLAZA TAPATÍA EM GUADALAJARA E A MACRO PLAZA EM MONTERREY



Figura 0. Plaza Tapatía, with the rear façade of Degollado Theater in the background. Source: Photograph by Alejandro Ochoa Vega (2008).

RESUMEN

El texto siguiente analiza las experiencias de dos proyectos de gran impacto urbano de la década de los 80 del siglo XX en dos ciudades mexicanas, Guadalajara y Monterrey. En ambos casos se refieren los antecedentes en cuanto a la planeación urbana y los distintos proyectos para regenerar los centros históricos de dichas ciudades. También se exponen las consideraciones de las autoridades locales respecto a la imagen desgastada y deteriorada de los cascos antiguos, a la hora de plantear intervenciones a gran escala que implicaron la demolición de edificios y espacios de origen colonial y del siglo XIX. Los resultados son contradictorios: se ganó un gran espacio público, pero a la vez se sufrió la pérdida de la huella de las trazas originales de las ciudades y no pocos edificios de valor patrimonial. Ambos proyectos fueron resultado de decisiones políticas autoritarias, sin ninguna consulta a los habitantes de Guadalajara y Monterrey, simplemente mediante decreto de sus gobernantes.

Palabras clave: planeación urbana, arquitectura, centros históricos, modernidad.

ABSTRACT

This article analyzes the experiences of two projects which had a major urban impact in the 1980s on two Mexican cities, Guadalajara and Monterrey. In both cases, the background behind urban planning and the different projects to regenerate the historic city centers are discussed. The considerations of the local authorities regarding the tired and deteriorated image of the old downtown area are also presented, outlining the large-scale interventions that involved the demolition of colonial and 19th-century buildings and spaces. The results are contradictory: on one hand, a large public space was gained, but at the same time, the original city layout and many heritage buildings were lost. Both projects were the result of authoritarian political decisions, by governor decrees, without any consultation with the inhabitants of Guadalajara and Monterrey.

Keywords: Urban planning, Architecture, historic centers, Modernity.

RESUMO

O texto analisa as experiências de dois projetos de grande impacto urbano nos anos de 1980 em duas cidades mexicanas, Guadalajara e Monterrey. Em ambos os casos, referem-se aos antecedentes do planeamento urbano e aos diferentes projetos de regeneração dos centros históricos destas cidades. Mostra também as considerações das autoridades locais com relação à imagem desgastada e deteriorada dos cascos antigos, que propuseram intervenções em grande escala que envolveram a demolição de edifícios e espaços de origem colonial e do século XIX. Os resultados são contraditórios: por um lado, ganhou-se um grande espaço público, mas ao mesmo tempo, perdeu-se a disposição original das cidades e muitos edifícios de valor patrimonial. Ambos os projetos são o resultado de decisões políticas autoritárias sem qualquer consulta com os habitantes de Guadalajara e Monterrey, simplesmente por meio de decretos de seus governantes.

Palavras-chave: planejamento urbano, arquitetura, centros históricos, modernidade.

INTRODUCTION

Usually, public spaces, such as squares, parks, or gardens, are linked to a political decision of a city's authorities, in other words, a decree. With this in mind, this article looks to draw attention to how, due to decisions of politicians and authorities, cities and their urban space, often see their physiognomy affected and altered. Historically, the city has been the key space for a ruling class to reflect its power and influence over a territory. Its government, commercial, and religious buildings stand out in the landscape and are linked by public streets and squares. Thus, it is understood that public space is a cultural product, linked to political, economic, and ideological power; and that, at a given time, it is a possibility for collective benefit and enjoyment. Cities and towns have grown around an open space or square, which over time has become the place of collective meeting par excellence, home to official ceremonies, political protests, religious rituals, or centers for trade.

In the Western world, from the industrial revolution and the emergence of political and economic liberalism, urban spaces have become more democratic¹ and, given the growth of the population and the development of cities, the central or foundational squares have lost prominence as sub-centers were created in the peripheries (Zambrano, 2003). This was the case in Mexico, with the arrival of the twentieth century, especially the second half, where urban sprawl caused serious imbalances that have lost, among other things, public space, due to land speculation, a lack of political decision, and economic shortages. Consequently, in the twenty-first century, cities such as Mexico City, Guadalajara, and Monterrey, the largest in the country, have become complex metropolises, where their historical centers face conservation issues related to their heritage architecture and roots, insecurity, abandonment by the fixed population, and tensions between established and itinerant trade, to mention the most important issues. In turn, all told, and with the weight of urban planning since the 1930s, these three cities have grown disjointedly, with most of the population excluded from basic urban services.

For this article, the analysis focuses on Guadalajara and Monterrey, which in the 1980s developed projects that had a great impact on their urban centers, Plaza Tapatía (Tapatía Square), and Macro Plaza, respectively. Projects that involved the demolition of several blocks and altering the original layout to "regenerate" tired unsafe sectors and create, in their stead, new squares and buildings with green areas, gardens, road systems, and underground parking lots. With different nuances, both caused great controversy at the time. However, they were completed according to plan, and forty years after their inauguration, they are part of the contemporary imaginary of both cities. An evaluation of both projects, through this work, from an urban-architectural reading, aims to answer whether, all told and with the political motivations that the instigators had, Guadalajara and Monterrey gained new public spaces for their inhabitants in their old historical centers.

¹ Until the end of the eighteenth century, squares were almost exclusively used for trade and the respective guilds, while gardens were for royalty (Zambrano, 2003, pp. 36-37).

Projects such as Plaza Tapatia in Guadalajara and Macroplaza in Monterrey are tangible references to plans designed from an initial interest to create modern public spaces in the existing urban centers of both cities. Based on the historical analysis of both projects, this article summarizes the planned scopes and the setting their construction took place within.

The result of this type of intervention depends largely on the initial master plan and its relationship with the city setting. This architectural relationship makes each project a particular case study about which common conjectures can be made when compared with similar cases. Here, qualitative research with multiple case studies² is presented, proposing an exploratory analysis (Creswell, 2007.) As these are cases built under common conditions, the final reflections, by way of architectural criticism, take up the most salient points about the repercussions of these projects on an urban scale.

NATIONAL CONTEXT

The transition between the six-year periods of José López Portillo and Miguel de la Madrid, namely, from 1977 to 1984, the period when the two mega projects were developed, involves a series of important political and economic changes to highlight. López Portillo brings to an end, the period of the so-called "Mexican miracle", which started in the forties with the stabilizing development model, based on import substitution, that had proposed raising import tariffs to benefit domestic production and position exports of national products as the basis of the industrialized economy. However, the Student Movement of '68 and the irresponsible populism of the Luis Echeverría regime greatly affected the political and economic stability of the country. The "Lópezportillista" six-year term would try, from the oil boom, to "manage the abundance" and invest in multiple infrastructure works, among other items of the national economy. However,

The ambitious investment state plan during the López Portillo government brought wastefulness and inflation with it that devoured the currency and its finances. Private banking turned its search for safe returns to speculation and the aggressive dollarization of its operations. The disjointed domestic industry grew sharply but at the cost of an unsustainable flow of imports and an increasingly weak foreign position. (Aguilar & Meyer, 2008, p. 46)

The benefits of the oil boom came to an end in mid-1981, when oil prices fell dramatically, but it was not until February the following year when, faced with the huge deficit in the balance of payments, foreign exchange speculation, the costs of huge external debt, and an oil market that was not rebounding, the government of Mexico was forced, belatedly, to devalue its currency by 70% (Aguilar & Meyer, 2008, pp. 252- 253). To conclude the debacle of the six-year term, the President unilaterally announced in his last government report, the nationalization of banking,

METHODOLOGY

² Creswell (2007), defines that a case study is an exploration of a system linked to one or multiple cases over time, through the collection of detailed, in-depth data, which involves multiple sources of information (e.g., 46).

with the apparent idea of stopping "the looting of the country." A traumatic decision of supposed nationalism that took years to overcome. Aguilar and Meyer (2008) describe this panorama:

The outlook of the new government (that of Miguel de la Madrid Hurtado) was one of recession, financial limitations, closure of the international monetary and commercial markets, unemployment with wage devaluation, a fall in public spending, and an economic decline, which for 1983 was already expected to be between zero and minus five percent ... The Mexico that the new government imagined was no longer a centralized country but decentralized, not populist and corporate but liberal and democratic, not patrimonial and corrupt but morally renewed; not inefficient and disjointed but rational and planned nationally. And not the big, lax, subsidizing, feudalized state that had administered the historic pact of the 1910-1917 revolution up to that time, but a small, streamlined state, clearly limited in its interventionist powers, economically realistic, not deficit-based and administratively modern. (pp. 259- 261)

It would be with Miguel de la Madrid that Mexican neoliberalism began, and the accelerated privatization processes of many state-owned enterprises. The economy was stabilized, despite some ups and downs, through social pacts and financial agreements with the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. However, neither the intended moral renewal that would limit corruption nor political democratization would be achieved in those six years, much less a reduction of poverty. On the contrary, this would grow more than ever.

PLAZA TAPATÍA, GUADALAJARA, JALISCO

Background

Guadalajara has been a city of dramatic changes in its urban physiognomy, from the mid-twentieth century when the 16 de Septiembre (north-south) and Juárez (east-west) avenues were widened to cross the historic center³, to the 1970s, when, with the opening of Federalismo Avenue, the eastern section was "shaved off". In 1949, Ignacio Díaz Morales (Guadalajara, 1905-1992) began work on a project that would mark the Jalisco capital, the Cruz de Plazas, which sought to leave four large open spaces around the Cathedral and involved the demolition of a couple of blocks to the east (Kasis, 2004, pp. 54-63). Plaza de la Liberación would emerge in this space. The first part would be inaugurated in 1953 and, suddenly, the Degollado Theater could be appreciated with an unprecedented perspective. Now, far from just wanting to "beautify" the city, what Díaz Morales always sought in his urban projects was for people to have more places to walk, sit, and see the fountains, walking protected by vegetation, namely, enjoyment of the public space for a much wider audience.

In 1940, Díaz Morales imagined a promenade that would unite the two "Guadalajaras", the one in the east with the one in the west, the poor with the rich, the "ugly" with the "pretty". This is how his Paseo del Hospicio came about, which ran from behind Degollado Theater to

³ See Díaz-Berrio (1970) who refers to the need to revitalize the area around Cabañas Hospice: "With this point, we must clarify that "planning", "regeneration", or "revaluation" do not imply the destruction of the existing urban fabric [...] nor "widening", nor gardens, nor the search for "monumental perspectives" - erroneous, expensive, and useless in most cases ..., a situation that finally happened with the Plaza Tapatía project" (p. 32).

Cabañas Hospice, close to Libertad Market (popularly known as San Juan de Dios) and the old "El Progreso"⁴ bullring. At the time, the project was mothballed and resurfaced in the 1970s when the Government of Jalisco decided to implement it. It should be noted that, although the architect was consulted and took part in the first commission of the project, he would withdraw when he saw that there were other interests. Its romantic and humanistic spirit was surpassed by commercial goals and the search for urban profitability (Kasis, 2004, pp. 59-60).

Historical conditions and features of the project

Guadalajara, for many years, maintained a certain prestige of being a planned city that grew without major surprises. Although this idea can be viewed as more a myth than reality, historical conditions explain some of the urban layout, from the creation in 1943 of the Municipal Collaboration Council (CCM), the municipal regulation of subdivisions in 1944, and the planning commission in 1947. Then, in the six-year period of Jesús González Gallo (1947-1953), the "crucifixion" works of the city center would be carried out, and Guadalajara would begin to be linked as a metropolitan area with the surrounding municipalities: Zapopan, Tlaquepaque, Tonalá, Tlajomulco, and Chámpala (Vázquez, 1989). The CCM disappeared in 1959, becoming the General Planning and Urbanization Board of the State of Jalisco (JGPUJS), and, finally, it became a Department in 1977. Up until this date, this body had been relatively effective by having representation, both of public sector technicians, and the chambers of commerce, the industry of transformation, urban property, construction, bankers, colleges of engineers and architects, and the main workers' organizations (Vázquez, 1989). However, as a Department, it ended up as just another office for state government, without the weight given to it by social representations, and this is how it finally faced the great project of the Metropolitan Center, later renamed Plaza Tapatia (Figure 1 and Figure 2).

In 1961, the JGPUJS outlined the Regulatory Plan for the city of Guadalajara, which would serve as the basis for many other plans in the state of Jalisco (Vázquez, 1989). By the seventies, there were already legal frameworks that would make the historic center of Guadalajara's macro intervention project possible: the *Human Settlements Law of the State of Jalisco*, the one related to the *National Urban Development Plan*, and the *State Urban Development, Regional Urban and Partial Urbanization and Building Control* plans. More specifically, in the DGPUJS, with the architect Juan Gil Elizondo at the lead, the *Partial Urbanization and Regeneration Plan of the Guadalajara Metropolitan Center*. As guidelines or objectives, what the architect himself, Head of the Planning and Urbanization Department of the State of Jalisco, pointed out, were considered. To prevent this metropolitan area from "collapsing" in the short term and also to promote redensification, a multifaceted and integrated program was created with an infrastructure, urban functions, and renovation of roads and collective transportation for the city center, seeking to turn Tapatios' eyes toward this place (Elizondo, 1979). This program was one of the few that was attempted in the country. It included an area of 70,000 square meters, between Cabañas Hospice and Degollado Theater, with the old part, the heart

⁴ Built in 1854, it ended up being demolished for the construction of Tapatía Square (Hernández Larrañaga, 2001). It is worth adding that, its conservation was discarded from Díaz Morales' proposal on.

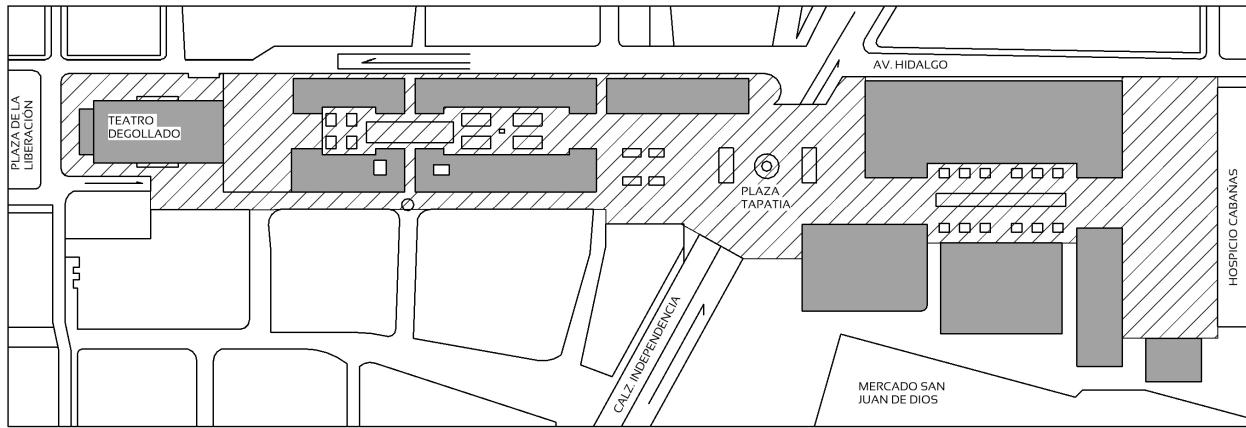


Figure 1. Plaza Tapatía: layout.
 Source: Drawing by Adler Valeriano (2022).

Figure 2. Plaza Tapatia. Source:
 Photograph by Alejandro Ochoa Vega (2008).

of the city, occupied by second and third-category commercial buildings and tenements. Nine blocks were demolished in which, it should be clarified, there were no buildings of heritage value (Elizondo, 1979). These, located in the area, were not only preserved but enhanced.

Regarding the program, the following was defined:

- Construction of 1,000 parking spaces distributed over 30,000 square meters.
- Habilitation of 40,000 square meters of public spaces, destined to plant more than 1,500 trees, build 50 water features (fountains), and receive about 4,000 people seated, simultaneously.
- Construction of private buildings to house shops, offices, administrative

services, hotels, restaurants, tourist services, entertainment and recreation halls, and apartments, excluding single-family ones (there are more than 70 private projects).

- Road and collective transport program.

The main difference with the project of the architect, Ignacio Díaz Morales, was that outside the square there was no construction of any building so the space and perspective were more open. However, for the project that ultimately came to fruition, a series of buildings were built that formed the square, and to make its delimitation and morphology homogeneous, heights, typologies, and materials were established beforehand. José Pliego, the project's coordinating architect, studied other cases of squares at an international level and concluded that it was necessary to make a scale design of the historic center of Guadalajara. For this reason, among other aspects, the use of double-height entrances with semicircular arches along all the buildings around the new urban space, windows in vertical proportion to recover the traditional ones of the center's old buildings, and stone as cladding, also associated with the historical sector, was defined. The new central urban space was defined with these elements, as well as with the use of benches, fountains, monuments (the coat of arms of Guadalajara on Morelos Street), and sculptures (Pliego, 2006).

González Romero (1987), talking about the construction of the Plaza Tapatia, expresses:

On concluding the site's transformation, with a length of 600 meters, the area had 70 buildings, some unfinished, equivalent to 150,000 square meters of construction on a surface area of 30,000 square meters for commercial use - which increased its value fivefold in a short time-; another 40,000 square meters had been conditioned as open spaces. Several sets of sculptures were installed to "enrich" the ensemble, spread over two squares and three walkways. The first, 3m high and 21 m long on the back wall of Degollado Theater, alluding to the foundation of Guadalajara; the second was formed by a 6 m high bronze tree and two 2.30 m rampant lions representing the elements of the city's coat of arms; the third formed by five bronze pieces, one 22 m high and weighing 15 tons, representing eternal fire, "The immolation of Quetzalcoatl", in the middle of a fountain on the central square that covers Independencia sidewalk which has a surface area of 5,600 square meters, laid out on two 20 m wide clearings. The placement of the sculpture was decided at the last minute on the recommendation of a high-ranking official linked to President López Portillo, and its placement had to be carefully handled by the director of the DPUEJS, requiring a special installation with a cost of several million pesos and completed a few hours before its inauguration. On the southwest side of Independencia, false arches of more than 50 m in length and approximately 10 m in height were installed on two levels, as a scenographic part of the ensemble. On this side, 35 fountains, an antique clock, and a few dozen more minor sculptures, benches, trees, and varied qualities of flooring were installed.

The work was complemented by the Integrated Road Project which included the construction of a 768 m-long vehicular tunnel, on Hidalgo Street. A two-level parking lot was built under Liberation Square, and another two were built under Plaza Tapatía, with a combined capacity for more than 1,500 vehicles. (pp. 45-46)

Plaza Tapatía (Figure 5) was inaugurated on February 5, 1982.

MACROPLAZA, MONTERREY, NUEVO LEÓN

Background

Although Monterrey was founded like Guadalajara in the sixteenth century and its colonial, republican, and Porfirian heritage is not negligible, it does not have traditions that prevent it from evolving into the modern city that it is today. Its industrial vocation, which began at the end of the nineteenth century, gave it an image and spirit of constant change, which has motivated profound physical transformations in the last 100 years. From 1914, when the ex-convent of San Francisco was demolished to widen Zaragoza Street to the Santa Catarina River; until 1981, when 40 blocks of the center of Monterrey were erased to make The Gran Plaza, later known as Macroplaza (Figure 3 and Figure 4), the Regiomontanus capital has not ceased in its increasing urban development (Martínez, 1999).

Features of the project

By 1980, the image of Monterrey seemed to not meet the expectations of being the second city in the country in terms of economic development and the third in population. Even the governor of that time, Alfonso Martínez Domínguez, called it "squalid, dirty, and ugly" because 80% of the buildings in the downtown area were one-story and 16.5%, were vacant lots. During those years, it was established in the National Urban Development Plan (1978) that the Monterrey metropolitan area was considered as one of planning and consolidation and that, by presidential decree of December 11, 1978, it was defined as the center of the northeast region in the Regional Urban Services Integration Program.

Taking into account the main objectives set out in the aforementioned plan, based on the Urban Development Law of the state of Nuevo León, the State Urban Development Plan of Nuevo León, and the Municipal Plan of Monterrey (1980) were developed. It was mentioned there that the city center was deteriorating, threatening commercial development and tourist services. Hence, it was proposed to start a regeneration program, starting with the area between the State Government Palace and the Municipal Palace.

Thus, the state government decided to rehabilitate the center, creating the Urban Development Promoter (Prourbe) led by the engineer Ángela Alessio Robles, an advisor to the governor on urban issues, and established the following objectives of the program:

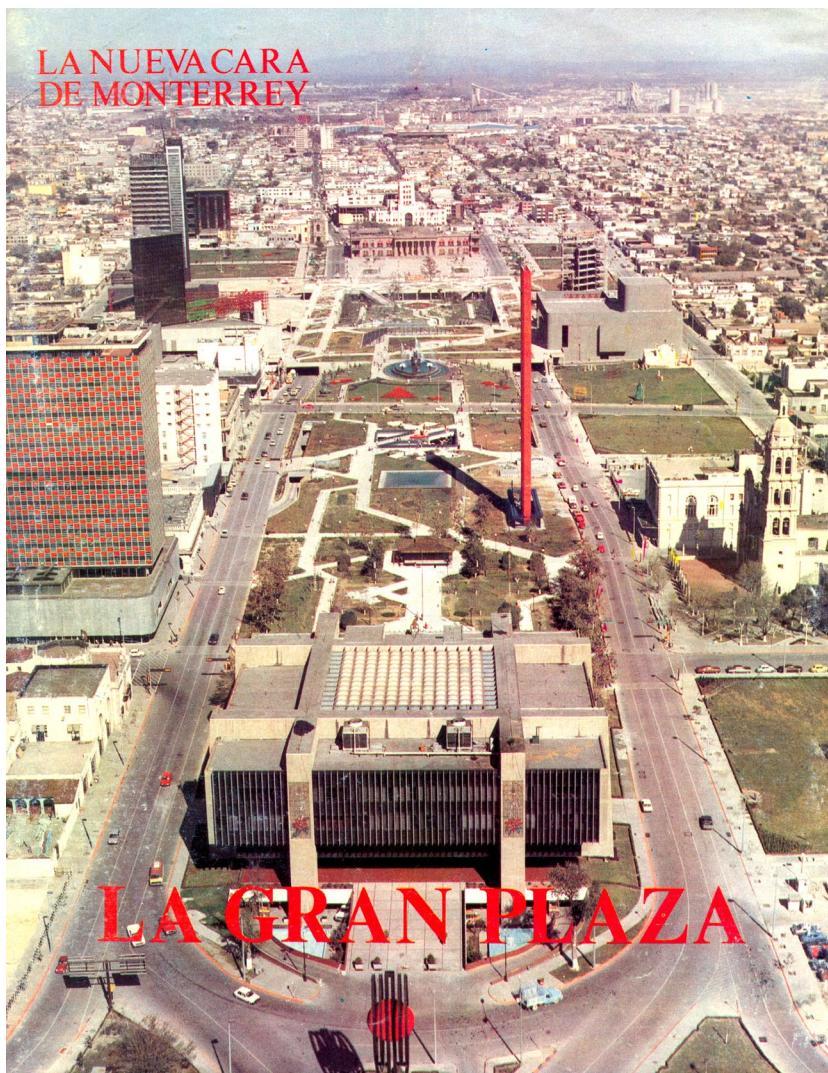


Figure 3. Macroplaza. The image on the cover of the official opening brochure (1984), with the Municipal Palace in the foreground. Source: : *Una nueva cara de Monterrey, LA GRAN PLAZA* (official brochure w/d).

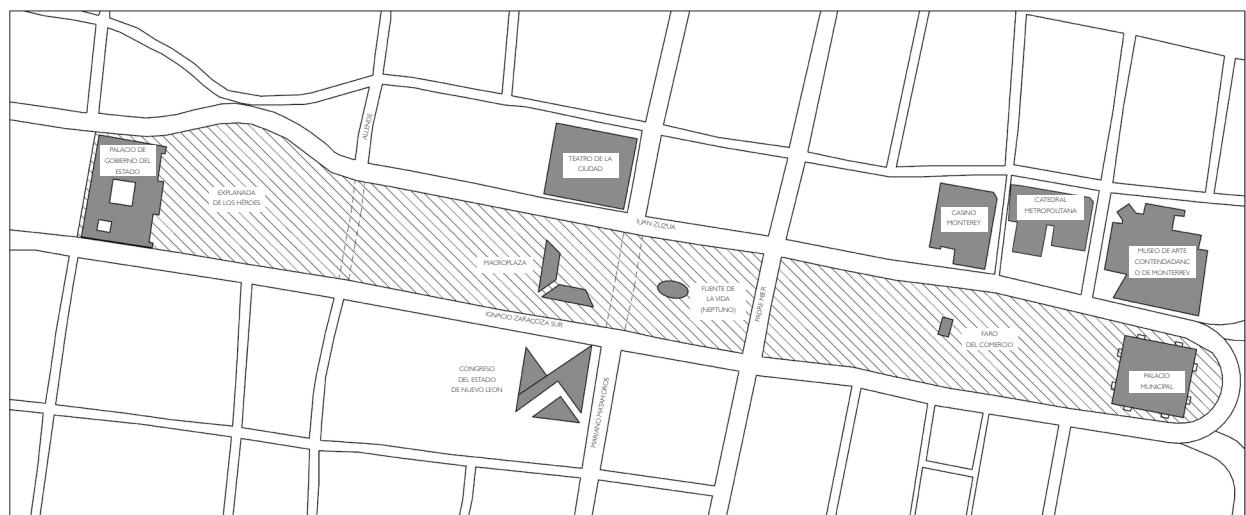


Figure 4. Macroplaza, layout.

Source: Drawing by Adler Valeriano (2022).

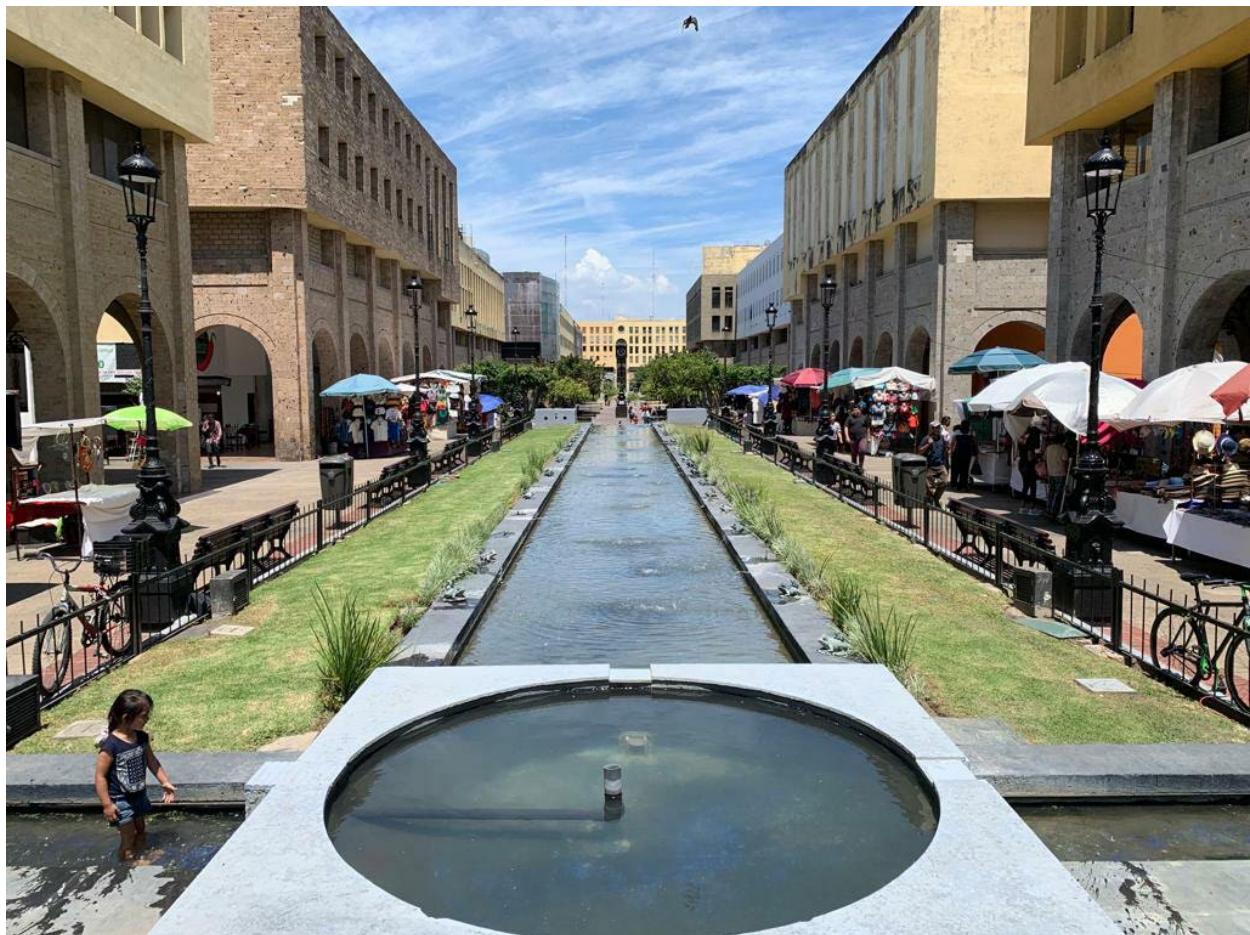
- Establishing green areas in the heart of the metropolis.
- Creating areas of coexistence for the population.
- Giving preference to the pedestrian.
- Imprinting fluidity for circulation in the first block.
- Meeting the demand for parking lots.
- Improving city structure and installing new urban furniture.
- Making the project the trigger for the transformation and modernization of Monterrey.
- Implementing a totally self-financing project. (Portada, p.20)

Such an undertaking involved intervening a 40-hectare area in the heart of the city, creating a monumental north-south road, with a large open space between the Government and Municipal Palaces, two rows of blocks parallel to this road, where buildings such as the Cathedral, the Monterrey Casino, or the Acero Condominium were already located, and where little by little other facilities, such as libraries, archives, museums, and administrative buildings, among others, would be built, almost all on a monumental scale. Far from wanting to weigh some reference elements of the historical architecture of the city, the architect Oscar Bulnes, the main coordinator of the Macroplaza project, rather asserts that its sources came from European and, mainly, American examples, such as the city of Houston, where rupture intervention lines were marked, in terms of scale and urban morphologies (Bulnes, 2006). That was especially visible towards the east of the complex, where the now-named Old Quarter remained - the only tangible urban reference of old Monterrey-, because on the west side, there were already samples of the modern city, through high-rise buildings built from the 40s to the 70s, and where the most intense commercial sector of the city center is located.

The Gran Plaza covered an area of 40 hectares, located in the heart of Monterrey, between Washington street, to the north; Constitution Avenue, to the south; Doctor Coss to the east, and Escobedo to the west, in the area where the city had its origins dating back to 1596. The surface was divided into three zones, following the existing land use, the geographical location of the buildings that for varied reasons were preserved, and the particular topography of its one-kilometer-long road.

The first two were destined to make The Gran Plaza the political, cultural, religious, and civic center of the capital of Nuevo León, and the central space that forms the third zone is designed so that the population had conditions conducive for the recreation of the body and spirit. It is bounded by the streets of Juan Ignacio Ramón, Zuazua, Washington, and Zaragoza.

Buildings such as the current Municipal Palace, High Court of Justice, Cathedral, Mutual Mercantile Circle, Monterrey Casino, Acero Condominium, Monterrey Hotel, Mercantile Bank, and the Latino Building, traditional and of great beauty, were conserved and restored to preserve history and memory. The old Plaza Zaragoza was integrated into the square maintaining part of its design, and here, already planned, on Padre Mier Street, was the area for



a future underground station of the “Metro” system, which Monterrey would have in the short term (Bulnes, 2006).

The Fountain of Life (Figure 6), the majestic Theater of the City, the Art Garden, two open-air theaters, the Administrative Tower, the State Congress building, the Central Library, the new buildings of the State Archive and the Secretariat of Education and Culture were built, as well as the Faro del Comercio, the new Monterrey Fountain, the Sunken Garden waterfall, parking lots, and other fountains.

It should be added that several services and installations for the fountains and other supply networks were located under Gran Plaza, in addition to a shopping center and parking lots with a capacity for 900 cars. The gardens, parks, and area for walking covered an area of 120,000 square meters.

The Gran Plaza or Macroplaza was inaugurated on December 7, 1984.

FINAL REFLECTIONS, PROBLEMS AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Plaza Tapatia and Macroplaza share, according to the initial statement of this article, being the product of a political will of the respective governors,

Figure 5. Plaza Tapatía, with the screen building in the background. Source: Photograph by Alejandro Ochoa Vega (2008).

CONCLUSIONS



Figura 6. Macroplaza: the fountain of Life sculptural ensemble, the work of the Artist Luis Sanguiano. Source: Taken from *Una nueva cara de Monterrey, LA GRAN PLAZA*, (official brochure w/d).

Flavio Romero de Velasco in Jalisco, and Alfonso Martínez Domínguez in Nuevo León, who in a megalomaniacal and authoritarian attitude made these projects possible, in the midst of the country's financial crisis. In the mere PRI style, of worship for personality, and from simulated social consensus, through uncritical and servile technicians and corrupt social organizations, projects such as Plaza Tapatía and Macroplaza were feasible, ramrodding the foundational traces and forcibly evicting inhabitants. A vision about the downtrodden abandoned historical centers, where the only option was demolition to favor the political and economic interests of a few, with the banner of "regenerating" and "revitalizing" areas of urban decay.

Both projects ruled out repopulation as a mechanism for revitalizing their sectors through the permanence of housing use, privileging commercial and administrative use. This has caused those public spaces to die after office hours and/or at the closing of shops, even though there are some bars and restaurants in Plaza Tapatía that try to retain nightlife. In such a way, after a certain time, they become desolate and unsafe areas, just as happened, in those same places, before the creation of this pair of mega projects. What to say about the impact on the

historical and cultural heritage of both historical centers, which, even with their variants, saw the foundational traces distorted, lost at least 20 buildings of historical and artistic value, and especially the urban morphology of historical cities, understood, as a contribution more as a whole than of isolated buildings⁵.

Regarding the urban-architectural and landscape proposal, the variant is that in Guadalajara it is a contained square, based on the construction of new buildings and, in Monterrey, an open one because, although enveloping buildings were also generated, the scale is much larger and the perspective expands. In the Jalisco capital, formal repertoires of tradition were recovered, such as semicircular arches, the entrance, and vertical windows, among others, in addition to the fact that the prevailing height in the historical center was not exceeded. On the other hand, in the Regia capital, high-rise buildings were a constant, hand in hand with a contemporary architectural proposal. As for the design of open spaces, fountains, sculptures, and urban furniture, in both cases, it tended more to the traditional than to a risky and modern approach. Plaza Tapatía (Figure7) created several games and water mirrors in its fountains and followed axes of symmetrical composition; the sculptures, somewhere between figurative and abstract, reveal that the snake of Quetzalcoatl was the base theme. The furniture was between conventional and traditional, with benches, lamps, and clocks. In the Macroplaza, the modern context under construction contrasted with the design of paths, gardens, fountains, and furniture, ranging from the modern kitschy in the Fountain of Life to minimalism in the Faro del Comercio, of Barragán and Ferrara.

