



# ARQUITECTURAS DEL SUR

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Esta edición de Arquitecturas del Sur registra tres artículos dedicados a la vivienda colectiva, en la medida que el déficit habitacional ha originado nuevas y mejores formas de participación ciudadana en sus soluciones. La Casa de Passagem Indígena en Florianópolis, atiende un problema esencialmente latinoamericano, cuál es el acceso de población indígena a vivienda de protección estatal. En este caso, la presencia de habitantes originarios en la ciudad examina las posibilidades de espacios físicos y simbólicos en la ciudad contemporánea y el papel profesional que indaga en las respuestas. A continuación, el texto Vivienda colaborativa analiza en el caso de la vivienda colaborativa desarrollada en España y su relación con mecanismos públicos de gestión. El caso de Gran Canaria ejerce temas de ayuda mutua, cesión de uso, cooperativismo y participación ciudadana. De este modo, el sistema de autoconstrucción de la Junta de Andalucía, una práctica tan eficaz como discutida, representativa de un cooperativismo socialista y la covivienda desarrollada por el Ayuntamiento de Barcelona, confluyen en el debate sobre la gestión cooperativa. El tercer texto atiende uno de los últimos eventos divulgativos de la acción de la CORVI, previo a su disolución en 1976. Exploraba un modelo de gestión que relevaba el papel de las empresas constructoras como un nuevo actor del proceso de dotación habitacional para el caso de la Población Santiago Amengual.

Un segundo grupo temático de este número, materializado en sus tres últimos artículos, vuelve la mirada a problemas estructurales de la arquitectura actual, cuya presencia se va ahondando en el debate disciplinar. Los lugares de memoria parecen sobrepasar los márgenes de una comprensión asentada en el discurso patrimonial. El recuerdo y la pertenencia sobre los espacios cotidianos nos refieren a nodos de memoria y cohesión colectiva. Este es el caso de la Escuela Comunitaria - Centro de Memoria y Acción Integral para el Cuidado del Bosque de Galilea y el Territorio de Colombia. Del mismo modo, las expresiones individuales, aisladas y selectivas, ofrecen un examen sobre aquellas experiencias inusuales donde la otredad ejerce el protagonismo sobre experiencias en la arquitectura y la ciudad de Santiago de Chile. Finalmente, visitar las obras de un maestro como Niemeyer abre la posibilidad de una relectura a través de unas acciones fundantes en decisiones portuguesas en dos de sus obras: el conjunto urbano de Pena Furada, en Portugal (1965) y la Praça XV, en Río de Janeiro (1991).

## EDITORIAL

Three articles in this issue of *Arquitecturas del Sur* are dedicated to collective housing, as the housing shortage has led to new and better forms of citizen participation in its solution. The Indigenous Temporary Accommodation in Florianopolis handles an essentially Latin American problem: access for Indigenous people to protected state housing. In this case, the presence of the city's original inhabitants examines the possibilities of physical and symbolic spaces in the contemporary city and the professional role that looks into the responses. Next, the text on collaborative housing analyzes the case of Spain, and its relationship with public management mechanisms. The case of Gran Canaria looks at mutual aid issues, transfer of use, cooperativism, and citizen participation. In this way, the self-construction system of the Andalusian Junta, a practice that is as effective as it is controversial, and representative of a socialist cooperativism and cohabitation developed by the Barcelona City Council, converge in the debate on cooperative management. The third text looks into one of the latest events disclosed on CORVI's actions, before its dissolution in 1976. It explores a management model that revealed the role of construction companies as a new player in the habitational process for the case of the Santiago Amengual Neighborhood.

A second thematic group in this issue, materialized in its last 3 articles, returns to the structural issues of modern-day architecture, whose presence is diving deeper into the disciplinary debate. The places of memory seem to exceed the margins of an understanding based on heritage discourse. The memory and belonging of daily spaces, turn one to the nodes of memory and collective coherence. This is the case of the Community School – Center of Memory and Integrated Action to Care for the Forest of Galilea and the Territory of Colombia. Likewise, the individual, isolated, and selective expressions examine those unusual experiences where otherness exercises protagonism over experiences in the architecture and city of Santiago de Chile. Finally, revisiting the works of a master like Niemeyer opens the possibility for rereading, through actions based on the Portuguese decisions in two of his works: the urban complex of Pena Furada, in Portugal (1965), and Plaza XV, in Rio de Janeiro (1991).

## EDITORIAL

## EDITORIAL

Esta edição da *Arquitecturas del Sur* apresenta três artigos dedicados à habitação coletiva, na medida em que o déficit habitacional deu origem a novas e melhores formas de participação cidadã voltadas à solução desse problema. A Casa de Passagem Indígena em Florianópolis aborda um problema essencialmente latino-americano, que é o acesso da população indígena à moradia subsidiada pelo Estado. Nesse caso, a presença de habitantes indígenas na cidade examina as possibilidades de espaços físicos e simbólicos na cidade contemporânea e o papel do profissional que explora possíveis respostas. Em seguida, o texto *Vivienda colaborativa* analisa o caso da habitação colaborativa desenvolvida na Espanha e sua relação com os mecanismos de gestão pública. O caso de Gran Canaria exercita questões de ajuda mútua, transferência de uso, cooperativismo e participação cidadã. Dessa forma, o sistema de autoconstrução da Junta da Andaluzia, uma prática tão eficaz quanto contestada, representativa de um cooperativismo socialista, e a coabitação desenvolvida pela Prefeitura de Barcelona, convergem no debate sobre a gestão cooperativa. O terceiro texto trata de um dos últimos eventos de divulgação das atividades da CORVI, antes de sua dissolução em 1976. Ele explorou um modelo de gestão que destacou o papel das empresas de construção como um novo ator no processo de fornecimento de moradias no caso da Población Santiago Amengual.

Um segundo grupo temático desta edição, materializado em seus três últimos artigos, volta seu olhar para os problemas estruturais da arquitetura atual, cuja presença tem se ampliado no debate disciplinar. Os lugares de memória parecem ir além das margens de uma compreensão baseada no discurso do patrimônio. A lembrança e o pertencimento a espaços cotidianos nos remetem a núcleos de memória e coesão coletiva. Esse é o caso da *Escuela Comunitaria - Centro de Memoria y Acción Integral para el Cuidado del Bosque de Galilea y el Territorio de Colombia*. Da mesma forma, expressões individuais, isoladas e seletivas oferecem um exame daquelas experiências incomuns em que a alteridade exerce protagonismo sobre as experiências na arquitetura e na cidade de Santiago do Chile. Por fim, revisitar as obras de um mestre como Niemeyer abre a possibilidade de uma releitura a partir de ações basilares que refletem influências portuguesas em duas de suas obras: o complexo urbano de Pena Furada, em Portugal (1965) e a Praça XV, no Rio de Janeiro (1991).





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# INDIGENOUS TEMPORARY ACCOMMODATION IN FLORIANOPOLIS: PARTICIPATORY PROJECT AND STATE ACTIONS

## CASA DE PASSAGEM INDÍGENA EM FLORIANÓPOLIS: PROJETO PARTICIPATIVO E AÇÕES DO ESTADO

## CASA DE PASAJE INDÍGENA EN FLORIANÓPOLIS: PROYECTO PARTICIPATIVO Y ACCIONES DEL ESTADO



**Figure 0.** Results of the first visit.  
Source: Own collection.

## RESUMO

Este artigo apresenta o processo de projeto adotado para a concepção da casa de passagem indígena de Florianópolis - Santa Catarina - Brasil com enfoque nas estratégias projetuais e nas alterações da proposta frente às ações do Estado e participação da comunidade indígena. As propostas, elaboradas por meio de um projeto de extensão na Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina, abordam a importância da presença indígena na cidade, a luta constante dos povos originários por espaços físicos e simbólicos na sociedade contemporânea e o papel social de arquitetos e urbanistas diante destes desafios. Adota-se como estratégia metodológica um processo de projeto participativo, que compreende etapas de pesquisa teórica e documental, ações junto à comunidade indígena, interface com o Estado e a elaboração coletiva de diretrizes e propostas arquitetônicas. Como resultado, apresentam-se os projetos elaborados a partir das demandas da comunidade bem como as alterações decorrentes das diferentes estratégias construídas a partir das movimentações do poder público frente à problemática. Acredita-se que ao considerar os diversos atores envolvidos no processo de projeto, ampliam-se as possibilidades tanto de viabilizar a execução de equipamentos públicos fundamentais da cidade quanto de fazer com que estes de fato atendam os anseios e as necessidades das comunidades envolvidas.

**Palavras-chave:** projeto arquitetônico, processo participativo, cultura indígena, indígenas urbanos, direito à cidade.

## ABSTRACT

This article presents the design process adopted for the design of Indigenous Temporary Accommodation in Florianópolis - Santa Catarina - Brazil, focusing on design strategies and changes in the proposal, considering State actions and the participation of the indigenous community. These proposals were developed through an outreach project at the Federal University of Santa Catarina, addressing the importance of indigenous presence in the city, the constant struggle of indigenous people for physical and symbolic spaces in contemporary society, and the social role of architects and urban planners within these challenges. A participatory project process is adopted as a methodological strategy, which comprises theoretical and documentary research stages, joint actions with the indigenous community, interactions with the State, preparation of guidelines, and architectural proposals. As a result, the architectural proposals developed based on community demands are presented, as well as the changes from the different strategies built using State actions to handle the issue. It is believed that when considering the different actors involved in the design process, possibilities broaden both to enable the execution of key public facilities in the city and to make these meet the wants and needs of the communities involved.

**Keywords:** architectural design, participatory project, indigenous culture, urban indigenous people, right to the city.

## RESUMEN

Este artículo presenta el proceso de proyecto adoptado para el diseño de la casa de tránsito indígena en Florianópolis - Santa Catarina - Brasil, centrándose en las estrategias de diseño y cambios en la propuesta frente a las acciones del Estado y la participación de la comunidad indígena. Las propuestas, desarrolladas a través de un proyecto de extensión en la Universidad Federal de Santa Catarina abordan la importancia de la presencia indígena en la ciudad, la lucha constante de los pueblos originarios por los espacios físicos y simbólicos en la sociedad contemporánea y el papel social de los arquitectos y urbanistas en frente a estos desafíos. Se adopta como estrategia metodológica un proceso de proyecto participativo, que comprende etapas de investigación teórica y documental, acciones con la comunidad indígena, interfaz con el Estado y elaboración colectiva de lineamientos y propuestas arquitectónicas. Como resultado, se presentan los proyectos desarrollados a partir de las demandas de la comunidad, así como los cambios resultantes de las distintas estrategias construidas a partir de los movimientos del poder público frente a la problemática. Se cree que al considerar los diversos actores involucrados en el proceso de diseño, se amplían las posibilidades tanto para viabilizar la ejecución de equipamientos públicos fundamentales en la ciudad, como para hacerlos realidad satisfacer los deseos y necesidades de las comunidades involucradas.

**Palabras clave:** proyecto arquitectónico, proceso participativo, cultura indígena, indígenas urbanos, derecho a la ciudad.

## INTRODUCTION

The Brazilian territory is marked by the presence of indigenous peoples and the cultural diversity that has characterized them since before the arrival of Europeans. In contemporary society, they are present from memory, from integration with other peoples, from inherited, learned, and resignified customs, and also from their presence in urban territories.

The intensification of the urbanization process that occurred in the last half-century, the devastation, low demarcation, and reduction of indigenous lands, and the neglect of public policies for indigenous peoples, have made their presence in urban daily life recurrent today. In the specific case of Santa Catarina, the demarcation of lands of the three majority ethnic groups found in the state (Guarani, Kaingang, and Xokleng) was concentrated in very specific regions and has seen progressive losses of territory.

The island of Santa Catarina is traditionally a territory that has seen indigenous circulation (FUNAI, 2018). Today, the indigenous presence in the city of Florianópolis is essentially marked by artisanry trade. This, in turn, is the main way of maintaining economic relations with their villages in the region, becoming a link between the city, the indigenous cosmology, and its form of permeabilization in the dominant economic system, not in search of profit, but in search of recognition and material and immaterial valuation of these peoples.

The Guarani people from the villages of Greater Florianópolis have been selling handicrafts in the city center for many years. The Kaingang have come in from the villages of the states of Rio Grande do Sul, west of Santa Catarina and Paraná for the same, while the Xokleng have also long been coming in from the Itajaí Valley and moved around Florianópolis. Given this context and the numerous reports of violence suffered by the indigenous community, the state must provide an appropriate place for families to stay while they are in the city.

The city hall has drawn up some proposals for an indigenous transition house (temporary accommodation), however, both public land and facilities are the subject of intense political disputes and to date have not drawn this up. Regarding the indigenous community's history of struggle and their specific needs, a new project was initiated in 2021, with the participation of professors and students from the Architecture and Urbanism Course of the Federal University of Santa Catarina, considering previous projects and discussions, but to create other forms of dialog with the public sectors, to promote intercultural dialog and meet the demands identified with the communities.

The proposal aims to build a dignified and designed space following the technical standards that accommodate the use of the temporary residence, the Transition House, and spaces for cultural exchange and the sale of handicrafts, becoming a Culture Point that is open to the

community. The research and architectural proposals are based on the idea that it is necessary to broaden the look at the history of Brazil's indigenous peoples and understand their diversity and culture. This knowledge underpins the development of architectural interventions for Indigenous Peoples. Amos Rapoport (1978), when studying the relationship of people with the environment, reveals concerns about the cultural changes caused by innovations in built environments. The author considers social research before the intervention as key so that the cultural specificities and central elements to respecting the people's way of life are known, even if in the process they are transformed and reinvented by the community itself.

In Brazil, there are recurrent architectural interventions that disregard the culture and way of life of indigenous populations, interfere with their forms of social and environmental organization, and end up harming their daily activities (Zanin, 2018). Therefore, there is a demand for architectural and infrastructure projects for Indigenous Peoples, which use the references of each culture, going against standardized institutional projects that do not respond to local longings and realities.

Faced with the need to think and architecturally conceive the Temporary Accommodation, another reflection arises about the possible paths to be followed. This is the discussion about the character adopted by the outreach project being developed and the position of the project team in the relationship with the different subjects of the process. To clarify this issue, the semantic dispute between *outreach* and *communication* approached by Freire (1994) is presented.

The author argues that the word *outreach* suggests that knowledge is produced at the University and will reach out to the population. The community appears as the object of the action in the process and the projects arise from the interest of researchers and not from dialog with society. In opposition to this view, Freire approaches the concept of *communication*, which suggests a liberating education. The protagonism is shared between the University and the community in a horizontal partnership, articulation between scientific and popular knowledge, which allows the collective building of knowledge, and proposals closely related to the local context and the needs of the community.

### **Indigenous presence in Florianópolis and the temporary accommodation**

According to the Municipal Secretariat of Tourism, Technology, and Economic Development of the Florianópolis City Hall (PMF, in Portuguese), evidence of Indigenous presence in Florianópolis is found in shell mounds and archaeological sites with records dating back to 4,800 BC. According to the 2010 Census, about 1,028 Indigenous people live in Florianópolis (IBGE, 2010), even though there is no Indigenous land in this municipality. Palhoça and Biguaçu, municipalities belonging to greater Florianópolis, add three and four Indigenous sites, respectively.

Indigenous people of different peoples are seen in the city center, selling handicrafts for subsistence. The objects sold vary between baskets, hampers, plants, bows, arrows, and wooden sculptures. In addition to artisanry being a form of livelihood for the families, it expresses cultural elements, telling the story of their ancestors, deities, and their cosmology. "Handicrafts are a materialized culture, a heritage recognized and protected by the Federal Constitution" (FUNAI, 2018, P5).

The Indigenous presence in urban centers is not an unprecedented factor in history or in Florianópolis. The island of Santa Catarina is a common territory for Indigenous circulation (FUNAI, 2018): the Guarani from the villages of Greater Florianópolis have been selling handicrafts in the city center since the 1980s, a practice carried out by women with their children on a blanket on the ground, which they call *poraro* and they believe that it enables the formation of children as Guarani people in important moments of sociability and intra- and inter-ethnic cultural exchange (Zanin, 2017). The Kaingang move from villages in the state of Rio Grande do Sul, west of Santa Catarina and Paraná, while the Xokleng come from the Itajaí Valley and also circulate through Florianópolis.