In terms of the architectural proposal, Guadalajara opted for poor, monotonous, and scenographic contextualism, with references to Aldo Rossi. The buildings, homogeneous in heights, materials, colors, rhythms of openings, and rocks, together with the inevitable entrance, framed both spectacular finials (for example, the Cabañas Hospice), and others where the façade was fake, because it did not contain anything inside. In contrast, in Monterrey, the architecture of the equipment throughout the Macroplaza, demonstrates a search for end-of-century modernity, between late and postmodern with unequal qualities.

As a historiographical detail to highlight, it is noteworthy that, according to the scope of this article, from the sources consulted for the pair of examples studied, only the journal *Obras* gave an account of them with reports and interviews of both cases, and that, although the mega projects caused controversy at the time, only Plaza Tapatía was motive for a couple of critical analyses: that of the Guadalajara architect, Daniel González Romero (1986), and that of the Puebla architect, Carlos Montero Pantoja (2002). The former highlights his forceful opinion saying:

The scenographic exhibitionism of postmodernism implanted in Plaza Tapatía can also be explained by the “uninhibited” use of

⁵ In the case of Guadalajara, two buildings, one of colonial origin and the other Porfirian on Morelos Street, managed to be preserved, although the new buildings of the plaza were violently attached to them. As for Monterrey, the then regional delegate of the National Institute of Anthropology and History, Héctor Jaime Treviño Villarreal, recognized that ten catalogued historical buildings had been lost, the Elizondo cinema, of endearing memory for the regiomontanos and the Juárez Bridge that was on 15 de Mayo and Zaragoza.



Figure 7. Plaza Tapatía, with the rear façade of Degollado Theater in the background.
 Source: Photograph by Alejandro Ochoa Vega (2008).

historical traces to build a supposed new line of "creativity", which at the same time exhibits positions where "values" and alienation are combined. Those who practice this kind of 'revival' under the spectrum of already identified interests, make indiscriminate use of the architectural essence of the past immersing it in a projective fiction where professional practice is not committed to the social totality. (González Romero, 1986, p. 55)

As an answer to the question raised in the introduction, whether with these two projects, Guadalajara and Monterrey gained a public space for their inhabitants, the answer is obvious: yes, but with a varying cost for both cities. The two squares, in the morning and daytime hours (in the case of Monterrey more in the latter) and, above all, on weekends, have regular and even intense social use. They work as a promenade to walk, sit on the benches, lie down on the grass, watch some show, or buy from some temporary stall. However, their relationship with nearby buildings is limited, either due to the commercial failure of Plaza Tapatía or due to the bureaucratic and impermeable use of equipment in Macroplaza (Figure 8). In addition to this, since there is no housing in both central areas, the user is floating.



It should be noted that the upkeep in both squares is more than acceptable, the gardens are well maintained, fountains and lights work and, even, more attraction elements have been added, such as modules with benches to rest protected from the rain, terraces, cafeterias, kiosks for tourist information, and a new lighting design in Plaza Tapatía, and more cultural facilities in Macroplaza. In the latter, it is important to note that its integration into Fundidora Park, through the Santa Lucía Promenade inaugurated in 2007, would provide a greater influx.

In the end, a question about these public spaces created by decree or political will, rather than by social demand, is whether they have significantly become positive triggers in both cities. From the perspective presented here, it is considered that, in Guadalajara, beyond the price that was paid through the loss of heritage, it partially succeeded in linking those two Guadalajara mentioned above; the Cabañas Hospice setting could be improved and, with its new cultural use, attract more visitors, but, Plaza Tapatía has not triggered anything significant for the city. The situation is different in Macroplaza, although it has not represented a qualitative replacement for urban planning and design, architecture, and landscape, the enormous investment, and impact on the city have motivated improving the image of Monterrey,

Figura 8. Macroplaza: social life.

Source: Taken from *nueva cara de Monterrey, LA GRAN PLAZA*, official brochure w/d.

through multiple works, many of which have social resonance and not just focused on profitability. Both configure complex, contradictory projects, of undeniable impact, which are unlikely to ever be repeated.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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LIBRARY PARKS IN COLOMBIA, OR LIBRARIES IN PARKS. BACKGROUND OF A POLITICAL AND ARCHITECTURAL DISCOURSE

LOS PARQUES BIBLIOTECA EN COLOMBIA, O LAS BIBLIOTECAS EN LOS PARQUES. ANTECEDENTES DE UN DISCURSO POLÍTICO Y ARQUITECTÓNICO

OS PARQUES-BIBLIOTECA NA COLÔMBIA, OU AS BIBLIOTECAS EM PARQUES. ANTECEDENTES DE UM DISCURSO POLÍTICO E ARQUITETÔNICO



Figura 0. Bogotá National Park
Library Source: G Cuellar (1935).

Article based on the results of the research: "Analysis of the descriptive memories, public policies and Planimetries in the Colombian Architecture Biennials: Library Architecture in Colombia (1970-2020)" Project ID 10400 Sponsor Institution: Pontificia Universidad Javeriana (Bogotá - Colombia)

RESUMEN

Este artículo es el resultado de una investigación cuyo objetivo fue indagar en la génesis de los Parques Biblioteca, como expresión de un discurso político y arquitectónico en Colombia. Para este efecto, se plantea una metodología sustentada en una historiografía comparada del fenómeno de las bibliotecas y los edificios educativos construidos en parques públicos como política de gobierno, a inicios del siglo XX y, posteriormente, en el intersticio entre el siglo XX y el XXI. Las conclusiones evidencian que, contrario a la percepción general, el modelo de parques bibliotecas no es un fenómeno *ex novo*, propio del mundo contemporáneo. En este sentido, los resultados muestran no solo la identificación de un conjunto de proyectos antecedentes de este fenómeno, construidos entre 1932 y 1940, sino además un conjunto de correlaciones existentes entre los discursos políticos y los discursos arquitectónicos, como reflexión predeterminante de un sistema de pensamiento, que dio origen al modelo de los parques bibliotecas.

Palabras clave: política urbana, parques biblioteca, políticas públicas, Colombia, bibliotecas.

ABSTRACT

This paper is the result of research whose objective was to investigate the genesis of Library Parks as an expression of political and architectural discourse in Colombia. For this purpose, a methodology based on a comparative historiography of the phenomenon of libraries and educational buildings built in public parks as a government policy at the beginning of the 20th century, and later, in the interstice between the 20th and 21st centuries, is proposed. The conclusions show that, contrary to the general perception, the library park model is not an *ex novo* phenomenon of the contemporary world. In this sense, the results evidence not only the identification of a set of antecedent projects of this phenomenon, built between 1932 and 1940, but also a set of existing correlations between political and architectural discourses, as a predetermined reflection of a system of thought that gave rise to the library park model.

Keywords: urban policy, library parks, public policies, Colombia, libraries.

RESUMO

Este artigo é o resultado de um projeto de pesquisa cujo objetivo era investigar a gênese dos Parques-Biblioteca como expressão de um discurso político e arquitetônico na Colômbia. Para este fim, é proposta uma metodologia baseada em uma historiografia comparativa do fenômeno das bibliotecas e edifícios educacionais construídos em parques públicos como política governamental no início do século XX e, posteriormente, no interstício entre o século XX e o século XXI. Os resultados mostram que, ao contrário da percepção geral, o modelo de parques-bibliotecas não é um fenômeno *ex novo* próprio do mundo contemporâneo. Neste sentido, os resultados mostram não apenas a identificação de um conjunto de projetos antecedentes deste fenômeno, construídos entre 1932 e 1940, mas também um conjunto de correlações existentes entre discursos políticos e discursos arquitetônicos como reflexão predeterminante de um sistema de pensamento que deu origem ao modelo dos parques-biblioteca.

Palavras-chave: política urbana, parques-biblioteca, política pública, Colômbia, bibliotecas.

INTRODUCTION

In the interstice of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, library parks in Colombia posed an important change in the way of conceiving the library architecture, transforming formerly closed box and reading rooms typology, into a device for access and urban connections, where the architectural space became an interactive threshold between the private and the public. One of its main differentiating aspects, the park, also became one of its main attractions, because by then it was unusual for a space, essentially recreational and leisure, to be integrated into an institution with the vocation of concentration and silence that a library represents. The architectural – and especially media - repercussions of these library parks triggered different kinds of recognition in the political sphere, as they represented a novel advance in improving conditions of equality and accessibility to knowledge, for citizens in vulnerable situations (Peña, 2011). Historiographically, the origin of these public facilities is unclear; but judging by the significant amount of literature on the subject, its origin would seem to be located in Medellín (2004) under the policies of the then Governor, Sergio Fajardo. However, for other historians:

The beginnings of library parks are found in Bogotá, during the first period of Mayor Enrique Peñalosa Londoño, who commissioned the first three: that of El Tunal in the park that bears the same name (Suely Vargas, Marcia Wanderley & Manuel Guerrero, 1999-2002), El Tintal in open land on Ciudad de Cali Avenue, southwest of the capital (Daniel Bermúdez, 2000), and Virgilio Barco, on a strip of land incorporated into Simón Bolívar Park (Rogelio Salmona & María Elvira Madriñán, 1999-2002). (Saldarriaga, 2017, p.17)

Thus, the purpose of this research is to situate the genesis of library parks in Colombia as a political and architectural discourse. For this purpose, a historiography of the architecture of public libraries in Colombia, between 1933 and 2018 (Table I), was initially prepared in light of government policies, to offer an alternative reading of the emergence of these library parks. The reason for focusing the study on public libraries is that one of the main reasons behind public architecture in Colombia and Latin America lies in transformations of a political nature. Rises and falls to and from power have allowed establishing certain periodizations in the history of architecture, associated with ideological issues. Indeed, in the historiography of architecture, “the contextual overview is generally political, and the basis of periodization is made by consulting political transformations, and many of the architectural interpretations are political-ideological” (Arango, 2003, p. 8).

However, throughout the reading and analysis of Library policies and projects, the need to specify a theoretical foundation that would allow approaching this analysis was evidenced. This foundation was based on

Architecture of public libraries in Colombia - (1933 - 2018)							
Period	Year	Works	Architect	Depo	City	Type of library	Built
DECADE 2010 -2020	2018	Roberto González Municipal Library	Rizoma Arquitectos	Cundinamarca	Tocancipá	Public library	Yes
	2016	David Sánchez Juliao Library Park	Jairo Torralvo, Rafael Pertuz	Córdoba	Montería	Public library	Yes
	2014	Restoration Of Centenary Library	Mol Arquitectos	Valle Del Cauca	Cali	Public library	Yes
	2014	Deébora Arango Cultural Park	Javier Vera	Antioquia	Envigado	Public library	Yes
	2012	Fernando Botero Library Park	Orlando García	Antioquia	Medellín	Public library	Yes
	2012	Guayabal Library Park	Arquitectos Edu	Antioquia	Medellín	Public library	Yes
	2012	La Quintana Library Park	Ricardo La Rotta	Antioquia	Medellín	Public library	Yes
	2011	San Antonio De Prado Library Park	Arquitectos Edu	Antioquia	Medellín	Public library	Yes
	2010	De Villanueva Library	Carlos Mesa, Alejandro Piñol, Germán Ramírez, Miguel Torres	Casanare	Villanueva	Public library	Yes
DECADE 2000 -2010	2009	12 De Octubre Library Park	Verónica Díaz, Carlos Puerta, Diego López	Antioquia	Medellín	Public library	Yes
	2008	León De Greiff Library Park	Giancarlo Mazzanti	Antioquia	Medellín	Public library	Yes
	2008	España Library Park	Giancarlo Mazzanti	Antioquia	Medellín	Public library	Demolished
	2008	Belén Library Park	Hiroshi Naito	Antioquia	Medellín	Public library	Yes
	2008	San Javier Library Park	Javier Vera	Antioquia	Medellín	Public library	Yes
	2006	Publica Epm Library	Felipe Uribe	Antioquia	Medellín	Public library	Yes
	2006	Chia Municipal Public Library	Andres Satizabal	Cundinamarca	Chia	Public library	Yes
	2004	Paz De Ariporo Library	David Delgado - Maria Luisa Vela	Casanare	Paz de Ariporo	Public library	In construction
	2004	Guanacas Public Library	Simon Hosie	Cauca	Inzá	Public library	Yes
	2004	Bogotá Archives	Juan Pablo Ortiz	Cundinamarca	Bogotá	Public archive	Yes

Architecture of public libraries in Colombia - (1933 - 2018)							
Period	Year	Works	Architect	Depo	City	Type of library	Built
DECADE 2000 -2010	2002	El Tintal Public Library	Daniel Bermúdez	Cundinamarca	Bogotá	Public library	Yes
	2002	Virgilio Barco Library	Rogelio Salmona	Cundinamarca	Bogotá	Public library	Yes
	2002	El Tunal Park Library	Manuel Guerrero, Suely Vargas, Marcia Wanderley	Cundinamarca	Bogotá	Public library	Yes
DECADE 1990 - 2000	1996	Restoration Aduana De Barranquilla- Cribé Pilot Library	Katia González, Francisco González, Carlos Hernández, Eduardo Samper	Atlántico	Barranquilla	Public library	Yes
	1995	Rafael Carrillo Departmental Library	Santander Beleño	César	Valledupar	Public library	Yes
	1994	General National Archives	Rogelio Salmona	Cundinamarca	Bogotá	Public archive	Yes
	1993	Departmental Library And Convention Center	Aci Arqs Atilano Lora Edgar C Lora	Valle Del Cauca	Cali	Public library	Yes
DECADE 1980 - 1990	1986	Luis Ángel Arango Library Stage 2	Álvaro Rivera Realpe	Cundinamarca	Bogotá	Public library	Yes
DECADE 1940 - 1970	1962	Luis Ángel Arango Library Stage 1	German Samper - Esguerra Sáenz Y Samper	Cundinamarca	Bogotá	Public library	Yes
	1952	Medellín Pilot Library	S.d.	Antioquia	Medellín	Public library	Yes
	1945	Meira Del Mar Departmental Library	S.d.	Atlántico	Barranquilla	Public library	Yes
DECADE 1930 - 1940	1936	National Park Adult Library	Alberto Wills Ferro	Cundinamarca	Bogotá	Public library	Demolished
	1936	National Park Infant Theatre Library	Carlos Martínez	Cundinamarca	Bogotá	Public library	Yes
	1933	National Library	Alberto Wills Ferro Y Pablo De La Cruz	Cundinamarca	Bogotá	Public library	Yes

Table 1. The Architecture of Public Libraries in Colombia (1933-2018) Source: Preparation by the Author.

the concepts of architectural and political discourse, in light of a historiographic conceptualization of public libraries in Colombia.

The notion of discourse was taken from the perspective of Teo Van Dijk (1999), who specifies that discourse is such, as long

as it fulfills three basic conditions: 1. The use of language 2. The communication of beliefs or ideas through this language, and 3. A social interaction originated, as a result of communicating said beliefs (p.24). Once these conditions have been transferred to the field of political discourse, compliance with these guidelines is evident, visible in documents such as state policies, laws, and decrees where State action is made official verbatim, to generate, *a posteriori*, interactions and reactions in a social group. In the field of architecture, the application of the concept of discourse is not as direct as in the political field. However, architects also communicate ideas using languages (graphic or textual), whereby a spatial idea and project conviction are disseminated, which are also intended to produce social interactions -once built - that, for libraries, are of a cultural and educational nature. That is why contrasting the political and architectural conditions in light of the notion of discourse is relevant to demonstrate the effective scopes and influences of these reasonings on the production of public architecture.

Likewise, the conceptualization of the historiography of libraries in Colombia can be classified into two large groups: historiography focused on the study of specific phenomena, derived from policies and/or initiatives promoted by different types of governments, that have produced a set of historiographies oriented to the study of specific events, such as Rural Libraries, Traveling Libraries, Library Parks, or Mega Libraries, namely, synchronous historiography that explains in detail the formal operations and project strategies of these particular architectures, without considering their transformation over time. On the other hand, there is a historiography conceived from Library Science and, therefore, focused on the problems and transformation of the different types of libraries, which this discipline has considered as fundamental typologies: University Libraries, Public Libraries, Specialized Libraries, among others. The awareness of these two historiographical perspectives opened the possibility of approaching a third comparative historiographical option for this research, with the aim of contrasting two key moments in the history of library architecture, where political and architectural discourses converged to conceive in Colombia, a Park Library model (1932) and, sometime later, a Library Park model (1998- 2004).

In summary, the problem of this research focuses on demonstrating how a conception of the library park model is woven into the correlation of political and architectural discourses, analyzed from a historiographical perspective, while the research hypothesis is based on the conviction that the bipartite conception (architecture-politics) of Library Parks, was not an *ex-novo* phenomenon of the contemporary world in Colombia, but, on the contrary, has a long-standing genesis and tradition.

METHODOLOGY

One of the antecedents behind the methodological research proposal was the reconstruction of a historiographic overview of public library architecture in Colombia (1932 -2018), which would allow evidencing the transformations over time. The analysis of this overview revealed the rupture that the construction in Bogotá of large libraries inserted in non-centralized green areas of the city implied, from 1998 onwards. This was a tradition developed by the library parks of Medellín, which further emphasized their peripheral nature, distant from urban centers, as a social meeting space for disadvantaged communities. This disruption in the history of library architecture and its subsequent dissemination as a novel event in Library architecture led to wondering about the origins of this architectural approach. In this sense, the purpose of the methodology was to elaborate a comparative historiography between the architecture of early twentieth-century public libraries, and those built in the interstice of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, to verify the hypothesis raised, using a triangulated reading between political discourses, architectural discourses of the projects, and the works actually built. Therefore, the methodology is of an analytical-descriptive type, since it gathers a group of architectural works of an educational and cultural nature, built as an expression of such political discourses to, subsequently, dissect them, to understand from different angles and extract, in synthesis, the historiographical and conceptual dimensions of these works. However, it is also a methodology of a hermeneutical nature, since it elaborates a critical analysis that contrasts the latent discursive contents, in the texts of political (laws and decrees) and architectural discourses (descriptive records of the projects), to reveal correlations and/or coincidences between one and another system of thinking.

RESULTS

The results provide an expanded renewed vision of the phenomenon of library parks in Colombia, where it is revealed how their bipartite conception (architecture - politics) and their projection as suburban and permeable facilities to the city, hold a tradition in library design in the country and are not an unprecedented or exclusive event of the contemporary world. These results are supported, as noted, through the triangulated study between political discourse, architectural discourse, and concrete works, applied to 5 libraries and state educational facilities. Three of them were built in the early twentieth century: National Park 1932-1938 (Table 2), National Library 1933-1938 (Table 3), and the University City of Bogotá-1935 (Table 4). The remaining two, at the turn of the twenty-first century: Bogotá District Library System-1998 (Table 5) and Medellín Library Parks-2004 (Table 6). Facilities developed under policies of the liberal presidents Enrique Olaya Herrera (1930-1934) and Alfonso Pumarejo (1934-1938), and mayors Enrique Peñalosa (1998-2002) and Sergio Fajardo (2004-2007). Policies where the educational and the public had their place as an urban event where the public space was part of a pedagogical strategy integrated into the purpose of the projects.

A Library Park: National Park (1932-1938)

The creation of the National Park was promoted, within the framework of Law 50 of 1931 and decree 1353 of 1932 during the government of President Enrique Olaya Herrera, with Alfonso Araujo as the Minister of Public Works. The political meaning of this project as a public work is manifested in the arguments expressed by Minister Araujo himself in an article published in the newspaper *El Tiempo*, on August 3rd, 1932:

It is clear that for a small village, where inhabitants practically live in the countryside, building a park does not represent a vital and essential necessity of their life. But in a city like this, surrounded by high walls, choked by dense clouds of smoke, with tight dwellings, where the rarefied air pollutes the environment, there is an urgent need to provide it with extensive spaces where inhabitants can go to clear the microbes and restore the forces lost in the brave struggle that it is their lot to wage on a daily basis. (Araujo, 1932 p. 13)

This political vision of the National Park as a response to a hygiene and environmental problem contrasts radically with the park vision held by the work's architect and designer, Pablo de la Cruz, who, in his capacity as Director of Public Works, argues a different meaning of this project:

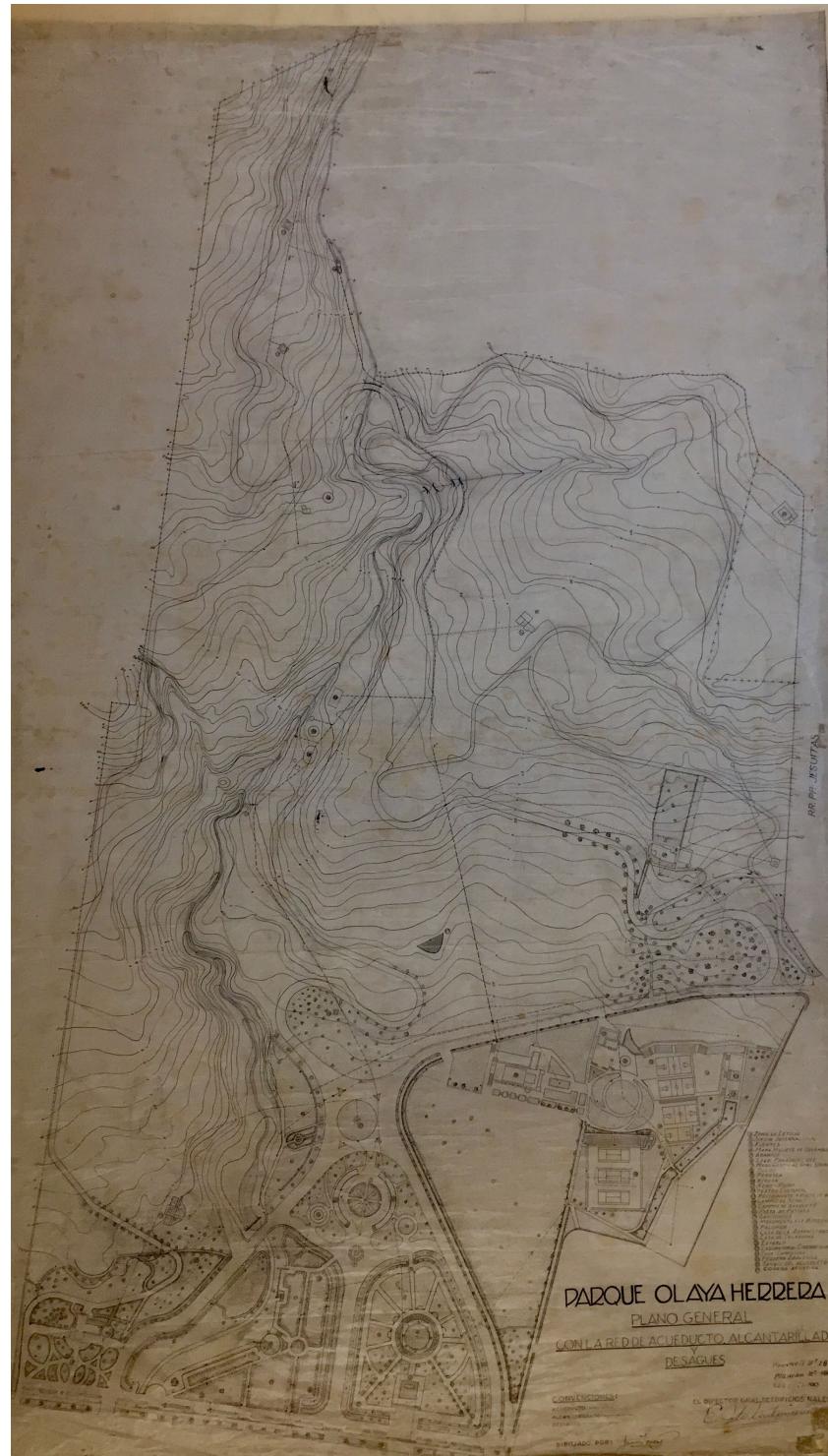
Running from common phrases and places, for me, the main purpose of a park is not to give lungs to the city and other hot air; but rather it must have an educational purpose. Hence my commitment and my struggle, which I finally won, so that the lot would not be fenced in, much less to prevent a fence from being put in front of 7th Street. The park is for the people and the people should be taught to take care of it as they take care of their property. (De la Cruz, 1934 p. 54, cit. in Ramírez, Arango, Prieto, Gómez & Macías, 2019 p. 147)

The notion of care of public spaces to which De la Cruz alludes, derived from a sense of appropriation that can be taught to citizens, is just one of the pedagogical aspects of this project. In the program of areas planned for this Park (Figure 1), other educational works are observed: the construction of a small Library, designed by the architect Alberto Wills Ferro, as well as a giant scale model with the map of Colombia, an acoustic Canopy, and a Library Theater (built in 1936). These make the educational vocation of this public space even more explicit, where cultural facilities such as libraries are integrated into a recreational park through public spaces and pedestrian paths.

All of this confirms how the National Park project combined the political and educational views outlined by government leaders, materializing it in an architecture where public space and buildings had an educational role, where the park's architecture also became a veiled teaching tool.

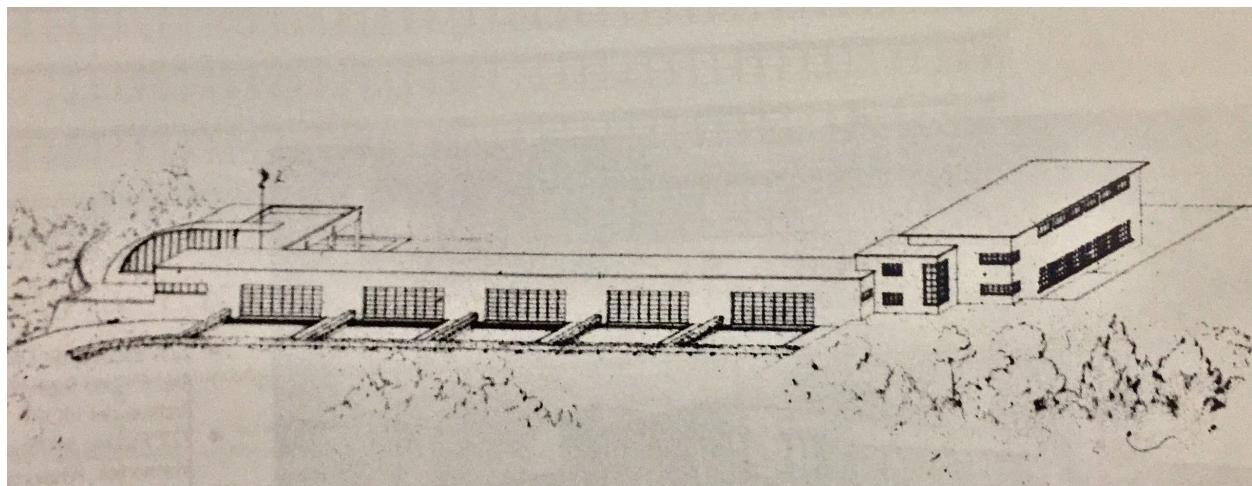


Figure 1. Plan of the Enrique Olaya Herrera National Park in Bogotá and extended detail, with the new constructions made around 1937. Source: General National Archive (n.d.).



After the Park's opening in 1934, De la Cruz draws up a manifesto whereby he reveals his future vision, one he has already dedicated several years to, and which, has not yet been fully completed:

"If the general thought of the project devised by me, where more than seventy percent has been executed, is followed. [To the left of the bridge over the Arzobispo River] one could go to a



large lake formed by a dam that would be more than 300 meters in length; (...) and higher up, a large municipal school ..." (De la Cruz, 1934 p. 54, cit. in Reina (2022 p. 84)

Indeed, the municipal school proposed by De la Cruz in 1934 would be designed (but not built), following the project of the architect Julio Bonilla (1938), as part of the educational facilities of the National Park (Figure 2). Its "U"-shaped layout, open to the park, was innovative at that time, compared to the cloister typology that characterized most existing schools. In this way, a break yard was created that took advantage of the recreational facilities of the national park and integrated them as part of the educational spaces of this kindergarten.

None of the architectural dreams described by De la Cruz would be fulfilled. However, under the government of President Alfonso Pumarejo, a building for the Children's Library and theater of the National Park was built in 1936, "at the request of the Secretary of the Ministry of Education, Jorge Zalamea" (Niño, 2003, p. 165). Both in the Bonilla Kindergarten project and in this Theater Library (Figure 3 and Figure 4), an architecture considered avant-garde for the time is evident. The use

Figure 2. Kindergarten - National Park. Source: Niño (2003, p. 167).

Figure 3. National Park Library and Theater Source: Cuellar (1937).

Figure 4. Library of the National Park of Bogotá. Source: Sociedad de Mejoras y Ornato (1937).

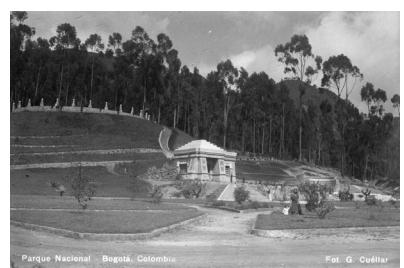
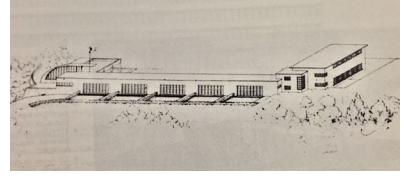


Figure 5. Bogotá National Park Library Source: G Cuellar (1935).

of a spatial configuration, characterized by pure, white volumes, flat roofs, absence of ornaments, and use of reinforced concrete, was so novel for the architecture of that time in Bogotá, and was consistent with the international trends promoted by the modern architecture movement. In the case of the Theater Library, its novelty did not lie in just its formal values, but in avoiding the traditional mono-functionalization of activities in buildings and, on the contrary, in integrating into the same building, a mixture of activities that combined spaces of silence for reading and study, with spaces for the presentation of theatrical shows.

Complementing this theater library, was the construction in the National Park, of a pavilion, or kiosk with a "Mexican" appearance, as a Library for adults (Figure 5). This third project reaffirms the government's intentions to make the park a public educational space, and, although this building was demolished sometime later, the testimony remains of how important it was for these two liberal governments, to make the Colombian citizen a person who did not just look after their bodies through physical exercise in the park, but also cultivated their minds in the cultural facilities, also built there.

The following is a synthesis of the political and architectural discourses that led to the construction of Libraries and cultural facilities in the middle of the National Park:

Synthesis of speeches and works. Case 1: a national park: National Park (1932 - 1938)t			
Discurso político (Supporting arguments for the Project) Minister of Public Works, Alfonso Araujo (1932)	Discurso arquitectónico (Supporting arguments for the Project) Architect: Pablo de la Cruz (1934)	Educational works built and/or projected in the national park	
It is clear that for a small village, where inhabitants practically live in the countryside, building a park does not represent a vital and essential necessity of their life. But in a city like this, surrounded by high walls, choked by dense clouds of smoke, with tight dwellings, where the rarefied air pollutes the environment, it is an urgent need to provide it with extensive spaces where inhabitants can go to clear the microbes and restore the forces lost in the brave struggle that it is their lot to wage on a daily basis. (Araujo, 1932 p. 13)	Running away from common phrases and places, for me, the main purpose of a park is not to give lungs to the city and other hot air, but rather it must have an educational purpose. Hence my commitment and my struggle, which I finally won, so that the lot would not be fenced in, much less to prevent a fence from being put in front of 7th Street. The park is for the people and the people should be taught to take care of it as they take care of their property. (De la Cruz, 1934 p. 54, cit. in Ramirez et al., 2019, p.147)	Table 2 Figure 1. National Park Library and Theater (1936) Arch. Carlos Martínez. Source: Cuellar (1937).	
		Table 2 Figure 2. Children's Library (1935) Arch. Alberto Wills Ferro. Source: Cuellar (1935) - Detail	
		Table 2 Figure 2. Kindergarten National Park (1938) Arch. Julio Bonilla Silver. Source: Niño (2003)	

A Library in the Park: National Library of Colombia (1934)

Independencia Park, located on the northern side of the historic center of Bogotá, was built for the Industrial and Agricultural Exhibition of 1910. Now, as its name indicates, the main vocation of the park was to celebrate the centennial of Colombia's Independence, an initiative established by the conservative government of General Rafael Reyes (1905-1910), through Law 39 of 1907. "The centennial celebration", as it was a national event, "included several events planned throughout the country, among which was the inauguration of a library that was supposed to include the most important Colombian authors..." (Cendales, 2020, p. 102).

Although the library was not built at that time, from all the proposed initiatives, the construction of the park and some pavilions of the

Tabla 2. Synthesis of speeches and works. Case 1. A Library park – National Park. Source: Preparation by the Author.