According to Funai (2018, p.4), "although the dynamics of this displacement have changed throughout the colonization process and the contact between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people, Indigenous communities seek large urban centers to sell their handicrafts". However, the Indigenous presence in the city center is usually somewhat strange for non-Indigenous people, who see the Indigenous as foreign to that space.

Over the last few decades, this process of movement and permanence of Indigenous families in Florianópolis has been marked by the difficulties they face, especially the lack of security and decent conditions for permanence. Current leaders of the movement report that they only had shelter from bad weather in improvised camps, usually under viaducts or trees on empty land, and that they had to protect themselves from varying types of violence, the result of prejudice regarding Indigenous presence in the urban environment.

The need for better accommodation led Indigenous families along a long path of struggles and demands to the municipal government for more adequate and safe spaces. Faced with this situation, there was a need for actions that promote dignity when Indigenous people are passing through Florianópolis and, consequently, a suitable acceptance of the Indigenous in the urban context of the city, of which they are also part. The city's bus station was the first space improvised to receive families, in 2015. It was then replaced by the old bus terminal in the neighborhood of Saco dos Limões (TISAC), where the indigenous people remain to this day, still experiencing a process of disputes and without the necessary basic infrastructure.

In the midst of political and social conflicts regarding the permanence of the indigenous people in TISAC, the construction of Temporary

Accommodation becomes a fundamental element in their struggle to guarantee their Right to the City. Despite the fragilities and conflicts that revolve around the area destined for this, the conquest of this portion of Atterro da Baía Sul is the result of the struggle of the indigenous peoples.

In addition to the Temporary Accommodation, other spaces of resistance are claimed by the presence of Indigenous people in urban centers. Based on the recent access of Indigenous people to higher education, their presence in this territory is expanding, bringing new agendas of struggles and demands, not only to guarantee the permanence of students at the university but also to strengthen Indigenous autonomy in cities (Bergamaschi et al., 2018).

In this context marked by disputes in the urban territory historically denied to Indigenous Peoples, new facilities emerge as fortresses of resistance and the affirmation of the Indigenous presence in urban centers. For this reason, the institutional equipment of the Temporary Accommodation becomes a place of affirmation of Indigenous presence in the urban space and represents the preservation and valuation of the memory and customs of these peoples.

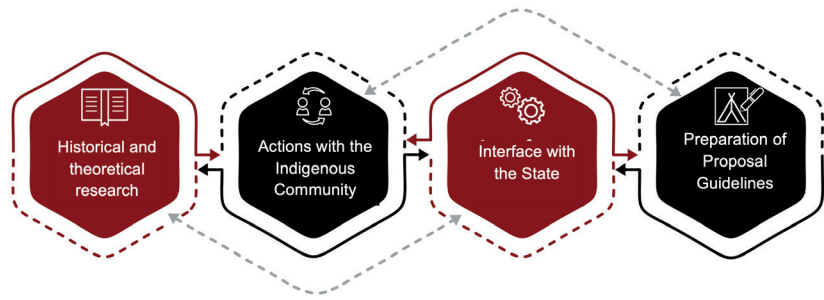
If, on one hand, the implementation of this facility paves the way for more representative urban futures, sensitive to the needs of this population, it also brings with it numerous challenges, ranging from the definition of the term Temporary Accommodation to the legal elements established for its execution. For clarification for both the project team and the community in this regard, the municipal works code (Florianópolis, 2000) is used. This covers buildings intended for hotels, inns, and hostels as transient residential buildings, with a minimum area of five square meters per bed, in addition to guiding the number of points for the minimum water and sanitation facilities needed for this type of building. These parameters have guided the design of the project. Even if it is an outreach project in institutional terms, as a pedagogical and action practice, the team uses communication, exchange, and sharing as the basis for all stages.

The main objective of this article is to share the path of the project and the architectural proposals developed for the Temporary Accommodation from the communication with the Indigenous communities and public agents involved. For this purpose, the stages defined, the projects resulting from the chosen methodological strategies, and the reflections on both the design path and the architectural tools are presented, as well as the social role of the profession and the intervention possibilities to generate positive impacts for the city in general.

This outreach project adopts a participatory methodology of architectural design, involving the indigenous community, to broaden the understanding of this context. Rapoport (1971) expresses the need to know the subjective aspects of the group where an architectural intervention is intended,

## METHODOLOGY

**Figure 1.** Research stages.  
 Source: Preparation by the authors.



emphasizing that architecture must be directed to the interests of the people who will use it. Unwin (2013) delves further into the issue by arguing about the protagonism and involvement of the user in the definition of architectural design, enabling the design of identifiable places.

It is believed that the participatory dynamics adopted make it possible to establish closer relationships with the communities and with the other agents involved in the project. Thus, the following steps and actions defined in Figure 1 were used to develop the architectural proposal of the Indigenous Temporary Accommodation of Florianópolis.

### Actions with the indigenous community

Joint actions were planned with the indigenous community at various points in the project. Initially, in July 2020, the first of these aimed to establish the first contact of the project team with the indigenous community and the place of intervention, in addition to conducting a metric and photographic survey to build the base drawings for the proposal. The second action, a basketry workshop, was held at the end of the same month, to enable a freer and deeper interaction between the community and the team. Understanding the representativeness of handicrafts in Indigenous material culture and their importance as a means of Indigenous subsistence in the city, the activity places the members of the project team as learners of this traditional know-how and highlights the intention of knowledge exchange and collective construction of the proposal. After these first two actions, relations with the community were strengthened and since then, there have been regular joint activities with the local indigenous community. These include meetings to discuss the project, clarify doubts, technical consultations, and other actions related to the permanence of the indigenous people in the place currently occupied.

### Interface with the state

The relationship with public agents occurs both indirectly, where the team follows the public hearings and actions of the City Hall and City Council regarding the feasibility of the Temporary Accommodation, and directly, where the team participates in meetings about the project with the community and the Federal Public Prosecutor's Office. It is worth noting that this direct participation with the federal prosecutor's



office was implemented in response to the demands of the indigenous community itself and the reverberations of this dialog are presented below. The main goal of this communication was to involve the public agents who have the power and responsibility over the feasibility of the project's execution, so that the proposal was elaborated taking into account both the community and the restrictions or guidelines imposed by the state.

### **Guidelines for the preparation of proposals**

The design guidelines and architectural proposals were drafted collectively by the design team and presented, discussed, amended, and validated with the indigenous community at all stages of the drafting. This strategy was adopted to involve the building's users in the project development process, making them participate actively, not only having their demands considered, but as protagonists in the elaboration of a place to welcome Indigenous families, that was designed to respect and value their cultural specificities.

Each of these stages occurred not in a linear sequence, but in different moments of the research, considering the transformations in the political and administrative scenario and the changes in the course of the project, reworked from each dialog between the agents involved. Below, the main results of each one are summarized, as well as their contributions to the configuration of the architectural proposals elaborated so far.

### **Actions with the indigenous community**

The visit carried out in June 2021 aimed at a first recognition of the site, both for the physical characteristics of the building and for how it was occupied as Temporary Accommodation. The visit began with a conversation between the team members and members of the indigenous community. Everyone sat in a circle and talked about the needs, difficulties, and desires of the indigenous community, especially regarding the construction of Temporary Accommodation to house about three hundred indigenous people in a dignified way, including bedrooms, toilets, canteens, and collective kitchens, as well as space for the production and sale of handicrafts.

The geometry and current conditions of the building were also observed and recorded through photographs and a metric survey. Although the building has never been used as an urban bus terminal, it is in good condition, with its structure and roof intact. The water and sanitation facilities are in a precarious state, with only two showers, basins, and sinks for about 80 people who inhabit the site at a time. The front of the building has space for the production and sale of handicrafts (Figure 2). The back section is occupied by canvas tents provided by the Civil Defense, used as temporary bedrooms. Although the tents are under the existing roof, they are very exposed to the cold, heat, and strong winds. The main results of the first visit

## **RESULTADOS**



**Figure 2.** Results of the first visit.  
 Source: Own collection.

**Figure 3.** Kaingang basketry  
 office. Source: Own collection.

were records of conversations with the community through a report made by each member of the team; and the photographic survey and technical drawings made from the metric and photographic survey, comprising floor plans, cross sections, and a digital model.

On the second visit, a workshop was held to make traditional Kaingang basketry (Figure 3), taught by the indigenous people to UFSC students and teachers, the members of the project team. The team's reports describe the importance of the basket-making experience to understand and value the ancestral and atavistic know-how of basket-making. They also highlight the complexity involved in that production, simpler in appearance than it really is.

Kaingang basketry, apart from representing a means of subsistence for the community, represents the identity of this ethnic group through the graphics printed on the pieces and the format of the artifacts. This moment of knowledge sharing was fundamental for the next steps of the project and guided the building's needs program and the proposal's spatial organization.

Other informal visits were made by team members individually and collectively, throughout the second half of 2021, as a result of the ties



created from the two planned field visits. These informal visits contributed to complementing and updating the information collected. Among these interactions, the project presentation meetings, a visit to a plot offered by the city hall for the construction of the Temporary Accommodation (Figure 4), and participation in craft fairs and other activities carried out by the community stand out.

**Figure 4.** Actions with the indigenous community. Source: Own collection.

The trust-based relationship established with the community allowed the project team to understand the needs of Indigenous families and to support their position before the public agencies involved, as will be described below.

### Interface with the state

At the request of the community, representatives of the project team participated in the meeting with the Florianópolis City Hall and the Federal Public Prosecutor's Office to support the indigenous people in arguing the reasons why the land offered by the city was not suitable for the Temporary Accommodation. After this event, a new meeting was held with the prosecutor's office. On this occasion, the prosecutor requested the elaboration of a proposal limiting the project to the projection of the TISAC's roof, without expanding the built area as a strategy to make the project viable. The following are the proposals drawn up from both the dialogs with the community and the guidance of the MPF.

### Guidelines and drafting of proposals

After carrying out historical research, field trips to TISAC, and, mainly, the analysis of the interaction dynamics with the different state agents, the team prepared project guidelines built collectively with the indigenous community, taking into account the constant changes of the situation arising from the actions of the different state agents. The proposed guidelines are:

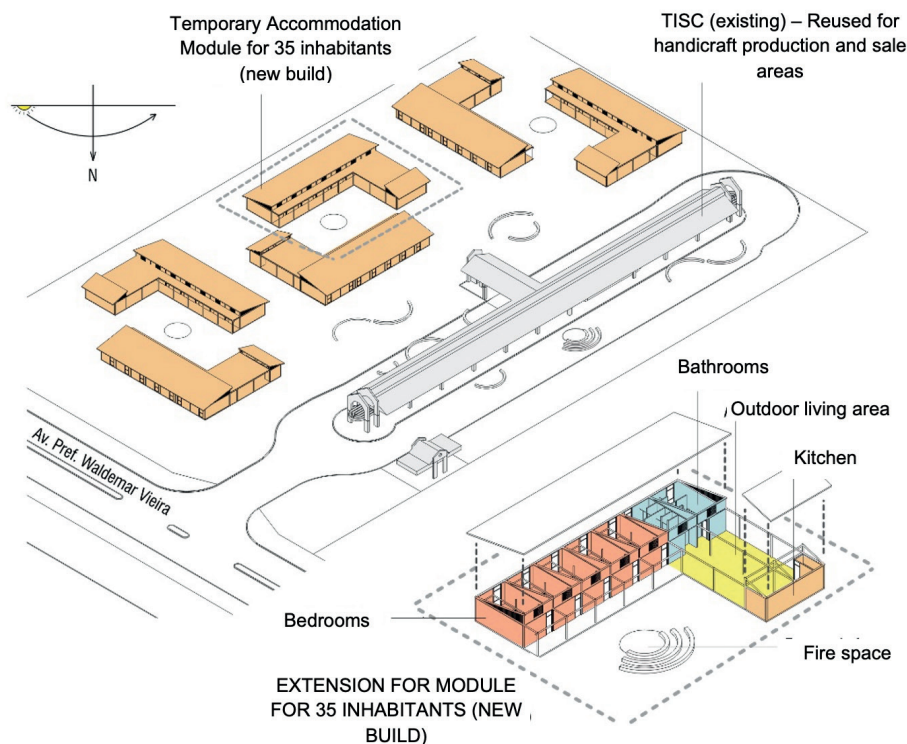
- Making spaces more flexible so that they have a use even when there are fewer Indigenous people in the city;
- Providing spaces for the manufacture, storage, and sale of handicrafts produced by the indigenous population;
- Considering the possibility of different groups within the territory (by family or ethnicity), in the design of the spaces of the Indigenous Temporary Accommodation;
- Designing the environments in a modular way, so that they can be implemented in stages;
- Providing zoning by layers of sociability that will be structured into a) an interface of the indigenous community with the external neighborhood and community, including areas for the production and sale of handicrafts; b) indigenous social interaction, considering its diversity (covered open areas, space for a campfire, kitchens, and toilets; c) areas of shelter and rest (bedrooms) capable of housing the different group setups (by kinship, village, or ethnicity).

Based on these guidelines, the team developed two proposals, which are highlighted in this article. The first of these considers a base module for the project. It is a single-story building comprising two blocks: a bedroom and bathroom block; and another block with a kitchen, storage room, and technical areas. The two blocks are connected by an open and covered area – a large balcony- used for dining, entertaining, and making crafts. In this way, the two blocks can be set up in different formats, forming “L”, “U” or linear deployments, to establish different external spaces that can be adapted in different places. The building can house between thirty and forty people. In this configuration, the Temporary Accommodation is understood as a complex of several small buildings, with the flexibility to be deployed on different sites, the possibility of having extensions and construction in stages, in addition to maintaining a certain autonomy of each building, to facilitate the management of each unit and respect the different indigenous groups.

The team studied the implementation of these base modules in two situations: Proposal A - on the land of the current TISAC, using the existing roof for the production and sale of handicrafts; Proposal B - on the site next to the TISAC, a free area owned by the Union, ceded for the construction of the Temporary Accommodation (Figure 5 and Figure 6).

However, the Municipal Government did not comply with the commitment it established with the Federal Public Prosecutor's office to provide for the construction of the definitive Temporary Accommodation, nor to provide minimum living conditions for the old terminal (TISAC), a provisionally defined place for shelter for Indigenous people.

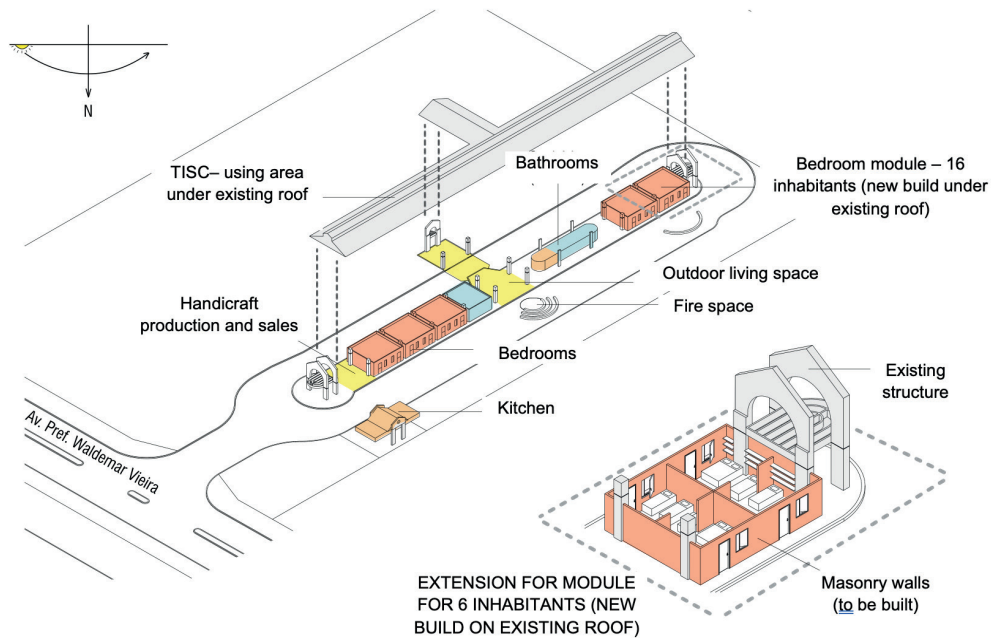
In dialog with the Indigenous community and the Federal Public Prosecutor's Office, the project team changed the design strategy and conceived a second proposal, meeting an urgent demand to adapt the TISAC building to house Indigenous people, complying with the parameters established in the municipal works code. The proposal consists of the construction of bedroom,



**Figure 5.** Proposal B - Project.  
Source: Preparation by the Authors

**Figure 6.** Proposal B - Perspective. Source: Preparation by the Authors

bathroom, and kitchen modules under the terminal structure. As it does not occupy the entire built area of the terminal, open and covered areas are kept for socializing and making crafts. In this version of the project, the roof of the bedrooms will be under the existing roof, and the space between them will be allocated for the stock of handicrafts for sale. The fact that the roof of the bedrooms is shaded by the terminal's existing roof also helps with the thermal comfort of the rooms, in addition to providing double protection against the rain. It can house 80 people, providing spaces for the production and sale of handicrafts, thus becoming a feasible option of temporary, but dignified, shelter for this population (Figure 7 and Figure 8). This second proposal also follows the guidelines established above.