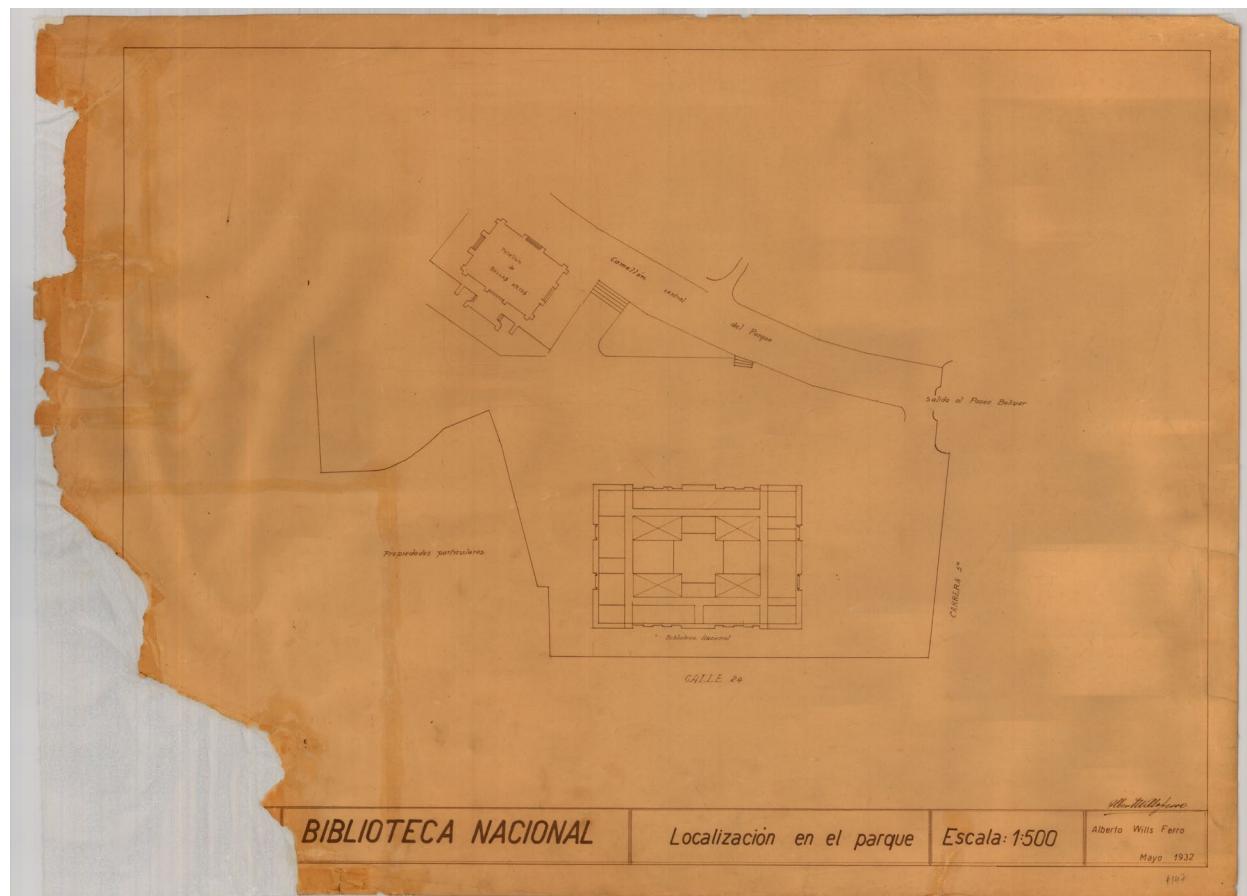


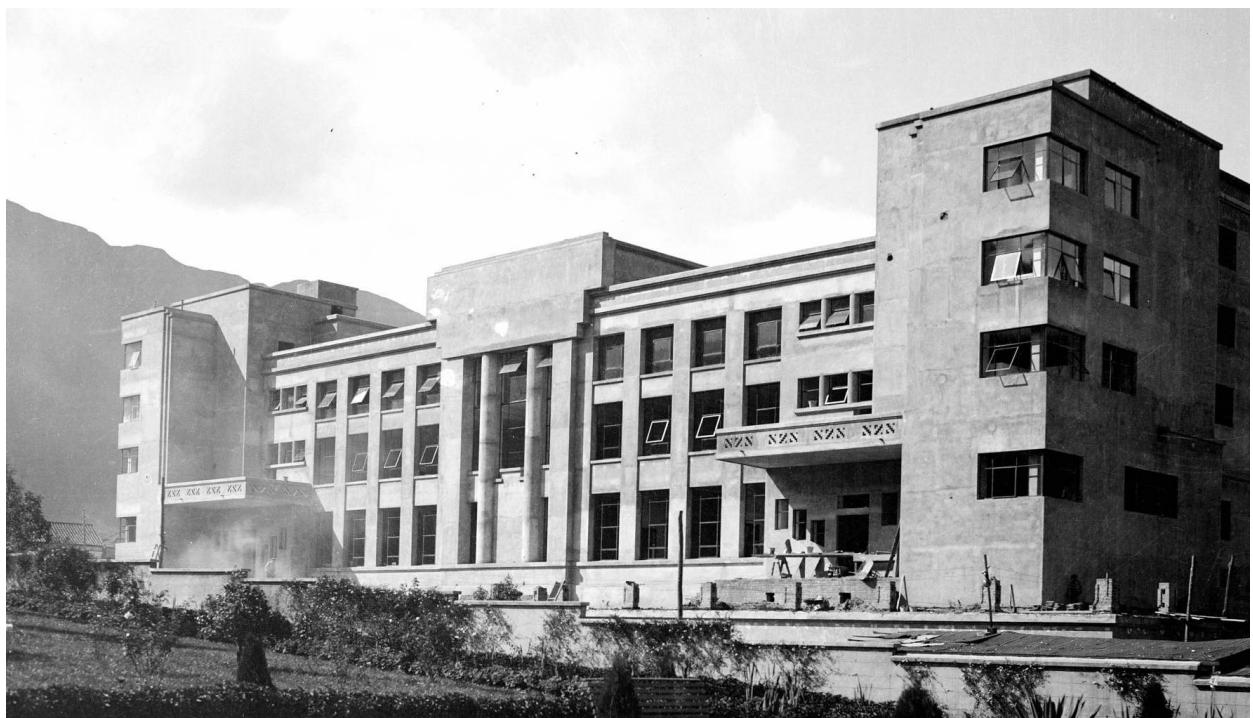
Figure 6. National Library. Location in the park. Source: Bogotá Museum (1932).

aforementioned Industrial and Agricultural Exhibition were. However, the dream of having a library in the park would begin 18 years later, when Law 86 of 1928 was issued and would come true with its construction in 1933. Its location was determined by the then Minister of Public Works, Alfonso Araujo, who:

Proposes a central location, away from the noise of the city, that provides facilities for the Library to have plenty of light. He deems that the site of the machinery pavilion for the 1910 Exhibition, in Independencia Park, is the most suitable, with the enormous advantage of not having to pay for the lot. (Hernández de Alba & Carrasquilla, 1977, p. 271)

A central location, but isolated from noise, with enough light and clean air, sums up the ideal conditions for any Library in the world. In this case, it was a site where the library was not only a space for study and research, but where reading became an alternative for the enjoyment and recreation of children and adults who visited Independencia Park, and who found in this architecture, an environment specifically adapted and dedicated to children.

Although not part of the original works for Independencia Park, the National Library was built on its southeastern side. However, aware of



the place chosen for its construction, led its designer, the architect Alberto Wills Ferro, to project the building, considering its relationship with the park and the immediate vicinity of the Fine Arts Pavilion (Figure 6), which was reflected in the approach of a building with five entrances, designed to achieve direct access from the park (north side of the building), and from a street (south side of the building). In this way, the building had a bifrontal façade, wisely solving the challenge of being a space between the park and the city.

Wills Ferro, in a first project, the result of his architecture graduate thesis, proposed a Neocolonial-style volumetry, perhaps due to the neoclassical nature of pre-existing constructions in the park, especially the Fine Arts pavilion, which was drawn in the Library plans of 1932. However, a second project prepared in 1933, co-authored with the then Director of Public Works, Pablo De la Cruz, would take its place. Although the symmetrical fit of the first project, as well as the double building entrance, were maintained, the main modifications were noticeable in a façade language, now devoid of ornaments, opting for smooth white walls and finials typical of a deco style. This second project was also distinguished by the creation of two large terraces overlooking the park on the first floor of the Library, whose spatiality and functionality evidenced a clear desire to integrate with the former's paths and gardens (Figure 7).

This second project also highlights the creation of a large platform as the base for the building, which acted as a perimeter balcony to integrate the library into its immediate surroundings. This base, under

Figure 7. Independencia Park National Library. Source: Cuellar (c.a. 1937).

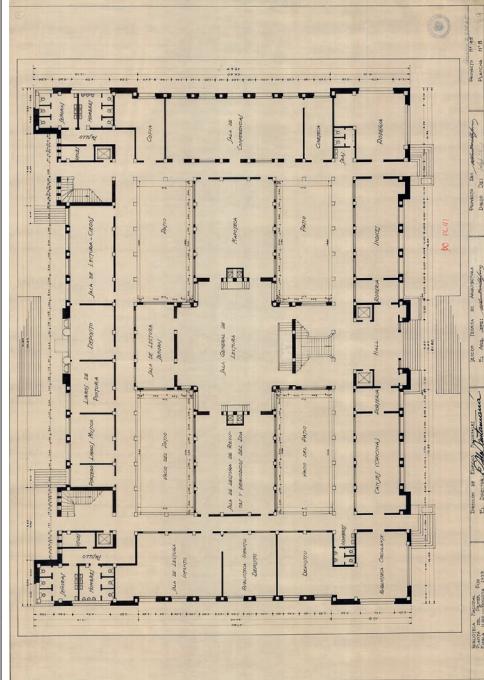
Synthesis of speeches and works. Case 2: a library in the park: National Library of Colombia (1934)		
Political discourse (1) (Supporting arguments for the Project) Celebration of the Centenary of Independence (1910)	Architectural discourse (Supporting arguments for the Project)	Educational works built and/or projected in independencia park : National Library (1934) Arch. Alberto Wills Ferro + Pablo de la Cruz
<p>The book, the First centenary of the Independence of Colombia 1810-1910, narrates the vicissitudes of this celebration, where it specifies the formation in Bogotá of "a Board to acquire and organize a Centennial Library", led by Tomás Rueda Vargas, Enrique Álvarez et al. (Isaza, 1911, p. 8). "The centennial celebration included several events planned throughout the country, among which was the inauguration of a library that was supposed to include the most important Colombian authors..." (Cendales, 2020, p. 102). That same year, the executive was authorized to undertake the completion of the National Capitol and to construct buildings in the city of Bogotá: "The National Library, the National Museum, the Academy of Fine Arts, the Academy of Music, the School of Engineering and Natural Sciences, plus a pavilion for exhibitions of agricultural and industrial equipment; [it is also authorized] to sell unsuitable buildings currently destined for this service." (Ministry of Public Works, 1909, p. 9, cited in Niño, 2003 p. 67)</p>	<p>"In times of the ongoing Revolution (1934-1938), architecture supported and bore witness to government policy. (...)" The National Library of Colombia meant the possibility of accessing knowledge for broad sectors of the population, and the school buildings responded to the demand and the intention of updating and extending education. Only in this way, it was argued, would democracy be real and modern development of the capital possible. The schools of the thirties constituted the true avant-garde of architecture in the country. In them, the new political and cultural concerns were crystallized: symmetry, dynamism, spatial openness, formal sobriety, and the absence of canonical order, coupled with new pedagogical visions, such as outdoor teaching, (...)" (Niño, 2003, p. 488)</p>	<p>Table 3 - Figure 1. National Library Plan of the first floor (1939) Arch. Alberto Wills Ferro. Source: General Archive of the Nation.</p> 
<p>Political discourse (2) (Supporting arguments for the Project) Minister of Public Works Alfonso Araujo (1933)</p> <p>The site for its construction was determined by the then Minister of Public Works – Alfonso Araujo, who: "Proposes a central site, away from the noise of the city and that provides facilities for the Library to have plenty of light. He deems that the site of the machinery pavilion for the 1910 Exhibition, in Independencia Park, is the most suitable, with the enormous advantage of not having to pay for the lot" (Hernández de Alba & Carrasquilla, 1977, p. 271).</p>		

Table 3. Synthesis of speeches and works. Case 2. A Library in the Park. National Library (1934). Source: Preparation by the Author.

which the library's book depositories are hidden, acted - and still acts - as a public space, a link between the park, the city, and the building, and a space that allows a not only visual but functional relationship of a library to respond to the dual challenge of connecting it to both the park and city.

Thus, the National Library project once more demonstrates the idea of understanding public facilities as spaces where the pedagogical roles of public education exceeded the traditional limits of the building, to open up to the public space, constituting an architectural gesture consistent with the values of a liberal ideology that, at that time, sought to democratize education and combat social inequality.

Below is a synthesis of the political and architectural discourses that led to the construction of the National Library in Independencia Park.

Education in the Park. National University of Colombia campus (1935)

The construction of these libraries and educational facilities in public parks, despite a major economic recession derived from the world crisis of 1929 and a war with Peru, would seem to be sufficient evidence of the liberal government's strong will to make public parks places for the educational and cultural formation of citizens. However, this strategy of an "educational and cultural park" is confirmed with the construction, in 1936, of the campus of the National University of Colombia, under the liberal government of Alfonso López Pumarejo.

The Bogotá campus of the National University was the first systematic effort on the continent to build a university city as an education and knowledge production system, supported by a modern architectural language and with an urban layout that responds to the division and dialog of knowledge and academic programs. (Fino, 2018, p. 35) |

It is important to highlight the role of urban design in the educational formation of new professionals. This role uses a pedagogical model, where architecture and urbanism work together to establish ties and dialogs between the inhabitants of this university city: the students. In this way, educational formation not only arises as a result of lessons taught "inside" buildings but as an effect of academic meetings and dialogs emerging in the public spaces that articulate them, as by bringing the different buildings scattered throughout the city together in a single space, an idea of a university city is consolidated:

The university city solved problems of fragmentation, pollution, noise, and insecurity, and promoted a space for learning. (...) But, perhaps, the most interesting thing is that it offered members of the academic community a space for what we recognize today as "university life". (Fino, 2018, p. 17)

This public facility- conceived under the notion of "Campus" - contrasted with the typology of former ecclesiastical universities, installed in cloister buildings and immersed in the dense urban fabric of the historic center of Bogotá. This is why this facility's urban design,

1 The underlining is from the author.



Figure 8. National University Campus. Source: IGAC (1940).

located on the western outskirts of Bogotá, arises in response to:

"...the need to build liberal universities that replace ecclesiastical universities and education typical of the Iberian colony. Within this need, the universities of modern republics (...), require a new university that not only teaches liberal sciences and humanities but also forms modern citizens. For this, the metaphor of micro-city or formative citadel for macro-citizens is apt..." (Fino, 2018, p. 16)

The result of this operation led to the construction of a university city, which conquered the undeveloped green areas of the then-western end of the city for the first time (Figure 8). A conquest made with an unprecedented urban model that until these years involved:

(...) the creation of a place that showed the benefits of the modern city: buildings arranged in a continuous park that guaranteed sun, air, and greenery for all its inhabitants, curvilinear layouts that provided unlimited perspectives, and the creation of a complex that would complement the services of the adjoining residential neighborhoods. (Cortés, Bright & Cárdenas, 2006, p. 26)

However, this urban morphology, understandable for any architect, was a disconcerting event for the ordinary citizen of this time, that could only be compared with other similar urban interventions in the city, given that:

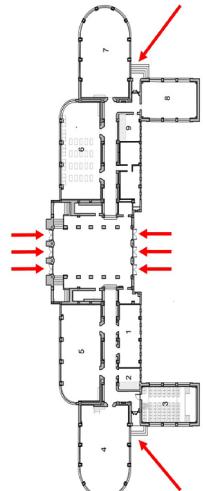
(...) the paths on the general oval-shaped layout reinforce the perception of a lack of order in the whole, as they produce a discontinuous and changing succession of perspectives that disorients the observer. This perception must have been even more disconcerting - although promising because of its novelty —

for the city's inhabitants when construction began towards the end of the 30s and throughout the 40s. It was unusual to see a section of the city conceived as a park (similar to Independencia park at the time of the Centennial Exposition or even more closely tied to the National Park that was being executed contemporaneously) growing with low-rise occupation, very few roads, and a layout so different from the traditional orthogonal grid. (Cortés et al., 2006, p. 12)²

As a summary, a synthesis of the political and architectural discourses that led to the construction of the National University of Colombia Campus is presented below:

² The underlining is from the author.

Table 4. Synthesis of political and architectural discourses. Case 3. Education to the park. National University of Colombia (1935). Source: Preparation by the Author.

Synthesis of speeches and works. Case 3: education to the park: National University of Colombia (1935)		
Political discourse (1) (Supporting arguments for the Project) Law 68 of 1935 - President Alfonso López Pumarejo	Architectural discourse (Supporting arguments for the Project) Architect: Leopoldo Rother + Fritz Karsen (1984)	Educational works built and/or projected: University City of Bogotá (1935) Arch. Leopold Rother + Fritz Karsen
ARTICLE 5. For the accommodation, organization, and operation of the University, the Government would purchase in Bogotá or in its immediate vicinity, lots suitable for building the university city, with the buildings, facilities, and sports fields that, due to their capacity and conditions, meet the demands of the University.	"It was the educator Fritz Karsen who proposed that the teaching area should have a circular shape, with the buildings located around a central park or field, surrounded by the main vehicle artery. This very general idea was materialized by Leopoldo Rother through a creation: the oval or elliptical arrangement, (...)" (Rother, 1984, p. 43)	Table 4 - Figure 1. National University of Colombia Campus (1935) Arch. Leopold Rother. Source: Bogotá Museum. 
Political discourse (2) (Supporting arguments for the Project) Presidential Message to Congress (fragment). Alfonso López Pumarejo	Architectural discourse 2 (Supporting arguments for the Project) Pedagogue: Fritz Karsen (1937)	Table 4. Figure 2. Faculty of Architecture, National University of Colombia. Archs. Erich Lange + Ernst Blumenthal (1937). Source: Hugo Corradine 
"The University in Colombia needs to coordinate all its disjointed Faculties to organize itself considering the lack of teaching staff and fiscal resources. That is why the Government intends to unite the University into a single focus, creating scientific departments that serve all Faculties, and where it is possible to bring forward certain studies to the extent advised by the pensum of each one, or as far as the student wants to continue delving further into them" (Pumarejo, 1935, p. 55)	"As (Fritz) Karsen said, the project is "a logical translation of a logical plan on the ground." The idea of the departments is maintained and they all are integrated through the central space, the heart of the campus, and the image of the new University." (Karsen, 1937, p. 46, cit. by Niño, 2003, p. 259)	
Political discourse (3) (Supporting arguments for the Project) Minister of Education in charge. Jorge Zalamea (1937)		
"In America, science was given to us in one go, suddenly, en bloc (...). And so, if what Europe achieved in 9 centuries suddenly arrives, are we going to disregard the possibility of creating a University City, as befits the needs of the new culture, and the type of new professional we need, just because in Paris, in Bologna or London, there is no University City?" (Zalamea, 1937, p. 22)		

Synthesis of speeches and works. Case 4: the libraries to the park - Bogotá (1998)		
Political discourse (Supporting arguments for the Projects) Agreement 6 of 1998 - Bogotá Council - Mayor Enrique Peñalosa	Architectural discourse (Supporting arguments for the Projects) Libraries: Virgilio Barco Arch. Rogelio Salmona. El Tunal - Arch. Manuel Guerrero et al. El Tintal & Julio Mario Santo Domingo: Arch. Daniel Bermúdez	Educational works built
Article 36: "Every day 15,000 people, 80% of which are students, use the services of the Luis Ángel Arango Library. The Library is for them more than just a place for consultation, it is a stimulating place where books and magazines share space with the most modern means of transmission and consultation of information, where the mind can freely explore new worlds. Libraries, by themselves, educate those who approach them. They are an exceptional space for social interaction: they belong to everyone and require our care: there, the common interest is above particular interests, and there is no place for individualism but rather for the development of individuality. Bogota needs more libraries. (...) That they are closer to people and attract more. That they make a stimulating environment available to the community, with many opportunities to learn, (...). That they enrich and beautify the public space with harmonious buildings and spaces and become true centers of the city (...). The plan is to build four libraries in strategic areas of the city (...)".	Virgilio Barco Library: "(...) Salmona proposes to the observer a total "promenade architecturale", a walk where the limits of a possible single container do not exist and the spatial exterior and interior intertwine, oppose, or continue in a surprising, but always a narrative way". (Tellez, 2006, p. 558)	Table 5 - Figure 1. Virgilio Barco Library (2006) Source: Ingrid Quintana 
	Julio Mario Santo Domingo Library: The intervention project includes the design of the Julio Mario Santo Domingo Cultural Center and Public Library and the San José de Bavaria recreational park over a space of 6 hectares. With its completion, a new recreational and cultural epicenter is consolidated for the town of Suba and the city. The building proposed inside the park backs 40 meters off the road due to its existing eucalyptus trees. In this setback, public spaces are developed, vegetated, and paved with varied colors and textures, as well as a staircase to move and stay". (Retrieved from: https://www.bermudezarquitectos.com/proyecto-juliomariosantodomingo/)	Table 5 - Figure 2. Julio Mario Santo Domingo Library (2010) Source: Daniel Bermúdez 
	El Tunal Library: "The Library has 6,826 m ² , and includes the landscape design of its lot, located inside the current El Tunal Park. The integration of the new building into its surroundings is achieved, on one hand, by adopting the general parameters of urban design and landscaping of the Park's Master Plan, such as the materials used, the new plant species both in gardens and in arborization, the specific urban furniture elements and on the other, using natural enclosures through the use of large landscaped areas and water mirrors (...)" Guerrero, Vargas, Wanderley (2004, p. 41)	Table 5 - Figure 3. El Tunal Library (2004) Source: Escala (2004, p. 45) 
	El Tintal Library: "The 5-ha site is shared with a park that is integrated into the area around the adjoining Burro Wetland, to form a large green area for this sector of the city. Inside this green area is this unusual structure that is now a library (...). The first floor is occupied by a wide dining room that ends with the auditorium at one end and the other with the children's room, with extensions to the outside for activities within the park". (Bermúdez, 2005, p.64)	Table 5 Figure 4. El Tintal Library (2001) Source: Daniel Bermúdez 

Table 5. Synthesis of speeches and works. Case 4. The Libraries to the Park - Bogotá (1998). Source: Preparation by the Author.

Libraries to the Park: Bogotá District Library System (1998)

It would be more than 60 years, before a government initiative in Colombia, once more raised the idea of building public libraries in the middle of the city's parks and green areas. The political discourse to this end, regarding the creation of the Bogotá District Library System and the construction of 4 new libraries, argues two main reasons: first, to decentralize what was, by then, the most consulted public library in the world, the Luis Ángel Arango Library (Molina, 2013, p. 9), located in the historic center of the city; and secondly, to take advantage of this boom for libraries, to project new ones that “(...) enrich and beautify the public space with harmonious buildings and spaces and become true centers of cultural activity in the different areas of the city (...)” Bogotá Council (1998). Thus, an almost forgotten tradition of making parks places for culture and education is resumed, through the construction of Libraries located on the urban perimeter of the city.

The Library Parks: Development Plan 2004-2007. Medellin

The meaning and idea of promoting cultural development through the construction of libraries have been clear since the development plan's formulation by Mayor Sergio Fajardo, in the context of “building places for meeting and identity that look to develop civility and foster the social, recreational, cultural, productive, and competitive development of the city” (Medellín Council, 2004, p. 110). While in previous speeches architecture for libraries with an “educational”, “pedagogical”, “beautiful”, or “quality” character was promoted, now, for Library Parks, Mayor Sergio Fajardo demanded an emblematic architecture:

I remember very well when you came to my office. I was very excited because the mayor was coming, but you came in very worried, specifically about the architecture that we were planning in the municipality and Santo Domingo because it broke significantly with the classical molds. I remember very well that you said, “I want a symbol” and I told you, “If you want a symbol, you have to take the risk.” And the risk was to make an architecture that was not built as the public architecture that we are used to doing had been done.” (Mazzanti, 2010)

A “symbol” architecture, without specifying the object or the objective to be symbolized, was a question solved by the lead architects through architectural landmarks capable of breaking the classic molds of architecture. In this way, the intention is made explicit in these discourses, of building cultural facilities as icons, oriented not only to culture, but to the development of a sense of identity and civility in citizens, as an effect of placing buildings at the heart of downtrodden neighborhoods, that openly contrasted with these conditions, and where public services were offered to the community. In the arguments

Synthesis Of Speeches And Works. Case 5:The Medellín Library Parks: Development Plan 2004-2007		
Political speeches (supporting arguments for the project) development plan 2004 -2007. And interview with mayor sergio fajardo	Architectural discourse (supporting arguments for the projects) architects: ricardo la rottta, giancarlo mazzanti, javier vera (2004-2007)	Educational works built:
"3.2.2. Component: Public Space. Objective: To promote from the generation and qualification of public space and buildings, the construction of places of meeting and identity that look to build civility and allow the social, recreational, cultural, productive, and competitive development of the city" (...) Strategies: (...) "To consolidate the neighborhood and rural centralities through the generation of new quality public spaces and implement a program of public buildings that strengthens the activities of neighborhoods, that promotes cultural development through libraries and the productivity of its inhabitants through street markets and buildings for work, among others." Fajardo (2004) Development plan 2004 -2007. Medellin. Commitment of all citizens. Administrative Planning Department p. 110	La Ladera Library: "The project was organized into three container modules (rectangular) that are rotated, adapting to the topography and the views, and a curved connector that links them to each other. A landscape is built that gives continuity to the topography of the site and the park by building the public space on the roof (three theaters or sloped squares and a walkway or boulevard that looks toward the city center). The changing orientation and depth relationships produced by rotating the containers generate the space for meetings and events, whether on the decks as a public space or in the interior space". (Mazzanti, 2009)	Table 6. Figure 1. La Ladera Library Arch. Giancarlo Mazzanti. Source: ARQA 
	San Javier Library: "The staircase is developed as a promenade, as a collective space, taking meticulous care of relationships between linear squares, circulations, and the built object. Staircases are placed, generating meeting spaces and an entrance hall to the interior space. The access ramps read like walkways and balconies to the life of the city, and mark the transition between public and private space. They also form linear atriums before accessing the interior of the building, facilitating a microclimate to stay there. (...). Strategies are used that involve opening or closing openings in a plane to generate rhythms that show diversity in the opacity or transparency of the facades". (BAQ Archive, 2008)	Table 6. Figure 2. San Javier Library Arch. Javier Vera. Source: SajoR 

Table 6a. Synthesis of speeches and works. Case 5. The Medellín Library Parks (2004). Source: Preparation by the Author.

expressed in the architectural speeches of the designers, there is also a concern to make these icons, public places, and urban spaces permeable to the context, surrounded more than by parks and squares, by thresholds that preceded the buildings, with which citizens made libraries an extension of the street.

DISCUSSION

The discussion of the results is proposed from a comparative historiographical review between the cases formulated as antecedents of the library parks built in the 30s and the contemporary projects built in Bogotá and Medellín, the review proposed as one of the objectives

Synthesis Of Speeches And Works. Case 5: The Medellín Library Parks: Development Plan 2004-2007		
<p>Interview Of The Architect Giancarlo Mazzanti With The Former Mayor Sergio Fajardo. (2010) "And that's where architecture comes in; the concept was 'the most beautiful for the humblest'. It implied a break with the idea that everything that is given to the poor is a plus. (...) What public spaces were we thinking about? Parks and libraries, schools, cultural centers, the science park, the botanical garden, and reading and music centers. All this revolved around the tangible, which was education understood in a broad sense. What we have done is to build new symbols, new spaces where social mobilization can take place around architecture as a powerful social expression." In: Bomb 110 - Winter 2010 (Americas Issue: Colombia and Venezuela). Translation: Author</p>	<p>La Quintana Library: "Under the motto of "open to unite", the library delivers a building and an open space for social gathering, where the community is recognized in its connection at a metropolitan and local scale." (District Institute of Cultural Heritage, 2019, p. 200).</p>	<p>Table 6. Figure 3. La Quintana Library Arch. Ricardo LaRotta. Source: Sergio Gómez</p> 
	<p>España Library (Demolished): "The contest's program called for a multi-service building (library, training classrooms, exhibition hall, administration area, and auditorium) in a single volume, the organizational proposal presented was to divide the program into three groups: the library, the classrooms and training units, and the auditorium, and integrate them by a lower platform; which gives greater flexibility and autonomy in its use, meaning there is greater community participation since each volume can operate independently.". In: http://www.bienalesdearquitectura.es/index.php/es/vi-biau/6841-vi-biau-colombia-premiado-parque-biblioteca-publica-espana.html</p>	<p>Table 6. Figure 4. España Library (demolished) Arch. Giancarlo Mazzanti. Source: William Garcia</p> 

of the research. For this purpose, this comparative analysis between the 5 projects detected in the results, is proposed through the 3 thematic lines proposed in the methodology: 1. the correlation between political and architectural discourses; 2. the comparative analysis of urban characteristics between previous and contemporary projects; and 3. The contrasted analysis of the architectural characteristics of the 5 projects that make up these two moments in the history of library architecture and/or educational buildings.

Thematic line I: Government Policies and Project Approaches

In the first 3 cases (Libraries in the National Park, National Library, and Campus of the National University), it is evident that the relationship between political (government intentions) and architectural discourses (project intentions) runs in parallel, because the ideas outlined are not always correlative or coincident with each other; and in cases such as the National Park, these positions are openly contradictory. However, it is important to note that, in the 3 cases mentioned, the political

Table 6b. Synthesis of speeches and works. Case 5. The Medellín Library Parks (2004). Source: Preparation by the Author.

arguments did predetermine the eccentric location of these libraries and educational buildings, a decision where the lead architects had no major interference, and adopted without question. A scenario that is replicated years later in the Library Parks of Bogotá and Medellín, whose location was also predetermined in political speeches, through official decrees passed in the form of Master Plans, and/or through architectural competitions convened to design these buildings.

On the other hand, the contrasted analysis of the political and architectural discourses for the library Parks of Bogotá and Medellín suggests a direct correlation between the aesthetic positions defined by politicians and the ways of materializing these through the architecture of these buildings. While, in the Bogota case, the use of adjectives such as "beautify" or "harmonious spaces" appealed to describe the prospective vision of these buildings, in the Medellín case, the use of expressions such as "new symbols", "beautiful" or "architecture as a powerful social expression" is appealed to (Mazzanti, 2010). In this sense, while the architects of the Bogotá libraries were free to define what can be understood by architecture to "beautify" generating "harmonious spaces", in Medellín, such freedom was restricted to the creation of a symbol, that is, to an "Element or material object that, by convention or association, is considered representative of an entity, of an idea, of a certain condition" (RAE). An aspiration in architecture as noble as it is utopian, has now been called into question given the poor construction quality of internationally awarded "symbols" such as the España Library, which had to be demolished less than 10 years after its inauguration.

Thematic Line 2: Urban Characteristics of the Projects

The aspects that summarize the urban characteristics of the set of libraries and cultural facilities built in the 1930s can be summarized in their location, distant from consolidated areas of the city, and their implementation, in undeveloped areas and/or surrounded by large green areas and spaces for outdoor activities. These aspects are comparable and related to those of the Library Parks of Bogotá, which were designed following Art. 36 of Agreement 6 of 1998, as an exercise of decentralization of the Luis Ángel Arango Library, which states:

Every day 15,000 people, 80% of them being students, use the services of the Luis Ángel Arango Library. (...) Bogota needs more libraries. (...) That they are closer to people and attract more people. That they make a stimulating environment available to the community (...).

It should be noted that by 2000, the Luis Ángel Arango Library "(...)" was listed as the most visited public library in the world, with three million attendees. Its success showed the country the importance of

libraries and their key role in improving educational quality" (Molina, 2013, p. 9). This explains the government's decision to locate these new libraries in places far from the city center; thus detonating new urban centers in the south (El Tunal Library), west (El Tintal Library), and north of the city (Julio Mario Santo Domingo Library).

Already in 2004, the political discourse to argue the urban meaning of Medellín's library parks assumed a position analogous to the Bogota case of early 1998. In this regard, this speech also emphasized the issue of location and accessibility, when it argues that one of the strategies pursued by the construction of these Library Parks is:

(...) To consolidate the neighborhood and rural centralities through the generation of new quality public spaces and to implement a program of public buildings that strengthens the activities of the neighborhoods, that promotes cultural development through libraries (...)" (Medellín Council, 2004, p. 110).

A strategic guideline that resulted in the location and construction of these libraries in neighborhoods far from the urban centers of Medellín, to generate new urban centralities, to improve accessibility to these knowledge and meeting spaces.

Thematic Line 3: Architectural Characteristics of the Projects

In architectural terms, the library and educational building projects promoted by the liberal governments of the early twentieth century were characterized by an architecture - then considered - avant-garde, which followed the international precepts of the modern movement. An architecture that contrasted, not just the nineteenth-century buildings that dominated the urban landscape, but with the natural context that surrounded them, a contrast that made them urban landmarks of the time. However, these are architectures that, despite their frank and great scale, ended up being very permeable to the immediate public space, either due to the implementation of a double main facade, the significant number of accesses around these buildings, and/or the use of foundations, which apart from connecting the building with the land, form threshold spaces between the inside and outside. All of the above reveals a design intention to open the building not only to public, but to the public, in this case, to the green areas that, as extensions of these libraries and educational buildings, were part of its immediate context.

These conditions are comparable to the cases of the Bogotá and Medellín library parks. From their deliberate "avant-garde" design as architectural landmarks to the repeated approach of diluting borders between the outside and inside of the buildings. There is evidence of a set of strategies to generate new spaces for coexistence, whether in

the La Ladera library park, through the configuration of "a landscape that gives continuity to the topography of the place and the park" (Mazzanti, 2009) or, through the design of "architectural promenades", such as those argued for the Virgilio Barco and San Javier Libraries.

CONCLUSIONS

The conclusions aim to answer the research question about the existence of architectural antecedents of library parks in Colombia, based on a historiographical review of this phenomenon, using the correlation of the political and architectural discourses with which these architectures have been argued.

Although in light of the history of architecture in Colombia, the design of library Parks may appear as an ex-novo event, from the historiographical reconstruction of the political discourses that support these facilities it is evident that the idea of promoting the projection of urban actions with an educational character has deeper roots, as evidenced by the analysis of works such as the National Park (1932), the National Library (1934), or the University City of Bogotá (1935). It is, therefore, a set of forerunning strategies, where yesterday as today, sought to democratize the access of all citizens to culture and education.

It should be added that the relative simultaneity in the construction of these three educational facilities in city parks (National Park, Library in Independencia Park, and the University Campus), under a political and architectural discourse, meant an alternative and then innovative way of conceiving the park as an attractive space for public education, through the insertion of libraries and educational buildings. That is why the construction of these three projects in green areas – at that time peripheral - of the city implies a way of understanding public education and culture that goes beyond the borders of its buildings, which makes visible how, from the political and the architectural, projects arose that preceded the phenomenon of Library Parks at the turn of the twenty-first century, whereby the policy of the governors and the arguments of the architects, opted to make the educational a political exercise, both in architecture and public spaces. A crusade where synergies were developed to make these educational facilities public spaces the political and social boundaries between indoor and outdoor space, and between the condition of the public and the restrictions of the private, began to be questioned.

On the other hand, reading between the lines of the political and architectural discourses revealed that it is in these political arguments that there is a genesis in the way of conceiving the library parks model, while it is in the architectural arguments, where the ways of materializing such political guidelines are revealed and explained.

Once the study of these 3 projects of the early twentieth century has been contrasted with the library parks projects of Bogotá (1998) and Medellín (2004), it is concluded that there is an influence or correlation between political arguments and effective urban architectural decisions for the 5 cases studied. An influence which, in the projects of the early twentieth century, is not so direct and, at times, is questioned or nuanced in the built architecture, while, in the contemporary projects of Bogotá and Medellín, this influence is not only direct, but it is predetermining the meaning and orientation of these architectures.

Finally, it is important to point out that the ideas and conceptions expressed in the political arguments for the construction of libraries in the cases studied not only resulted in the construction of buildings but also in the construction of extensive legal regulations, comprising laws, decrees, and agreements, where a sense of the public was conceived and characterized for these state architectures.

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IN THE EYES OF SANTA LUCIA: URBAN ART AND COMMUNITARIAN ORGANIZATION IN THE HISTORIC CENTER OF SAN SALVADOR

A LOS OJOS DE SANTA LUCÍA: ARTE URBANO Y ORGANIZACIÓN COMUNITARIA EN EL CENTRO HISTÓRICO DE SAN SALVADOR

AOS OLHOS DE SANTA LUCÍA: ARTE URBANA E ORGANIZAÇÃO COMUNITÁRIA NO CENTRO HISTÓRICO DE SAN SALVADOR.



Figura 0. Panoramic photograph of the finished mural. Source: Photo archive of the "Living Neighborhoods" project (July 18, 2021).

This research derives from the project "Barrios vivos", winner of the call "Experimenta ciudad", Citizen Laboratories Program to experiment, explore and create community in El Salvador, by the Cultural Center of Spain in El Salvador (CCESV).

RESUMEN

El arte urbano ha sido y sigue siendo un componente transformador dentro de los procesos de renovación urbana, a través del fortalecimiento de la memoria, la recuperación del sentido del lugar y la reducción de la estigmatización. El presente artículo ahonda en el rol del arte urbano dentro de los procesos de recalificación (física-espacial) y resignificación (simbólica), analizando cómo se relacionan estos procesos con el fortalecimiento del apego del lugar, el sentido de pertenencia, el sentido de seguridad y la organización comunitaria, y apuntando a reflexionar en cómo estos procesos pueden incidir en problemáticas más profundas como el riesgo social y ambiental en Asentamientos Populares Urbanos. En términos metodológicos, se trata de una investigación-acción participativa, desarrollada junto a la Comunidad Santa Lucía en el Centro Histórico de San Salvador. Si bien las limitantes del arte urbano son claras de cara a problemáticas complejas como la violencia urbana y el riesgo ambiental, el caso de Santa Lucía refleja el potencial de estas intervenciones cuando surgen como una expresión colectiva y consensuada, llegando a convertirse en un instrumento de reivindicación ciudadana y fortaleciendo los lazos y la organización comunitaria.

Palabras clave: apego del lugar, arte urbano, participación ciudadana, renovación urbana.

ABSTRACT

Urban art has been and continues to be a transforming component within urban renewal processes, reinforcing memory, recovering the sense of place, and reducing stigmatization. This article delves into the role of urban art within the (physical-spatial) requalification and (symbolic) resignification processes in Urban Working-Class Settlements, analyzing how these processes are related to strengthening place attachment, sense of belonging, sense of security, and community organization, and trying to reflect on how they can affect deeper lying issues such as social and environmental risk. The methodology used is participatory action research, which was developed with the Santa Lucía Community in the Historic Center of San Salvador. Although the limitations of urban art are clear in the face of complex problems such as urban violence and environmental risk, the case of Santa Lucía reflects the potential of these interventions when they emerge as a collective and consensual expression, becoming an instrument of citizen vindication, strengthening community ties and organization.

Keywords: place attachment, urban art, citizen participation, urban renewal.

RESUMO

A arte urbana tem sido e continua a ser uma componente transformadora nos processos de renovação urbana, por meio do fortalecimento da memória, da recuperação do sentido do lugar e da redução da estigmatização. Este artigo analisa em profundidade o papel da arte urbana nos processos de requalificação (físico-espacial) e ressignificação (simbólica) em favelas urbanas, avaliando como estes processos estão relacionados com o reforço do apego ao lugar; o sentido de pertencimento, o sentido de segurança e a organização comunitária, e buscando refletir sobre como estes processos podem influenciar questões mais profundas, tais como o risco social e ambiental. A metodologia utilizada é a investigação de ação participativa, desenvolvida em conjunto com a Comunidade de Santa Lucía, no Centro Histórico de San Salvador. Embora as limitações da arte urbana sejam claras face a problemas complexos como a violência urbana e o risco ambiental, o caso de Santa Lucía reflete o potencial destas intervenções quando emergem como uma expressão coletiva e consensual, tornando-se um instrumento de reivindicação do cidadão, reforçando os laços e a organização da comunidade.

Palavras-chave: apego ao lugar; arte urbana, participação dos cidadãos, renovação urbana.

INTRODUCTION

Urban art, from its origins until today, has played a significant role in the production, definition, and valuation of public space, and, in a broader sense, civil society (Bohigas, 1985; Castells, 1989), understanding the relationship of art and public space as the “place for its social participation and where to disseminate its aesthetic message” (García-Doménech, 2016, p. 17). The inclusion of this type of artistic expression in urban regeneration processes first appeared in the United States in the 1980s (Hall & Robertson, 2001), before later consolidating itself as an important tool for the vindication of social problems (Remesar, 1997; Ricart & Remesar, 2013). According to Hirsch, Bonelli Zapata, and Valese (2021), art in the public space “mobilizes memories, experiences, and narratives, and introduces them in the same territorial space in which they are rooted” (p. 2). It is through urban art, that a quota of critical dialog is introduced into neighborhoods, which reinforces or competes with the predominant forms of expression and content (Lacy, 1996), sometimes in the form of protest, and others, as vindication.

Hirsch et al. (2021), in their reflection on the “San Martín Pinta Bien” project in Argentina, summarize three of urban art’s main contributions to urban renewal processes. The first coincides with its origin which has persisted: the strengthening of collective memory and place identity. Although the concept of identity should not be associated with a homogeneous unit but rather with diverse identity forms that, “although changing and heterogeneous, give cohesion to human groups, cultural communities, and even nations” (Mandel, 2007, p. 51), it is a fundamental aspect that, in turn, is related with the sense of belonging and place attachment. The second contribution to communities is the recovery of the sense of place, a concept developed by the feminist geographer Doreen Massey (2012), who defined place as the meeting and interaction space of different groups and subjects, which, through exchanges and flows, create social bonds that make the place itself. Finally, the third (and perhaps most ambitious) contribution is to add, along with other complementary strategies, to reversing urban decay, reducing stigmatization, and combating social fragmentation (Hirsch et al., 2021). Although muralism is only one piece within the complex framework of urban renewal, if it is done based on collaboration, outreach, and community care, it can have a positive impact in terms of appropriation for certain groups or minorities and a symbolic, functional, and aesthetic valuation for society as a whole.

These three contributions position urban art as an important component, to lead citizen participation processes seeking improvements that allow a requalification (physical-spatial) and resignification (symbolic) of the place. However, requalification as an ultimate goal, conceived as the reconversion or improvement of marginalized and/or degraded areas, has been criticized for favoring a scenographic urbanism model (Amendola, 2000, cited in Girola, Yacovino & Laborde, 2011), which looks to promote the consolidation of the

neoliberal city by transforming the built environment, (Theodore, Peck & Brenner, 2009). Although this trend has prevailed in recent decades, requalification and resignification have taken on a different connotation when they are managed *bottom-up*, from the margins, in areas not suitable for becoming consumer spaces.

One of the main lessons urban art has adopted, as it has progressed through Latin America, has been the importance of taking citizen participation further; involving communities through meaningful and lasting processes. In some cases, participation levels can become so profound that power relations fade away, the figure of the artist is that of one more collaborator; collectivity comes to the fore, and spaces are opened for co-authorship and co-creation. Some well-known experiences, such as Comuna 13 in Medellín (Colombia) with more than 300 collectively made murals, show how requalification and resignification through urban art can be separated from scenographic urbanism to give rise to more profound and significant processes such as the strengthening of place attachment and the sense of security (Vidal & Pol, 2005).

For the particular case of the Historical Center of San Salvador (El Salvador), hereinafter CHSS, a territory marked by urban violence in all its dimensions, territorial disputes between gangs, smuggling, and organized crime, urban art has emerged as a fuse within reappropriation processes by social collectives and organizations. However, reflection and analysis of these interventions' impact on CHSS have been scarce, or almost non-existent, which is why some questions arise: How is physical-spatial requalification through urban art related to the processes of resignification, strengthening of emotional attachment, sense of belonging, or sense of security? How do participatory urban art interventions affect organizational processes within communities and vice versa? How can low-cost interventions, such as muralism, contribute to more complex problems such as social or environmental risks found in most working-class urban settlements of CHSS?

This article looks to reflect on the implications of recent urban art interventions in the requalification and resignification processes of CHSS through the "Barrios Vivos or Living Neighborhoods" project **1**. In particular, the case of the Santa Lucía Community, an Urban Working-Class Settlement (APU, in Spanish) **2** on the edge of CHSS, will be addressed (Figure 1). The project was based on a participatory action-research process, to know the inhabitants' perceptions regarding previous urban art and tactical urbanism interventions made by Glasswing International, as well as to learn about their own organizational processes, the perception of their current situation, and their future needs. The process involved interviews, a focus group, and a participatory workshop, before ending with making a community mural

1 Thanks to the "Experimenta Ciudad" program it was possible to start with the first intervention of the "Barrios Vivos" (Living Neighborhoods) project, which was chosen along with three other initiatives to be part of the "Experimenta" laboratory. This space was born as a citizen laboratory promoted by the Cultural Center of Spain in El Salvador (CCESV), an initiative to exchange ideas and actions for community development and, particularly, of historical centers in Latin America.

2 According to FUNDASAL (2007), Urban Working-Class Settlements (APUs, in Spanish) are housing settlements located within the urban fabric that meet at least one of the following characteristics: (a) uncertainty in land tenure; (b) low-quality housing materiality; (c) limited or non-existent coverage of basic services (water, electricity, sewage or rainfall drainage).

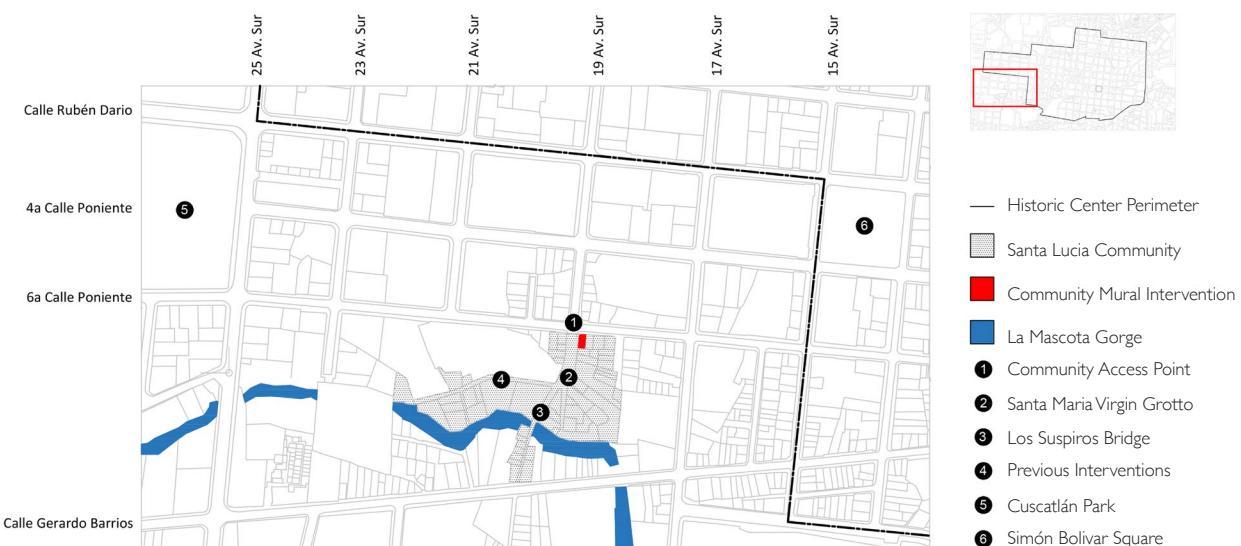


Figure 1. Location of the Santa Lucía Community within the Historic Center of San Salvador.
 Source: Preparation by the authors.

Figure 2. Aerial view of La Mascota Gorge and the surrounding houses. Source: Photo archive of the "Living Neighborhoods" project (June 12, 2021).



as a dialog that allowed reflection on the identity of the community, materializing both their fears and hopes, before making a short film.

METHODOLOGY

A COLLECTIVE CONSTRUCTION

The participatory research-action process was conducted in three stages: research, analysis, and action. The inhabitants of the Santa Lucía Community participated, as did a group of students and volunteers from different disciplines: two architects, two artists, an anthropologist, an international relations student, and a graphic designer. During the initial stage, contact was established with the Santa Lucía Community, where an urban art intervention had previously been carried out and with whom there was previous communication. The first meetings, held between May



Figure 3. Inhabitants of the Santa Lucía community during the focus group. Source: Photo archive of the “Living Neighborhoods” project (June 5, 2021).

Figure 4. Inhabitants of the Santa Lucía community during the participatory workshop. Source: Photo archive of the “Living Neighborhoods” project (June 12, 2021).

and June 2021, were opportunities for the community and the volunteer team to share, building an atmosphere of trust and permanent dialog. Through semi-structured interviews and a focus group (Figure 3), it was possible to collectively understand the perception of the inhabitants, both of their community and the previous interventions by Glasswing International, while learning about their own organizational processes, the perception of their current situation, and their future needs.

During the second stage, the perceptions and conditions identified in the interviews and the focus group were analyzed. An examination was made collectively in a participatory workshop (Figure 4), where two main needs arose: (a) to make an urban art intervention at the entrance of the community, and (b) to coordinate governmental or institutional support

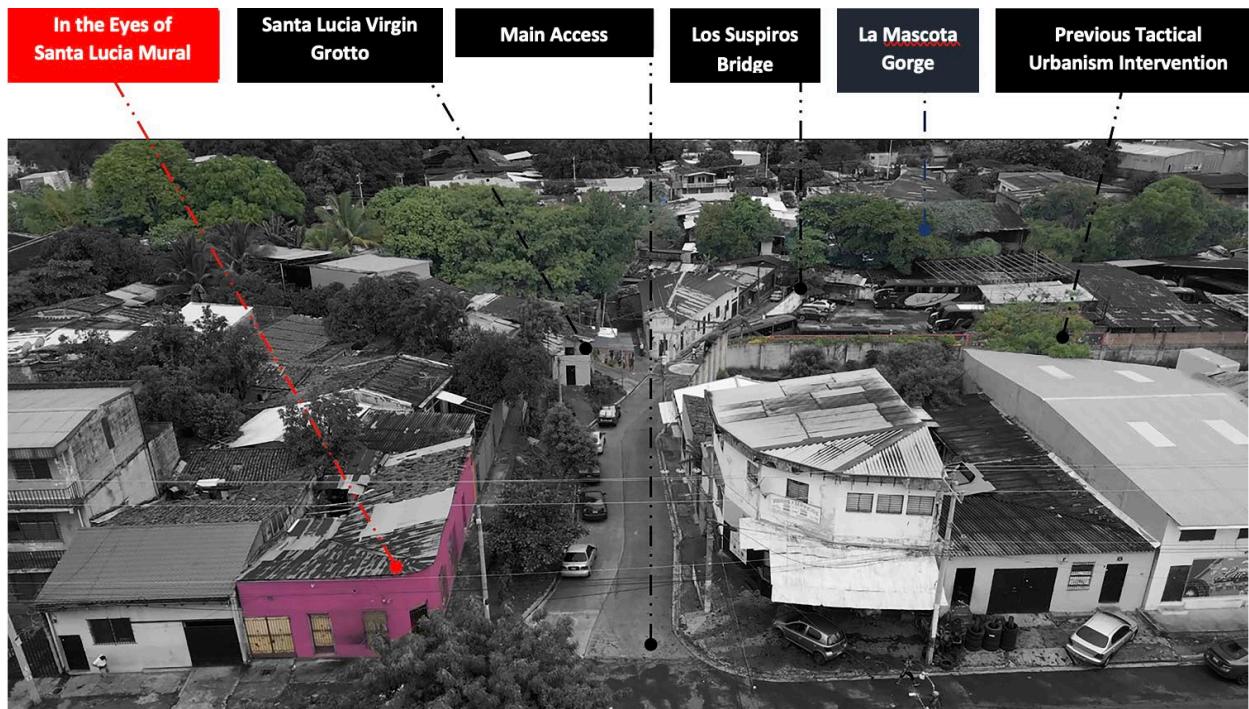


Figure 5. Significant elements of the Santa Lucia Community.
 Source: Preparation by the authors.

Figure 6. Inhabitants of the Santa Lucia community during the short film's presentation.
 Source: Photo archive of the "Living Neighborhoods" project (August 14, 2021).



to mitigate the risk of flooding within the La Mascota Gorge (Figure 5). A first proposal for the mural was made in this workshop, adding elements such as the figure of Santa Lucía, La Mascota Gorge, the name of the community, and a “map” with the points of interest within the community.

Finally, in the third stage (action), five participatory workshops were held to paint the mural. After requesting authorization from the property's owner; materials were acquired, the donation of paint was coordinated, molds were made, and a call was made to gather more volunteers. A short film called “In the eyes of Santa Lucia”³ was also recorded. This made it possible to gather the growing concerns with the rise in the flow through the La Mascota Gorge,

³ Vasquez, A. (2021). In the Eyes of Santa Lucia. Short Film: <https://vimeo.com/589458155>

as a community strategy to attract the attention of institutions and international organizations that could finance an intervention to mitigate the risk of collapse where a large part of the community is located. The final video was shown at a small event which collectively reflected on the results of the entire process (Figure 6) and the next steps.

IN THE EYES OF SAINT LUCIA

History and testimonies of the Santa Lucia Community

The Santa Lucía Community is located within the limits of what is legally recognized as the Historic Center of San Salvador, between the Santa Lucía and El Calvario Neighborhoods. Although it was not possible to find the exact date of its foundation, there are testimonies such as that of participant 5 (woman, 82 years old), who indicated that she has been living in the community for about 62 years, and that of participant 4, who is currently 60 years old and commented having been born there. Although the community dates back more than six decades, it was not until 1975 that it was constituted as such. According to Participant 5, it was the home "of many humble, hardworking people (...), there were a lot of people there who lived in trailers and that's how the neighborhood appeared, little by little it was changing and reached Santa Lucía" (personal communication, June 5, 2021). An important milestone that marked its beginnings was the "La Bolsa" Lodge, as about 400 families lived there, and they were the ones who originally populated the area. The legacy of "La Bolsa" continues today and, even though the lodge was destroyed in the 1986 earthquake, the passageway that legally bears the name, "Pasaje El Rosal", is still in people's imagination, "Pasaje La Bolsa".

Since its foundation, the Santa Lucía community has settled within a flood zone **4**, defined by Vélez *et al.* (2003) as areas alongside rivers or gorges, in strips parallel to the water flow, where restrictions on land use and anthropic interventions should be imposed, in this case, the La Mascota Gorge (Figure 2). The risk and vulnerability to floods have worsened in recent years due to the increased flow (Fernández-Lavado, 2010), the result of accelerated urbanization processes in the Metropolitan Area of San Salvador (AMSS). Despite this, the inhabitants reject the possibility of moving and being relocated to another area, alluding to the time they have been residing there and the ties they have developed toward the neighborhood and the community itself. According to the testimonies, on one occasion they tried to get a property located in the area where the "La Bolsa" Lodge was formerly located, where they would have been able to relocate the houses. However, since the area is predominantly for industrial use, land prices have risen in recent years, so relocating to a neighboring site has become almost impossible**5**. Regarding this possibility, one of the

RESULTS

4 In El Salvador, flood zones have historically been home to Urban Working-Class Settlements (APUs), a symptom of the high housing deficit that, according to one of the most recent INCAE studies (Guevara & Arce, 2016) considers 75% of the population, namely, 75 out of every 100 people either do not have a home or the one where they currently reside does not meet the characteristics of adequate housing.

5 Some of the community's families have set up a Mutual Aid Housing Cooperative called ACOVIHSAL, whereby they hope to have access to decent housing with support from the State and the Italian Cooperation, nearby the community.

participants whose house adjoins the gorge, said “(...) I was born here, I have always lived here, my daughters were born here, grew up here and well, I would have to do it (move), not by will, but by the will to not slip into the river” (Participant 4, woman, 60 years old, personal communication, June 5, 2021).

Apart from environmental vulnerability, there is the social risk and criminal violence that the community has experienced due to the presence of gangs and the sale of drugs, as well as stigmatization due to its topography and being a “dead end”, leading to the name of “El hoyo” (The Hole). In the surrounding area, the community is still known by this name, about which one of the participants expressed:

Over there, where the grotto is, that's what they called El Hoyo... That name was given by the police because they would capture the criminals who arrived there (...), but it didn't seem like that to us, so around 1975, we formed a directive and the first thing we did was to change the name (...) today it is the Santa Lucia community. (Participant 1, male, 72 years old, personal communication, June 5, 2021)

Physical-spatial requalification and the processes of resignification, strengthening attachment, and sense of security

In Santa Lucia, a long-shared history has allowed consolidating strong community ties, and a spirit of cooperation, empathy, and solidarity. According to the accounts, the community has worked to improve the perception towards its neighborhood, seeking to leave behind the toponym, “El Hoyo”, although when it comes to any procedure involving their official address, they have to indicate, "Comunidad Santa Lucía - Ex Hoyo". An important milestone within this process was the intervention in December 2020 by the San Salvador Mayor's Office in collaboration with Glasswing International, where the first murals were made in the community and a roof and urban furniture were added into the area known as “Santa Lucía Grotto”, located a few meters from the entrance of the community.

This is a process running since 1975, to improve the community. In those times, few visited us because of the antisocial actions, but over time it has been improving, today at least we have a beautiful space (the grotto) where people have the confidence to be there, but that does not mean that it is over, a lot is missing. (Participant 1, male, 72 years old, personal communication, June 5, 2021)

The physical-spatial requalification process of the community through urban art, furniture, and lighting has marked a before and after. First, Santa Lucia Grotto has always been one of the most important sites, since it has historical, religious, and social value. With the intervention, it is now the place where they carry out most of their collective activities: meetings, religious celebrations, and recreational activities (birthday parties, outdoor movie screenings), among others, which has allowed them to regain the sense of place and, therefore, re-signify a space that they have valued so much. Secondly, the “El Rosal”

passageway, where most of the fun murals are located, lacked lighting and was marked off by two blind walls. Now it has been transformed into a space for play and recreation.

Regarding the sense of security, although both CHSS and the community itself are located within an area generally associated with illegal activities such as drug trafficking, organized crime, and the presence of gangs, it was possible to experience an atmosphere of tranquility and a strong sense of security among its inhabitants. This is mainly related to community ties and the time they have lived there, two predictors of place attachment. Although it is not possible to attribute this achievement to a physical intervention such as the murals and the urban equipment, it was possible to perceive a deep pride among the community toward what the murals convey both to visitors and people who previously lived in the community and have now migrated to other countries. “(...) (before) The purpose was to get out of here. Today, it is to stay” (Male Participant, 59 years old, personal communication, June 12, 2021), expressed one inhabitant, who links the strengthening of pride and a sense of belonging to the urban art interventions.

Participatory processes, organization, and urban art

During the first stages of the research-participatory action (identification of problems and analysis), the inhabitants raised the need to strengthen the neighborhood's image since, although the previous intervention of the murals and the grotto area had improved the perception of the community, it is a phenomenon that is restricted to the area itself, so they expressed that they wanted to “welcome” visitors using a mural that invited them to come in. During this process of dialog and identification of problems, the participation of three older men stood out, one who officially acts as a community leader, and two who continuously took part. The participation of women was in specific events, during collective activities, with less participation of young men and women. Because the community has previously worked with other institutions, organizations, and volunteers, they have managed to articulate a way of working and responding, developed their capacity for self-management, and have been able to recognize the transformative potential that urban art has.

Subsequently, in the participatory workshop, an initial proposal was prepared with the main elements of the mural: the welcome phrase, the name of the community, and the figure of Santa Lucía. An accidental aspect of the project was that the house used was magenta, so to optimize materials, the decision was made to keep the background color and work with four basic colors: black, white, yellow, and cyan. In the final design, some elements that characterize or have some value for the community were incorporated into the Virgin's cape (tortillas, cats, corn, vegetables, flowers). This is displayed in cyan along the entire intervened corner, simulating a river; the flow of the gorge (Figure 7 and Figure 8). The previous urban art intervention experience, carried out by Glasswing, generated confidence in the community, so they did not hesitate to take the lead when proposing ideas for the welcome mural (Figure 9).



Figure 7. Participatory day making the "In the eyes of Santa Lucía" mural. Source: Photo archive of the "Living Neighborhoods" project (July 10, 2021).

Figure 8. Panoramic photograph of the finished mural. Source: Photo archive of the "Living Neighborhoods" project (July 18, 2021).

Urban art and environmental risk

As mentioned, the vulnerability to possible overflows of the La Mascota gorge is the greatest concern for the inhabitants. Some participants pointed out that in recent years they have carried out mitigation works. However, during 2020, in full confinement due to the Covid-19 pandemic, Tropical Storm Amanda (May 30 to June 9, 2020) caused major erosion that today threatens to cause the collapse of numerous homes in the community alongside La Mascota gorge. Indeed, "(...) La Mascota gorge worries us, many children live alongside the gorge and we need help, but so far we have not received a response



from anyone who can help us (...)" (Participant 2, female, 25 years old, personal communication, June 5, 2021). In this regard, another inhabitant emphasized " (...) about 10 years ago it was already beginning to feel that the currents were stronger. Like in 2006, when we lost the wall for the first time. No one helped us build" (Participant female, 60 years old, personal communication, June 12, 2021).

By the decision of the community, this problem was reflected both in the mural (virgin's cape) and the short film. Although the project's temporary and economic scope did not allow supporting the community in its search to reduce the vulnerability they find themselves in with the La Mascota gorge, it was through testimonies collected in the video and symbolism inside the welcome mural that we were able to raise their collective voice and denounce the risk they live under.

The physical-spatial (requalification), symbolic (resignification) and discursive (message) implications of urban art in the Santa Lucia Community allow reflecting on the transformative potential of this type of intervention in a context such as the Historic Center of San Salvador, characterized by being the scene of multiple manifestations of urban violence and vulnerability to environmental risk. In these territories, the contribution of urban art goes far beyond the scenographic urbanism cited by Gyrola et al. (2011), apart from being an aesthetic improvement and triggering gentrification processes. If it is done collectively through a continuous process of reflection by the community, it can contribute to strengthening the sense of belonging,

Figure 9. Team of volunteers of the "In the eyes of Santa Lucia" mural. Source: Photo archive of the "Living Neighborhoods" project (July 18, 2021).

DISCUSSION

increasing the sense of security, and even reversing migratory processes (exodus), as one of the inhabitants stated, referring to people who previously lived in the area and now wish to return.

Based on the interviews and testimonies, it was identified that the interventions made in December 2020 had a significant impact on strengthening collective memory and place identity. The interventions have not only been a reason for the recognition of the Santa Lucia community in the surrounding areas, but they have also recovered essential aspects of its history and identity, allowing them to reflect important faces for the community in the community gallery and to re-signify the image of the virgin Santa Lucia, representing her history in her cape which is, at the same time, the image of La Mascota Gorge. This ultimate purpose of strengthening memory corresponds to the very origin of muralism (Mandel, 2007). However, in interventions carried out collaboratively, bottom-up and from the margins, the message and discourse behind the memory are not an official history, but the wishes and needs of the communities themselves.

The “In the eyes of Santa Lucia” mural also represents the desire of inhabitants to reiterate their name, part of their identity, in a friendly aesthetic that seeks to welcome and mark the entrance to a territory that has been, for more than four decades, defended and preserved by those living there. The possibility of institutionalizing urban art as a tool that promotes, based on citizen participation, the effective materialization of the interests and expectations of a community can undoubtedly trigger greater urban transformation processes to the immediate context of the community. When an intervention exceeds the initial commitment to the space where it is inserted, committing itself to the audience that has to interpret its message (Brugnoli, 2011) and with the message that it wants to communicate (vindication), it can transform into a means of democratization to discuss reality and re-signify the diverse and polysemic character of public space (Brandão, 2011 and 2014).

Likewise, the urban art interventions made in the Santa Lucía community allow reflecting on the need to recover the sense of place. Both the “El Rosal” passageway (or “La Bolsa”, as the older inhabitants call it) and the Santa Lucía grotto have become places for activities, meetings, and exchanges that were not generated before the intervention. The re-qualification and re-signification of these previously empty spaces into spaces of encounter and memory have had a positive impact on the community dynamic, strengthening the pride of the Neighbors (Remesar, 2019). Currently, CHSS continues to be one of the areas with the highest crime and homicide rates in San Salvador, one of the most violent cities in the world between 2008 and 2019. However, low-budget urban art interventions are emerging as a transformative effect that can trigger other processes and initiatives such as increasing the sense of security and reducing criminal violence.

While place attachment is directly related to the time of residence and community ties (Lewicka, 2011), an improved perception of the community

by passers-by and visitors through the urban art interventions deployed also contributes to reducing the stigmatization of being known as "The Hole", reversing urban decay and combating social fragmentation (Hirsch *et al.*, 2021). Although the community has been organized since 1975, recent interventions (those of Glasswing and the Living Neighborhoods project) have demonstrated the community's organizational capacity, motivating them to self-manage other types of initiatives (a community garden, and building a communal house on a vacant lot).

In short, both the requalification and the resignification given by certain urban art interventions have contributed to strengthening collective memory and identity, recovering the sense of place, reducing stigmatization, and strengthening the community organization of the Santa Lucía Community. However, some aspects exceed the transformation capacity these initiatives have, such as the environmental risk where they are located. The deep place attachment of the inhabitants, understood as the emotional bond that manifests itself in their resistance and unwillingness to move, despite the constant risk of flooding, is expressed in two ways: on one hand, the community fights and organizes itself to constantly improve its physical-spatial conditions as has been interpreted throughout this article, resisting the possibility of moving to live in another area; and, on the other, in parallel, they seek to express their discontent and denounce their concern about La Mascota Gorge, mainly because of the risk of collapse it entails for adjoining houses. This contradiction is reflected in the short film "In the eyes of Santa Lucía", and poses the challenges architects and artists have as mediators of dialog in public space, between the discourse (message) that can be transmitted through urban art and the real needs of neighborhoods.

The participatory research-action process used in this project allowed establishing a horizontal dialog between artists, architecture professionals, community inhabitants, and volunteer collaborators, blurring the line that commonly divides promoters and community leaders. The results, the approach to the community's assessment of previous interventions, and the joint elaboration of a mural and a short film, represent important progress in the vindication process by residents of the Santa Lucía Community towards a more autonomous, social, and experiential management and production of space. In this framework, the experience of the "Living Neighborhoods" project represents an approach, from the symbolic re-signification and re-qualification of what is expected to be called a "place" after the artistic intervention, to the strengthening of local identity and the sense of belonging.

Currently, El Salvador is undergoing one of its most conflictive periods in terms of security and respect for human rights⁶. Security policies aimed at reducing violence and combating gangs have resulted in repressive measures that threaten the freedom of the population in general. Although such a complex problem as urban violence cannot be addressed with a single strategy, the participatory processes associated with a work of urban art, from its limitations, are emerging as one of the ways that will heal social

CONCLUSIONS

⁶ Since March 27, 2022, an emergency regime has been established that limits the free movement of people. In less than five months, more than 52,000 people have been detained without the right to defense. During the latest edition of this article, on September 14th, 2022, this emergency regime, which was originally supposed to last 30 days, was extended for the 6th time.

fragmentation and reduce stigmatization, contributing to weave community ties again and returning to the inhabitants their capacity for organization and self-management.

As mentioned by Hirsch et al. (2021), "taking art to the street" does not only imply making murals, but a whole series of interventions that, together with the actions of the local community, seek to improve social and spatial conditions. Currently, the few urban art interventions in CHSS have mainly been carried out by organizations such as Glasswing, volunteers (as in the case of the Living Neighborhoods project), or independent artists. From the State, the urban art interventions made in recent years as part of violence prevention policies, are for public facilities spatially disconnected from the communities and their history. The use of urban art as a means to improve the image of public work, and not as a channel for dialog and citizen participation, delegitimizes its transformative potential and reduces the population to the role of a spectator.

As an approach to a future scenario, the possibilities arising from an active and participatory process of this nature are enhanced by debate, exchange, and social resistance that translate into the construction of a common agenda born of citizenship and that can be scaled up to the public and institutional sphere. Based on the recognition of a historical problem such as the flood risk of numerous Urban Working-Class Settlements located in flood zones in the AMSS, it is possible to criticize a deficient institutional apparatus that has gradually ceded decision-making to the financial interest of "developer urbanism", to the detriment of the well-being of the great majority and their most urgent needs. Under this unpromising reality, characterized by the lack of attention mechanisms and delayed responses to disaster threats that can translate into a lack of will and interest on behalf of the different actors, urban art becomes the space for dialog so that the citizens will, can become a value with an aesthetic and symbolic dimension representative of a collective will and thinking that, in the case of the Santa Lucía Community, courageously expresses "we shall not be moved".

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ANALYSIS OF LOCAL COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN THE VALUATION PROCESS OF LOTA'S INDUSTRIAL MINING HERITAGE (1997-2021)

ANÁLISIS DE LA PARTICIPACIÓN DE LA COMUNIDAD LOCAL EN EL PROCESO DE VALORACIÓN DEL PATRIMONIO INDUSTRIAL MINERO DE LOTA (1997-2021)

ANÁLISE DA PARTICIPAÇÃO DA COMUNIDADE LOCAL NO PROCESSO DE AVALIAÇÃO DO PATRIMÔNIO INDUSTRIAL DA MINERAÇÃO EM LOTA (1997-2021)



Figura 0. Pabellón 83. Source:
Photo by Sebastián Ganchala
(2021).

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RESUMEN

La investigación expuesta aborda el proceso de puesta en valor del patrimonio industrial minero de Lota, en el período comprendido entre el Plan de Reconversion Laboral de 1997 hasta la postulación del Conjunto Minero de Lota a la Lista Tentativa de UNESCO a inicios de 2021. Este rango temporal permitió estudiar una serie estrategias implementadas por parte del Estado, y otros actores, y comprender la incidencia de la comunidad en el proceso de revitalización que experimenta la comuna. El objetivo del estudio consistió en analizar dichas estrategias, de manera de obtener una comparativa respecto de los fines y usos que priman para cada tipo de actor, acorde a los postulados y paradigmas sobre los usos sociales del patrimonio cultural. Para ello se utilizó el enfoque y herramientas propios del Análisis Crítico del Discurso aplicado sobre distintas fuentes documentales. Las estrategias y acciones de valorización patrimonial que surgen a partir del cierre de las minas en Lota, se desarrollaron, en principio, de manera vertical: desde una autoridad hacia abajo. Sin embargo, a lo largo del proceso de valoración patrimonial, se establecen una serie de instancias a través de las cuales la comunidad local comienza a influir en la gestión integral de los componentes del sitio. De esta manera, los resultados de la investigación revelan una tendencia hacia una relación horizontal entre los distintos actores involucrados en el proceso de salvaguardia, desde un enfoque participacionista que contempla la participación de la comunidad local.

Palabras clave: arquitectura industrial, parques industriales, patrimonio arquitectónico, patrimonio industrial, patrimonio urbano.

ABSTRACT

This research addresses the process to enhance Lota's industrial mining heritage, in the period between the Labor Reconversion Plan of 1997 and Lota Mining Complex's application to UNESCO's Tentative List at the beginning of 2021. This period allowed studying a series of strategies implemented by the State together with other actors, as well as understanding the involvement of the community in the commune's revitalization process. The purpose of the research was to analyze these strategies, to make a comparison regarding the prevailing purposes and uses for each type of actor; according to the hypotheses and paradigms on the social uses of cultural heritage. To do this, the Critical Discourse Analysis approach and tools were applied to different documentary sources. The heritage valuation strategies and actions that emerge from the closure of the mines in Lota, were initially developed top-down, starting from the authorities. However, throughout the heritage valuation process, a series of instances are established where the local community begins to influence the comprehensive management of the site's components. In this way, the results of the research reveal a trend toward a horizontal relationship between the different actors involved in the safeguarding process, from a participatory approach that contemplates the involvement of the local community.

Keywords: industrial architecture, industrial parks, architectural heritage, industrial heritage, urban heritage.

RESUMO

A presente investigação aborda o processo de valorização do patrimônio industrial mineiro do município de Lota no período compreendido entre o Plano de Reversão Laboral de 1997 até a candidatura do Complexo Mineiro da Lota à Lista Tentativa da UNESCO no início de 2021. Este intervalo de tempo permitiu estudar uma série de estratégias implementadas pelo Estado e outros atores e compreender a incidência da comunidade no processo de revitalização experimentado pela comunidade. O objetivo do estudo foi analisar essas estratégias com o intuito de obter uma análise comparativa dos propósitos e usos que prevalecem para cada tipo de ator; de acordo com os postulados e paradigmas sobre os usos sociais do patrimônio cultural. Para isso, utilizou-se a abordagem e as ferramentas da Análise Crítica do Discurso aplicadas a diferentes fontes documentais. As estratégias e ações de valorização do patrimônio que surgiram após o fechamento das minas de Lota, foram desenvolvidas, em princípio, de forma vertical: de uma autoridade para baixo. No entanto, ao longo do processo de avaliação do patrimônio uma série de instâncias são estabelecidas, por meio das quais a comunidade local começa a influenciar a gestão integrada dos componentes do sítio. Desta forma, os resultados da pesquisa revelam uma tendência a uma relação horizontal entre os diferentes atores envolvidos no processo de salvaguarda, a partir de uma abordagem participativa que contempla a participação da comunidade local.