**Figure 7.** Proposal C - Project.  
 Source: Preparation by the Authors

**Figure 8.** Proposal C - Perspective. Source: Preparation by the Authors



## DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Based on the guidelines soundly prepared in the participatory process with the actors, a first proposal for the construction of the Florianópolis Indigenous Temporary Accommodation was developed. The changes resulting from the actions of the different state sectors were considered Project data, in this case, evidenced mainly by the dispute between the City Hall and the Public Prosecutor's Office. For this reason, the main premises of the project advocate for a flexible way to adapt to different terrains and be built in stages. Proof of this was the second project proposal, where the same premises and sizes of the environments defined in the first proposal were used, adapted to the conditions imposed by the current situation with the Public Prosecutor's Office.

The second proposal was presented by the project team and validated by the indigenous community at a meeting held at TISAC in early March 2022. On March 14, 2022, this proposal was presented, commented on, and approved at a meeting between Indigenous representatives, the Federal Public Prosecutor,

and the project team of Labproj (Design Laboratory of the Architecture Course of the Federal University of Santa Catarina), held at the headquarters of the Federal Public Prosecutor in Florianópolis. As a result of the approval at the aforementioned meeting, the project team prepared a budget forecast for the project's construction, an amount that the Public Prosecutor will use as a reference for raising funds for its execution.

Finally, we observe that the act of designing, in addition to the technical and aesthetic issues inherent to the field of architecture, is also conditioned by the modifications and conflicts that the actions of the different state actors have, an important condition for a project of character and public interest such as that of the Indigenous Temporary Accommodation of Florianópolis.

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# COLLABORATIVE HOUSING: MUTUAL AID, COOPERATIVES, AND PARTICIPATION IN PUBLIC PROMOTION POLICIES FOR HOUSING

VIVIENDA COLABORATIVA: AYUDA MUTUA,  
COOPERATIVISMO Y PARTICIPACIÓN EN LAS  
POLÍTICAS DE PROMOCIÓN PÚBLICA DE  
VIVIENDA

HABITAÇÃO COLABORATIVA: AJUDA MÚTUA,  
COOPERATIVISMO E PARTICIPAÇÃO EM  
POLÍTICAS PÚBLICAS DE HABITAÇÃO



**Figure 0.** Image from the complex of 1,472 homes of the Martín Freire Group, Schamann, Las Palmas de Gran Canaria. Source: Author's photograph..

Research made thanks to the Housing Consortium of Gran Canaria, by promoting the Housing Laboratory (Vivienlab).



## RESUMEN

La presente investigación se enmarca en los resultados de la confluencia entre dos ejemplos de intervención pública en materia de vivienda en España, por un lado, y por otro, del inicio de un camino por un modelo extendido de vivienda colaborativa en la isla de Gran Canaria. La investigación analiza la denominada vivienda colaborativa y su relación con los mecanismos de gestión que pueden o deben acompañar a las políticas públicas de vivienda, a través de la observación de los casos de Andalucía y Barcelona, ambas inspiradas en el modelo de vivienda cooperativa de Uruguay. Tras estudiar el caso de la isla de Gran Canaria, se propone la necesidad de políticas de vivienda que incorporen la ayuda mutua, la cesión de uso, el cooperativismo o la participación ciudadana.

**Palabras clave:** vivienda, participación, cooperativismo, mediación, arquitectura

## ABSTRACT

On one hand, this research is framed within the results of two Spanish public housing interventions, and on the other, the beginnings of an extended collaborative housing model on the island of Gran Canaria. The research analyzes collaborative housing and its relationship with the management mechanisms that can or should accompany public policies for housing, by observing the cases of Andalusia and Barcelona, both inspired by Uruguay's cooperative housing model. After studying the case on the island of Gran Canaria, the need for housing policies that incorporate mutual aid, transfer of use, cooperativism, or citizen participation is proposed.

**Keywords:** housing, participation, cooperativism, mediation, architecture

## RESUMO

Esta pesquisa está enquadrada nos resultados da confluência entre dois exemplos de intervenção pública em habitação na Espanha, por um lado, e o início de um caminho em direção a um modelo ampliado de habitação colaborativa na ilha de Gran Canaria, por outro. A pesquisa analisa a chamada habitação colaborativa e sua relação com os mecanismos de gestão que podem ou devem acompanhar as políticas públicas de habitação por meio da observação dos casos da Andaluzia e de Barcelona, ambos inspirados no modelo de habitação cooperativa do Uruguai. Depois de estudar o caso da ilha de Gran Canaria, propõe-se a necessidade de políticas habitacionais que incorporem ajuda mútua, transferência de uso, cooperativismo e participação cidadã.

**Palavras-chave:** habitação, participação, cooperativismo, mediação, arquitetura.

## INTRODUCTION

Spain is lagging behind other European countries in terms of available public housing stock, which, according to Bellart and Meda (2018, p. 18) stands at just 2.5% compared to 30% in the Netherlands, 24% in Austria, or 20% in Denmark. Another difficulty is that, at present, more than 80% of the housing stock is owned. In addition, the population aging index, and the age of emancipation for young people are well above the European average. These are just some of the factors that are driving housing authorities to innovate in regulatory, typological, programmatic, or management solutions. They are also reflecting, through different proposals, on the way of living in our time. Should we resign ourselves to living in spaces that were designed at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and that are not responding to the needs of the 21<sup>st</sup> century?

Colin Ward, in his article "Housing, an Anarchist Approach" (Ward, 1998), reviewed the three themes that have an anarchist inspiration in architecture: collective housing, mutual aid - closely related to participation - and energy saving. This research has been made using precisely these three issues, with special emphasis on the first two, linking the public-private promotion of collective housing, citizen participation, and sustainability as necessary elements for new public housing policies.

Throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century and in the first decades of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, housing has gone from having a use value, which led the research of the interwar period, to having an exchange value, with a clear origin in the developmentalism of the 1950s and 1960s. Given the proliferation of empty housing in large cities or the growing speculation in prices, some authors have come to consider current housing as a non-place (Alonso Cano, 2012, p. 114), as spaces waiting for a visitor who does not arrive.

### Background

In recent years we have followed the evolution of different housing programs throughout the Spanish state, with a starting point in the self-construction program of the Andalusian Government (Díaz García, 2008), and a finishing point in the cohabitation or collaborative housing interventions of the Barcelona City Council. The research that has led us to visit these developments tries to bring both models closer to the context of the Canary Islands, where housing cooperativism has hardly any history. The Canary Islands, despite having a long tradition of public social housing policies, have seen a decline in access to housing for underprivileged sectors in recent decades. As Casariego (1979) reminds us, John Turner, in his 1977 book, "Housing, by people. Towards autonomy in building environments", referred to a public housing intervention on the island of Gran Canaria, regarding how the neighbors built on a

hillside, as “an aesthetically hideous, socially alienating, and technically incompetent architecture” (Turner, 1976, p. 67).

Since starting the study on the self-construction program of the Andalusian Government, this research has followed a path to the past and the future. For the former, namely, going back, it looks at the mutual aid housing construction cooperatives of Uruguay and the emerging participatory experiences of the 1960s. On the other hand, moving forward, it addresses the most recent experiences of collaborative housing, particularly the case of Barcelona, and future interventions on the built heritage of public housing found in all major Spanish cities.

This research looks to take a first step on the island of Gran Canaria for the possible implementation of these new ways of living. Specifically, in 2019, the Gran Canaria Housing Laboratory (Vivienlab) was launched, in collaboration with the Gran Canaria Council, with the commitment to promote collaborative housing on the island. Methodologically, this challenge has been addressed in three aspects: information on best practices presented here; visualizing what has been done so far, with an accessible map of public housing on the island of Gran Canaria; and, finally, defining a broader framework or extended model, here called collaborative housing.

As for the information, in February and April 2017, the first stones of two housing cooperatives were laid in Barcelona for the assignment of use. The first was a building of 28 apartments promoted by the La Borda cooperative, in Can Batlló, a former textile factory in the neighborhood of Sants, with the technical assistance of the architects cooperative LACOL. The second initiative consisted of the rehabilitation of 5 floors in a municipal building located at Calle Princesa 49, in Ciutat Vella, promoted by the City Council itself with the technical collaboration of the Sostre Civic cooperative. In 2022, as an important milestone of these policies, both the LACOL and La Borda cooperatives were awarded the *Mies van der Rohe* emerging architecture prize. Both cases, as well as the homes in Andalusia, were visited during the research, and, in the case of Barcelona, they are the subject of research projects such as those of Girbés-Peco et al. (2020) and Tordable Calvo (2020).

What happened in 2017 in Barcelona harks back to two other similar chapters in the history of cooperative housing. The first took place in Uruguay in 1966 with the birth of housing cooperatives, with two inland experiences, in the towns of Fray Bentos and Salto. Thanks to a project promoted by a group of technicians from the Uruguayan Cooperative Center (CCU), financed with international cooperation funds, three workers' cooperatives were established, which, by contributing work as builders instead of money, became pioneering experiences and the basis for drafting the National Housing Law, approved at the end of 1968.



**Figure 1.** Image from the complex of 1,472 homes of the Martín Freire Group, Schamann, Las Palmas de Gran Canaria. Source: Author's photograph.

**Figure 2.** Complex of the 74 houses of Nuestra Señora del Carmen, La Isleta, Las Palmas de Gran Canaria. Source: Author's photograph.



The second chapter takes us to the construction, in 1978, of the *Tinggarden* residential complex, located at *Herfølge*, a city southeast of Copenhagen in Denmark. This was the result of an architectural competition called in 1971 won by the *Vandkunsten* Studio of young architects. In 1981, as had happened in Uruguay, the Danish Government also passed the *Cooperative Housing Association Law* to facilitate the development of co-housing. Therefore, it is no coincidence that Denmark and Uruguay today are the two countries where this model is most widespread.

A previous research project was used for the visibility provided by the accessible map, where a database of publicly promoted social housing complexes built on the island of Gran Canaria in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century had been developed (Figure 1). Thanks to Vivienlab, it was possible to dump this information into the Gran Canaria Spatial Data Infrastructure (IDEGranCanaria), using the project to show the efforts made by public administrations in the field of social housing (Figure 2).

With regard to the expanded model of collaborative housing, the proposal consisted in making a conceptual and complex framework that would accommodate not only the experiences that are presented here (Uruguay, Andalusia, or Catalunya) but also others that are taking place daily in our cities with cooperation and collaboration guidelines.

This expanded housing model tried to combine, in a matrix model, the importance of the process that starts from existing experiences (such as those collected on the map) to then continue progressively approaching new models for living. In the diagram in Figure 3, the importance of bottom-up construction is presented on the vertical axis with models that can come from local or private initiatives, up to public initiatives, through cooperative experiences. On the other hand, on the diagonal axis, the experiences are organized from researching, then from making visible, promoting, activating, and finally experimenting.

	REALITY	PROCESS	NEW MODEL
PRIVATE	RESEARCHING collaborative housing experiences	MAKING Ways of living VISIBLE	PROMOTING good neighborhood + collaboration + accessibility
SHARED	MAKING the current ways of sharing spaces VISIBLE	PROMOTING housing cooperatives in the assignment of use and communities	ACTIVATING participation and patronage
PUBLIC	PROMOTING public housing and assignment of use	ACTIVATING public promotion tools	TESTING innovation and cooperation in governance

**Figure 3.** Outline of this expanded vision of collaborative housing. Source: Vivienlab



**Figure 4.** Self-built Homes in Santiponce, Seville. Project located next to the Archaeological Complex of the Roman city of Italica. Source: Author's photograph.

### The self-construction program of the Andalusian government

The self-construction program of the Andalusian Government was a public housing program that had the following objectives: on one hand, to promote the construction of public housing in small and medium-sized neighborhoods; on the other, to improve the quality of the design of public housing by holding, among other things, architectural competitions; and finally, to promote mutual aid as a way to create citizenship and, in some cases, to support the training and employability of self-builders in the different construction trades.

The origin of the program is found in a conference held in Seville in 1986 where, among other Latin American experiences, the mutual aid housing construction cooperatives of Uruguay were presented. The Andalusian Government technical expert, Luis González Tamarit, who promoted and attended these conferences, was in charge of drafting the decree that in 1988 launched the self-construction program, following the steps of the Uruguayan experience, although adapted to the Andalusian reality of the time.

As for the program, the Andalusian Government was in charge of the following processes: first, to process the administrative file with its personnel, both from the provincial delegations and in the central services; secondly, to provide the money needed to buy materials to build the houses<sup>1</sup>; thirdly, to make geotechnical studies of the terrain; and finally, to make the call through

**1** At the beginning of the program, in 1988, each dwelling was awarded €18,000, and by the end, in 2007, this amount was €24,000 per dwelling.

architectural competitions to select the project's technical drafters and the construction managers. The councils, for their part, provided the land for the houses, selected the self-builders, and, in some cases, technically supported the execution of the houses (Figure 4).

On the other hand, the group of self-builders was in charge of building the houses, organizing the shifts, the tasks, the contributions, etc. In the same way, the architectural teams had the task of both writing the project following the criteria of the Andalusian Government's General Directorate of Architecture and Housing and directing the execution of the work. In this way, the projects had to be adapted to the place, to the specificity and needs of the group of self-builders, as well as to their capacity to do the work.

In 2020, the Andalusian Government supported the call for a new edition of the self-construction program<sup>2</sup>, but with some improvements from the previous one. One of the novelties consisted in encouraging housing cooperatives as a management model through a contribution made by the Government of a loan worth €25,000 per house for the purchase of materials and the housing's execution. For their part, the municipalities provided the land, and the cooperativists, the labor. In total, 10 projects have been awarded, 85 for self-build housing<sup>3</sup> and 23 for self-promotion housing. Most of these are currently under construction.

## The assignment of use

### The case of Barcelona

Co-housing is a formula based on the assignment of use of a property or a building with the aim of it being used as a home by a group of people - often grouped in cooperatives - and for a given time. In Spain, this phenomenon is rapidly growing, especially in the case of the so-called *senior cohousing*, where a group of people approaching retirement age decides to support a residential complex that, in addition to the private space, contains a significant percentage of community spaces<sup>4</sup>.

Despite this exponential growth in recent years, the assignment of use for housing remains little widespread in Spain where, according to data from the INE in 2016, 77.1% of households or families lived under an ownership system, 16.3% under a rental one, and only 6.5% under a free transfer regime, which is not an assignment of use of the housing.

Regarding the background, it is important to highlight that Ada Colau, the current mayor of Barcelona, had a key role as the spokesperson for the Platform of those Affected by Mortgages (PAH, in Spanish) between 2009 and 2014. The PAH emerged at the beginning of the 2008 crisis to fight evictions, and its reflections were incorporated into the program that the "Barcelona en Comú" platform presented in the local and municipal elections of May 24, 2015. This program included five basic demands: 1) the dation in retroactive

**2** According to the "Order of February 6th, 2020, by which the call was made for the declaration, under a competitive call, of protected self-built housing and semi-promotion housing, and the granting of aid for their financing"

**3** There will be 74 self-construction homes in Seville, 16 in Cádiz, 10 in Málaga, and 8 in Jaén, while the 23 self-promotion homes will be built in Castilblanco and Villaverde, both in Seville.

**4** According to data from the Alternative and Solidarity Economy Network (REAS) in 2021, there were 12 projects in operation throughout Spain, 9 projects with land acquired, waiting to be built, and 8 projects with cooperatives set up, looking for land.

**Figure 5.** The green box shows how the spaces have greater flexibility and adaptability than the floor plan of the building reflects. Source: Author's photograph.