Palavras-chave: arquitetura industrial, parques industriais, patrimônio arquitetônico, patrimônio industrial, patrimônio urbano

INTRODUCTION

The coal industry was decisive in Chile's economic development, supplying the copper foundries located in the north of the country for more than a century. In the same fashion, since the mid-nineteenth century, diverse industrial facilities based on the intensive use of coal emerged around Lota's mines.

Later, several decades after the deindustrialization process, triggered by the closure of Lota's coal mines in 1997, its facilities began to be valued as heritage resources that could – through cultural tourism – once again generate benefits for the community. This is how different social heritage organizations have generated opportunities for tourist and cultural reuse of these assets.

The hypothesis on which this research was based looks at the actions and strategies of heritage valorization from the State down, a dynamic that has been changing during the process, with strategies emerging where the local community influenced the site's overall valuation.

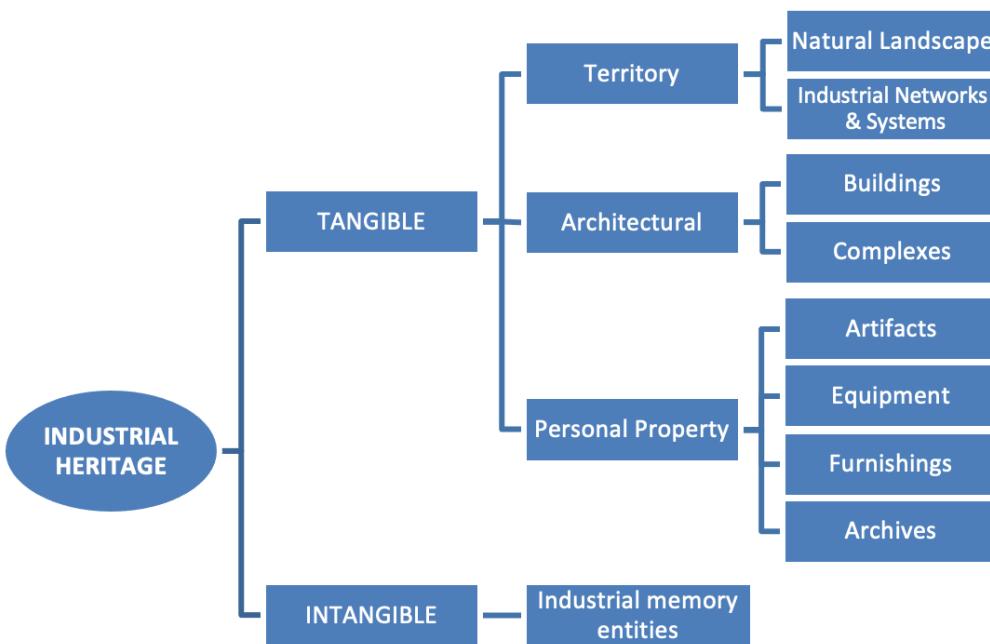
The article is structured based on the conceptual definitions of Lota's industrial heritage, along with hypotheses that address cultural heritage from the theory of social representation. It continues by analyzing the discourses around Lota's heritage, collected from different documentary sources.

The results are systematized depending on the sector the strategies apply to (public, private, and social), and are grouped by the implicit political-cultural paradigms. The conclusions of this work point to a paradigm shift from a monumentalist approach to a participation-based vision of heritage.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The notion of heritage has acquired relative relevance recently within the field of heritage conservation. Some of the milestones of this evolution are the creation, in 1978, of The International Committee for the Conservation of Industrial Heritage (TICCIH) and the drafting of the Nizhny Tagil Charter, in 2003, where its historical, technological, social, architectural, and scientific values have been recognized.

According to the aforementioned Charter, heritage is considered to be: buildings, machinery, workshops, mills and factories, mines and sites for processing and refining, warehouses and storehouses, places where energy is generated, transmitted, and used, means of transport and all its infrastructure, sites where industry-related social activities take place, such as housing, religious worship, or education (TICCIH, 2003). Other tangible elements derived from industrial culture are included, whether or not they are part of a specific production process, such as localities where working communities grew. A relevant aspect of the



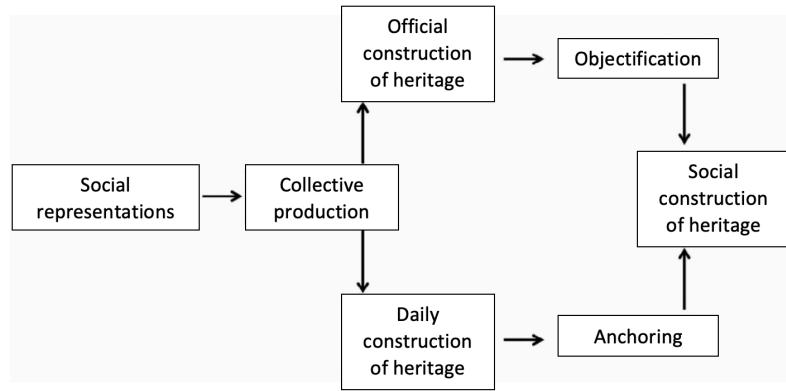
value associated with this legacy is its condition as a material testimony of the change from an agricultural society to one based on industrial development (López, 2011).

The immaterial values contained in the customs of industrial communities were integrated into the Dublin Principles in 2011, where skills, memories, and ways of organizing work are recognized. From this perspective, industrial heritage is understood as "comprising sites, structures, complexes, areas, and landscapes; as well as machinery, objects, and related documents that provide evidence of past or developing industrial production processes (...)" (ICOMOS - TICCIH, 2011, p. 2). It distinguishes "both material assets: real estate and personal property, and intangible dimensions such as technical knowledge, the organization of work and workers, and the complex social and cultural legacy that shaped the life of communities (...)" (ICOMOS - TICCIH, 2011, p. 3). It also interdependently covers personal property and the intangible elements expressed in the culture and customs of its inhabitants.

Based on these definitions, it is possible to summarize the elements that comprise industrial heritage into the outline shown in Figure 1, distinguishing tangible and intangible dimensions. Within the former, there are three different scales: territorial, architectural, and personal property. The territorial scale includes the natural landscape and the transport systems and networks whereby industrial activity modifies the landscape considering the productive activity. In the case of Lota, some relevant elements in this sense, are the railways, tunnels, and docks used to move supplies to extract and sell coal and other industrial products. The architectural scale includes industrial buildings, housing, and public facilities generated by the workers' camps. The scale for the personal property

Figure 1. Outline of the notion of "industrial heritage". Source: Preparation by the authors based on TICCIH (2003) and ICOMOS - TICCIH (2011).

Figure 2. Application of the social representations' theory to the study of the social construction of heritage. Source: Malavassi (2017, p. 257).



includes artifacts used for mining and products associated with the domestic life of mining families. The intangible dimension encompasses the practices, ways of life, symbolic values, and social representations associated with the tangible components.

According to Malavassi (2017), social representations were defined in 1961 by the author Serge Moscovici as a system of values, ideas, and practices that allow the individual to get guidance and control the social world they live in, as well as facilitate communication between members of a community through shared codes (Valencia & Elejabarrieta, 2007, cit. in Malavassi, 2017). According to the author, it is possible to understand social representations, by their origin, in two ways: first, the representation created from top-down, as an image that seeks to materialize what is officially understood as heritage; and second, from bottom-up, from the user who experiences the elements and models their own image. In turn, each of these is associated with two fundamental processes. The first is associated with the official declarations of elements of heritage interest, a process that he calls "objectification". The second is linked to the process where the user and the community appropriate, reinterpret, and produce their so-called "anchoring" legacy (Figure 2). Thus, the construction of heritage depends on the interests of groups that have the power to assign the category of a monument to an element following specific objectives (Malavassi, 2017).

A complementary vision regarding the social valorization of heritage is that proposed by García Canclini (1999) who defines cultural heritage as a product that originates from the differentiated participation of different social groups. From this point of view, the production of heritage constitutes a space of economic, political, and symbolic dispute, where the actions of three types of actors or agents converge: private actors, state institutions, and social organizations and movements. Each of these, in turn, supports or approximates a certain political-cultural paradigm related to heritage (García Canclini, 1999). Their models are described below.

The Substantialist Traditionalist paradigm has as a characteristic feature, "a metaphysical, historical vision of humanity or of the national, whose higher manifestations would have occurred in a faded past and will survive today only in the items that recall it" (García Canclini, 1999, p. 22). The emphasis is placed on the material testimony of the past (Vázquez, Bessone & Álvarez, 2019) and the conservation of its aesthetic and tangible characteristics. Likewise, the selection of elements to be conserved resides in a small group, without delving into their social role.

The Mercantilist paradigm is justified on the economic basis it delivers, associated closely with private sector activities, or with public agents who consider aesthetic and symbolic values as specific aspects capable of generating an economic return, where "the expenses required to preserve heritage are a justifiable investment as long as they provide profit to the real estate market or tourism" (García Canclini 1999, p. 23).

The Monumentalist Conservation paradigm contemplates State action as an agent, from where historical "symbols of cohesion and greatness" are promoted (García Canclini, 1999, p. 23). In the words of Vázquez et al. (2019), the paradigm is articulated with the symbolism the monument has, as well as with the restoration and conservation of certain hegemonic architectural styles in opposition to popular construction systems, related to economic, environmental, and territorial conditions.

Finally, the Participationist paradigm conceives cultural heritage and its preservation as subordinate to the interests of its direct users and their context. It considers that the selection of the elements to be preserved and the way to do it should be done through a democratic process where stakeholders intervene, considering habits, customs, and opinions. It includes, apart from monumental elements, housing complexes, public spaces, beliefs, and customs rooted in the community (García Canclini, 1999). Participation can be both bidirectional and unidirectional, promoted by the State, or demanded by social actors, where it can be constituted under a more institutionalized format (Ferragine & Gómez, 2018).

A qualitative approach was used for the proposed objectives, which sought to make a comparison between the strategies and actions of the State, private organizations, and the local community, evidencing the heritage elements incorporated through objectification and anchoring, and using the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) tool.

Discourse Analysis emerged in the 1960s within the framework of the so-called "linguistic turn". Teun Van Dijk explains that the turn diverted attention from studying abstract syntactic structures to the

METHODOLOGY

Year	Organization(s) involved	Valorization actions	Heritage element(s)	Textual citation	Political-cultural paradigm
1990	CMN (SP)	Declaratory	Chivilingo Hydroelectric Plant HM	"It came online in 1897 and was the first hydroelectric power plant in Chile (...)" (Decree 721, 1990:1)	Substantialist traditionalism

Table 1. Data matrix example.

Source: Preparation by the authors.

use of "the language used by real users in real social situations and through real forms of interaction" (Van Dijk, 2014, cit. in Malavassi, 2017). In 1990, CDA was developed, characterized by studying discourse in relation to power. In the field of heritage, Malavassi points out that CDA is developed from the analysis of historical documents (political, declaratory, among others) and current discourses derived from social movements focused on heritage, that allow getting to know the discourse that exists around it (Malavassi, 2017).

8 Decrees which declared the Historical Monuments (HM) studied in this research were analyzed using CDA. Press articles, bulletins of the Ministry of Culture, Arts, and Heritage (MINCAP), institutional reports of the Production Development Corporation (CORFO), the Ministry of Housing and Urbanism (MINVU), Fundación Chile, and the Lota Citizen's Cultural Heritage and Tourism Panel (MCPCTL) were also analyzed, from which the prevailing political-cultural paradigm in the valorization of each sector was inferred.

To identify the types of actors, the classification proposed by García Canclini was used as a reference. This establishes the categories of Public Sector (SP), comprising State agencies; Private Sector (SPR), made up of civil organizations with private legal personalities involved in the administration and management of heritage; and Social Sector (SS), made up of individuals and civil organizations.

The systematization of the information was made using a data matrix (Table 1), which chronologically indicates the main actions and strategies detected in Lota from 1997 to 2021, including declarations, dissemination and promotion actions, restorations, and rehabilitations. First, the year the action occurred; then, the types of actors involved; subsequently, the valorization actions are identified, followed by the sites intervened. After this, the textual quotation, from which the represented political-cultural paradigm is deduced, is outlined.

RESULTS

During the valorization process, collaborative synergies were generated between actors from the public, private, and social sectors. The actions are now presented grouped by sector. A summary is presented in Table 2.

Public Sector (SP)

By objectification, it was established specifically which elements are protected in this category. The main actor is the National Monuments Council (CMN), responsible for granting an official declaration for elements that have heritage values. With the incorporation of the Archives of the National Coal Company (ENACAR) as an HM, Lota has a total of 12 HM and a Typical Zone (TZ) (Figure 3).

In the HM declaration of Chivilingo Hydroelectric Power Plant (1990), the Substantialist Traditionalist political-cultural paradigm prevailed, whose conservation value was based on the material testimony of the past¹.

In the HM declaration of Chiflón del Diablo and Parque de Lota (2009) (Figure 7), the Mercantilist paradigm prevailed, when the value of goods was defined based on the tourist potential² they had.

In the declarations as HM of Teatro del Sindicato N°6 (2009), Torre del Centenario (2010), Gota de Leche, and Desayuno Escolar (2012) the Monumentalist Conservation paradigm, focusing on symbolic and aesthetic values, predominated³.

The declaration as HM of Block 83 or Pabellón 83 (2009) (Figure 6) constitutes a pioneering example of the Participationist paradigm⁴ because it designates a workers' housing block, rehabilitated as a Community Cultural Center. As the project did not have a housing purpose, it was unable to obtain subsidies from MINVU, so resources were managed through public (FOSIS, Municipality of Lota, Overcoming Poverty Program, ENACAR) and private sector institutions (Fundación CEPAS) (Brevis, 2006).

Subsequent declarations registered within this same Participationist paradigm are those corresponding to the Sector Chambeque HM (Figure 8) and the Lota Alto TZ (2014)⁵. These show the joint work of the community, local government, academic institutions, and state agencies.

Finally, ENACAR Archive HM⁶ took place under the Participationist paradigm of the Lota Plan Collaboration Agreement that looks to make progress in the sustainable incorporation of the site to the UNESCO World Heritage List based on its historical and social values. The Lota Plan brings together MINCAP, the main promoter; through the Undersecretary of Cultural Heritage, the Production Development Corporation (CORFO), the Undersecretary of Public Works, Housing, and Urbanism (SUBDERE), and the Municipality of Lota, to promote the commune's integrated

¹"It came into operation in 1897 and was the first hydroelectric power plant in Chile and the second in South America (...)" (Supreme Decree N° 721, 1990, p. 1).

² Chiflón del Diablo, "considered the most relevant tourist attraction in the Biobío Region" (Decree N° 373, 2009, p. 3). Lota Park or Parque Lota "is one of the three French-style parks in Chile and the only one located on a coastal fringe (...). It stands out in Lota and from there you get a privileged perspective of the coast of the Gulf of Arauco, the dock, and the mining facilities" (Decree N° 373, 2009, p. 2).

³ The Teatro del Sindicato N° 6 or Theatre of Union N°6 "can be considered as one of the first significant works of architecture of the Modern Movement in the Biobío Region" (Decree N° 294, 2009, p. 2).

The Torre del Centenario or Centenary Tower "in terms of symbolic value (...) was erected to commemorate one hundred years of Lota coal, a relevant milestone for the Chilean coal industry and the city" (Decree N° 379, 2010, p. 1). Gota de Leche is a "construction with a neocolonial style, and inside the decorative elements on the floors and walls stand out (...)" (Decree N° 250, 2012, p. 2). Desayuno Escolar "represents the eclectic architecture in Lota, integrating Americanist and other Art Deco elements" (Decree N° 250, 2012, p. 2).

⁴"(...) currently its cultural use contributes to the conservation and dissemination of the history of Lota associated with the coal operation, forming an important cultural focus for the commune" (Decree N° 380, 2009, p. 2).

⁵ "That this declaration has involved a joint work between the Municipality, universities, the community, and the CMN itself, also with the support of the location's neighbors" (Decree N° 232, 2014, p. 5).

⁶ "The archive has a close and indivisible relationship with the inhabitants of the coal basin, as it constitutes material support not only for the company's memory but of an entire community linked to the extraction of the mineral." (Decree No. 33 of 2021, 2021, p. 3).

development through direct intervention at the Sector Chambeque HM, Chiflón del Diablo HM, and Parque Lota HM sites (Lota Alto TZ as a Buffer Zone), or by associating with initiatives with other sectors but targeting the same end (MINVU, 2019). In addition, it incorporates the binding opinions of social actors constituted as MCPCTL through regional and national work panels (MINCAP, 2019).

Private Sector (SPR)

The first heritage strategy was developed in 1997, led by CORFO (SP) and Fundación Chile (SPR) within the framework of the Labor Reconversion Plan. This collaborative synergy gave rise to the tourism product, "Lota Sorprendente" (Amazing Lota), which encompasses the current Mina Chiflón del Diablo HM, Parque Lota HM, and the Lota History Museum (Figure 4) as part of a circuit whose target customers were primary and secondary education establishments (Fundación Chile, 2002).

The assets have since been transferred to CORFO from ENACAR and managed by concession through public tenders using operation agreements with different private law institutions: Fundación Chile 1997-2011, Corporación Baldomero Lillo (2012-2020), and Fundación ProCultura (2020-2021). Since 2012, CORFO has had a contract with Corporación Baldomero Lillo through to 2032 (MINVU, 2019).

In the first year, they received a total contribution of 80 million pesos from CORFO, after that "the attractions route had to stand on their own feet, reinvesting the resources generated by the Circuit through its operation" (Quiñel, Loosli & Galleguillos, 2015, p. 10). In this way, these actions are assimilated to the Mercantilist paradigm⁷, with the slight exception that, for this case, the profit goal originates under the protection of state institutions and is concessioned to non-profit private legal organizations.

Social Sector (SS)

⁷ "... in general terms, the objective of the contract is for the concessionaire to carry out all the activities and operations needed for the operation and maintenance of the property entrusted, being obliged to execute, at their exclusive cost and expense, the maintenance and conservation activities, and the investments required for its operation." (CORFO, 2018, p. 2)

It is worth highlighting at this point, the figure of the former Pabellón 83 director, cultural manager Benjamín Chau, who is credited with proposing Lota as a site of global interest. The initiative was conceived at the local level in 2003 and managed to gather 5,000 signatures to start the process (Gaete, 2021).

In principle, local community participation was framed in the Reconversion Plan under the heritage recovery program of MINVU, ENACAR, mining unions, and the Junta de Andalucía, which involved the restoration of 11 blocks, 4 ovens, and activation

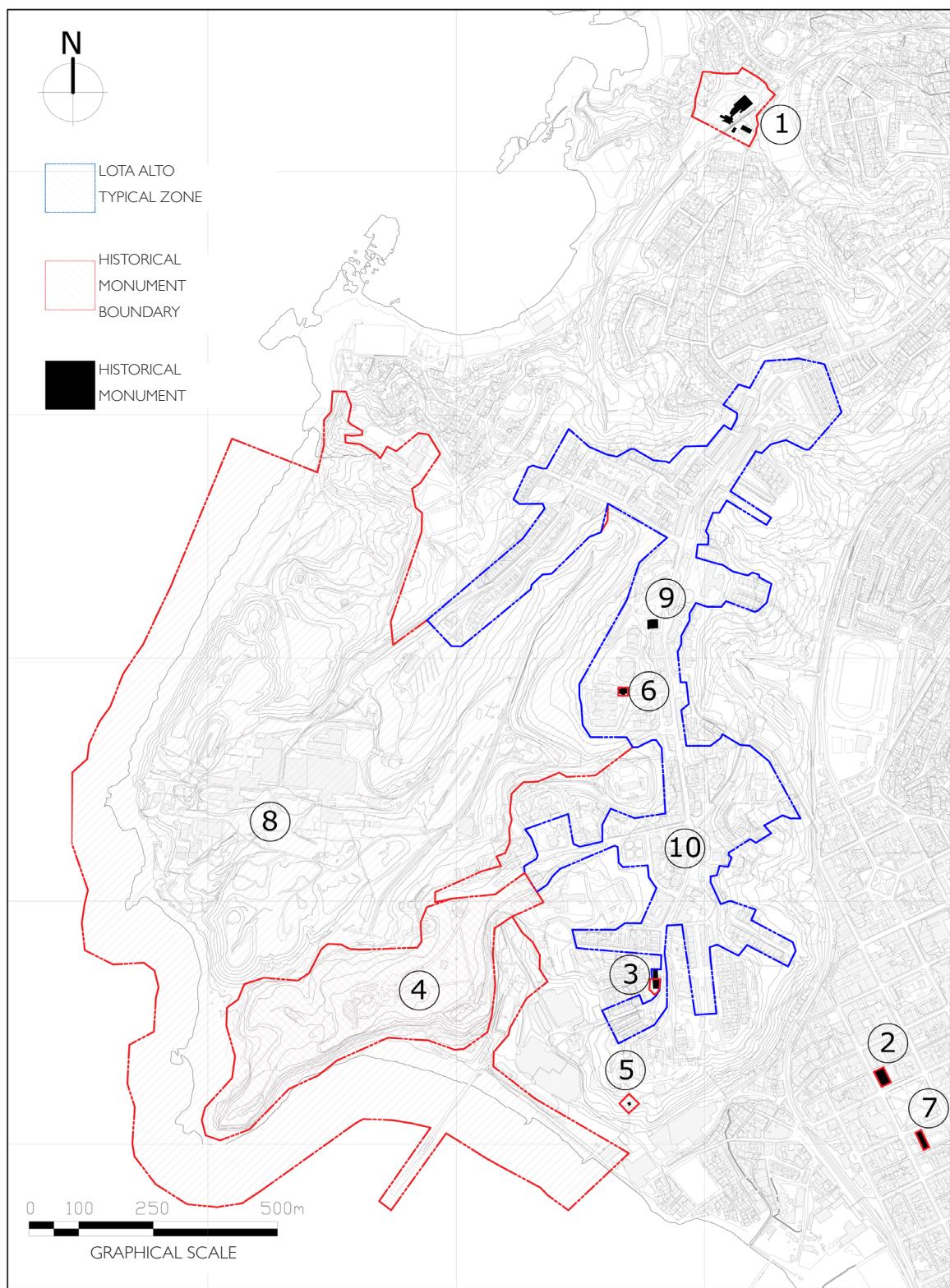


Figure 3. Properties declared by CMN. Source: Preparation by the authors (2021).



Figure 6. Pabellón 83. Source: Photo by Sebastián Ganchala (2021).

Figure 7. Parque Lota. Source: Photo by Sebastián Ganchala (2021).

Figure 8. Chambeque Sector. Source: Photo by Sebastián Ganchala (2021).

8 "La estrategia de intervención del programa está estructurada en dos componentes: uno físico y otro social (...) El componente social abarca un completo proceso de participación que se inicia con la elección del Comité Vecinal de Desarrollo que definirá el programa de intervención recogido en el Contrato de Barrio". (Junta de Andalucía, 2009, p. 14)

of the community washing area (Junta de Andalucía, 2009). The Participationist paradigm prevailed here since neighbors took part, intervening in the program, surfaces, variants in the design, organization, and selection of the blocks to be recovered (Brevis, 2006).

In 2006, the "I love my Neighborhood" recovery program started, structured in a physical and a social area, and oriented to the participatory process through the creation of the Neighborhood Development Committee (CVD) that defined the intervention program included in the Neighborhood Agreement, to carry out works in 6 buildings located in the Lota Alto sector (MINVU, 2010). The Participationist paradigm prevailed again since the interests of the local community were considered through a democratic process, with an intervention methodology with public and social actors⁸. The interventions made by SS with the SP are shown in Figure 5.

The MCPCTL, a functional organization with legal personality, emerged in 2013 from this process, comprising 25 social

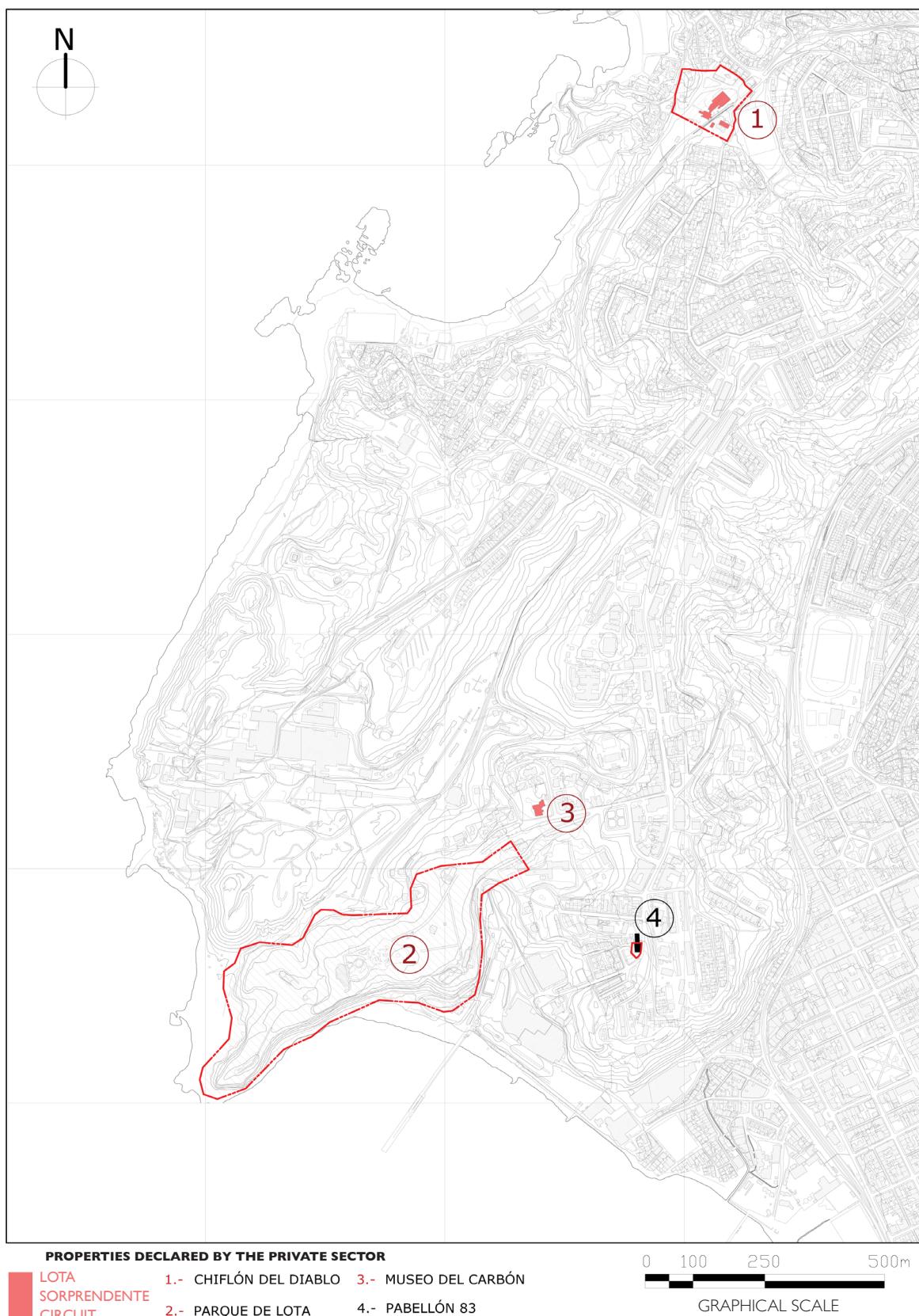


Figure 4. Properties intervened by SPR. Source: Preparation by the authors (2021).

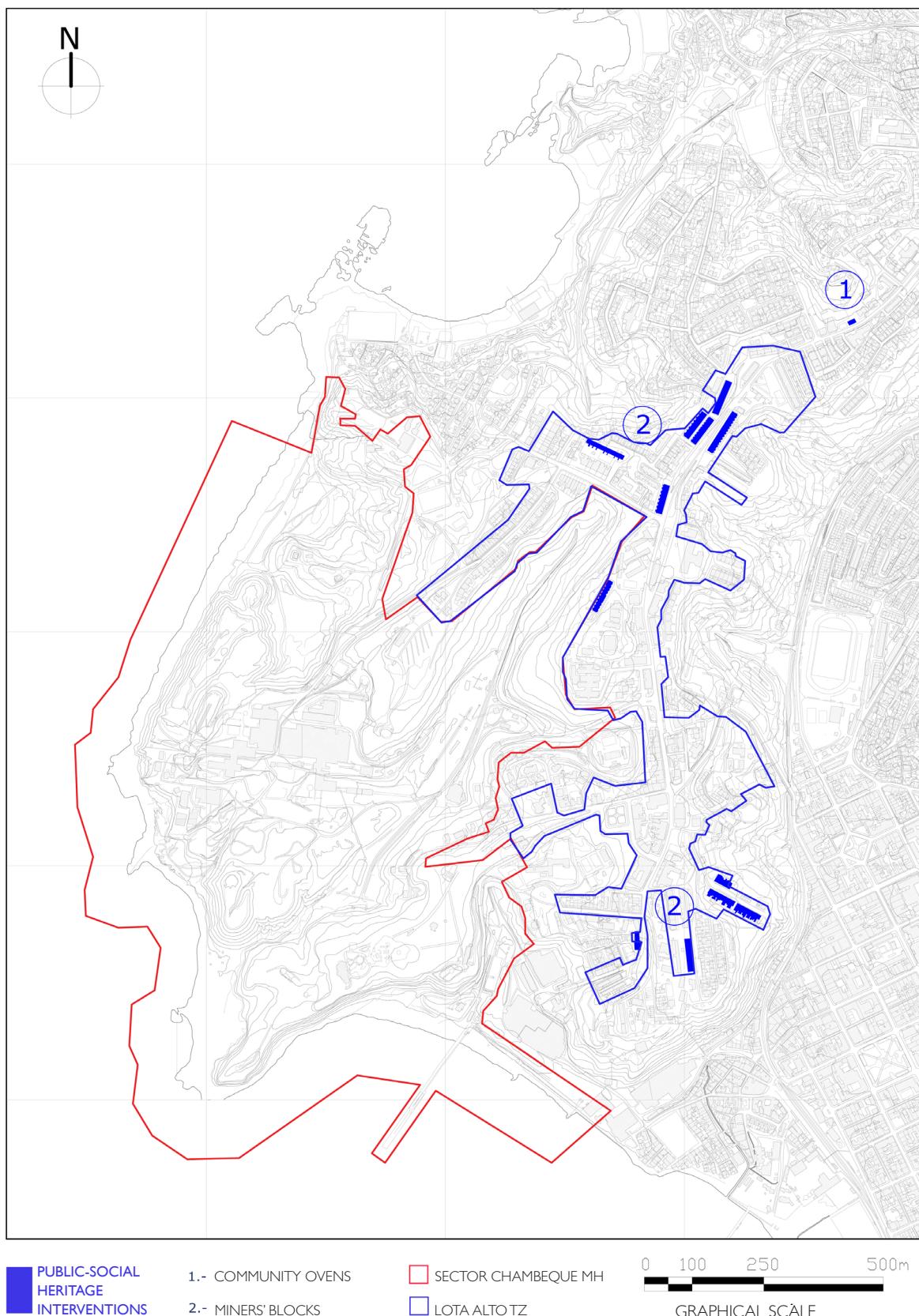


FigurE 5. SP and SS heritage interventions. Source:
 Preparation by the authors
 (2021).

organizations and 8 volunteer professionals who determined “tourism activity as the most strategic industry to promote, based on the architectural, cultural, natural, and social heritage capital the commune has” (MCPCTL, 2019). The Panel’s actions fall within the Participationist paradigm and are oriented to awareness-raising and teaching activities in heritage, development, and promotion of community tourism, among others. In recent years, they have actively participated in education and dissemination, generating collaborative synergies with other organizations such as MINCAP and the National Youth Institute⁹ (INJUV), and collaborating in the instances proposed by the Lota Plan.

⁹ “Los proyectos del Voluntariado Patrimonial se diseñarán de acuerdo a cada realidad regional entre los equipos locales de INJUV y el Servicio Nacional del Patrimonio Cultural, y en varios casos en conjunto con agrupaciones o actores locales del mundo público, privado o comunitario”. (MINCAP, 2020, p. 1)

SUMMARY OF RESULTS

Year	Organization(s) involved	Valorization actions	Heritage element(s)	Political-cultural paradigm
1990	CMN (SP)	Declaratory	Chivilingo Hydroelectric Plant HM	Substantialist traditionalism
1997- 2021	CORFO; ENACAR; Fundación Chile; Corporación Baldomero Lillo; Fundación Procultura (SP + SPR)	Tourist Product	“Amazing Lota Tourist Circuit” (Cousiño Park HM; Nineteenth-century Mining Town; Chiflón del Diablo HM; Lota Historical Museum)	Mercantilist
1998-2000	MINVU; ENACAR; Junta de Andalucía (SP + SS)	Restoration	Mining blocks; communal ovens and washing facilities	Participationist
2002	ENACAR; MINVU; Municipality of Lota; FOSIS; PPU; Fundación CEPAS; Lota Arauco Technical Training Center (SP + SPR)	Joint action commitment	Block 83 Community Cultural Center HM	Monumentalist Conservationist
2006	MINVU; Junta de Andalucía; local community; Municipality of Lota (SP + SS)	Restoration	“I love my neighborhood program” Historic District Blocks (Lota Alto)	Participationist
2009	CMN (SP)	Declaratory	Mina Chiflón del Diablo HM Parque Lota HM	Mercantilist
2009-2012	CMN (SP)	Declaratory	Teatro del Sindicato N°6 HM Torre del Centenario HM Gota de Leche HM Desayuno Escolar HM	Monumentalist Conservationist

Year	Organization(s) involved	Valorization actions	Heritage element(s)	Political-cultural paradigm
2009-2021	CMN (SP)	Declaratory	Pabellón 83 HM Sector Chambeque HM Lota Alto TZ ENACER Archives HM	Participationist
2017- 2021	MCPCTL (SS)	Heritage School; Contests; Tours; Community Tourism	Lota Alto TZ	Participationist
2019-2021	CMN; Heritage Service (MINCAP); Regional Government; MINVU; MCPCTL; Ministry of Public Works; UBB; UdeC (SP + SPr + SS)	Collaboration Agreement Lota Plan: Towards a World Heritage Site	Jacaranda House; Lota Mining Complex (Chiflón del Diablo HM; Parque Cousiño HM; Chivilingo Hydroelectric Plan HM; Sector Chambeque HM, Lota Alto Sector TZ)	Participationist
2020	MINCAP; INJUV; MCPCTL (SP + SS)	Heritage volunteering for sightseeing tours	Lota	Participationist
2021	CMN (SP)	Declaratory	ENACER Archive HM	Participationist

DISCUSSION

The heritage valorization phenomenon in Lota has taken place, in principle, in a hierarchical top-down manner under the traditional and monumentalist paradigm, focused on valorizing components associated with industrial activity by objectification. Currently, it is possible to see how institutions recognize the importance of the local community through a participationist approach that considers them. The Lota Plan demonstrates, once again, the paradigm shift in the logic of valorizing industrial heritage, contributing to the process through opportunities where the community is considered a crucial piece. Thus, a horizontal relationship is configured that considers identity values rooted in the local community, who, by anchoring, propose new relationships between the different elements, building and preserving their cultural heritage.