**Figure 6.** The floor plan of the La Borda building, Can Batlló, in the Sants district, Barcelona, allows different solutions depending on the type of living unit. Source: Archive of LACOL





payment; 2) affordable rents; 3) stopping evictions; 4) more social housing and, 5) guaranteed basic supplies (Martínez et al., 2022). The implementation of these measures has been one of the main actions carried out by the Mayor's Office of Colau in her mandate.

Since 2007, the Barcelona Social Housing Council has been operating as an advisory and institutional body, comprising technicians from the Generalitat of Catalunya and the Barcelona City Council. In October 2015, the new government team of the Barcelona City Council supported a "Cooperative Housing Panel" to encourage the creation of housing under assignment of use, among other initiatives.

In addition to the initiatives of Can Batlló (Figures 5 and 6) and Ciutat Vella, which were approved by specific agreement, a series of competitions have been held<sup>5</sup> under the name of cohousing. In them, the City Council offers plots for assignment of use for a period of 75 years. This new formula for assigning use has been highlighted by the City Council Councilor for Urban Planning, Josep María Montaner, who pointed out in 2019 that this proposal "(...) implies a paradigm shift in housing policies, promoting an alternative formula, the assignment of use, which avoids speculation, guarantees stability over time for users and promotes community life" (Montaner, 2019).

### Extended version of collaborative housing

In 2021 and 2022 and up until now, the authors of this research have been collaborating with the Housing Consortium of the Gran Canaria Council to develop an extended version of collaborative housing on the island of Gran Canaria. Faced with the trend seen in the case studied to define what we call *cohousing* in a precise, although also limited way, but also faced with the need to find an appropriate framework to define housing cooperatives under the assignment of use, Vivienlab proposed that collaborative housing transcends these specific models and was representative of a third way, beyond buying or renting (Figure 7).

The La Dinamo Foundation, on its website, defines cooperative housing under assignment of use as a "cooperative and non-profit organization to provide decent housing at an affordable price to its members. These enjoy an indefinite right of use for one of the houses, by paying a down payment and an affordable monthly usage fee." It also establishes the five fundamental principles that characterize the cooperative housing model: 1) The absence of profit and the preservation of collective ownership; 2) The affordability and inclusiveness of projects; 3) The promotion of self-management and community building; 4) The commitment to the growth of the model and inter-cooperation; 5) Co-responsibility with the environment and the right to housing.

Collaborative housing should not have a marginal character compared to the other majority ways, such as buying or renting. This approach of

**5** Specifically, in January 2018, 4 projects with 92 homes were awarded, in Ciutat Vella, Sants-Montjuïc, Nou Barris, and Sant Martí to the cooperatives La Xarxaire SCCL, Llar Jove SCCL, Associació Cohabitatge Cooperatiu, and Sostre Cívic SCCL. In July 2020, another 3 with 102 homes were awarded, in Sants-Montjuïc, Sant Andreu, and Nou Barris, to the cooperatives La Mangala (Sotraco), Cohabitem Sant Andreu, and Cohousing Barcelona, SCCL, and in July 2021, three more with 150 homes in Horta-Guinardó, Sant Andreu, and Sarrià, to the cooperatives Fem Ciutat, La Regadora, and Torrent Viu.

**Figure 7.** Detail of the inventory of publicly promoted housing in Gran Canaria created by the Housing Laboratory for the Housing Consortium of the Gran Canaria Council [Vivienlab], (2022). Source: accessible at <https://visor.idegrancanaria.es>



maximums implies including in this category not only the examples outlined under the denomination of cooperative housing, *cohousing*, or *senior cohousing*, which in some cases are affordable for the middle classes and medium-high income levels but also to all public housing, which, although no longer public property, is the object of replacement, rehabilitation, regeneration plans, etc. Taking into account the urgent need for the urban regeneration of our cities, as well as the gentrification processes of some traditional neighborhoods, it is necessary to incorporate mechanisms of citizen participation, assignment of use, energy efficiency, or cooperation, which could turn city segments, street sections, and housing developments into collaborative housing. This research is committed to this extended version of collaborative housing, more as a story than as a physical reality.

## RESULTS

As a result of the self-construction program, it is seen that, between 1988 and 2007, 216 developments were made with a total of 3,373 homes in 152 municipalities, with an average of 15 homes per development. As for the quality of the actions, after having visited 150 developments, it was found that the self-build housing developments, given the involvement of the beneficiaries who participated in the construction, had many improvements compared to other public housing programs. With architectural quality, in addition to many recognitions and awards at a regional level, two of the developments obtained the National Architecture Award: the 20 homes in La Lantejuela, Seville, of Blanca Sánchez Lara, in 1999, and the 25 homes in the Town of Doña Blanca, in El Puerto de Santa María, Cádiz, by Ramón Pico Valimaña and Francisco Javier López Rivera, in 2001.

On the other hand, in the new self-build program launched by the Andalusian Government in 2020, where the use of the housing cooperative

formula as a management model was proposed, unfortunately, this formula is not applied with the clarity with which it is being carried out in Barcelona. In the first cases studied, which are still in the construction phase, it has been proven that it is instrumental to use the cooperative for the construction phase. However, the program does not prevent that, once the work is completed, the cooperative is dissolved and the property passes to the beneficiaries. Therefore, although the new program was going in the right direction, since it was intended to foster a self-construction formula that seemed to have been exhausted in the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, opting for the figure of the cooperative, the authors also believe that it may not be enough to achieve the objective that public housing developments become a wake-up call of social transformation.<sup>6</sup>

As far as the city of Barcelona is concerned, the Cohousing program has awarded 9 developments that comprise a total of 127 homes. Of these, the first four have already been completed: La Borda, La Diversa, La Balma, and Princesa 49<sup>7</sup>. It should be noted that this model continues to grow and expand to other autonomous communities.

Beyond the presence of a very deep-rooted cooperative tradition, in Barcelona neighborhoods such as Sants or Gracia, it is relevant to mention the role that technical experts have taken on in this new stage. In this vein, cooperatives such as Sostre Civic or LACOL are not only accompanying these developments as technical teams but are also involved as cooperative partners. As for the LACOL architects' cooperative, it should be mentioned that its origin dates back to 2009, when a group of students from the School of Architecture rented premises in the Sants neighborhood, to create this initiative. In 2014, it became a cooperative made up of 12 working members. Currently, LACOL participates in different projects at the technical level in already awarded developments. Likewise, five of its members have benefited from housing in the La Borda development, while four others are participating in the construction of a nearby development, led by the Sotraco cooperative.

First of all, two housing programs, used by different public administrations for policies that result in improving the living conditions of many families, have been shown. In the first case, the self-build program of the Andalusian Government represents a clear commitment to citizen participation in the creation of housing and the city. In the other case, cohousing promoted by the Barcelona City Council represents a clear boost in the assignment of use model. Thus, it is highlighted that both examples have as a basis the mutual aid housing construction cooperatives of Uruguay. The third element that has been reviewed in this research is the housing inventory on the island of Gran Canaria, which demonstrates the great efforts made in terms of public housing promotion and that is undoubtedly extensible to the rest of the national territory. After a few years of reduced activity, the new public promotion housing formulas may

## DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

<sup>6</sup> As Bellart and Meda (2018, p. 23) state, "This public money, in addition to being allocated to the original objective of promoting privileged access to affordable housing, should have conditioned this benefit to a subsequent public control of the transfers of housing and their price."

<sup>7</sup> This information can be consulted, updated in the Cooperative Housing Observatory, <https://www.llargavista.coop/>

be the result of lessons learned where the best of each case studied can be taken onboard.

If Colin Ward talked about collective housing and mutual aid as anarchist-inspired themes - which appear in the first two cases studied -, the idea of the island as a laboratory refers to the third theme, which is saving energy, which has not been dealt with in this article, but which will surely lead to future research being made.

The support by the different administrations is not the only thing that can be seen in these developments. There is also a commitment to the emerging systems that authors such as Christopher Alexander, Jane Jacobs, and John F.C. Turner had already proposed. Christopher Alexander addresses a complex systematization of architecture based on its pattern language (1977). On the other hand, the American activist Jane Jacobs, in *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961), makes a critique of the modern city based on sociological and economic analyses, defending an intervention “from the particular to the general” and “vindicating the complexity and dynamism of the life of cities” (Díaz García, 2008, p. 147). Turner, for his part, proposes the rational use of local materials and waste, making a firm commitment to cultural diversity and user participation” (Díaz García, 2008, p. 152).

Regarding the proposals of these authors, Alvaro Baliña (2016) concludes that, first of all, there should be participation that guarantees the application of emerging approaches. Secondly, he also considers important, the simultaneity of a systemic vision of the habitat that is compatible with the scale of the individual participating in these developments, and finally states that “for complex systems to be adaptive, it is necessary to understand them from the bottom-up and intervene so that progressively greater degrees of autonomy are achieved” (Alvaro Baliña, 2016, p. 57). The programs studied here actually contain aspects related to emerging systems, complexity, and participation.

In a space shared between collective housing and mutual aid, there are other aspects such as the role played by the public utility or the common good (*Commons*) in this type of initiative (Candón-Mena & Domínguez-Jaime, 2020; Caprioli Fuentealba, 2020; Miralles Buil, 2020). For Candón-Mena and Domínguez-Jaime (2020), although their study focuses on the case of the Sevillian municipality of Marinaleda, the self-build program of Andalusia contains the elements typical of the Social Production of Habitat: self-management, mutual aid, and collective ownership, so close to Ward's anarchist-inspired themes. It also refers to “The notion of the commons and its forms of management and governance developed by Elinor Ostrom” (Candón-Mena & Domínguez-Jaime, 2020, p. 696).

Meanwhile, Caprioli Fuentealba (2020) highlights the value of shared spaces in the La Borda collaborative housing development during the

COVID lockdown months in 2020, and Miralles Buil (2020) also mentions this experience of Barcelona within the Latin American concept of Social Production of Habitat (SPH) as a commitment of “militant” collectives differentiated from the political action of the City Council itself (Miralles Buil, 2020, p. 666).

We are also faced with the practical application of the so-called care architectures and the possible implementation of the so-called neighborhood cooperatives at a neighborhood scale (García Moreno et al., 2019). Similarly, although tangentially, it is possible to mention the cities in transition (De Manuel Jerez et al., 2012), the evolution in the ways of living (Montaner, 2019), or the role of citizen participation in social integration (Villasante, 2014). Although many authors emphasize these topics, since this research is at an initial stage, they will only be pointed out as part of future in-depth studies.

The result of this research confirms that, as has been seen in the housing inventory carried out in Gran Canaria, a public development has represented an important investment of public funds throughout the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century<sup>8</sup>, thereby contributing to greater diversity and integration of cities, neighborhoods, or localities. In fact, during the real estate bubble in Spain between 2000 and 2007, programs such as self-building continued to promote this type of public policy. However, faced with the possibility of implementing management models that reinforce the public nature of such interventions as a counterweight to the housing market, traditional housing policy has gone in the opposite direction by allowing all that public stock to have been incorporated into the real estate market, the homes passing to be owned by their beneficiaries. The example of Barcelona has led the rest of the administrations to introduce modifications in their legislation and their housing plans so that these new ways of living, such as cohousing, are possible.

Between Colin Ward's vision of the three anarchic themes (collective housing, mutual aid, and energy saving) and John Turner's vision of the consequences of the public housing policy (aesthetically hideous, socially alienating, and technically incompetent), there is a wide range of proposals. In this work, a path has been traced that runs from mutual aid and citizen participation contained in the self-build program of the Andalusian Government, through the transfer of use and cooperativism promoted by the Barcelona City Council, to the case of the Canary Islands, where the first steps are being taken to introduce housing policies that protect public ownership of land, through the assignment of use and that enhance mutual aid, promoting citizen participation, or housing cooperativism<sup>9</sup>. All of them are open and very active paths that will continue to be spoken about in future phases of this research.

<sup>8</sup> According to data from the Architects' Trade Union and the Ministry of Public Works, more than 6.8 million protected housing units were built in Spain between 1952 and 2016 in any of their different modalities, which, on a residential stock of 25.5 million units (estimate of the Ministry of Public Works for 2016), represents that 26.6% of the total housing in Spain has been built with public support” (Bellart & Meda, 2018, p. 17)

<sup>9</sup> On December 10th, 2022, Law 4/2022, of October 31st, on Cooperative Societies of the Canary Islands, was published in the Official Gazette of the Canary Islands (BOC), where the “collaborative housing cooperative” was created as a “comprehensive cooperative” modality.

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

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

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



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

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## RESUMEN

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

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

## ABSTRACT

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

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

## RESUMO

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

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

## INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## METHODOLOGY

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

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

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

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

## OPERATION ZONES

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

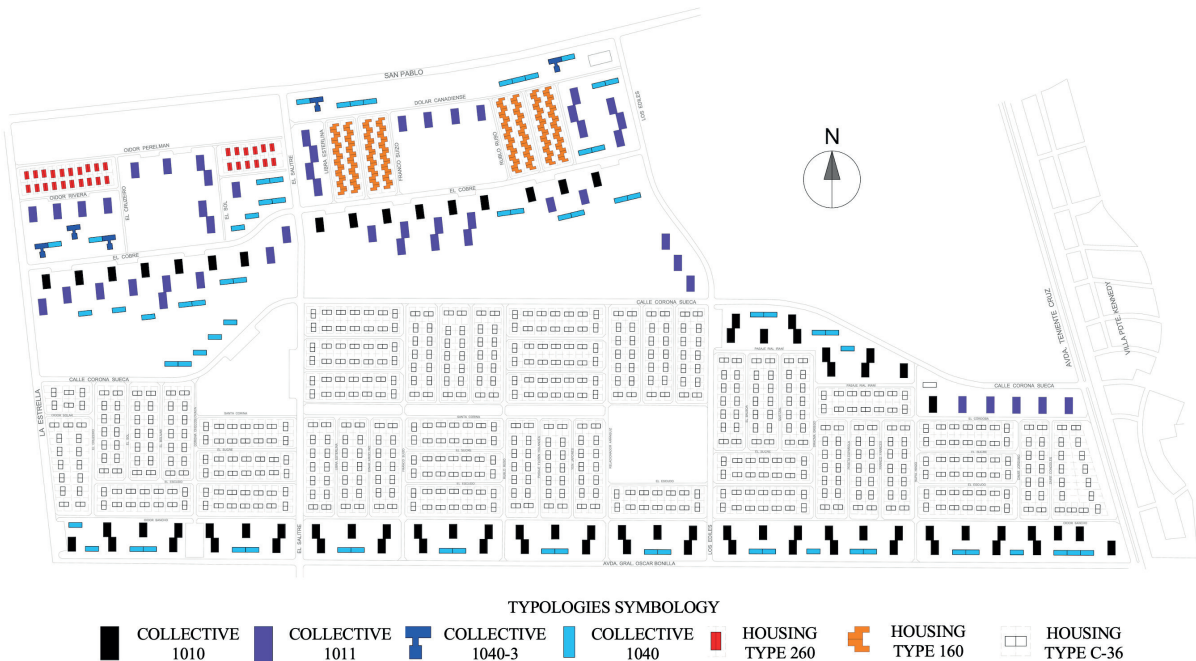


productively defined area. For the same reason, the operation zones do not emerge in isolation and their combinations and overlapping give rise to organic sets of objects that correspond to what Star and Ruhleder (1996) call “border infrastructures”, namely a notion close to that of the operation zone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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

## THE CASE OF THE DEMONSTRATIVE EXHIBITION

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



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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The replication of the projects included in the Demonstration Exhibition began in March 1976 with complexes in the municipalities of Maipú, Pudahuel, Melipilla, Las Condes, Ñuñoa, La Florida, San Miguel, La Granja, San Bernardo, La Cisterna, Conchalí and Quilicura (MUNVI, 1974a) (Figures 5 and 6). By 1977, Minister Granifo mentioned that

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

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

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



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

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



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

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

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

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

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

## CONCLUSIONS

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

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

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

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## PLACES OF MEMORY:

### ARCHITECTURE, TERRITORY, AND ENVIRONMENT.

THE EXPERIENCE OF THE CENTER FOR MEMORY AND COMPREHENSIVE ACTION FOR THE CARE OF THE FOREST OF GALILEA AND THE TERRITORY COMMUNITY SCHOOL (CMAI)- COLOMBIA

## LUGARES DE LA MEMORIA:

### ARQUITECTURA, TERRITORIO Y AMBIENTE.

LA EXPERIENCIA DE LA ESCUELA COMUNITARIA - CENTRO DE MEMORIA Y ACCIÓN INTEGRAL PARA EL CUIDADO DEL BOSQUE DE GALILEA Y EL TERRITORIO (CMAI)- COLOMBIA

## LUGARES DE MEMÓRIA:

### ARQUITETURA, TERRITÓRIO E AMBIENTE.

A EXPERIÊNCIA DA ESCOLA COMUNITÁRIA - CENTRO DE MEMÓRIA E AÇÃO INTEGRAL PARA O CUIDADO DO BOSQUE DE GALILEA E DO TERRITÓRIO (CMAI) - COLÔMBIA



**Figure 0.** Community cooking. Leidy Arévalo, 2020. Source: Galilea Forest Community School and Center for Memory and Integrated Action (CMAI).

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## RESUMEN

El presente artículo analiza las complejas relaciones de los lugares de memoria desde un enfoque interdisciplinario, con el objetivo de hacer frente a las amenazas extractivistas del sector minero energético y los intereses de los negocios verdes en el Bosque del Galilea. Para ello, se utilizó la metodología cualitativa de Investigación Acción Participativa, en colaboración con los actores sociales del lugar; con el fin de fortalecer los procesos de autogestión territorial en alianza con la Universidad. Asimismo, se profundizó en la comprensión simbólica de la arquitectura como nodo de memoria y cohesión colectiva. Como resultado, se creó la Escuela Comunitaria "Centro de memoria y acción integral para el cuidado del Bosque de Galilea y el Territorio (CMAI)", que contribuye a las tradiciones sociales y culturales del bosque húmedo premontano de Galilea, en los Andes de Colombia, mediante procesos académicos y científicos en encuentros de saberes. Los resultados del proyecto se reflejan en tres escalas: arquitectónica, territorial y global.

**Palabras clave:** arquitectura, lugar, memoria, territorio, ambiente

## ABSTRACT

This article analyzes the complex relationships of places of memory from an interdisciplinary approach, to address the extractivist threats of the energy and mining sector and the interests of green business in the Galilea Forest. For this, the qualitative Participatory Action Research methodology was used, in collaboration with the social actors of the place, to strengthen the processes of territorial self-management in alliance with the University. Likewise, the symbolic understanding of architecture was examined further as a node of memory and collective cohesion. As a result, the "Center of Memory and Integral Action for the Care of the Galilea Forest and the Territory (CMAI)" Community School was created, which contributes to the social and cultural traditions of the Galilea premontane rainforest, in the Colombian Andes, through academic and scientific processes in knowledge encounters. The results of the project are reflected on three scales: architectural, territorial, and global.

**Keywords:** architecture, place, memory, territory, environment.

## RESUMO

Este artigo analisa as complexas relações dos lugares de memória a partir de uma abordagem interdisciplinar, com o objetivo de enfrentar as ameaças extrativistas do setor de mineração de energia e os interesses de empreendimentos verdes no Bosque de Galilea. Para isso, foi utilizada a metodologia qualitativa da Pesquisa-Ação Participativa, em colaboração com atores sociais locais, com o objetivo de fortalecer os processos de autogestão territorial em aliança com a Universidade. Da mesma forma, aprofundamos a compreensão simbólica da arquitetura como um núcleo de memória e coesão coletiva. Como resultado, foi criada a Escola Comunitária "Centro de memória e ação integral para o cuidado do Bosque de Galilea e do Território (CMAI)", que contribui para as tradições sociais e culturais da floresta tropical pré-montana de Galilea, nos Andes da Colômbia, por meio de processos acadêmicos e científicos em encontros de conhecimento. Os resultados do projeto são refletidos em três escalas: arquitetônica, territorial e global.

**Palavras-chave:** arquitetura, lugar, memória, território, território, ambiente.

“There are things forgotten that can be used for certain ends. In other words, uses of the forgotten suggest that forgetting (something) may not be a mere not-remembering (it), that it may be convenient for us to forget (something) or maybe it's convenient for others that we forget (something)...

Eduardo Rabossi.



## INTRODUCTION

**Figure 1.** Galilea Forest Center for Memory and Integrated Action and Community School. Lucas Rodríguez, 2021. Source: Panoramic still (CMAI GALILEA, 2021)

Changes in the narratives about Colombia's past, open possibilities and fields of dispute that give visibility to individuals and collectives in memorial experiences. Recently, the “true social mobilization for memory” has begun to be talked about (Peñaranda, 2018, p. 125). Even historical boundaries have been questioned by Social and Human Sciences, promoting an introspective look at the “historiographic consciousness” (Nora, 2008, p. 7). According to Pierre Nora (2008), memory advances in reflective historiography and has guided this transformative research experience<sup>1</sup> toward dialogs of knowledge between social disciplines, environmental and rural studies, information, communication, law, and architecture, with the peasant population (Rahman & Fals Borda, 1992).

The memory of the Galilea Forest links traumatic and painful events with its history, which provokes tension between its past and present. According to Ricoeur (2010), memory is oriented toward objects through remembering, which is why it seeks, remembers, reflects, and recognizes subjects and places. Thus, the past is understood as alive, in constant construction, and, in turn, full of forgetfulness. History is always the version of the victors, and the memory is the possibility of the “defeated” to process the pain and focus on the possibilities of change and resignification of their territories as a living memory. Similarly, the sense of “righteous memory” (Todorov, 2008) is harbored by care for the territory in a world of acceleration, hyperconsumption, and trivialization of relationships. Memory also contributes to the recovery of landmarks, remains, gestures, archives, museums, circuits, and landscapes (Nora, 2008).

<sup>1</sup> The “Design and Development of a Memory and Integrated Action Center for the Care of the Galilee Forest and the Territory (Villarrica- Tolima)” project, within the framework of the San Francisco Javier Call, makes academic activity available to social groups facing conditions of social and environmental vulnerability. The Rectory of the Pontifical Javeriana University supported the process.

In the forest of Galilea, memories are updated, they bleed and are made sacred. With that, "the past becomes a principle of action for the present" (Todorov, 2008, p. 51), because it is from memories of the past that the socio-environmental management of the inhabited territory grows. This is seen in the modes of territoriality that have been transformed according to the social, political, and ecological conditions that have directly affected them, following what can be seen in Figure 1.

In everyday life, memory actions contribute to environmental justice on different scales: architectural, territorial, and global. From this perspective and with an interdisciplinary approach, the objective of this article is to analyze the complex relationships of memory sites from an interdisciplinary approach to face the threats posed by extractive activities of the energy and mining sectors and the interests of green businesses that are becoming evident in the Galilea Forest.

Within the framework of caring for the common home, "a true ecological approach always becomes a social approach that must integrate justice into discussions about the environment, to listen to both the cries of the earth and the poor" (Pope Francis, 2015). That is why, between history and memory and in the midst of tensions and disputes, the *Galilea Forest Center for Memory and Integrated Action – CMAI and Community School*, emerges.

The research is qualitative, because it is based on the experience of the social subjects who inhabit the territory (Hernandez-Sampieri et al., 2014), with a non-experimental design and a descriptive approach. Given that the project focuses on the commitment of the Directors and Professors of the Pontifical Javeriana University to the social and ecological reality of the country, Participatory Action Research - PAR (Fals-Borda, 1988) was the method chosen to carry out the study. From this perspective, research and transformation are assumed as parallel processes where learning is achieved in dialog with others and through experience.

Likewise, the "meeting of knowledge" (De Carvalho & Flórez Flórez, 2014) operates as a source of analysis and understanding of reality to guide actions on a transformation path. This methodological, theoretical, and practical approach is understood as collective inter-learning for the recognition of popular knowledge, because it validates the experiences *in* and *with* the place, and involves the recognition of the historical and social path of the different expressions of life that inhabit the territory (Rahman & Fals Borda, 1992). In this way, on one hand, university researchers contribute with their scientific knowledge and the villagers, with their local peasant knowledge and practices, and on the other, the intercultural and interdisciplinary spaces<sup>2</sup> provoke horizontal dialogs on the different ways of thinking, feeling, and doing (Escobar, 2003).

## METHODOLOGY

**2** The Vereda Galilea Community Action Board (Villarrica – Tolima), the Galilea Forest and Territory Rangers Network, the Science Incubator of Information, Society, and Culture, the Departments of Information Sciences, Public Law, and Architecture of the Pontifical Javerian University, took part.

Based on this, the PAR-based research process is broken down into the following four phases:

**Phase I. Participant observation:** In 2017, the recognition of the socio-environmental vulnerability situation began, when the community warned about the implementation of an oil project in the heart of the Galilea Forest. The first visits were made by mule and on foot. Subsequently, a drone was used to see the site's geographical conditions. The recognition of the environmental characteristics, ways of life, and economic dynamics of its inhabitants helped understand the territory. In this phase to build relationships of trust and mutual support between community leaders and academics, the school was identified as a space of memory, as the architecture of the place, and as the epicenter of the attachment and care for the territory.

**Phase II. Participatory research:** In an assembly, the physical and symbolic recovery of the old school was prioritized. In this phase, archival work on the histories and memories of the territory was led by the "Information and Communication for Change" commission, and the Incubator on Information, Science, Society, and Culture, of the Department of Information Science of the Faculty of Communication and Language of the Pontifical Javeriana University. Document systematization showed the struggle tradition of several generations of local residents and recognized some voices of survivors who still remain in the territory. The intercultural dialogs and the meetings of the local population with researchers activated diverse perspectives of political, ecological, social, and economic assessment of reality.

**Phase III. Participatory actions:** Throughout the process, decision-making in assembly spaces was highlighted. The collective decision to rebuild the school with the support of the University, using the "Minga" (labor paid in food) as a dynamic of popular cooperation, favored trust and reciprocity. Responsible self-management characterized the minga. More than thirty were held in which approximately forty people participated.

Although 2020 was marked by the COVID-19 pandemic, the community decided to continue with the process. Among the physical repair actions of the school, a wooden enclosure was built, the roof was renovated, a rainwater collection system was implemented, the classroom walls and floors were rebuilt, doors and windows were refurbished, and the bathrooms and the kitchen were built from scratch. In addition, murals alluding to the location's flora and fauna were painted to promote their memory among the local population.

At the end of the work days, communal living was strengthened by telling stories and sharing the experiences and struggles that activated memories. In December, the feast of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary was celebrated and the cooperative ties for the defense and

care of the Galilea Forest were consolidated. The local and academic transformative potential was recharged with the strength and vitality of nature, to overcome adversities and strengthen interconnectedness and complementarity.

**Phase IV. Evaluation:** The effectiveness of the changes derived from the process on the different scales is detailed in the results of this document. On the architectural scale, it resulted in the school's physical and symbolic reconstruction. On the territorial scale, the protection and governance of Galilea Forest was achieved. Finally, on a global scale, the forest's biological connectivity with the Amazon and other strategic ecosystems of the continent was concluded.

It is hoped that, as another result, but this time academic in nature, the process will inspire more researchers and educational institutions to engage in solidarity and exchange actions with communities for the care of the common property.

The university's social responsibility actions built bridges between academia and the communities to care for the Common Home. Better said, it eliminated the boundaries of disciplines to process socio-environmental conflicts with scientists including all the local knowledge, produced key exchanges and transformations in the university environment and social spaces where the project was located. At an intellectual and intercultural level, the ties of the inhabitants defending the territory were strengthened with environmental organizations and with university professors and researchers<sup>3</sup>, which constitutes an important step for the "decolonization of the University" (De Carvalho & Flórez Flórez, 2014, p. 41).

Indeed, the PAR approach as a methodological guide for the project led to assuming the complexity of the Galilea Forest's reality in an interpretative narrative that involved voices, events, manifestations, reflections, and interpretations about its conflictive past, and with it, the shared recognition of tensions, vulnerabilities, violence, and resistance in the architectural, territorial, and global as "*areas of memory*" (Nora, 2008, p. 19).

*On the architectural scale*, the materiality expressed essential qualities of the place with close ties between content and continent. Thus, the physical deterioration of the school is a consequence of its lack of use and upkeep caused by the violent displacement of people in the armed conflict. This is how María Isabel Ramírez tells it (CMAI GALILEA, 2021)

Historically, the Galilea School has been a social venue where many events have taken place, not only conflicts, but also cultural events where unity has been created, where the community has been built, and where communal and also regional thinking has taken place (07:12- 07:26).

## RESULTS

**3** Students from the Master's Degree in Historical Archival and Memory of the Information Science, Library and Archival Science Program, and members of the Research Incubator on Information Science, Society, and Culture from the Pontifical Javeriana University, also took part.

**Figure 2.** Murals – Galilea Forest Community School and Center for Memory and Integrated Action (CMAI), Leidy Arévalo, 2021. Source: Murals - CMAI



**Figure 3.** Work *mingas*. Galilea Forest Community School and Center for Memory and Integrated Action (CMAI). Leidy Arévalo, 2019. Source: Mingas-CMAI



At the CMAI Community School, the sensitivity and common sense of the forest's inhabitants are evident in the construction tradition that takes advantage of the place's materials and techniques. That is why the protagonists are wood and earth. Rammed earth is a solid construction that preserves indoor temperature and insulates from the cold outside. This architecture of local hands that knead, caress the earth, and confine spaces for shelter; is a collective memory of truth, of nature's generosity and human industriousness. The small windows that frame the landscape establish connections with the territory. The outdoor corridors link the indoors with the outdoors, value the context, and immerse themselves in the fog of the forest.

At present, Galilea School is the epicenter of an associative process, the home of memories, and a community and documentation center. Hence, the recovery of architecture, in its physical-spatial dimension, reveals the availability of materials and the strength of the place, since it emerges from the earth giving an account of the fragility and the struggle of the inhabitants. In symbolic terms, this space constitutes a venue for the encounter, activation, and consolidation of memory and history between social actors and shared objectives (Figure 2).

The archival work from conversations with the place's inhabitants and the official historiographical reviews investigate the realities and transformations of the territory of Galilea. At the CMAI community school, the library remembers and honors Aurelio Sánchez (RIP), a peasant, a comrade in the fight for the care and defense of the territory. This documentary base is configured as a compendium of opportunities and solidarity services, as an instrument for the defense of the territory to justify the presence of the forest defender villagers, and as a critical guide in memory processes.

*At a territorial scale*, it was possible to identify different population groups that have inhabited the Galilea forest. The first were the Yucupí and Cuindes Indians of the Sutagaos tribe. Subsequently, the memory of the inhabitants recalled that, during the thousand days war, liberal and conservative troops passed through the mountains (Ortiz, 2007) in the political confrontation known as *the Violence* (Valencia Gutiérrez, 2012). Ebristelio Godoy testifies to the displacement suffered in the crossfire,

We knew this with Laureano Gómez's war, when we had to leave Villarrica, when they were trying to put an end to the liberals. It was like that at that time. Laureano Gómez that to finish with the liberals. And then, so that they wouldn't kill us, we took refuge in the mountains. Since that time there has been such a guerrilla. These are the remnants of those wars. Because when they weren't guerrillas, they were called the rabble because they took up arms. And the enemies of the liberals were the police and a few people called *chulavitas* (0:49-1:44).

Among local settlers, it is remembered that at the time of the Violence, the National Front succeeded so that liberals and conservatives could alternate presidential terms. "This with the aim, at least in theory, of giving everyone a participation in Colombian society and correcting some of the abuses of power that defined the political development of both the 19<sup>th</sup> and the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries"

(La Rosa & Mejía, 2013, p. 206). The State institutions decreed forgive and forget, amnesties, turning over the page and reintegrating those involved into political life (Valencia Gutiérrez, 2012).

To establish responsibilities, resources, and actions for participatory territorial management, environmental and collective rights, inclusion, and gender focus, the Comprehensive Community Action Plan – CAP was formulated. This involved the Communal Action Board, the Observatory of Mining-energy Expansion and Re-stocking, and the University (Figure 3). The CAP promotes local self-management for the preservation of the humid premontane native forest of the eastern cordillera of the Andes.

As it has already been stated, the locals are intimately linked to the forest, with its capacities and vulnerabilities. It is significant that the Galilea forest (Figure 4) is the habitat of more than 5 endemic species of amphibians, carnivorous plants unique in the world, and threatened species such as the spectacled bear, the woolly monkey, and the ochre-breasted antpitta (Podion Corporation, n.d.). As it could be seen, in the midst of these unique biological realities, the memories of peasant values and the traditional knowledge of the families who live taking care of the forest, remain.