Table 2. Heritage valorization actions. Source: Preparation by the authors.

The valorization process demonstrates a trend that expands from a traditional and economic approach, based on income generated by

an operation with aesthetic and tangible values, towards a vision focused on the sociocultural integrated development of a territory, so that it considers material and immaterial elements that give sense and meaning.

The revitalization process of the cultural particularities Lota has, revalued from the cultural tourism industry, allows the industry's legacy to be conceived as a resource capable of generating benefits for the community.

Through this, the vertical relationship between public institutions, private organizations, and the local community is being changed based on different actions to valorize the heritage of Lota, establishing strategies under a horizontal logic between actors, where the paradigm shift from a monumentalist approach to one that includes the participation of all the agents involved. This implies the development of new management alternatives that include the diverse interests of each sector, as well as new methodological approaches that allow incorporating new instances of participation within the process.

The importance of analyzing the process before Lota's application to be a site of global interest contributes to existing knowledge about different phenomena that occur in a recessive context, which has been modified based on the different needs and requirements that arise after the end of the activity that gave rise to them. This outlines the importance of the local community in the process of revaluing the industrial legacy, as well as the role of the State in the meantime, whose action and inaction with the different heritage elements is also a factor that has made it possible to protect the site's authenticity with its ruins and vestiges.

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CONCLUSIONS

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THE MASTER, SIGURD LEWERENTZ (1885-1975). EXPERIENCES AND ARTISTIC FINDINGS IN THE SANCTUARY OF ST. PETRI CHURCH IN KLIPPAN (2020)

EL MAESTRO SIGURD LEWERENTZ (1885-1975).
EXPERIENCIAS Y HALLAZGOS ARTÍSTICOS EN EL
SANTUARIO DE LA IGLESIA DE ST. PETRI EN KLIPPAN
(2020)

O MESTRE SIGURD LEWERENTZ (1885-1975).
EXPERIÊNCIAS E DESCOBERTAS ARTÍSTICAS NO
SANTUÁRIO DA IGREJA DE ST. PETRI EM KLIPPAN
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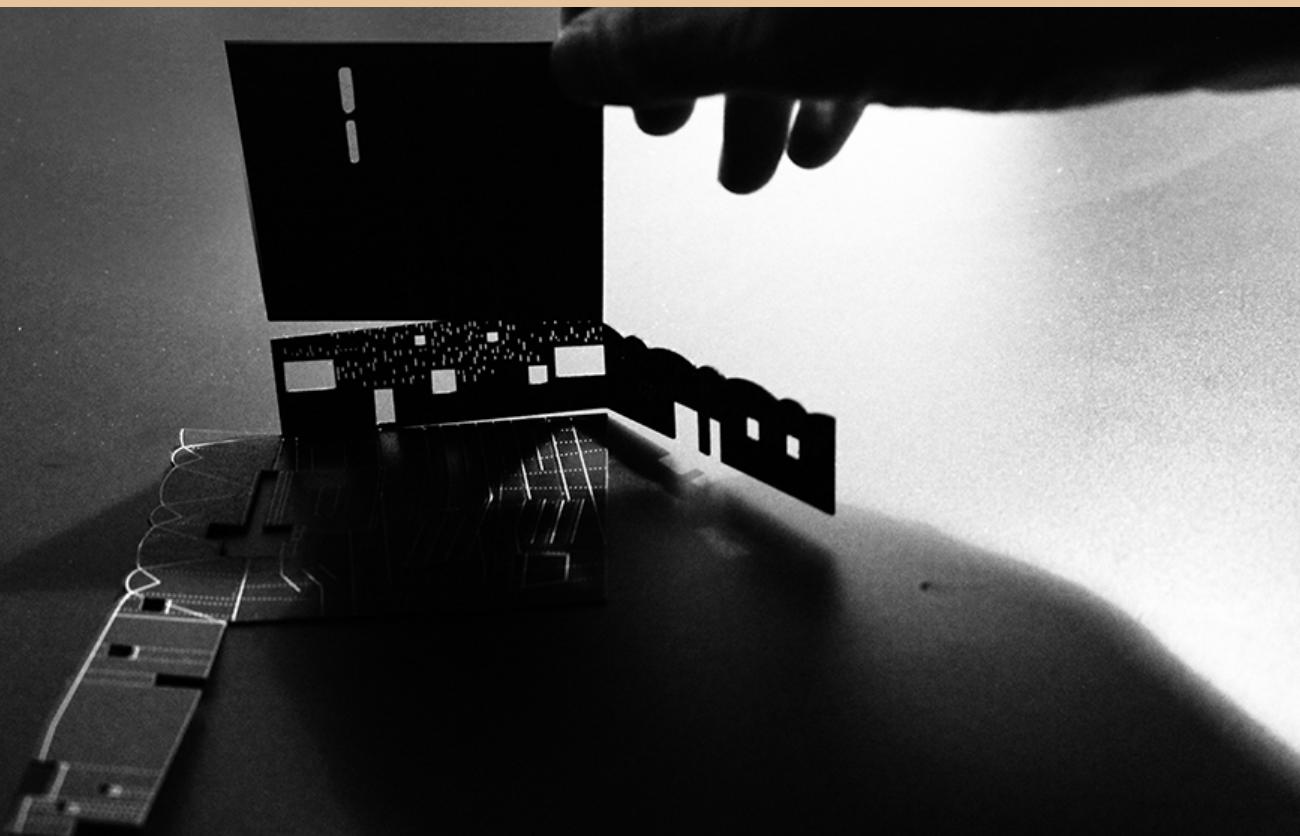


Figura 0. Sanctuary of St. Peter's Church in Klippan. Source:
Model made by the author.

Work based on the results obtained from the doctoral thesis "Cartografías del espacio oculto. Laboratory of architectural experimentation". University of Seville, 2017

RESUMEN

En los archivos de Sigurd Lewerentz, en Estocolmo, se guarda un objeto inédito que el maestro llevaba guardado en una carpeta durante la construcción de la Iglesia de St. Petri en Klippan. Una fantasía volátil en forma de papiroflexia arquitectónica ideada por Lewerentz como delicioso cuenta cuentos de obra. Un objeto de papel, delicado y frágil, que capta y expresa bien la esencia artística de esta arquitectura, como plegadura en tierra cocida, como estructura laminar de ladrillo que encuentra su resistencia en su forma origámica. Una fantasía etérea que permitirá observar el trabajo del maestro a través de los ojos de Alexander Calder, reconociendo en ambos la intención de hacer sensible el aire, de poner en tensión nuestros sentidos. Este relato, a modo de experiencia de vida con la arquitectura del maestro, hace público ciertos hallazgos espaciales y artísticos, musicales y móviles, a través del estudio y producción de los modelos y maquetas elaborados para el Santuario de la Iglesia de St. Petri en Klippan. Este espacio espera paciente un soplo, permanece latente esperando a oscuras que el aire le insuflle vida. Este ensayo devela un hermoso instrumento, un sorprendente artilugio ideado por el propio Lewerentz; alambique de vientos que captura, conduce y concentra los sonidos de la propia naturaleza, los sonidos de Klippan.

Palabras clave: Sigurd Lewerentz, St. Petri en Klippan, maqueta de obra, Alexander Calder, Italo Calvino.

ABSTRACT

In the archives of Sigurd Lewerentz, in Stockholm, there is an unpublished object that the master kept in a folder during the construction of St. Petri's Church in Klippan. A volatile fantasy in the form of architectural origami devised by Lewerentz as a delightful storyteller of the construction site. A delicate and fragile paper object, that captures and expresses well the artistic essence of this architecture, as a baked earth fold, as a lamellar brick structure that finds its resistance in its origami. An ethereal fantasy that will allow observing the work of the master through the eyes of Alexander Calder, recognizing both the intention of making air sensitive and putting our senses on edge. This story, through a life experience with the master's architecture, makes public certain spatial and artistic, musical, and mobile findings, through the study and production of the models made for the Sanctuary of the Church of St. Petri in Klippan. This space waits patiently for a breath, it lies dormant awaiting in the dark for the air to breathe life into it. This paper unveils a beautiful instrument, a surprising contraption devised by Lewerentz himself; a wind still that captures, conducts, and concentrates the sounds of nature itself, the sounds of Klippan

Keywords: Sigurd Lewerentz, St. Petri in Klippan, site model, Alexander Calder, Italo Calvino.

RESUMO

Nos arquivos de Sigurd Lewerentz em Estocolmo existe um objeto inédito que o mestre guardou em uma pasta durante a construção da Igreja de St. Petri em Klippan. Uma fantasia volátil na forma de origami arquitetônico concebida por Lewerentz como um delicioso contador de histórias de canteiros de obras. Um objeto de papel, delicado e frágil, que capta e expressa bem a essência artística desta arquitetura, como uma dobra em terra cozida, como uma estrutura lamelar de tijolo que encontra sua resistência em sua forma de origami. Uma fantasia etérea que nos permitirá observar o trabalho do mestre através dos olhos de Alexander Calder, reconhecendo em ambos a intenção de tornar o ar sensível, de colocar nossos sentidos em tensão. Esta história, na forma de uma experiência de vida com a arquitetura do mestre, torna públicas certas descobertas espaciais e artísticas, musicais e móveis, mediante o estudo e produção dos modelos e maquetes elaborados para o Santuário da Igreja de São Petri em Klippan. Este espaço espera pacientemente por um sopro, permanece latente, esperando no escuro que o ar lhe dê vida. Este ensaio revela um belo instrumento, uma surpreendente engenhoca concebida pelo próprio Lewerentz; um alambique de ventos que captura, conduz e concentra os sons da própria natureza, os sons de Klippan.

Palavras-chave: Sigurd Lewerentz, St. Petri em Klippan, maquete de obra, Alexander Calder, Italo Calvino.

INTRODUCTION

1 The object is kept at the Architecture Museum in Stockholm, in the collection of special material with the reference AM 1473-205-04. The value of the documentation presented in this article lies in the inaccessibility of the object, since it is not allowed to be consulted in the room and only leaves the museum on rare occasions, on the occasion of relevant monographic exhibitions about the Master, Sigurd Lewerentz. The last time was in 1973. Its presentation in this journal has, therefore, an unpublished and exclusive nature. The reproduction rights have been granted by ©Arkitekturmuseet, Stockholm.

2 The gray folder in which Sigurd Lewerentz carried the paper model to work can be consulted in the reference AM1966-05-6612 of the Stockholm Architecture Museum.

THE OBJECT: REF AM1473-205-04, STOCKHOLM ARCHITECTURE MUSEUM (2017)

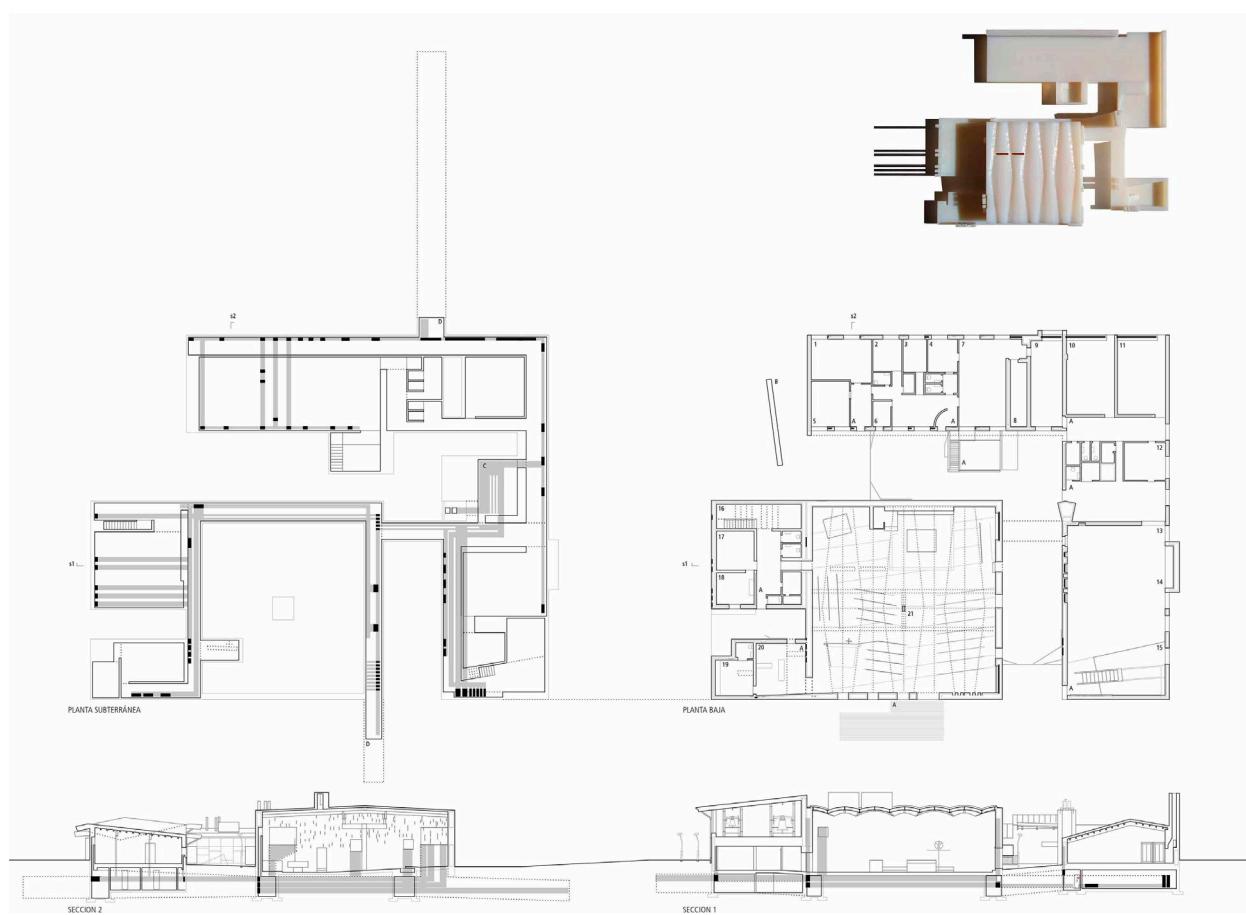
During the weeks we were consulting the Lewerentz archives at the Stockholm Architecture Museum, not a single day passed without at the end of our working day asking Anika Tengstrand, research coordinator, to let us have in our hands a paper model made by the master during the execution of the works of the St. Peter's Church in Klippan **I** (Parra-Bañón, 2018) (Figure 1).

Among the documents kept in the archives of Sigurd Lewerentz, there is a piece that surprises by its uniqueness. It is a grayish folder, which seems to be handmade, kept with the curiosity of an antique dealer, which is part of this collection because it contains in its thick pages, handmade drawings made during his daily visits to the work, sketches that accompanied his long conversations with Carl Sjoholm, the foreman. When opening the folder something is missing, the rusty signs of several clicks reveal that there was something stuck inside, something was detached leaving its trace**2**.

One morning, we discovered with surprise that, on our work table, Mrs. Tengstrand had confided something to us the night before. From among the objects kept in the master's personal archives, she had taken out a box built by hand with wooden panels, sewn with string, and personally labeled by the architect. That strange object held inside the folded yellowed, very worn cardboard model that we had sought so much, that as she warned us, we had to handle it with care (Figure 2).

Figure 1. The Church of St. Petri in Klippan, 1966. A planimetric survey and paraffin wax model made for this research (2017). Unprecedented layout of the ventilation system infiltrated into the sheets of the perimeter walls: in gray, the layout passes horizontally, hidden by the underground technical galleries. The black dots correspond to the vertical ducts that are inserted precisely through the brick sheets, peeking out into the empty space as suggestive periscopes (see also Figure 12). Source: Prepared by the author.





Legend: 01. Children's Room, 02. Visitors Room, 03. Visitors Room, 04. Parish Office, 05. Games Room, 06. Kitchen, 07. Administration, 08. Archive, 09 Council Room, 10. Meeting Room, 11. Confirmation Room, 12. Kitchen, 13. Parish Hall, 14. Hearth, 15. Stage, 16. Choir Room, 17. Changing Room, 18. Sacristy, 19. Waiting room, 20. Wedding Hall, 21. Sanctuary. A Access, B Wall, C Machine room, heart of Klippan, D Park branch hypothesis.



Figure 2. Left: Site visit. Lewerentz with his folder in his hand talks with Carl Sjoholm, work foreman, in Klippan (1966). Right: The closed box manufactured by Lewerentz. Two handwritten inscriptions. On the side cover: Klippan Kyrka. Arbetsmodell (Klippan Church. Work model) and on the top cover: Arkt. S. Lewerentz. Skanor. AM 1473-205-04. Source: Image taken by the author, at Arkitekturmuseet, Stockholm (2017).

Inside that gray folder, which the master kept the last months of the project, was a small carefully folded white cardboard model that, when opened, extended its shapes in space. Like those children's stories that, when staged, stretch out into the air, forming an animal or an enchanted forest, the white model built a fragment of the interior space of the sanctuary of St. Peter's Church in Klippan in the air of that room. I still remember that moment, that wonderful moment when Anika slowly unfolded the object on our work table.

METHODOLOGY

INTERACTIONS WITH THE OBJECT: DRAWINGS IN THE AIR

This paper provides a methodological position based on experience, observation - with the five senses - and interpretation, from which to understand the work of the master Lewerentz to, subsequently, express what has been learned, and what has been discovered, in a creation derived from the original. A methodology, perhaps, counter-dogmatic and freed from the scientific canons in its approach, but that seeks to contribute to approach the architectural thinking that underlies the studied work.

Somehow this paper shows our admiration for a literary character: he is the Marco Polo of those Invisible Cities created by the Italian writer Italo Calvino (1972), that young Venetian who tirelessly traveled around the most exotic places in this world. I confess my admiration for that Marco Polo who tells us how, having just arrived at the palace and without knowing the dominant language, had to resort to some peculiar tools to be able to communicate with Emperor Kublai Khan upon returning from his travels. His hands and the objects brought back formed images in the emperor's head, which evoked the adventures lived and the wonders discovered in his missions.

Every city, space, and refuge were redrawn by Marco Polo and mapped again as an offering to talk about his discoveries. As the seasons went by, Marco Polo became familiar with the language. His stories were now the most accurate that the Great Khan could have imagined. However, the emperor continued to ask him to stay silent, to place in front of him those cartographies, as actions loaded with scenography, objects, and models that delighted the emperor with representations of unknown architectures. I would like to think that this paper will turn the reader into the emperor while reading, and what I find most interesting, will fulfill my desire to be Marco Polo during those moments.

The model is kept in the museum's archives inside a wedge-shaped wooden box, sewn with string by the master and labeled by hand



with the inscription "Klippan Kyrka. Arbetsmodell". A packaging, perhaps recycled, exhausts the clever volume of the object and subjects it to a certain internal tension, to the point of having to fold its base to store it inside. On opening the box and removing its contents, the object stretches slightly away from the board in an attempt to spread its shapes into the air.

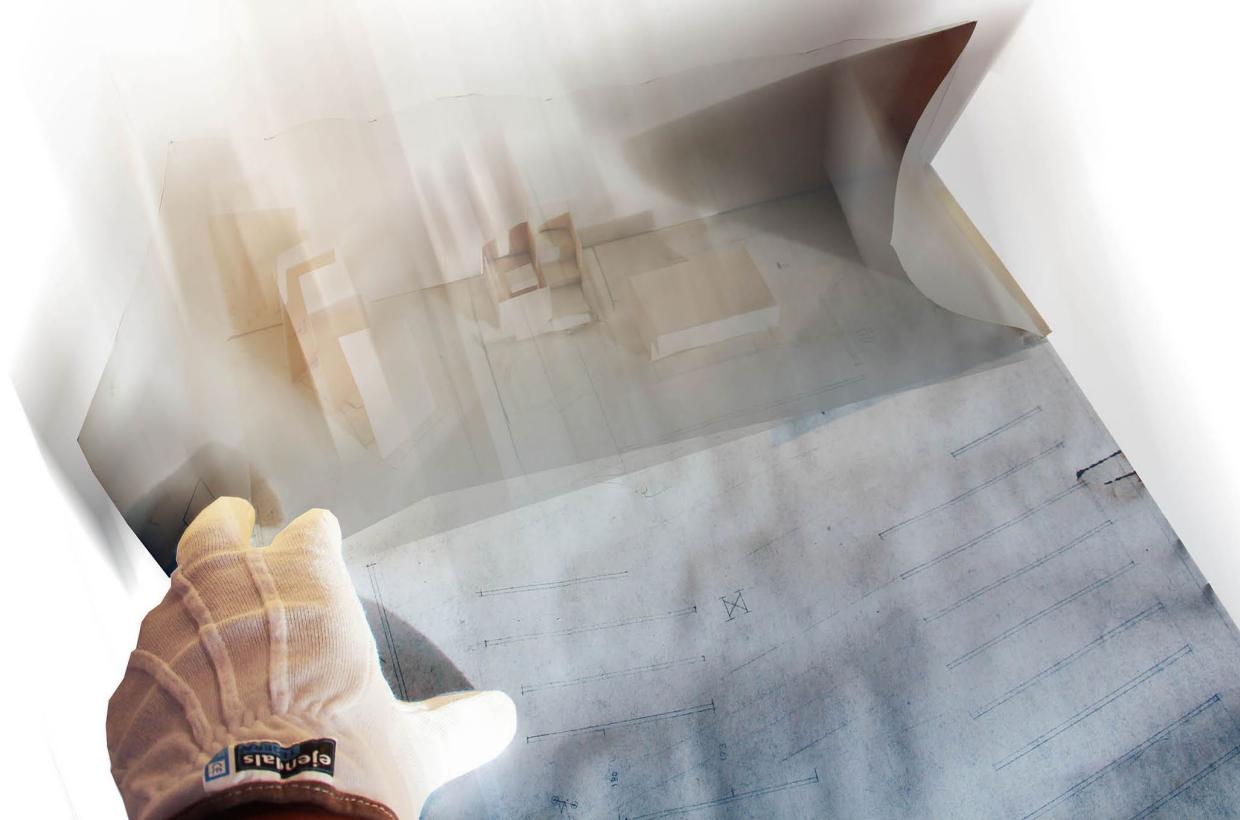
The object needs a certain human push, to stay upright it requires the slight pressure that our hand transmits, transforming our action into its internal energy. This object is like a delicate puppet theater, a miniature theater patiently waiting to come to life. The model is assembled using thick cardboard as its base, on which the last drawn floor plan of the sanctuary's inner space has been glued. The last documented version of this drawing was made in May 1966, just a few months before the church's inauguration, and it is surprising that some essential elements of the liturgical rite are still not in their final position³ (AA.VV., 1987) (Figure 3).

Three more cards end up defining the object, reconstructing the perimeter brick walls that enclose the narrative. The two sides do not cover the entire floor plan to facilitate its folding and the third is finished with the wavy cutout of the ceiling's profile. The rest of the pieces - altar, organ, pulpit, bishop's seat, and clergy's bench - are placed inside the scene and appear and disappear with a certain independence, being able to be unfolded one by one as the narrative progresses or remain absent from it if the story's narrative so requires (Figure 4).

Figure 3. The open box, Sanctuary of St. Peter's Church in Klippan. Folded cardboard model and hand drawings by Sigurd Lewerentz, 1966. Source: Image taken by the author, at Arkitekturmuseet, Stockholm(2017).

³ The floor plan, dated May 1966, can be seen in folder 40, AM 1966-05, Sheet N° 42. The following information is on the label: Floor plan. 1:20 Scale. 2H Pencil. Drawn by M. Papadopoulos MP, Skanör 7/1/1966. Next to the label a further date records modifications made to the floor plan: justerad 4.5.1966.

Figura 4. Above: Sigurd Lewerentz on a site visit with his friend Klas Anshelm, Klippan (1966) Source: Sigurd Lewerentz Archive, Arkitekturmuseet, Stockholm. Left: The master sitting on one of the chairs in the Sanctuary. On his legs, his umbrella, and the rigid folder where he kept this model. Right: Next to the pulpit, he listens to his friend's explanations. Below: Interactions with the object. The model moves with the impulse of our hand. Source: Image taken by the author, at Arkitekturmuseet, Stockholm (2017).



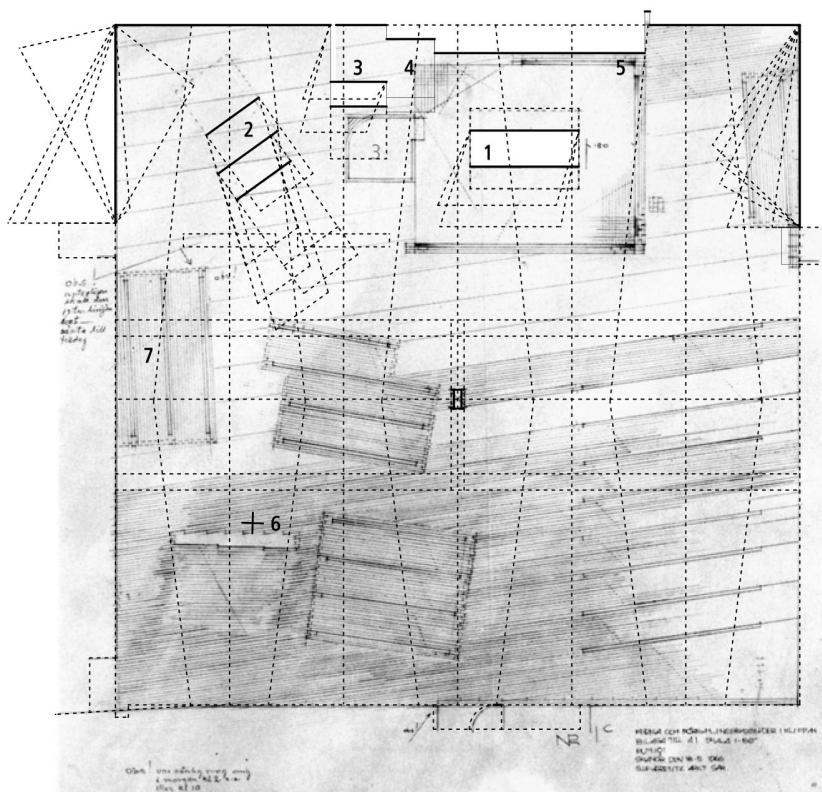


Figure 5. Base drawing of the model. Position of the pieces on the floor plan - May 1966. The vibrations of the elements when interacting with the object have been marked on the drawing.

Legend: 1. Altar, 2. Organ, 3. Pulpit (two positions), 4. Bishop's Seat, 5. Clergy Bank, 6. Baptismal Font, 7. Choir. Source: Drawing made by the author (2017) on the base plan of the project (1966).

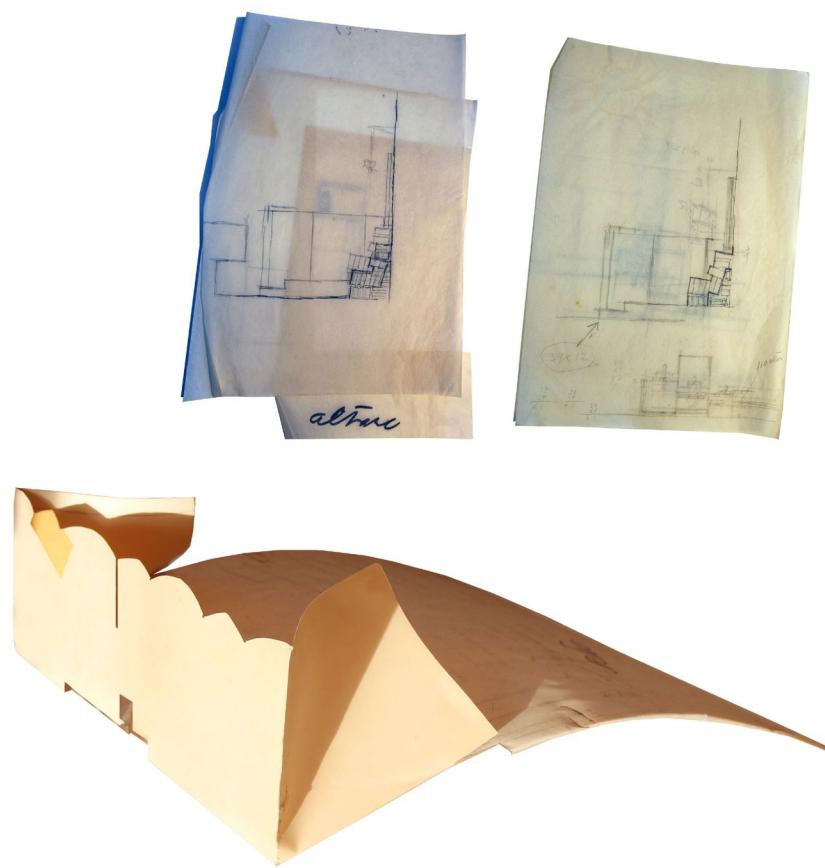
THE EXECUTION OF THE OBJECT: THE BASE DRAWING, CUTS, AND FOLDS

The altar and the organ are placed, and their position in the model coincides with that of the base plan and with the one that will finally be built. It is the pulpit, the bishop's seat, and the clergy's bench that plays around in the model flirting on the floor plan with the liturgical table. This deviation between the pieces is curious, this interference between the drawn and the shapes that finally unfold in the air when opening the model. In the drawing, the pulpit, which acts as a support, is placed next to the altar; on one side, glued to it, while the bishop's seat and the clergy's bench simply do not exist, they are not drawn. Finally, the three elements - pulpit, bishop, and clergy - form a single unit and are represented in their final position, displaced to the background of the scene, forming part of the cardboard's edge (Ahlin, 1987) (Figure 5).

In this way, this nice little theater is definitively formed by a cardboard base, on which the drawing of the floor plan is glued: three pieces of cardboard close the scene, three objects of the liturgy, the altar, and the organ that appear centered on it, and the pulpit, bishop's seat and clergy's bench set, which are moved to the background of the scene. The rest of the elements that are part of the floor plan drawing were not placed in the model because they were already executed on-site, although it would really have been fascinating to contemplate on the stage the deep crack opened in the knoll of the baptismal font, the slight elevation of the choir paving or the gentle scratches on the sloping floor for the grouped placement of the wooden chairs.

DISCUSSION

Figure 6. Sanctuary of St. Peter's Church in Klippan. Rear of the model and drawings of its construction. Sigurd Lewerentz (1966). Source: Photographs taken by the author.



I would like to now draw the reader's attention to the beautiful quality of the object: its construction, the way it is thought out, and its cuts and folds. It is an amazing object to be seen, not only because of its formal appearance or the way its handling is proposed but fundamentally for the way in which it is thought out. There is no glue, no joints, what there is, is a piece of paper that is cut in a certain way so that, once folded, it can build the shapes that we want to see in space. There is no trick, there are no double backgrounds, what there is, is a simplification of the shapes so that when folded and unfolded their silhouettes are recognized: an organ is three membranes that vibrate in the air, an altar is its section, and a bench, a fold on the paper.

When observing the outer face of the model when it is upright and just gazing at its underside, we appreciate the cuts and traces that have been left on it by the objects that pose unfolded inside. Traces, remnants, and wounds, hidden secrets of some surfaces that build a way of looking at the object, a coming and going passing from inside to outside, from the visible to the hidden (Soriano, 1999) (Figure 6).

Thus, there is a discrepancy between the inner shape of the object, bent and folded to build a bench, a pulpit, and an altar; and the outer box that would wrap it if the master had also built its outer sheet. Between both planes there would be no solid, no mass, not even a

porous filling of amphorae and pebbles, between both planes there is an almighty air that circulates and makes the paper membranes resonate, a dense and dark air that connected to the ventilation system of the building emits, sometimes, a sweet and indescribable sound that moves and transports the visitor to the origins of architecture (Merleau-Ponty, 2010).

These are the last months of the project and the master is focused on solving the relative position between the objects of the liturgy, their form, and essence, on researching the procedure and the rite, recreating the altar as a liturgical table, as a monolithic stone on which the rest of the elements revolve, in what he himself called the principle of circumstantial. The inner sheet of the wall lacks the holes and fissures, and the delicate incisions that with epidermal surgery were made by the master in the brick are not in the model to increase the sound quality of the space and circulate the condensed air inside its walls. It is a pity that these micro-cracks that eliminate the echo and favor air circulation inside the sanctuary are not represented in the model, as well as the pattern of perpendicular channels that run along the back of the wall's inner sheet for the natural ventilation of the building (García, 2012).

In short, and as a closure to the open discussion in this article, this paper model is the last known work document prepared by the master. The plans ceased to be updated as of May 1966. However, Lewerentz continues to project with this object. This is the true value of this folded paper: an unpublished graphic document documenting the last changes made by the master in the execution of St. Peter's Church in Klippan, for many his masterpiece. This article, therefore, sheds light on a valuable material of a relevant figure in the Western history of twentieth-century architecture (Calvino, 2018), through a precious object, ingenious and complex in itself, used as a sheet of his thoughts and a storyteller of his work.

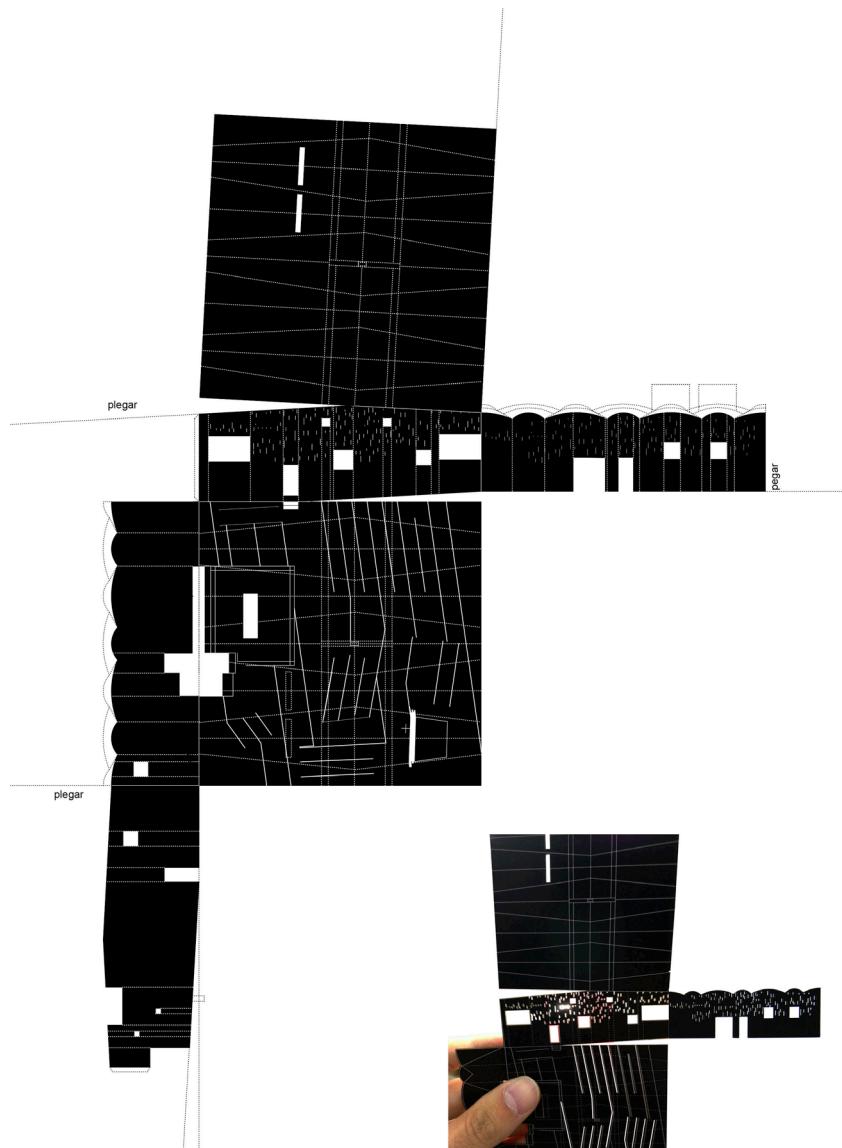
RESULTS

THE REPLICA OF THE OBJECT: BLACK CARDBOARD AND AIR

For this research, we have rebuilt the object with our own hands, completing the missing elements, and calling to the stage, the characters who were dismissed on that occasion (García, 2017). I propose to the reader a thinking game as a mental gymnastics exercise. It should be made of black cardboard and cutting tools, including a scalpel. It will be necessary to print the template that accompanies the text, think carefully about its cutting, and indicate its folding edges (Figure 7).