The Declaration of the Galilea Forest as a protected area through Agreement 31 of 2019 is one of the most important community and inter-institutional results for its conservation and protection. At the same time, it is a legal remedy whose purpose is to limit the extraction projects intended for the territory. Currently, the generation of the children and grandchildren of the first settlers is the one that has been dedicated to protecting and defending the territory. However, with the progress of the project, the emergence of new actors and conflicts was confirmed.

*On a global scale*, the conflicting reality of the “commons” was identified, shared resources for which there are no better managers than the locals themselves. However, this requires means, incentives, mechanisms, and criteria of justice on the costs and benefits of the forest (Ostrom, 2011). Hence the need for support and protection for local actors and links with different social organizations that work to protect the planet (Figure 5). Protecting the Galilea Forest implies recognizing that the expressions of governance of the place’s inhabitants are a guarantee of equity, control, protection, and care of the ecosystem.

## DISCUSSION

Pierre Nora (2008) raises the need to recognize places of memory that are presented critically to face history. With this, memory feeds history in the most sensitive sense by showing versions of processes and events that have not considered nature in the nation’s historical accounts. The memorializing duty of Galilea’s inhabitants contributes to historiography from memory because it proves the careful and reciprocal survival of ecosystem realities in the territorial scope of the Forest, with the local population that inhabits it.





**Figure 4.** PNR Galilea Forest - Cloud Forest. Lucas Rodríguez, 2021. Source: Panoramic still (CMAI GALILEA, 2021).



**Figure 5.** Community cooking. Leidy Arévalo, 2020. Source: Galilea Forest Community School and Center for Memory and Integrated Action (CMAI).

In the understanding of the territory, the notion of "torn memory" (Nora, 2008, p. 19) integrates threats to the ecosystem with the human and non-human organisms that inhabit it. In other words, the recognition of painful pasts and the activation of counter-powers with governance actions increase the capacity of its inhabitants to take care of the forest and transform realities on different scales. Likewise, in dialog with other communities, shared objectives, experiences, and learnings emerge, social relations are strengthened and the capacity of political agency of those involved is expanded. On this, Bibiana Vizcaya (CMAI GALILEA, 2021) says:

More than sacrifices, creating a network together and more than a network, what has been achieved with it is more than the work that has been done, it is the ties that have been created between us. So, it is the brotherhood we have created or achieved, the love we have, the feeling, the roots we have for our land, for our paradise (05:10- 05:52).

Thus, the architecture for a meeting space is the result of individual and collective experiences that demonstrate awareness of care and sensitivity to the environment. The recovery of the Community School at 1490 meters above sea level was challenging in the past and still is today. In this case, ecosystems were included as subjects of preservation and care for the recognition of memory imprints. The architecture is a "device for the activation of memories" (Torres Carrillo, 2014, p. 125). Material objects, furniture, and tangible records as remnants of the past encourage encounters and conversations of identification with the place, with society, and with the territory.

The human presence in the forest vindicates the leading role of the locals since the logic of place in architecture is linked to the fact of representing places. The recovery of the school and the *Minga* talk about temporalities, a sense of place, and the dominant paradigm that has guided human relations with the environment. According to Muntañola:

The place, as a limit, is more than ever a rhythmic balance between reason and history; since the time deposited in space, that is, the place, always reflects in its very structure the balance there is between an increase in mobility back and forth in time (reason), and a progressive distancing from the original place (Muntañola, 2001, p. 32).

The ecosystem diversity to be conserved is part of a large eco-regional system interconnected with the global reality. In this, local collectives, academia, and governmental and non-governmental organizations agree that the Galilea Forest is an "area of special significance of ecological balance" (Podion Corporation, n.d.). In this vein, forests, like moors, are "water stores". The Galilea Forest supplies five neighboring municipalities and contributes to the preservation and regulation of the water network of the inter-Andean valleys in the Andes.

The territory, in its paths, well-known routes, and natural landmarks, reveals different existences. The spaces unveiling the natural secrets are included as part of the traditions of the inhabitants and the deep roots of the peasants with the Forest. Likewise, the effects of violence are recalled, as Ebristelio Godoy stated (CMAI GALILEA, 2021):



We had to leave the farms in Villarrica and quickly take the mountain up to the foot of the Altamizal hill. Over there we hid, making leaf covers in the mountains to live there. They forced us out. They left us running, and we had to come to Galilea. We spent a little time here. I don't remember how long, but yeah, like a year, maybe. (1:55 - 2: 28).

**Figure 6.** Work mingas. Leidy Arévalo, 2020. Source: Galilea Forest Community School and Center for Memory and Integrated Action (CMAI).

The experience in the territory is exacerbated by new socio-environmental conflicts between different stakeholders (Figure 6). In this sense and as a response and search for solutions, the CMAI Community School is understood as a space of opportunities for the “duty of memory” (Ricoeur, 2010) and for the organization of rights. For now, the place invites putting memories on paper, writing processes that, in a magical landscape, call upon introspection and the expression of one’s traditions and unique reflections of the territory with its inhabitants.

Mining and energy exploitation, by all accounts, is a devastating activity for biodiversity and life in general. Even worse, green businesses, even if they are presented as an offset option through conservation, have become threats to the peasant population, in tension with private interests, causing new conflicts. Faced with this, the declaration of a National Natural Park was achieved, and, from the School, also the definition and implementation of the CAP. The protection of the biogeographic corridor that connects Andean and high

## CONCLUSIONS

Andean moors and forests with the Pacific, Andean and Amazonian eco-region is today the result of the "intercultural *Minga*", because its permanence contains the workforce of local people, social organizations, academics, and environmentalists who, with the aid of the forest, protect human permanence in the territory.

However, the socio-environmental conflicts of green businesses are moving ever forward, increasing the concern of the inhabitants about the future. In this case, the stories about the past have given legitimacy to the struggle, and have contributed to strengthening people's power, but this is not enough. Even if the defeated are silenced and looked at with suspicion, memory is a right and a duty.

Moreover, as a ritual and gestural expression, memory has a place; that is, space, time, and image. In the human soul, in the school, in the forest of Galilea, in the territory, the room and the care are involved. The process of research and transformation in Galilea, in addition to acknowledging the memories of the place's social actors, points to the vindication of a tragic and painful past. But the governance schemes are still not enough to deal with socio-environmental fragilities and removals.

In this perspective, memory and the "duty of memory" are an opportunity to organize the present and future that are opposed to the dominant powers. Making territorial memories visible regarding their vulnerabilities and conflicts produces solidarity synergies between subjects who share emerging knowledge and practices. In urban areas that have not experienced the Galilea forest, it is easy to find environmental activists willing to contribute to caring for water and biodiversity.

The sum of creative works on broad, diverse fronts, committed to structural changes, activates grassroots social organizations from a praxis that guides theory and makes it germinate. In fact, one of the great challenges of the process within the PAR (Fals-Borda, 1986) lies in making efforts from different fields coincide, in transformative and multiple struggles, for the care of life. In this sense, the project saw the beginning of decolonization as a contribution from the University to an ideal of cognitive justice in dialogical relations with nature and the place's social actors.

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## UNUSUAL ARCHITECTURES: «OTHER» EXPERIENCES IN ARCHITECTURE AND URBANISM, SANTIAGO DE CHILE (1950-2020)

### ARQUITECTURAS INUSUALES: EXPERIENCIAS «OTRAS» EN LA ARQUITECTURA Y EL URBANISMO, SANTIAGO DE CHILE (1950-2020)

### ARQUITETURAS INUSUAIS: EXPERIÊNCIAS "OUTRAS" NA ARQUITETURA E NO URBANISMO, SANTIAGO DE CHILE (1950-2020)



**Figura 0.** Photographs Dos Caracoles Building 2021-2022. Source: Preparation by the Authors.

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## RESUMEN

Comprendiendo la ciudad contemporánea como una experiencia inabarcable, como un conjunto de experiencias complejas proclives a lo indeterminado, esta investigación reconoce y recolecta fragmentos de un conjunto mayor para buscar y destacar objetos, situaciones, artefactos y experiencias alejadas de los discursos canónicos. Estas experiencias «otras» se definen como *arquitecturas inusuales*, es decir, ubicadas al margen de lo normalmente discutido y valorado en los espacios tradicionales de la práctica, crítica y docencia arquitectónica. Tal reconocimiento es construido desde la otredad y está conformado por un conjunto provisional y cambiante. Metodológicamente, la investigación implica, primero, una contextualización conceptual respecto de la valoración de lo otro en la arquitectura y la ciudad como motor de cambio en la disciplina y segundo, una inmersión en la experiencia directa del espacio por parte del equipo. Mediante recorridos urbanos y búsqueda de información bibliográfica y de archivos, se recogen noventa casos, se discute su pertinencia y sus potencialidades críticas y se profundiza en veintisiete, sobre los que se realiza una representación planimétrica y fotográfica, así como un discurso de contextualización y valoración. De ellos, se rescatan seis casos con el propósito de contextualizar las categorías propuestas para la organización de todos los demás. Como hallazgo, se reconoce en el conjunto el valor de la otredad, con frecuencia silenciada, para desencadenar nuevos modos posibles de enfrentar los retos arquitectónicos y urbanos de la contemporaneidad.

**Palabras clave:** Arquitectura, experiencias urbanas, inusual, otredad, fotografía de arquitectura, representación arquitectónica

## ABSTRACT

Understanding the contemporary city as an unfathomable experience, as a set of complex experiences, prone to the indeterminate, this research acknowledges and collects fragments of a larger complex to search for and highlight objects, situations, artifacts, and experiences far from the canonical discourses. These "other" experiences are defined as *unusual architectures*, that is, located on the margins of what is normally discussed and valued in the traditional spaces of architectural practice, criticism, and teaching. Such recognition is constructed from otherness and comprises a provisional and changing complex. Methodologically, the research implies, first, a conceptual contextualization regarding the valuation of the otherness in architecture and the city as a motor of change in the discipline, and second, an immersion in the direct experience of space by the team. Through urban tours and a search for bibliographic and archival information, ninety cases are collected. Their relevance and critical potentialities are discussed and twenty-seven are studied in depth, making a planimetric and photographic representation, as well as a discourse of contextualization and valuation. Of these, six cases are rescued to contextualize the categories proposed for the organization of all the others. As a finding, the value of otherness, often silenced, is recognized in the set to trigger new possible ways of facing the architectural and urban challenges of contemporaneity.

**Keywords:** architecture, urban experiences, unusual, otherness, architectural photography, architectural representation.

## RESUMO

Entendendo a cidade contemporânea como uma experiência insondável, como um conjunto de experiências complexas propensas ao indeterminado, esta pesquisa reconhece e coleta fragmentos de um todo maior a fim de buscar e destacar objetos, situações, artefatos e experiências distantes dos discursos canônicos. Essas "outras" experiências são definidas como arquiteturas incomuns, ou seja, localizadas à margem do que é normalmente discutido e valorizado nos espaços tradicionais de prática, crítica e ensino de arquitetura. Esse reconhecimento é construído a partir da alteridade e é composto por um conjunto provisório e mutável. Metodologicamente, a pesquisa implica, em primeiro lugar, uma contextualização conceitual da valorização do outro na arquitetura e na cidade como motor de mudança na disciplina e, em segundo lugar, uma imersão na experiência direta do espaço pela equipe. Por meio de passeios urbanos e de uma busca de informações bibliográficas e de arquivos, foram coletados noventa casos, foram discutidas sua pertinência e potencialidades críticas e vinte e sete deles foram examinados em profundidade. Sobre estes últimos foi feita uma representação planimétrica e fotográfica, bem como um discurso de contextualização e valorização. Dentre eles, seis casos foram selecionados para contextualizar as categorias propostas para a organização de todos os demais. Como resultado, o valor da alteridade, muitas vezes silenciada, é reconhecido no conjunto completo de casos para suscitar novas formas possíveis de enfrentar os desafios arquitetônicos e urbanos da contemporaneidade.

**Palavras-chave:** arquitetura, experiências urbanas, incomum, alteridade, fotografia arquitetônica, representação arquitetônica.

## INTRODUCTION

It is often stated that the representations of the city are insufficient to account for urban phenomena and that the language, the image, the planimetry, or narratives are always partial (Pope, 1996; Simeoforidis, 2001). The character of the city is increasingly that of a casual, contingent accumulation, and the urban experience continues to be presented as the expression of the ineffable, the persistently other (Delgado, 1999). In this context that understands the city as an unfathomable "other", this sample of conditions, spaces, or experiences that are provisionally defined as *unusual architectures*, is accessed. This is based on the active search for direct experience in the city, from the perception of urban space and time, where objects, situations, or displacements that do not coincide with the canonical or privileged discourses within the discipline are often presented. This line of inquiry would operate, to paraphrase Aby Warburg when he describes the procedure for his *Atlas Mnemosyne* (1924-29), as a machine for thinking images – in this case, for thinking spatial experiences –, making analogies emerge. Thus, what is interesting is the strangeness of the phenomenon and the set of possible relationships between objects, rather than their stagnant understanding (Warburg, 2010).

In this framework, this research involved facing methodological challenges. On one hand, the recognition of background information or similar lines of work marks a possible path to follow. On the other hand, the definition of specific strategies that shows the particularities of the body of cases studied and their context. Regarding these strategies and as will be stated, the conceptual precision of the notion of the 'unusual' stands out; the definition, observation, and categorization of cases; and the registration and representation of the selected buildings. In this way, together, these methods allow activating a look that reconsiders the importance and value of architectures usually neglected in the disciplinary field.

## BACKGROUND

### RECOGNITION OF THE UNUSUAL

The compilation and description of the "other" in architecture and urbanism have been presented, at least since Piranesi, with a twofold angle: first, to give possibilities of representation to marginal experiences, maintaining this marginality as a value, and second, the paradox that happens when otherness risks becoming a model.

Regarding this second paradox, its founding mode appears acknowledged in Walter Benjamin and his *A Book at Passages* (ca. 1936), which is a compilation of references and comments on urban modernization events in Paris in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. In this work, situations can be found that, at that time, were making the experience of the city the *other*: shopping galleries, access to the catacombs, urban renewals, collecting, decorated interiors, museums, streets, mirrors, artificial lighting, railways, or the photographic image. With a mixture of anguish and seduction, they refer to architectural acts, unusual spaces, or cultural practices influential in the material transformation produced by modern architecture and urbanism.



After the canonical period of modern architecture, in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the “other” experiences were presented by assault as disciplinary alternatives. This included the unplanned, the ordinary, the ugly, the ordinary, the weird, or even the ridiculous. Looking for alternatives, members of *Team 10* reviewed traditional urban centers, historical city patterns, or life on the streets (Risselada & van der Heuvel, 2005). In this regard, Bernard Rudofsky (1964) reports, through a very extensive presentation, a look at vernacular architectures presenting his thesis about the value of local ways of solving habitat problems. At the same time, Reyner Banham (1989) travels around the United States demonstrating how industrial architecture, not intended to be architecture, had influenced the most heroic modernity, or how the city of Los Angeles was more than a scattered set of speculative urbanizations covered with smog, recognizing urban cultures and ways of doing (Banham, 1971). Shortly after, Venturi and Scott Brown made an unprecedented exploration of Las Vegas, a city despised by official architecture, through the analysis and innovative representations of casinos, gas stations, signs, or sidewalks, turning it into the place of origin of architecture that, by different ways, radically departed from modern canons (Venturi et al., 1977). Thus, the other, the ugly, the ordinary, and the unvalued becomes an epistemological alternative and a project model, producing conceptual systems to organize or explain reality.

For his part, in 1978, Rem Koolhaas (1994) does the same with New York with a very different analysis from the established methods, where he values how the indescribable is taken for granted, architecture as a circus phenomenon, megalomania, and nonsense. Koolhaas recognizes these expressions as direct antecedents of the excesses and contradictions of contemporary urbanism and architecture. Likewise, he also recognizes these experiences as models of its innovative and exemplary practice of the end of the century, often described as cynical and opportunistic for how it adapts, surrenders, or even magnifies contemporary modes of production, consumption, and imageability (Montes-Lamas, 2015). Koolhaas also explains his critique as collecting guided by the paranoid-critical surrealist method, where the author, while seeking to “systematize confusion” (1994, p. 235), also collects objects or experiences, establishing arbitrary relationships between them, and assumes that everything is useful to support their thesis.

These collection operations are still common to view the city. For example, the Japanese collective, Atelier Bow Wow, describes their *Made in Tokyo* as a study of strange, unnamable buildings, whereby Tokyo moves away from what is prescribed or celebrated by the official architectural culture. The authors state that “amazed by how interesting they are, we set out to photograph them, as if we were visiting a foreign city for the first time” (Kajijima et al., 2001). In this way, the architect, as in the case of *Atelier Bow Wow* becomes an attentive observer of the existing reality, rather than a producer of a new one. This operation reiterates a Japanese tradition of linking architecture and ethnography (Abásolo-Llaría, 2021), consisting of recognizing the present and active otherness, understood as a key factor

in the very powerful cultural hybridization that characterized 20th-century Japan. In the same way, it points to the experience of immersing oneself in the city. This encourages spatial practices for the study of the urban, in a kind of fieldwork, as had already been done by the Architectural Detective Agency and Terunobu Fujimori (Abásolo-Llaría, 2022).

## SANTIAGO DE CHILE

For Santiago de Chile, the first reference to the “weird” is the book by Cristián Boza and Hernán Duval called *Inventarios de una arquitectura anónima (Inventory of an anonymous architecture)* (Boza & Duval, 1982), which assessed a hitherto unrecognized unspectacular architecture. The work incorporated common architectural typologies, with great urban weight but anonymous, that were rarely included in the lists of outstanding works because they distanced themselves from the monumental. Thus, many neighborhoods, complexes, cités<sup>1</sup>, buildings, and private houses or small palaces located in neighborhoods of the primary periphery are included as examples of historical importance. The selection is based on the correct handling of the urban form, formal expressiveness, and a modest eclecticism, which is representative of the time in which they were built. However, when Sergio Paz (2003), in the guide to the weird Santiaguino, *Santiago Bizarro*, after referring to gargoyles, crypts, some passageways, and different complexes, affirms that “by a strange never written rule, the cités are usually inexplicably anomalous buildings”, placing the unusual character of these spaces above their value as a model.

Santiago de Chile has been described as a city where deregulated urbanism and the architectures of consumption and spectacle dominate the space and replace the action of the public (De Mattos, 1999). In the experiences of urban substitution, displacement of social groups, gentrification, segregation, and accelerated speculation, added to recent migratory processes and weak heritage preservation policies, the dissemination of spatial otherness is frequent. This is exemplified in what Jorge Christie (2004) refers to as the development of the city by layers, by the thoughtless accumulation of matter and omissions, venturing to understand the destruction of the built as a field from which to consider architecture. Thus, he proposes an unusual combination of urban autopsy and abandoned spaces as keys to describing new interpretations of what it means to subtract or demolish, considering the different layers or thicknesses of the city.

Another unusual antecedent is a certain degree of invisibility and inaccessibility of some spaces that make up the city, as Bianchi (2001) proposes about the interiors of blocks, where strange and surprising spatial situations occur that are usually ignored or go unnoticed in the cartographies of the city, evidencing an urban anathema.

<sup>1</sup> Cités are a group of houses that share an interior patio as a passageway.

Also, the image of Santiago, the accidental expression, that which is between what is thought and what is seen, appears in *An Imaginary Atlas*

of *Santiago de Chile* by Justine Graham (2011). There, alternative views and modes of valuation and representation of the urban environment are proposed through a collection of photographs of the every day, the poetic, and the forgotten, that are systematically classified and compared, reflecting on the informal or the seemingly unimportant in the city (Pérez de Arce & Graham, 2012).

## EXTRAORDINARY, ORDINARY, INTERESTING, UNUSUAL

Unlike weak, anonymous, confusing, or ethereal architectures, teaching or architectural criticism has traditionally privileged the strong, the unique, the clear, and the legible. The understandable architecture is one where quality is produced, codes are transmitted, and even stylistic keys are established. The architecture that is valued and taught, has clear concepts, ideas-force, is transcendental or is regulated by general items, aspires to be universal. Canonical architecture paradoxically aspires to repeat itself, while wishing to be *extraordinary*. This is the extraordinary architecture that, it is said, has ended up being usual in the context of current Chile, as it was qualified, for example, in the evaluative text on the *Extraordinary: New Practices in Chilean Architecture* exhibition (Center for Architecture, 2016):

[...] The exhibition shows how in today's Chile, after the strong influence of modernism on the local design culture in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, an innovative language is beginning to take shape that looks towards the coming decades and paves the way for a real school. The stars are architects aged between thirty and fifty, all of them from the School of Architecture of the Pontifical Catholic University of Santiago, with numerous projects in their country, but also a growing presence on the international scene [...]

Paradoxically, the value of this extraordinary architecture is to share a series of common signs: a relationship with modernism as the good side of history, an affiliation to a dominant academic institution, a generational homogeneity, innovation as a value in itself, a professional legitimacy for the built work, and the already achieved international recognition.

The *ordinary* is presented in apparent opposition to *the extraordinary* of the most celebrated architectures, which is a category rescued by Enrique Walker (2010) approaching the ways that, frequently, refer to the "other". That is to say, the ordinary is the external to the architectural discipline, either by actions of direct exclusion or by simple omission. In this sense, Georges Perec takes the ordinary to the extreme by referring, using the *infra-ordinary*, to "the rest, everything else" (Perec, 1989). The *infra-ordinary* is radically opposed to the *extra-ordinary*, although it also implies a look of amazement. However, it recognizes the need to move away from the great events that capture the attention because they are singular, and proposes to turn the attention to life itself, to the ordinary everyday experience.

On the other hand, Gerard Vilar (2000) rescues a category of analysis following these issues, useful at a time that he describes as aesthetic entropy.

In the disorder of stimuli and experiences of the present, Vilar affirms that he highlights only that which arouses interest. Thus, the category of the *Interesting* would act as a provisional aesthetic judgment, a kind of indexing with which the subject marks that which has hit the sensitivity, by which the unknown manages to surprise him, but which at the same time is interstitial, intermediate between the clearly definable and that which is still indeterminate.

A wide territory of interest to investigate appears in this tension between the common and ordinary and the declared extraordinary condition of the Chilean architecture to which one aspires, which immediately produces a wide margin. What elements, within what can be described as ordinary, can be temporarily separated to be seen in detail to arouse interest? What aspects of what is recognized as extraordinary have not yet been seen in their full dimension?

## UNUSUAL ARCHITECTURES

The architectural and urban experiences that we want to index are those that can only be designated as interesting and that, after a process of examination, representation, and criticism, could be evaluated less provisionally. What is proposed to be described as “unusual architectures” is a shapeless set comprising artifacts and experiences outside what is normally discussed and valued, which are mostly ordinary, many strange for proposing paradoxes or being incisive in a special way, but at the same time extraordinary. These architectures include public spaces, territories, and urban experiences that are of interest from their aesthetic or typological valuation within the discipline, present potential situations, or sometimes, just a paradox, a gesture, or an inflection. Some are lessons that reconcile practice with the production of space, others are the result of how people manage to inhabit or produce exchanges. Some are leftovers of other times condemned to obsolescence or recent pieces that, due to the particularity of their statements or formal or spatial proposals, deserve to be discussed from other perspectives. Some are even recent and valued architectures, but that support, due to their complexity and interest, an unusual way of being looked at. The aim is then to compose a set of experiences that are alien or uncomfortable to learned architecture, or that, being even recognized pieces, can be looked at from a perspective that enquires about otherness.

The main difficulty of unusual architecture is that it cannot be defined or abstracted to a common type, representation, or concept. It can only be displayed, listed or provisionally organized in one way or another. It forms a disparate and irreconcilable whole, but true to experience. It would be analogous to the one described in that encyclopedia of Dr. Khun, which, as Jorge Luis Borges imagined, proposed an amazing taxonomy of the animals of the kingdom that he inhabited:

“...the animals are divided into a] belonging to the Emperor, b] embalmed, c] trained, d] piglets, e] mermaids, f] fabulous, g] loose dogs, h] included in this classification, i] that are agitated like crazy, j] innumerable, k] drawn with a very fine camel hair brush, l] and so on, m] that have just broken the vase, n] that from afar look like flies” (Borges, 1952).

The set that we want to present produces tension regarding how, from its conventions, architecture organizes its words and its things, where it becomes evident the way how, from these conventions, there is opposition to the experience or culture of spaces and their way of being inhabited.

Behind each case lies another possible reading about the city as a whole, which is a fragmentary reading, since it is built from the possible relationships – and discontinuities – between the parts and objects chosen. What is common to the cases that will be collected is that their origin or the ways of interpretation in which the research welcomes them are related to the fact that they are always distant from the conceptually strong, legible, or modelistic. As expressions in the territory, they are almost always consequences of productive instrumentalization, where the architectural or territorial seems to be subjected to a single end. They are a set of physical presences and unformulated spatial expressions, which, accumulating contingently, often determine the experience of the site.

Recognizing unusual architectures as a necessarily open notion, the urban reality of Santiago was carefully observed to identify the cases according to their origin or the ways of interpretation in which the research welcomes them: as distant forms of the conceptually legible, strong or modelistic; as expressions in a territory that appear as a consequence of productive instrumentalization where the architectural or territorial seems to be subjected to a single purpose; as physical presences and unformulated spatial expressions that accumulate contingently and determine the experience at the site; as formal enigmas that are unrelated to their context; or as pieces that propose new keys in urban space. From this classification, the most powerful cases were highlighted, expressions of the little discussed or that made it possible to find the salvageable within the peculiar to propose an index that covered different scales: the landscape, urban systems or ensembles, public spaces, large-scale pieces, buildings, singular pieces and ways of occupying the city.

Methodologically, the research was proposed as an inductive search based on direct or indirect active observation of the city, which included the following stages:

I.- Field visits, site surveys, and consultation of bibliography, hemerography, and archives. There was constant feedback between the search, selection, categorization, and evaluation, distancing from understanding the concepts

## METHODOLOGY AND DEVELOPMENT

<b>Box of surprises / interiors</b>	086 _ Monte Carlo Hotel	030 _ The Central Market
010 _ OMNIUM Shopping Center	<b>Objects / Lighthouses and pieces</b>	034 _ Parque del Cómic, San Miguel
012 _ Capri Cinema and Gallery	006 _ Commercial snail-like centers and continuous ramp galleries (Dos Caracoles)	035 _ Paseo Las Palmas, Duty-Free area and surroundings, Providencia
019 _ El Drugstore, Providencia	008 _ Lo Castillo Shopping Center	036 _ Bio-Bio Flea Market
028 _ Juegos Diana	011 _ Innovation Center of the Catholic University	045 _ High voltage line layout (Las Torres and Av. Alonso de Córdova)
032 _ Chinese Mall and surroundings	015 _ Channel 13 Television Building	047 _ Santiago Water-Tanks
041 _ Caupolican Theater	016 _ Cruz Blanca Building	048 _ Phone masts in Stgo
057 _ Edwards Interior Gallery	017 _ Plaza de Armas Building	053 _ Neptuno Workshops
061 _ La Merced Building	037 _ Pirámide del Sol	063 _ Central Highway (North-South)
078 _ Casa Colorada Gallery and Complex.	039 _ Remodelling of República	066 _ La Hondonada Park, Cerro Navia
082 _ Lider Express Paseo Huérfanos (old Victoria Theatre)	040 _ Mestizo Restaurant	070 _ Postgraduate campus of Adolfo Ibañez University
087 _ España Gallery	042 _ Votive Temple of Maipu	072 _ North-eastern Radial Highway
<b>Mode / Applications</b>	044 _ Entel Tower	079 _ Intersection Vespucio-Independencia-Norte Sur (Quilicura)
002 _ Maruri Neighborhood and surroundings	050 _ Chapel of the Verbo Divino School	081 _ Providencia Neighborhood Unit
003 _ Meiggs and Estación Central Neighborhood	052 _ Bahai Temple	090 _ Santa Isabel Neighborhood, Santiago Downtown
004 _ Patronato Neighborhood	055 _ Ministry of Labour and Private Employees' Fund	<b>Voids/ Footprints</b>
005 _ Aillavilú Street	056 _ Palace of the Alhambra (Compañía - Amunategui)	013 _ National Stadium
022 _ Informal trade strategies, Santiago Centro and others	062 _ Donde Golpea el Monito Hat Shop	014 _ Waste and persistence in Estación Central
027 _ Graffiti and urban art route	064 _ San Borja gas and gasometer factory	018 _ Parking lot buildings in Santiago Downtown, Miraflores and Mclver Streets
029 _ Kiosks, installations and other "pet architectures"	067 _ Mausoleum of the Italian Society of Mutual Aid (General Cemetery)	020 _ Intersection of Alameda with Gral. Velasquez, Estación Central
033 _ Current occupation of the Tirso de Molina Grocery Market	080 _ Los Sacramentinos Church	021 _ Yungay Station and surroundings
038 _ La Victoria Neighborhood	083 _ Former Hyatt Hotel (Santiago Mandarin)	023 _ Faculty of Architecture, University of Chile
046 _ UNCTAD - Gabriela Mistral Centre	084 _ Plaza de Armas Metro Building	031 _ Maestranza San Bernardo
049 _ Brasil Square	089 _ Alto Parque and Parque Vivo Buildings	043 _ Ambiguous terrain and other central voids
051 _ San Cristobal Hill Park and Renca sign	<b>Systems / Networks and Paths</b>	065 _ Maestranza San Eugenio (Estacion Central)
054 _ Escalada de Los Silos Park	001 _ Costanera Norte Highway	069 _ Mundo Mágico
058 _ Espacio 365 - Murals (Rio de Janeiro 365) - Patronato	007 _ Cantagallo Shopping Center	073 _ Embalse Abandoned Mining Camp El Yeso (Cajón del Maipo)
059 _ Mural Roberto Espinoza Street - Copiapo and Coquimbo	009 _ Los Cobres Shopping Center; Vitacura	074 _ Villa San Luis, Las Condes
060 _ Paseo Bandera	024 _ Fantasilandia	076 _ Zanjón de la Aguada.
068 _ Minimal architectures, architectures of the body	025 _ La Pérgola gallery and similar galleries in Providencia	077 _ Los Reyes Park, including silos and meeting with North-South road system
071 _ Romualdito's Shrine	026 _ Contemporary commercial galleries in Santiago Downtown (San Agustín and others)	085 _ Entre Gigantes Building, Estación Central
075 _ Neighborhood and social housing associated with extraction of sand in Lo Barnechea		088 _ Libertad-Yungay Metro Station

**Table 1.** Initial observation group for the selected cases (selected cases are indicated in grey) 2021-2022.  
Source: Preparation by the Authors.

and cases as watertight and predetermined facts. On the contrary, by consulting in the field, in secondary sources, and through the exchange of opinion within the team, an initial set of observations could be selected.

2.- The pre-selection of cases to be observed (ninety) and the final selection of twenty-seven. For these, further analysis and representation were made. Table I shows the preselected cases and the final selection. In them, the complexity of the instrumental systems that overlap the city was identified to a different degree, but also the complexity of the form and space, exotic or even kitsch qualities, the constant expression of paradoxes, a certain residual character of what was simply left there, the absence of meaning, of use or even lack of materiality. In many cases, the presence of people and groups became evident, who, within new dynamics, organize the space according to their needs and benefits.