I propose, then, to start with the work: first, the floor, mark its slight inclination towards the altar; carefully fold that edge to make a bench, lift this tab where the organ is, and cut its cracks and scratches following the drawing proposed in the fold-out. Now we slightly lift and squeeze

Figure 7. Sanctuary of St. Peter's Church in Klippan. Template to recreate the replica of the object. Source: Prepared by the author.



the scalpel until we tear the cardboard: this is the baptismal font; here we bring the cutter with pressure to the very edge: this is the choir. I propose, then, to continue with the vertical planes, this is where the essence of the object is, to cut out the hollows, the windows, and the ventilation holes, the large and small ones, to also cut out the tiny niches for the missal. I ask for a certain concentration because it would be necessary to precisely mark the numerous micro-cracks practiced in the inner sheet of the enclosure; it is essential to spend the time needed on them because their result will be surprising. Finally, we would like to incorporate in the back of the cardboard the beautiful pattern of open perpendicular channels inside the brick factory: now it is time to lift our construction to check that the whole accurately assembles.

Let us look now at the drawing of its ceilings. Here the reader needs to trust us. We ask you to have confidence in our drawing, and that you stick to the cut in the silhouette of our fold-out. Look carefully at the drawing

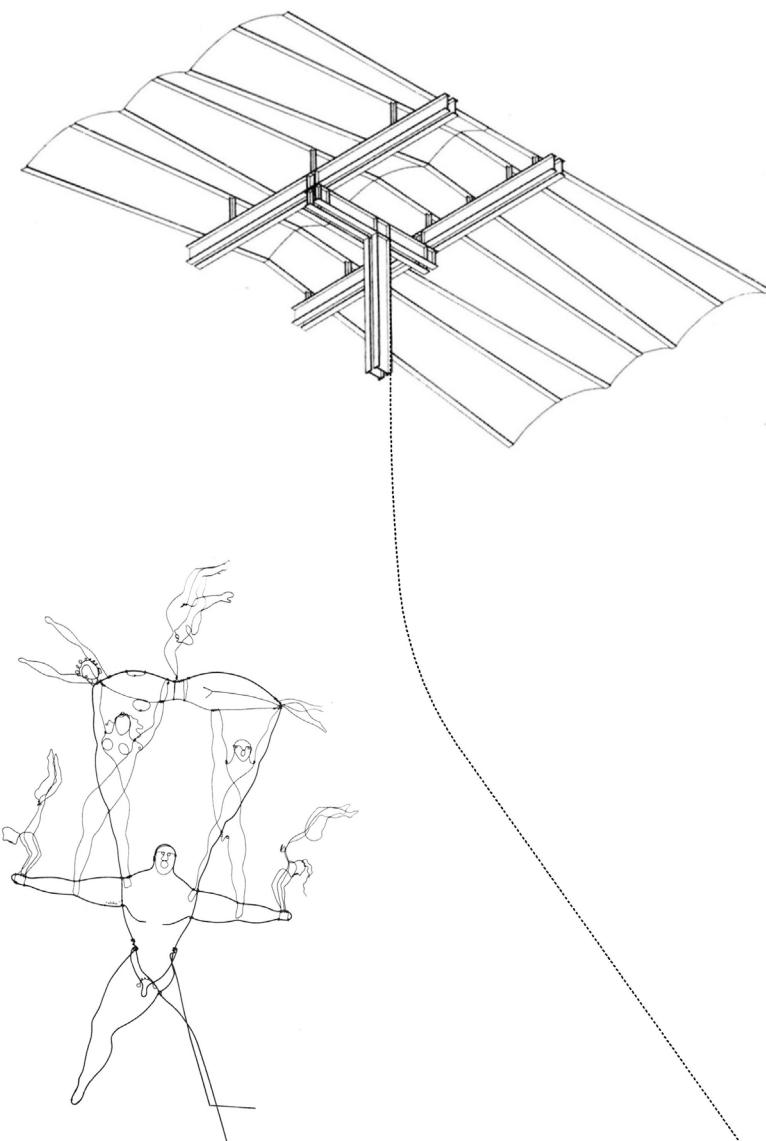


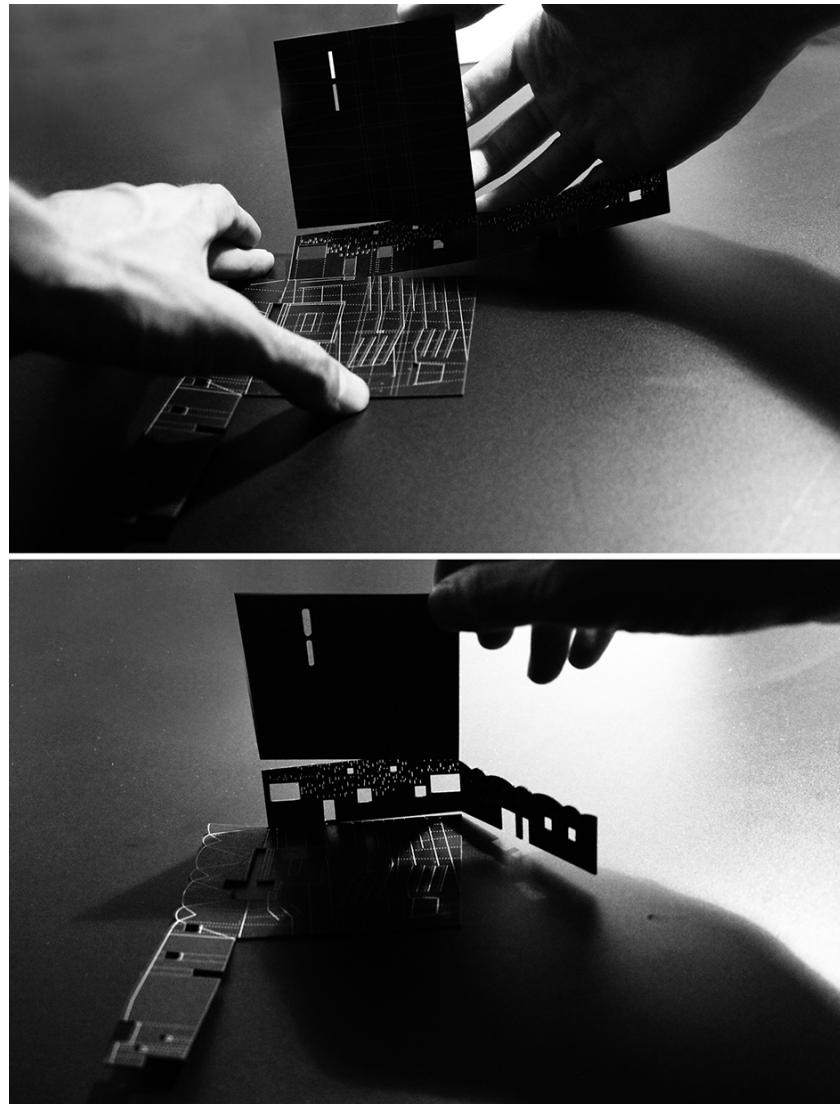
Figure 8. Weightless objects.

Above (8.1): Cubiertas Kite Festival, Ahmedabad, India.
Source: Photo by Alexander Calder (1966). Left (8.2): The Brass Family, Alexander Calder, 1927. Source: Pezo (2013, p. 14). Right (8.3): Comet roof of the Sanctuary of St. Peter's Church in Klippan (1966). Source: Drawing made by the author (2017).

of these ceilings. The drawing of the ceilings of Klippan's sanctuary reveals an idea of floating. The objects appear suspended in space, they remain like those figures of Calder, weightless, hanging from the ceiling. I like to think that all things hang from this ceiling, no matter how heavy they seem. In the words of Carlos Puente "ten vaults, ten commandments, and four half vaults that added to the others add up to twelve, twelve apostles" (2006, p. 53). Vaults are built just like the floor and the brick, water, and earth walls. Twelve metal struts hang from this ceiling, on which, in turn, two large beams and a huge pillar are attached in a kind of extreme balancing act. All this spatial contraption seems to hang impossibly from the darkness of space in a kind of Brass Family (Giménez, 2004).

Lewerentz reverses the idea of gravity by hanging from the ceiling as much as he needs to. Things do not seem to be resting on the ground but all of them amazingly float, no matter how heavy they may be. Below, the void; above we are surprised by a comet-roof that inflates with the entry

Figurae9. Sanctuary of St. Peter's Church in Klippan. The replica of the object, a black model made by the reader of this article. Source: Model made by the author.



of the air from the plain of Skane and that needs this metal contraption of beams and pillars as weight and lead to avoid blowing away. Calder was in India, he did not want to miss the kite festival that is held in Ahmedabad. He traveled accompanied by his wife and was invited by Gira Sarabhai. From that trip, Calder brought back nine sculptures that the American created there. I like to think that one is missing in the series, the tenth one remains in Klippan, a huge comet that floats in the sky, and that Lewerentz tied forever to this earth (Figure 8).

I suggest the reader, once the replica is finished, make it resonate, take a breath and cover the holes with their fingertips, and gently blow the model until it works. Let us turn our gaze to this paper fantasy and look at it under this idea. Klippan is then revealed beautifully as a paper box filled with air; air blown in from the walls of the space itself, through the grooves and incisions made in its walls. A wonderful wind instrument that inflates this space, inflates its vaults, tensing its delicate surfaces (Vogel, 2011) (Figure 9).

THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE ETHEREAL: THE SOUNDS OF KLIPPAN

We have seen Alexander Calder many times entertaining with his kites, absorbed in his study with his elongated windmills, all toys vulnerable to the slightest breeze. I like this photo of the artist where he appears in his studio photographed as a croupier, like a conjuring magician blowing something he has in his hands before making it disappear. His right hand tenderly holds a delicate object, a tiny wind toy that blows with extreme delicacy. I imagine the image an instant before, a few seconds before Calder holds his breath filling his lungs with as much air as possible, an air that in the photograph seems to be dosed gently to keep its flow uniform. Calder's breath is a prolonged and harmonious breath, sustained over time. Calder's lungs are like that almighty machine that we have had the opportunity to listen to in the Klippan subsoils (Figure 10).

I like to observe the work of the Master, Lewerentz, through the eyes of Alexander Calder. Both work by hand with the wind, in both the intention of making the air sensitive, is recognizable, of putting the senses into tension. Both remind us that every object has a tactile reality and that such a circumstance makes it impossible to disassociate the construction of perception. In Calder, it seems as if everything has come down from the ceiling, in Lewerentz only remains on the ground what did not have the ability to fly. There are architectures that are more than a built form, there are architectures that recreate themselves in their apparent uselessness, by putting our senses into tension, which contributes unpretentiously to better inhabit the world (Holl, 2011).

In Klippan, Lewerentz increases the size of the inventions devised in IDESTA to that of the building itself, turning the project into the design of a novel technical artifact, a kind of air machine built with metal lines. Lewerentz makes a fantastic wind instrument for St. Peter's Church in Klippan, an ingenious machine made of steel pipes and filaments, where hidden inside the sheets of the wall is one of the mysteries of this amazing place (Pallasmaa, 2006).

It is a work of extraordinary precision and skill that, at times, borders on goldsmithing and that makes us think that we are dealing with the work of a master goldsmith. This architecture breathes, sounds and the objects created in our research reveal their essence, serving as a conclusion to this article. We measure its filaments, mark its branches, and then extract them, draw them free, print them on paraffin wax, and mold them in methacrylate to study their geometry.

As a conclusion to this article, we propose to recreate a scale model of this instrument that confirms the starting hypothesis. The elaboration of the paraffin wax model by means of a 3D printer at the FabLab of the School of Architecture of Seville has allowed us to venture into the construction

CONCLUSIONS

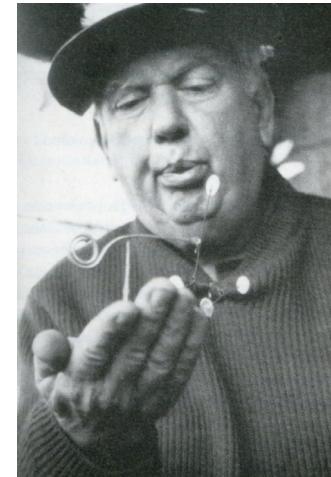


Figure 10. Breath. An instant held in the lungs of Alexander Calder. Portrait with a small mobile, the same year Lewerentz made his model (1966). Source: PEZO, M. 2013, p. 20.



Figure 11. The Church of St. Peter in Klippan (1966). Source: Methacrylate model made by the author (2017).

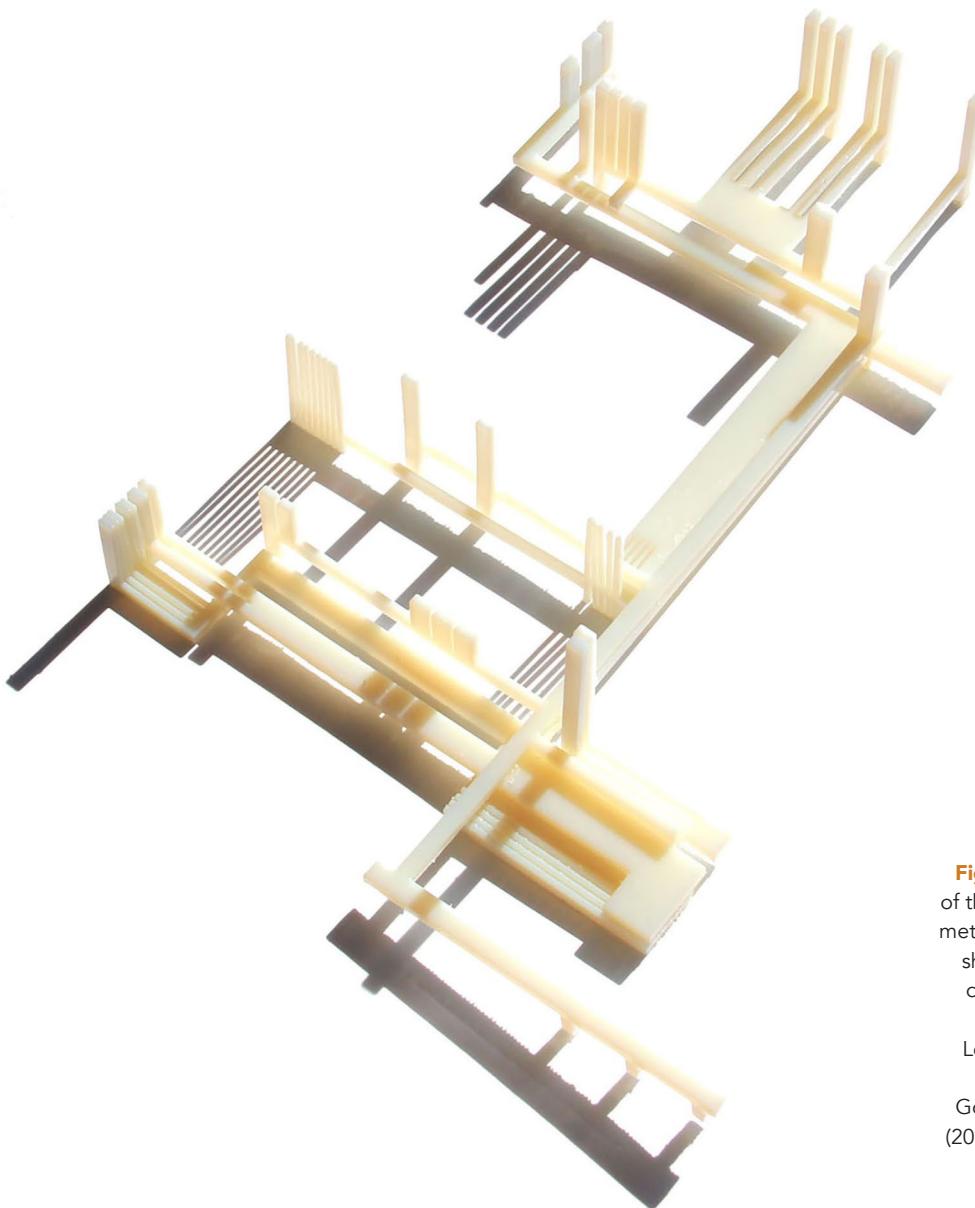


Figure 12. Paraffin wax model of the wind instrument. Material metamorphosis. QR code of the short film made by the author during the process of making the object, in MICROGER, Lost Wax Microfusion, Parque Empresarial Arte Sacro, Goldsmithing, nave 23, Seville (2017). Source: Model made by the author.

of the object in metal using the lost wax Microfusion technique. The master can never see it like this, as an isolated, artisanal, and artistic object. The materiality of the piece allowed us, with patience and a metalworker bit, to empty the inside of some filaments. When we bring the instrument closer to the mouth and blow gently, the sound takes us back to Klippan. The short film recorded during the process culminates with this kind of sound emanating from inside the matter (Figure 11).

This space waits patiently for a breath, remains dormant waiting in the dark for the air to breathe life into it. This story concludes with the scale recreation of this contraption: a wind still that captures, conducts, and concentrates the sounds of nature itself, the sounds of Klippan (Figure 12 and Figure 13).

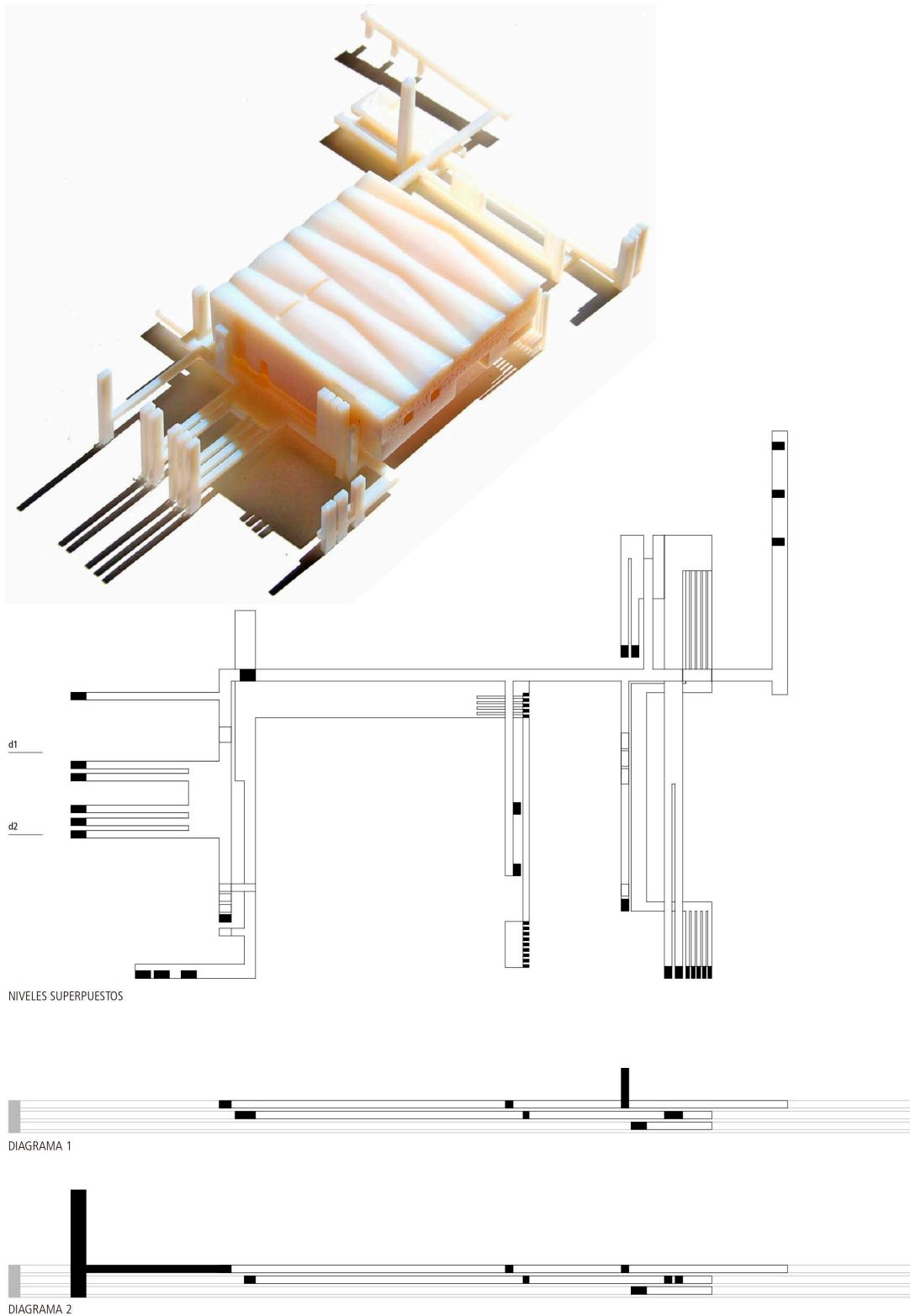


Figure 13. Wind Instrument,
 Klippan (1966). Sound levels.
 Source: Graphic fabulation and
 hypothesis of the author (2017).

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VILLA CEREPEC-CHIGUAYANTE. COOPERATIVISM AND COLLECTIVE HOUSING IN GREATER CONCEPCIÓN

VILLA CEREPEC-CHIGUAYANTE. COOPERATIVISMO Y VIVIENDA COLECTIVA EN EL GRAN CONCEPCIÓN

VILLA CEREPEC-CHIGUAYANTE. COOPERATIVISMO E HABITAÇÃO COLETIVA NA ÁREA DA GRANDE CONCEPCIÓN

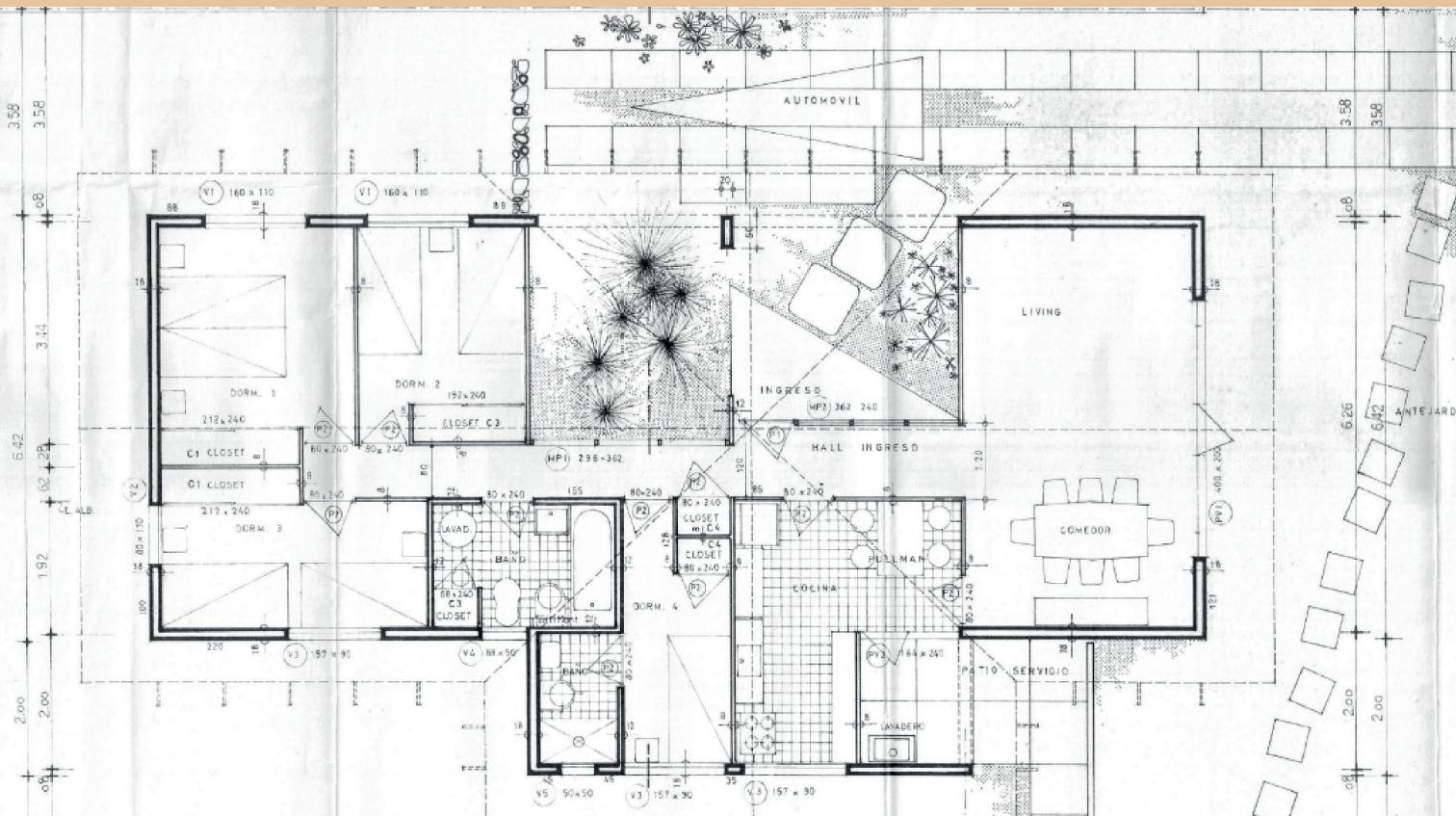


Figura 0. Floor plan type A.

Source: DOM Archives (1969).

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RESUMEN

El Área Metropolitana de Concepción (AMC) evidencia las huellas de la industria en su desarrollo urbano. Bajo el alero de las industrias estatales y de sus trabajadores, desde la segunda mitad del siglo XX se desarrollaron conjuntos habitacionales distanciados de las plantas industriales, que propusieron nuevos modos de desarrollo urbano para su época y lugar. Un caso relevante es el de la Cooperativa de Empleados Refinería de Petróleo Concepción (CEREPEC), en Chiguayante. Este trabajo registra parte de la evolución urbana de esta comuna, a través del análisis del conjunto habitacional, que se vio materializado por trabajadores de la Empresa Nacional del Petróleo (ENAP) bajo el modelo cooperativista. Los resultados evidencian tanto en el aporte fundacional a la construcción del espacio urbano de la "calle Manantiales", como la forma en que el cooperativismo se materializó en el diseño urbano y el proyecto arquitectónico del conjunto CEREPEC. Destaca la relación empresa-trabajador-caja de ahorros, donde el trabajador asume el liderazgo y la empresa apoya la gestión, en un modelo muy distante del paternalismo industrial que construye con lógicas diferentes nuevas fracciones de ciudad. Se trata de un modelo de relevancia por cuanto los procesos participativos se constituyen en una demanda de gran actualidad, los que involucran las dinámicas de construcción y transformación de viviendas y barrios.

Palabras clave: vivienda colectiva, desarrollo urbano, cooperativismo, industria del petróleo, Gran Concepción.

ABSTRACT

The Metropolitan Area of Concepción (AMC) has industrial traces in its urban development. Under the auspices of state industries and their workers, housing complexes were developed in the second half of the twentieth century, away from industrial plants, proposing new modes of urban development for the period and location. A case in question is the Cooperativa de Empleados Refinería de Petróleo Concepción (Concepcion Petrol Refinery Employees Cooperative or CEREPEC), in Chiguayante. This article records part of the urban evolution of this commune, through the analysis of a housing complex materialized by workers of the National Petroleum Company (ENAP) under the cooperative model. The results show both the foundational contribution in building the urban space of "Manantiales street", as well as the way cooperativism materialized in the urban design and the architectural project of the CEREPEC complex. The company-worker-savings bank relationship stands out, where the worker assumes the leadership and the company supports its management, in a model that is very distant from industrial paternalism, and which logically builds different new sectors in the city. It is a relevant model because participatory processes are in demand today, involving the dynamics of construction and transformation of houses and neighborhoods.

Keywords: collective housing, urban development, cooperativism, petroleum industry, Greater Concepción.

RESUMO

A Área Metropolitana de Concepción (AMC) evidencia os traços da indústria em seu desenvolvimento urbano. Sob os auspícios das indústrias estatais e seus trabalhadores, desde a segunda metade do século XX, foram desenvolvidos conjuntos habitacionais distanciados das plantas industriais, que propuseram novos modos de desenvolvimento urbano para seu tempo e lugar. Um caso relevante é o da Cooperativa de Empregados da Refinaria de Petróleo Concepción (CEREPEC), em Chiguayante. Este trabalho registra parte da evolução urbana desta comuna, por meio da análise do conjunto habitacional, que foi materializado por trabalhadores da Empresa Nacional de Petróleo (ENAP) sob o modelo cooperativo. Os resultados mostram tanto a contribuição fundamental para a construção do espaço urbano da "Rua Manantiales", quanto a forma como o cooperativismo se materializou no projeto urbano e arquitetônico do complexo CEREPEC. Destaca-se a relação empresa-trabalhador-banco, onde o trabalhador assume a liderança e a empresa apoia a gestão, num modelo muito distante do paternalismo industrial que constrói novas frações da cidade com lógicas diferentes. Este é um modelo relevante na medida em que os processos participativos são uma demanda altamente atual, envolvendo a dinâmica de construção e transformação de moradias e bairros.

Palavras-chave: habitação coletiva, desenvolvimento urbano, cooperativismo, indústria petroleira, Gran Concepción.

INTRODUCTION

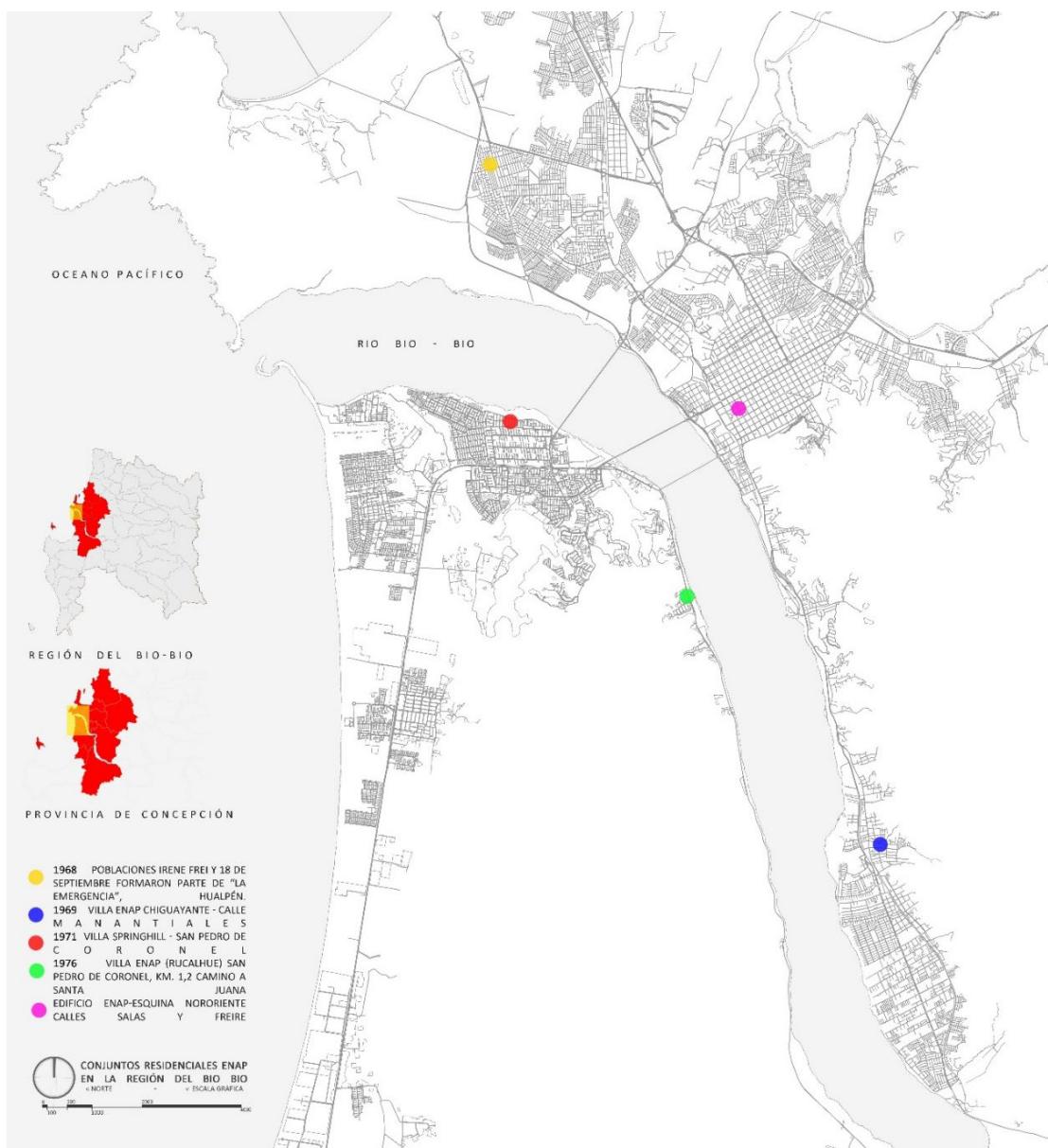
INDUSTRIALIZATION AND URBANIZATION IN GREATER CONCEPCIÓN

The location of productive activities strongly influences urbanization processes. According to Ponce and Martínez (2001), "industrial development has always been followed by a boom in the urbanizing process and the growth of cities" (p. 67), along with economic, social, and urban changes (Rojas, Muñiz & García, 2009). Classically, industrialization processes triggered since the 1940s, have produced an increase in urban population due to rural migration, densifying already consolidated areas of industrial cities and pressuring peripheries, which were characterized by working-class neighborhoods where different forms of ties and relations between political, social, economic, and cultural actors were produced (Bouza, 2006), among them, cooperative action.

If Greater Conception was key in the industrialization of southern Chile, it was also home to cooperative action mobilized by workers and employees of different industrial and port activities located in an increasingly complex urban system, in constant growth and a permanent urbanization process. In the first half of the twentieth century, this urban dynamic had been driven by the coal industry, in the cities of Lota and Coronel, and by the textile industry, in the basins of Bellavista and Tomé. However, since the 1950s, development is explained both by the creation of the Production Development Corporation (CORFO) in 1939 and by the decisive introduction of the State Industrialization policy through Import Substitution (ISI) (Palma, 1984), vectors of the development of a new urban system. The key production hubs and the construction of new land and maritime transport infrastructures were the strategic industries established in the cities of Talcahuano and Concepción in the 1950s and 1960s. In particular, the Pacific Steel Company (CAP), built on the Huachipato estate and operational since 1950, and the Refinery of the National Petroleum Company (ENAP¹) (Pérez & Fuentes, 2019), operational since 1966. Both were characterized by the direct and indirect construction of worker and employee housing. ENAP, created in 1950, after the discovery of exploitable and marketable hydrocarbon fields in the Magallanes region, developed an internal housing policy giving access to homes for employees and workers in different areas of the country. In the Greater Concepción area, Springhill, built since 1970 (Pérez, Herrera & Fuentes, 2019), Rucalhue (Pérez, Herrera & Fuentes, 2018) and Concepción Petroleum Refinery Employees Cooperative Neighborhoods (CEREPEC), the latter which is analyzed here, were expressions of this housing policy.

¹ ENAP was created through Law No. 9,618 of June 19, 1950, as a State-owned Public Company, whose main focus is the exploration, production, refining, and marketing of hydrocarbons and their byproducts. It operates as a commercial company under a public law legal system and is managed autonomously (ENAP, 2021).

The creation of ENAP, after the discovery of the first oil well in Magallanes in 1945, allowed implementing the oil industry through productive infrastructures in strategic points of the country (Cvitanic &



Matus, 2019). After the Concón Refinery (1954), the Bío Bío Refinery was built in the Biobío Region (1966), which, as a result of the high demand for specialized labor for its construction and later operation, developed internal housing policies for workers to have their own homes.

ENAP, to address the housing problem of its workers, created a housing section, and a Housing Plan that, for the Biobío Region, was implemented in the communes neighboring the industry (Pérez et al., 2018, p. 529). The Plan sought to solve the housing deficit based on access to one's own house. Employees and workers had degrees of freedom to choose where to live, depending on their purchasing power but also based on a structure that was slowly institutionalized through regulations, and was recorded both in the company's goals and in the historical development of affordable housing in Chile (Matus & Cvitanic, 2016, p. 131). Thus, in the Biobío region,

Figure 1. ENAP Bío Bío housing complexes in the AMC. Source: Cisternas (2017).

the ENAP Housing Plan determined that a series of housing complexes should be located (Figure 1) around structuring roads, thus consolidating a tentacular system (Pérez & Salinas, 2007; Fuentes & Pérez, 2012) that influenced the formation and consolidation of urban expansion sectors.

In the region, as in the country, the houses belonging to these complexes followed a specific housing model, in architectural terms, in what Bravo (1965) has defined as "a residence not only planned and with certain conditions ... but also subjected to a rationalization of design" (p. 3), while, in urban terms, it involved modeling a collective space for the workers, away from social conflict and close to the industry, or as far as possible connected with it. These houses reflected the image of the company in its workers by creating a social space, involving the construction of social relationships and configuring a collective identity associated with the company and its housing complexes (Acevedo & Rojas, 2014; Matus & Cvitanic, 2022).

The approach to the construction of residential spaces, before the creation of the Housing Corporation (CORVI) in 1953 and the Ministry of Housing and Urbanism (MINVU) in 1965, was strongly determined by initiatives that committed the State to the housing problem, which, according to Castañeda and Quiroz (1986) covered

(...) from the creation of institutions directly involved in the design and construction of housing complexes (for example, the Reconstruction and Relief Corporation of 1939 and the Housing Fund of 1943) to the granting of different incentives for private building activity (Law No. 9135 or the Pereira Law of 1948 and [...] Decree in Law (DFL) No. 2 of 1959). (pp. 9-10)

However, to overcome shortcomings in terms of state support (Behrens, 1985), alternative models such as cooperativism were resorted to. This ended up giving a key boost to the housing sector by introducing financing through the National Savings and Loans System (SINAP), created in 1960² and comprising several Savings and Loans Associations that had savings deposits and loans from international organizations. With the comprehensive reform of the General Law of Cooperatives in 1963, cooperativism received new incentives from the State, in line with the general working-class and sectoral economic support policies (Radrigán, 2022).

The cooperative model was based on associations of people who joined voluntarily to form a democratic organization, the cooperative, whose administration and management were handled following members' decisions. Their mission was to address the common economic, social, and cultural needs and aspirations of a given group, through a jointly owned and democratically controlled entity (International Cooperative Alliance [ICA], 2013).

SINAP, after having seen a great boom in terms of financial resources, gained "remarkable importance [...]" thanks to being a monopolistic institution

² As a result of the Alliance for Progress, in April of that year, Federal Decree No. 205 was issued, which structured SINAP, launching "the financing mechanism for the acquisition and construction of housing in a joint action of the public (Central Savings and Loan Bank) and the private sector (Savings and Loan Associations)" (Behrens, 1985, p. 259).

in the issuance of adjustable instruments in an inflationary context" (Foxley, cit. in Castañeda & Quiroz, 1986). From the defining crisis of SINAP in 1975 and its closure in 1980 through to the end of the Dictatorship, there was an involution of the cooperative movement, caused both by the elimination or control of working-class movements (Institute of Urban and Territorial Studies [IEUT], 2022), and the implementation of the neoliberal model where housing became a market-regulated consumer good acquired by families through savings (Hidalgo, 1999).

In the Biobío Region, particularly in the AMC, the state industry since 1963 had used the cooperative model as an alternative mechanism to paternalism to keep its loyal workers, who benefited from subsidies to access their own housing. The industry became involved in urban processes, where the State became a participant in the urbanizing model proposed by the workers. In this way, a series of residential complexes emerged as a result of the coordinated effort of three actors, the State, the industry, and the workers, such as the Desiderio Guzmán Neighborhood, related to CRAV, in Penco (Cerda & Puentes, 2019), Springhill (Pérez *et al.*, 2019), promoted by ENAP, through its workers and cooperative, in 1970, and Rucalhue (Pérez *et al.*, 2018), started by engineers from the oil company, both in San Pedro de la Paz.

In this context, the research hypothesis for this work is that the residential complex of the CEREPEC cooperative constituted a particular urban development model in the AMC, associated with the participation of the State, industry, and workers, who were participatively involved both in the construction of urban space and specific architectural solutions.

The main objective is to determine the urban and architectural implications of the housing action supported by ENAP in Chiguayante. Specifically, it seeks to analyze the formation of the urban complex, architectural proposal, and housing solution; and, secondly, to establish relations between this development and cooperativism as a mechanism of access to property.

To achieve these objectives, this study has been faced in an exploratory and descriptive-analytical way. The research approach is mixed, with quantitative and qualitative approaches. It began with fieldwork, visits to the sector, and semi-structured interviews with the first inhabitants of the residential complex. From there, the recording of social aspects was addressed based on data obtained from interviews and photographic records of the houses. At the same time, the Municipal Works Directorate's archives were reviewed and a planimetric reconstruction of the units and complex was made. After this, a spatial analysis of the sector was made to understand the urban evolution and the structure of Manantiales Street, in addition to making a morphological analysis of the CEREPEC ensemble. Finally, approaches were crossed to compare sources, before a discussion and closing reflections.

Figure 2. View of Chiguayante and the Biobío River, 1915-1920. Source: <https://www.facebook.com/groups/fotosantiguasdechiguayante>



CONTEXT. COOPERATIVES AND URBANIZATION OF RURAL SPACE

The commune of Chiguayante was created in 1996 by the former municipal delegation of Concepción, covering the territory located between the slopes of Manquimávida Hill and the Biobío River (Figure 2). Although Chiguayante, until the 1890s, was nothing more than a rural sector (Pacheco, 2012), its urban development is due to twentieth-century industrialization, among other factors. The metropolization process of the AMC in the second half of the twentieth century would consolidate this territory with a residential role, driven by industries that were either located or that developed housing projects there.

A turning point in Chiguayante's urban development was the parceling of rural property as a mechanism for occupying space (La Rivera, 1991), the starting point for moving from a small town to its growth as a city. At the beginning of the twentieth century, this was an option for the inhabitants of Concepción and rural sectors, seen as an ideal area to live and obtain stable work, thanks to the installation of large industries such as Schaub, Caupolicán, in 1938 (started in 1903 as Tejidos de Algodón Chilean Mill Co.), El Tigre (1928) and, subsequently, Masisa and Indama, among others (Brito & Puentes, 2018), which were an important impetus for its growth. This determined that from the 1930s (Graph 1), Chiguayante saw an accelerated, explosive, and inorganic population growth, with scarce resources to solve its deficiencies that dragged on for almost the entire century: water, lighting, housing, sewerage, paving, transport, health, and communication, to name a few issues that affected the inhabitants (Pacheco, 2012).

Industrial development brought the need for housing along with community facilities, which they tried to solve with State support (Brito, Cerda, Fuentes & Pérez, 2018, p. 60). "To solve the housing problem

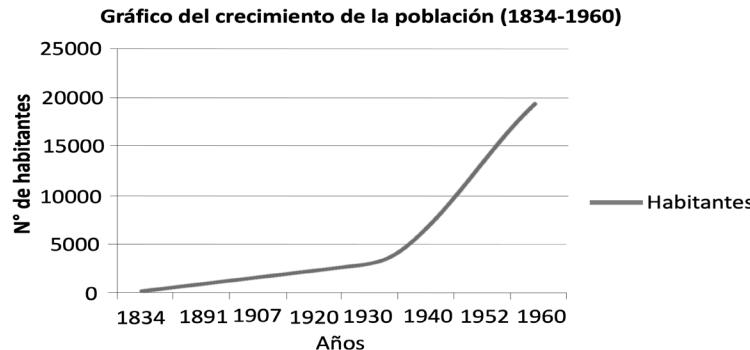


Gráfico 1. Population growth of Chiguayante, 1834-1960.
Source: Astudillo (2015).

Figure 3. Plan of the Manantiales sector and each cooperative. Source: Preparation by the authors.



in Chiguayante in the mid-twentieth-century, both state (such as the CORVI), municipal, as well as workers' actions, helped to solve these problems" (Muñoz, 2015, p. 14). This urban and housing development took place in a fragmented way, adapting to the morphology and generating several urban spaces between the slopes of Manquimávida Hill and the Biobío River.

The search for housing and the opportunity to acquire large lots to build housing complexes, added to the companies' cooperative model to provide workers with their own housing, are factors that allow these groups to acquire land and realize this aspiration, in a rural area. The former Chacra Armería is a representative sector of urbanization through cooperatives and, in this dynamic, CEREPEC is the first to plan its housing project there (Figure 3), coordinated by ENAP's accounting staff.

RESULTS

CEREPEC AND COOPERATIVE CONSTRUCTION OF THE URBAN SPACE

The urbanization of the Chacra Armería estate began in 1969 when Carmen Shasman divided her land into nine plots. Specifically, “the lotting was done by a gentleman from the Van Rysselberghe family who was an architect or engineer; and all of lot one was left for them (A. Díaz, Interview, November 12, 2020). It was designed based on a dirt road for trucks, the only access to the lots from Avenida B. O’Higgins, with the CEREPEC complex being the first to start when the cooperative was awarded property number five. For this reason, the members still call themselves “colonizers” of this urban space:

(...) It was 1967 when it occurred to those of us working in ENAP’s accounting department to form a housing cooperative since we all rented houses (...). We started looking for land, we went to see the Road to Penco, the area halfway to Talcahuano, Lonco Norte (very expensive) before reaching the entrance to Chiguayante, the site of Mrs. Carmen Shasman. It was Mr. Enrique Van Rysselberghe, the realtor, who showed the site to all the cooperative’s members. (J. González, Interview, November 12, 2020)

CEREPEC’s members, thanks to the support of ENAP and the Savings and Loans Society³, considered a project based on equal lots to build their homes in a sector that lacked complete urbanization, with just electricity and an unpaved street. The first symbolic act was to name this street to have location references after the houses were handed over, which was made by Juan González, leader of CEREPEC.

(...) There was no street, no sidewalk, no fences dividing the yards, only signs of the trucks that brought materials. One weekend, it occurred to me to christen the main street. Since we were employees of an oil refinery, and the oil was discovered in a place called Manantiales in Punta Arenas, it stayed in my mind (...). I looked for a board of one meter by thirty centimeters wide, and with black paint I put Manantiales, and I went to place it on the post at the entrance of the street (...). My neighbors helped me and we put it on the top of a pole and it stayed there until the municipality placed an official sign. (J. González, Interview, November 12, 2020)

The site of the CEREPEC complex was bordered to the West by lots acquired by private individuals and to the East, by the BioGas and COTELEF (Cooperativa de Empleados Compañía Telefónicos de Chile) Cooperatives (Figure 3).

FROM COOPERATIVES TO NEIGHBORHOOD GROUPS

The heyday of cooperatives in the 1960s made it possible for a rural sector such as the Chacra Armería to experience a densification process

³ The Central Savings and Loan Society controlled the Savings and Loan Associations (AAP), which were constituted as mutual and regional entities managed by a board of directors, and were intended to attract savings from the public "...even from minors who could read and write and from married women, to invest them in mortgage loans of up to 30 years granted to depositors for the construction, acquisition, expansion, and completion of DFL type 2 housing" (Behrens, 1985, p. 260).



in three years, allowing the first three cooperatives to be installed and the rural use changed to residential. After Manantiales Street, three secondary roads (2nd, 3rd, and 4th streets) and six passages were laid out.

Cooperatives and their housing complexes start forming a sector with a varied socioeconomic level

(...) We are an inclusive sector; we do not discriminate against anyone, we have wealthy neighbors, and others not so much (...) We are a quiet sector; where we all know each other and when a stranger arrives, we immediately notice and tell one another. (A. Díaz, Interview, November 12, 2020)

The Manantiales sector was made up of four cooperatives, CEREPEC, COTELEF, BIOGAS, and Docencia, along with four lots sold to private parties, which are part of the Manantiales community (Figure 4). The Manantiales Neighborhood Group was established on May 19, 1994, where the cooperatives became part of a community that developed urbanization projects such as the participatory paving of Manantiales Street, an initiative implemented a few months after forming the Neighborhood Board.

We have worked this place to make it what you see today. When I arrived this was marshland, and cows and chickens were roaming the land. Even the street you came down was made by us, the neighbors. (A. Díaz, Interview, November 12, 2020)

Figure 4. Arrangement of lots and wooded strips. Source: Preparation by the authors based on DOM Files.



Figura 5. Type A housing (left).
 Source: Photo by Marco Morales (2021)

Figura 6. Figure 6. Type C housing (right). Source: Photo by Marco Morales (2021).



DESIGN AND MANAGEMENT OF THE COMPLEX

In 1968, the members contacted an architect to develop their housing project:

When the company gave us bonuses, we bought materials for our homes, for example, with the bonus for September 18th⁴, we bought 20 toilets, and with another bonus, we bought 30,000 bricks and stored them in a friendly warehouse (...). When we had the money and the land, we looked for an architect and we said - We have this, what can you do with it? (J. González, interview, november 12, 2020)

The urbanization of the CEREPEC complex was influenced by the family structure back then, as almost all of the members were married and had children.

Without the company I wouldn't have my home where I have raised my children, I am grateful for everything I have and what I have achieved in all these years (...). My children miss this house and we have committed to never sell it. (J. González, Interview, November 12, 2020)

⁴ Companies usually give a bonus for September 18th in Chile, for the National Independence celebrations.

⁵ Labarca worked on the construction of housing complexes in Concepción, Talcahuano, and Lirquén, such as the houses of Collao Neighborhood or the twenty-three houses of Bío Bío Cooperative. Darmendrail (2020) highlights that his residential work was characterized by the search for new volumetric and plastic expressions, through the use of prominent roofs and slopes, or the use of folded planes, in the context of overcrowding of the single-family house type bungalow.

The housing complex: design, costs, and financing

In March 1969, the land began to be divided into 20 lots, and 3 types of houses were designed (...) We were looking for an architect, to design the houses for us, and the proposal of Mr. Jorge Manuel Labarca Van Rysselberghe won. (J. González, Interview, November 12, 2020)

Labarca stood out in the Penquista (Greater Concepción) scene of the 1960s for his contribution to residential architecture through the construction of multiple housing complexes (Cerda & Burdiles, 2016; Darmendrail, 2020)⁴. Together with the architect Boris Aptecar G., a language and types of housing were achieved in CEREPEC that give the neighborhood spatial and formal unity (Figure 5 and Figure 6).

From an urban point of view, the land (Figure 4 and Table 1) was divided among its twenty members with three types or models of housing. The

Lot N°	Area m2	Lot N°	Area m2	Lot N°	Area m2	Lot N°	Area m2
1	499.50	6	464.00	11	446.40	16	500.00
2	499.50	7	455.85	12	446.40	17	499.80
3	499.50	8	494.99	13	500.00	18	499.80
4	497.50	9	486.35	14	500.00	19	499.80
5	447.25	10	486.35	15	500.00	20	499.80
Total area of lots				9.723,19 m2			
Area of streets and green areas				5.862,81 m2			
Total land area				15.586,00 m2			

Construction value of the houses	1.923.237,71
-Land	125.106,00
-Urbanization	229.015,58
Municipal rights and permits	32.212,98
Notary and real estate conservator	5.325,70
Management of AA. PP. Andalién	79.361,34
INVICOOP expenses	94.569,21
Various	11.513,69
Total	2.500.342,21

Total, built square meters	2.026,42
Value per square meter built s/site	1.172,10
Value per square meter built are site	1.233,84
Total cost of housing	
- Type A	125.105,48
- Type B	126.061,43
- Type C	111.033,26
Commercial housing values	
- Type A	175.200,00
- Type B	168.472,00
- Type C	143.984,00

proposal consolidated wide streets for vehicles and groves that allowed an efficient separation between vehicles and pedestrians, and the vegetation on pedestrian routes intelligently supplied the absence of green areas in the complex, seeking to give continuity to the natural context where it was located. The lot layout followed the streets laid out when the sector was subdivided and, because they had almost equal surfaces, left small voids at the corners and edges of the streets, which were designed as wooded areas, given the impossibility of a green area usable as a square (Figure 4).

The financing to cover the project's costs were similar to that used by most cooperatives, consisting of the company granting a loan, in this case, ENAP, and an A.A.P (Savings and Loan Association) since without the support of these organizations it was very difficult for workers to opt for their own housing (Table 2, Table 3, and Table 4)

Table 1. Areas of the CEREPEC Cooperative lot. Source: Own elaboration based on DOM files

Table 2. CEREPEC joint construction costs (values in Escudos). Source: Own elaboration based on ENAP Journal (1969); Own elaboration based on ENAP (1969)

Table 3. CEREPEC construction financing (values in Escudos). Source: Own elaboration based on ENAP Journal (1969)

Values in Escudos	
ENAP Loan	948.655,44
A. A. P. Loan	1.292.274,74
Contribution from associates	259.412,03
Total	2.500.342,21



Table 4. Values of each house ()
 Source: Own elaboration based on ENAP Journal (1969).

Figure 7. Location of the housing types. Source: Preparation by the authors based on DOM Files.

From an architectural point of view, the three types of housing pointed to different member needs, while the allocation of lots was made randomly through a draw, materializing the type of housing that best suited each family group (Figure 7):

All the plots were alike and we raffled them among ourselves. What changes, is the type of house that each one chose because if one had a big family, he chose the big house and some said -No, we will have only two children-. Well, they chose the small house. (J. González, Interview, November 12, 2020)

The lots have a regular shape, and three types of detached single-floor bungalow-type houses were built in them. Two types differ slightly in the area assigned, with different interior layouts. While the third smaller model, considered smaller rooms, but with areas planned for later expansions that could be handled by the owners. They considered a similar layout on the ground, with a five-meter setback from the street, which determined a perception of visual amplitude and continuity of the Neighborhood.

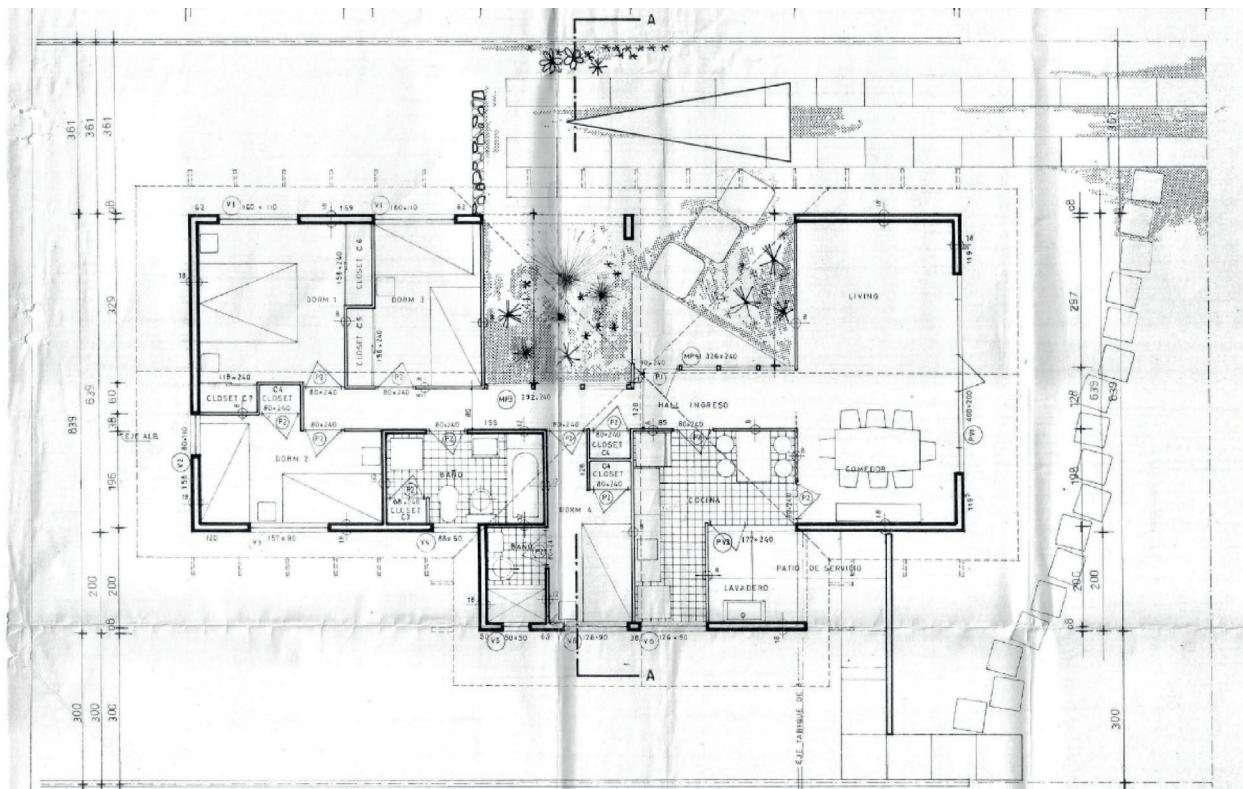


Figure 8. Floor plan type A.
Source: DOM Archives (1969).

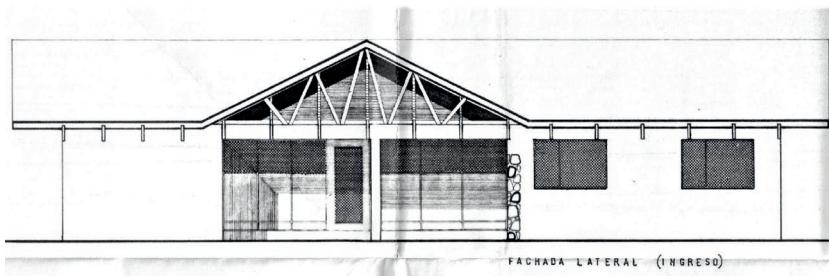


Figure 9. Street view. Source:
DOM Archives (1969).

Once construction was completed, a symbolic act was held on site: directors and executives attended a handover ceremony to the members. On December 17, the first four families from the cooperative arrived in the neighborhood: "I was the first one to come and live in my new house. Within a month the Soto, Flores, the Muñoz families arrived. We were no longer alone" (J. González, Interview, November 12, 2020).

Types of housing: unity and diversity

Housing Type A (Figure 8 and Figure 9):

Year of construction: 1969

Site area: 499.50 m²

Built area: 97.00m²

Covered open area: 12.50 m²

Total built area: 109.50m²

Material: Masonry with lightweight half-timbered roof

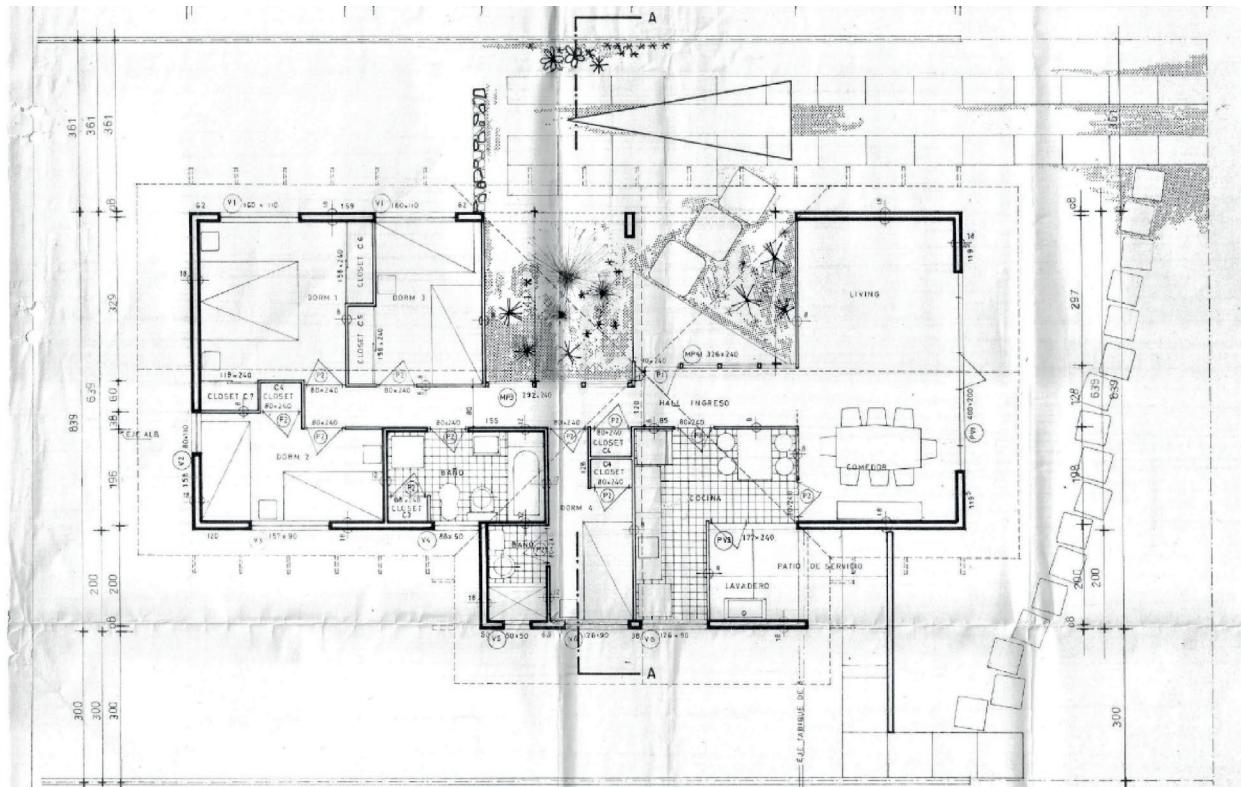
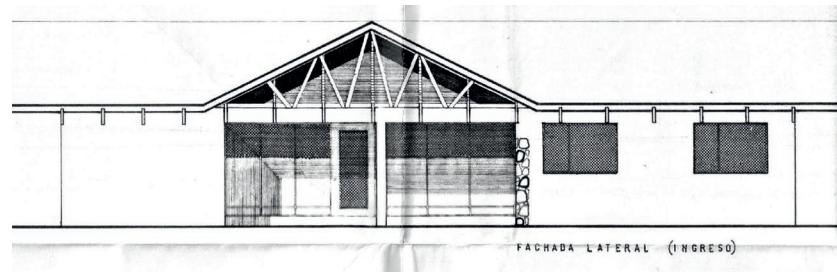


Figure 10. Floor plan type B.
 Source: DOM Archives (1969).

Figure 11. Side View (entrance).
 Source: DOM Archives (1969).



This type of housing had the largest surface area and was chosen by most workers who had three or more children. It had a floating wooden frame roof that seems to detach itself from the structure of the house. It was accessed by a porch located on the side of the house that reached a hallway where, on one side, it had most of the home's common spaces, such as the living-dining room and, on the other, the four bedrooms, leaving the main façade with a large window facing the street

Type B Housing: (Figure 10 and Figure 11)

Year of construction: 1969

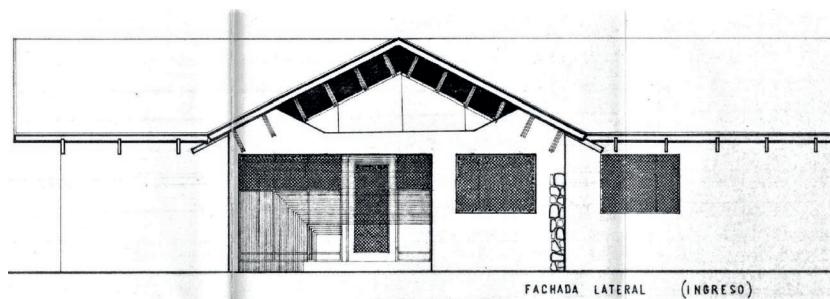
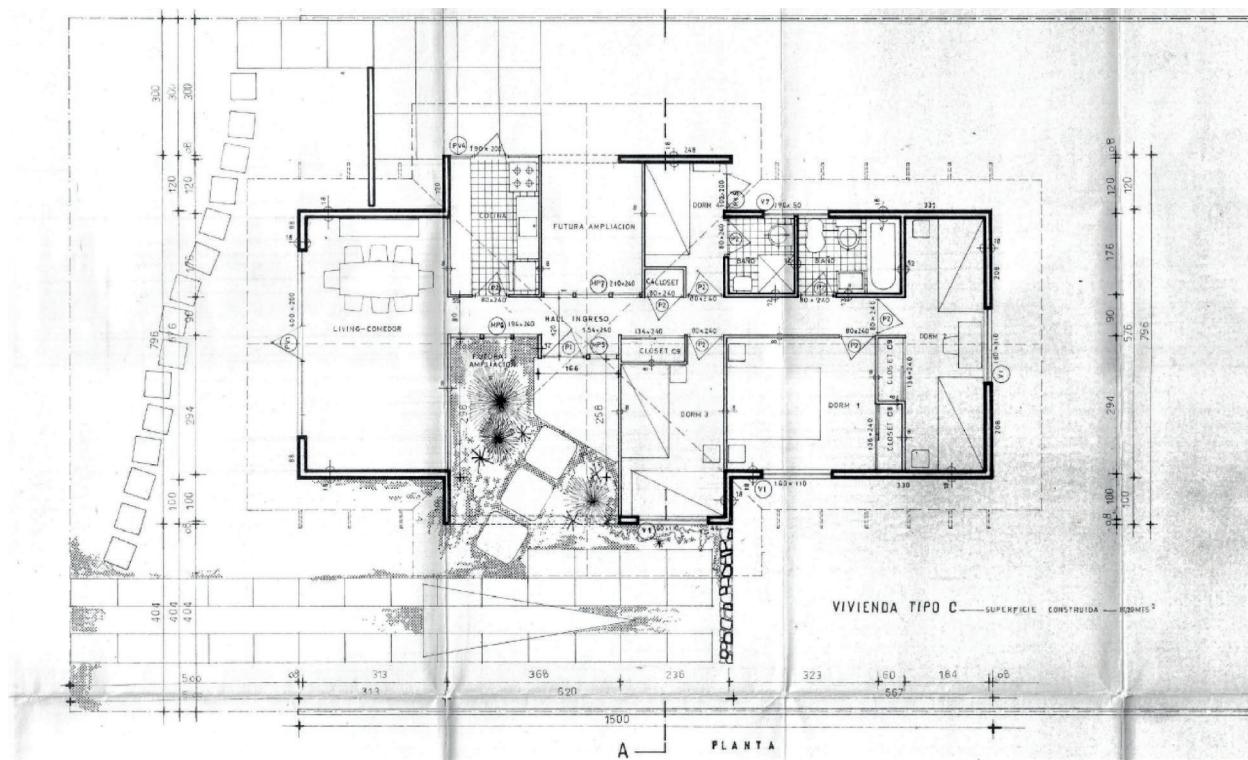
Site area: 499.50 m²

Built area: 90.33 m²

Covered open area: 11.84 m²

Total built area: 102.17 m²

Material: Masonry with lightweight half-timbered roof



This was the intermediate type and was very similar to type A. It differs in its internal layout (shape and size of closets and walls), but still maintains the same spaces with its four bedrooms, living-dining room, kitchen, access porch, kitchen, bathroom, and laundry room.

Type C Housing: (Figure 12 and Figure 13)

Year of construction: 1969

Site area: 499.50 m²

Built area: 80.20 m²

Covered open area: 8.79 m²

Total built area: 89.99 m²

Material: Masonry with lightweight half-timbered roof

The smallest of the three types had a similar architectural setup, but with smaller rooms. Its internal layout differs from Types A and

Figure 12. Floor plan type C.
Source: DOM Archives (1969).

Figure 13. Side view (entrance).
Source: DOM Archives (1969).

B in that it establishes two separate sectors, day and night. Between them, space is freed up for possible future extensions.

CONCLUSIONS

The urban growth of Chiguayante since the 1960s was strongly backed by cooperativism through the development of housing projects, carried out by three linked actors: Industry, workers, and the State. The housing cooperatives represent a transition from paternalistic top-down workers' housing to ones generated through democratic construction and urbanization processes of homes and neighborhoods.

Cooperativism also generated changes in the AMC's industrial paternalism model, with a new type of relationship between industry and worker. Housing cooperatives constituted a relevant alternative to the paternalism of workers' housing built by philanthropic industrialists in Lota, Coronel, or Tomé in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; or of State institutions and companies such as CAP, and others in Biobío. Housing cooperatives such as CEREPEC represent ideals of concrete, and total participation, in the sense that the members had decision-making power at all stages, from the location, and the design of the housing, to its construction.

In urban terms, the system and mechanisms of access to housing determined by cooperativism in the context of certain industrial activities resulted in the creation of a city model differentiated from that established by paternalism. State participation and support of the company were key factors for workers to become urban agents that, based on their associativity, influenced the constitution and conformation of medium-sized urban complexes. The access to funds for the acquisition of the land, lotting, urbanization, and construction were stages managed by the workers in search of the common good.

At the same time, cooperativism, regarding its architecture, stimulated the development of somewhat standardized solutions to accommodate a diversity of owners, with the implementation of alternatives and proposals for progressive growth, but that maintained a sense of unity and harmonious whole from the point of view of their morphology and implementation.

The growth of Chiguayante in this period is intertwined with industry, which accelerated the construction of high-standard housing and public spaces with social value. Although necessarily austere, this mode of urbanization gave importance to the wide street, as a public space par excellence that, together with neat green strips and wide ante-gardens, were transformed into key spaces for neighborhood interaction. Likewise, the Cooperative gives way to cohesive neighbors

who recognize that they have worked and built their space themselves. Groups of industry workers who colonize a rural area, name and urbanize their public space, manage professional and institutional support, collectively think about their homes, etc. Active citizens who sought their solutions in the context of a participatory era and society.

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