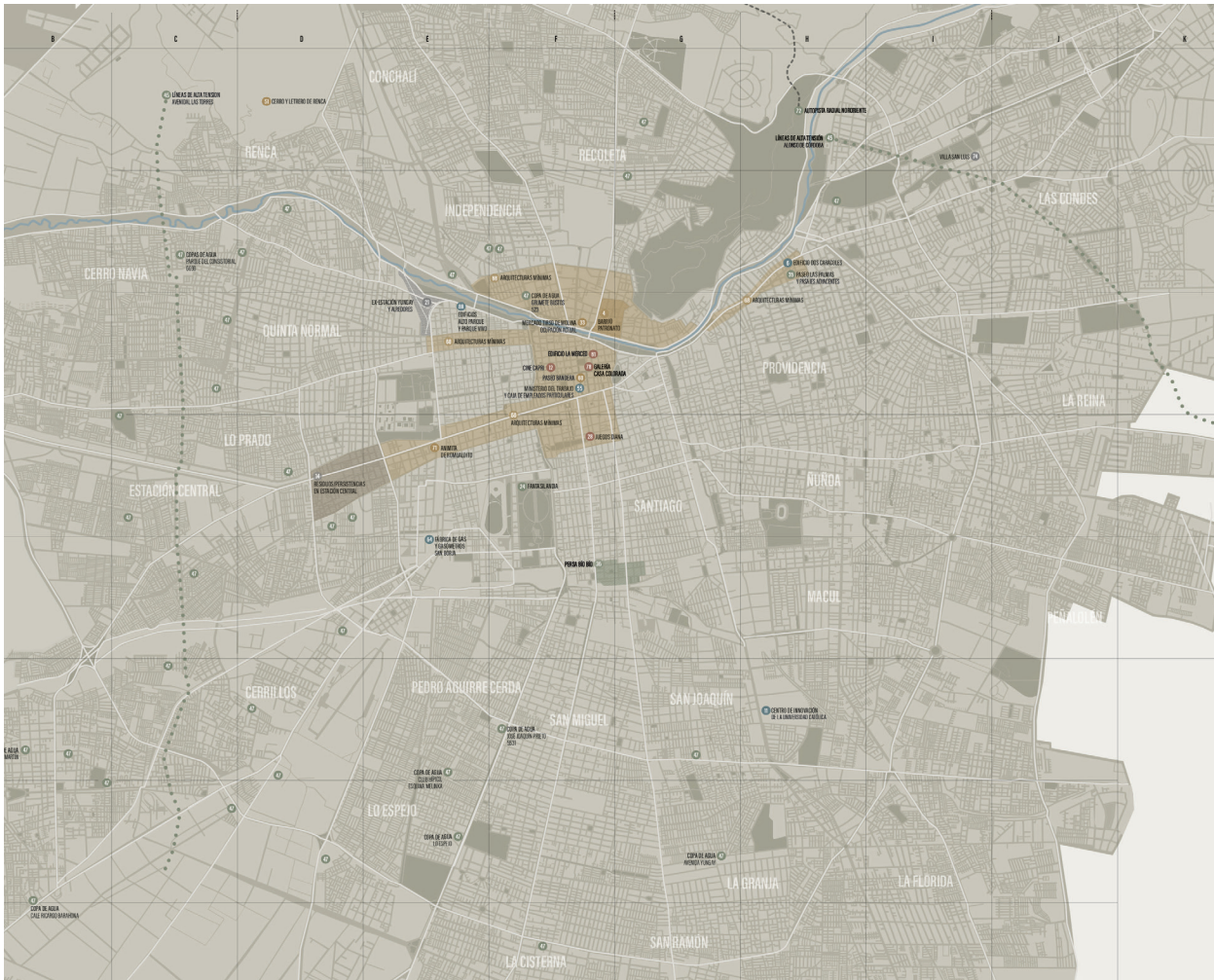
3.- Constant discussion of the proposed concepts and observation categories and the selection, design, and incorporation of case representation strategies, as a way to foresee the relationship between the conceptualization and the products relevant to each case.

4.- The development of representations. Representations that emphasize traditional means of architecture were chosen, implying that these unusual architectures are still disciplinarily understandable and replicable. On the other hand, the active use of photography seeks to demonstrate a necessary spatial or material concreteness of what is represented and to record an architecture that is present in the most direct way possible. In the same way, as it has been historically, photography has found in the otherness an object where to develop with the purpose of registration and cataloging, but also of aesthetic exploitation (Vielma, 2015).

5.- Finally, a critical-descriptive discourse of each case was constructed. In these texts, the justification and assessment of each one were carried out, contextualizing them according to their origin, describing their current situation, and the detected conditions that allow them to be described and assessed as unusual.

## MAP-GUIDE OF UNUSUAL ARCHITECTURES

The cases reviewed in the city are located on a guide map that acts as a selective representation that expresses the different spatial orders associated with each case and its relationship with the territory (Figure 1). This map allows inferring relationships closely tied to the form of occupation of the space, as well as to the time and epoch where they manifest, to know where these forms of occupation that coexist simultaneously are concentrated, intensified, or dispersed. At the same time, the plan allows identifying future actions and opportunities for intervention in cases that are immersed in areas of urban transformation or that need to be reprogrammed in the city.



**Figure 1.** Map-guide Unusual architecture. <<Other>> experiences in the architecture and urbanism of Santiago de Chile 2021-2022. Source: Preparation by the Authors.

In the case of Santiago, this dispersed attention to the plan allows for knowing intuitively or reconstructing urban transformations over time, such as identifying remnants of the modernization process initiated in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. It is also possible to verify the obsolescence suffered by areas and city programs from technological innovation; or the intense expansion of an urban space determined by the rhythm of the market, an issue that allows the strange coexistence between local features and the globalization of consumption logics.

## PROPOSED CATEGORIES AND EXAMPLE CASES

The twenty-seven cases chosen (Table 2) were organized into five categories understood as an operational narrative that allowed distinctions to be made. The categories are explained below with brief references to some of the cases included in each. These categories were named with two complementary terms: the first points to a concept that groups the sets and the second to a spatial or material concreteness.



	Box of surprises / interiors	055 _	Ministry of Labour and Private Employees' Fund Calle Huérfanos 1273, Santiago, Metropolitan Region Emilio Duhart, Architect 1969
012_	Capri Cinema and Gallery Calle Santo Domingo 834, Santiago Eugenio Cienfuegos, architect 1958	064 _	San Borja Gas and Gasometer Factory Calle San Antofagasta 3424, Estación Central, Metropolitan Region Empresas GASCO 1910s
028_	Juegos Diana Calle San Diego 438, Santiago Sergio Moreira, arquitecto- Enrique Zuñiga, mandante 1978	089 _	Alto Parque and Parque Vivo Buildings Av. Balmaceda 2610 & 2720, Santiago, Metropolitan Region Juan Eduardo Castañeda, Architect. Nahmias Construction Company. 2019-2021
061_	La Merced Building Paseo Huérfanos 699, Santiago Mario Pérez de Arce Lavín and Mario Pérez de Arce A., architects 1982		<b>Systems / Networks and Paths</b>
078_	Casa Colorada Gallery Calle Merced 823, Santiago Santiago Roi, architect 1983	024 _	Fantasilandia Av. Beaucheff 938, Santiago, Metropolitan Region Commercial entertainment architecture. Gerardo Arteaga and promoting companies 1978 - current situation
	<b>Mode / Applications</b>	035 _	Paseo Las Palmas and adjacent underground passages in Providencia Surroundings of the crossings between Av. Nueva Providencia with Avenida Calle Ricardo Lyon and underground walkways around Los Leones Metro station Alberto Sartori, Larraín Murtinho, Alberto Fernández, Roberto Wood, Santiago Metro, among others 1982 - current situation
004_	Patronato Neighborhood Polygon between Bellavista Street, Av. Recoleta, Dominica Street and Loreto Street, Commune of Recoleta Commercial Urban Vernacular, current situation	036 _	Bio-Bio Flea Market Matadero-Franklin Neighborhood, Santiago Commercial district with spontaneous development in the old supply and slaughterhouse area of Santiago Current situation
033_	Current occupation of the Tirso de Molina Grocery Market Avenida Santa María 409, Recoleta Iglesis y Prat Arquitectos - commercial urban vernacular 2011 - current situation	045 _	Aerial layouts of high-voltage networks Las Torres Avenue, Cerro Navia and Adjacent Communes / Alonso de Córdoba Avenue, Vitacura Chile's Central Interconnected Electricity System n.d. - current situation
051_	De Los Cerros Park and Renca Sign Between the communes of Quilicura and Renca Illustrious Municipality of Renca 2010 - current situation	047 _	Santiago Water-Tanks Several locations Drinking water distribution companies Current situation
060_	Paseo Bandera Calle Bandera, between Compañía and Avenida Libertador Bernardo O'Higgins Victoria Studio, Dasic Fernández, Esteban Barrera and Juan Carlos López 2017	070 _	Postgraduate Campus of Adolfo Ibáñez University Diagonal Las Torres 2640, Peñalolén 2007
068_	Minimal architectures, architectures of the body Commercial and high pedestrian flow neighborhoods Commercial urban vernacular Current situation	072 _	North-eastern Radial Highway Concessions Unit of the Ministry of Public Works - Group S and V 2008
071_	Romualdito's Shrine San Francisco de Borja with Avenida Libertador Bernardo O'Higgins, Estación Central Religious urban vernacular 1933 - current situation		<b>Voids/ Footprints</b>
	<b>Objects / Lighthouses and pieces</b>	014_	Waste and persistence in the recent development of Estación Central Between Central Highway, Av. Las Rejas, Embajador Quintana Street and Av. 5 de Abril. Commune of Estación Central Current situation, 2022
006_	Dos Caracoles Building Av. Providencia 2216, Providencia Sergio Larraín García-Moreno, Ignacio Covarrubias and Jorge Swinburn 1978	031_	Maestranza San Bernardo Av. Portales Oriente, 1471 San Bernardo, Metropolitan Region Directorate-General of Railways - Compañía Holandesa de Obras en Concreto 1913 - Current situation
011_	Anacleto Angelini Innovation Center Campus San Joaquín, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, Vicuña Mackenna 4860, Macul Elementary, Alejandro Aravena, Pedro Hoffmann, Suyin Chia, and Juan Cerda 2015	074_	Villa San Luis Presidente Riesco 5885, Las Condes CORMU, Miguel Eyquem, Sergio Larraín, Ignacio Covarrubias, Jorge Swinburn, Alberto Collados, Nicolás Freund, Gonzalo Leiva, and Isidoro Loi 1969-1974 - current situation
052_	Baha'i Temple of South America Diagonal Las Torres 2000, Peñalolén Hariri Pontarini Architects, 2016	021_	Former Yungay Station and Surroundings Av. Carrascal 3098, Santiago, Quinta Normal, Metropolitan Region Current situation

**Table 2.** Selection of cases by category of discussion 2021-2022.  
Source: Preparation by the Authors.

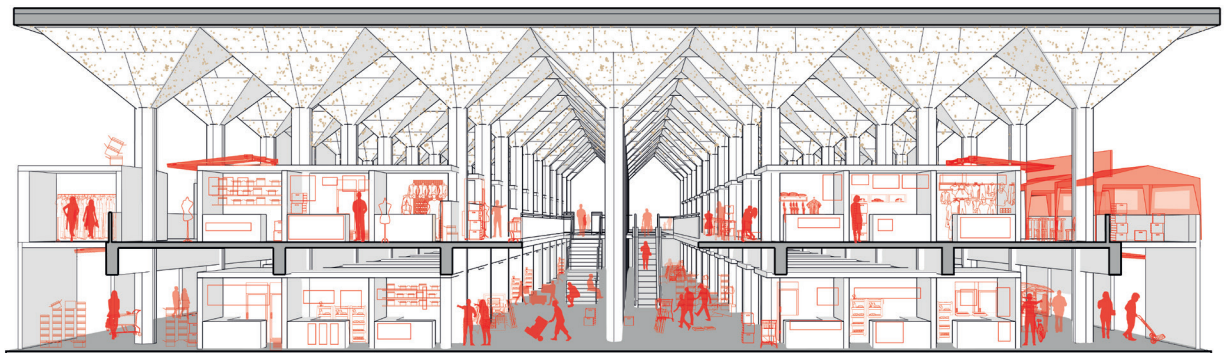
**Figure 2.** Photographs and interpretive drawing - Juegos Diana 2021-2022. Source: Preparation by the Authors.



## SURPRISE BOX / INTERIORS

This considers situations where the matching and legibility between interior and exterior are broken. The experience of the space or its modes of use is contingent and flexible compared to the built form and the interior usually exceeds expectations. They are related to what has been described as “containers” to refer to those situations where the form/function link is broken and the architecture is open to flexibility, surprise, or simulation (Solà-Morales, 1996).

An outstanding example of this category is *Juegos Diana* (Figure 2), which is a leisure and entertainment space inside a warehouse built like a winery or a light factory, close to a park and the monumental *Basílica de los Sacramentinos*. An ordinary shed outside hints at its contents from its sign and a Ferris wheel that breaks through its envelope. The Ferris wheel expresses the playful character that links the interior to the exterior and allows the user to rotate incessantly, entering and exiting the container. Thus, the irruption of this playful artifact can be thought of as a synthesis of what happens in the place: the encounter between urban reality, its continuity, and monotony, the presence inside a space that opens to the illusion of play proposing alternative times, actions, and uses. This box of surprises reveals a diverse set of machines and characters inside that



disconnect the visitor from the usual rhythms, transforming a generic space into one characterized by the accumulation of visitors and visual stimuli.

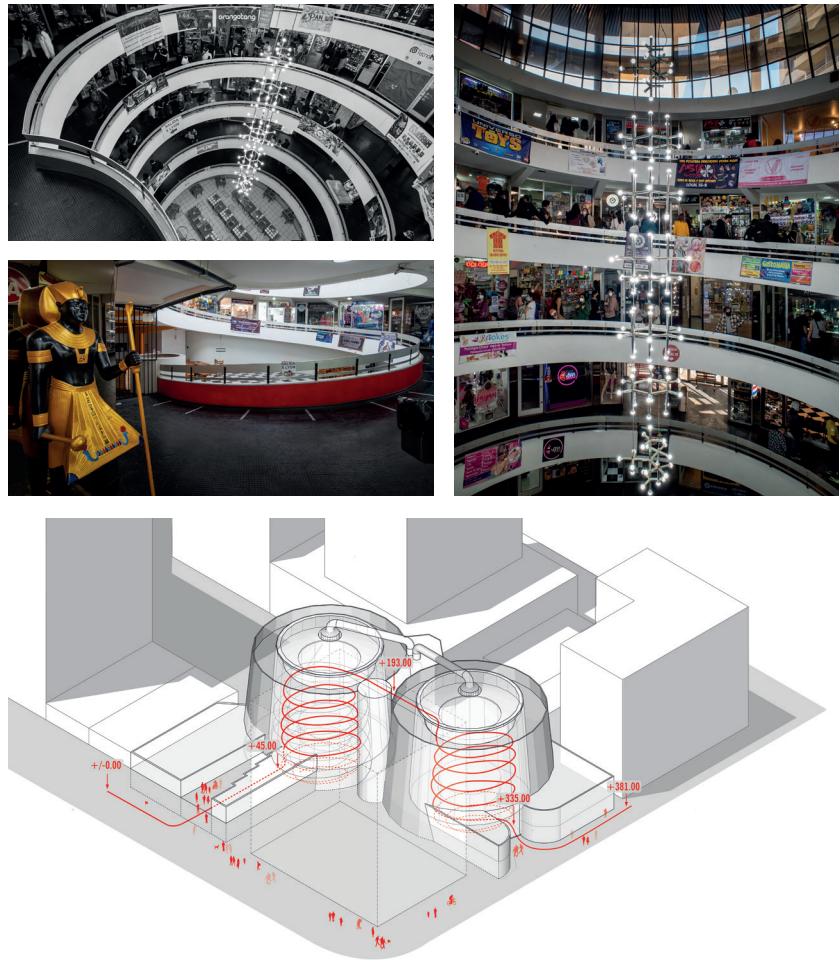
### MODE / APPLICATIONS

This is those cases where how the space is used or laid out modifies the proposed shape or use of the project. Through an overlapping that ends up replacing the originally thought, or where the unusual manifests itself in how the intervention in the space, while supposedly being fragile or soft, can determine the experience, expressing the paradox of how the informal organizes the city (García Canclini, 2003).

In the *current occupation of the Tirso de Molina market* (Figure 3), it is seen how the expression of the present displaces and distorts how the new Tirso de Molina Food Market was looking to *architecturalize* the sale of food and goods

**Figure 3.** Photographs and interpretive drawing Tirso de Molina Market 2021-2022. Source: Preparation by the Authors.

**Figure 4.** Photographs and interpretive drawing Dos Caracoles Building 2021-2022. Source: Preparation by the Authors.



that has historically occurred in that place. Today, the spontaneity of the sector that hosted it has surpassed the building, originally organized by brick-clad modules with an independent roof. Multiple layers have been superimposed on it, it has been intervened with plastic and nylon covers to protect the activities from the weather; awnings, and lintels with trademarks, multiple formal and vernacular notices and signs, a religious altar in the central space, and exposed concrete painted in colors. The result is a tense expression of the encounter between the ways people use spaces and the expectations of architecture to organize them.

### OBJECTS / LIGHTHOUSES AND PIECES

Architecture as an object, privileges being visible, to mark a place. It usually acts in a centrifugal way, focusing the space, attracting gazes, concentrating, and maintaining activities inside. Architectures understood as objects often become strong attractors (Gómez, 2012), in devices that offer alternative experiences.

The *Dos Caracoles Building* is a building belonging to a very widespread local architectural type between 1970 and 1980 (Figure 4). Chilean snail-like shopping centers developed from helical ramps adjacent to shops, containing the complex in truncated-conical drums. As a commercial type, they expressed

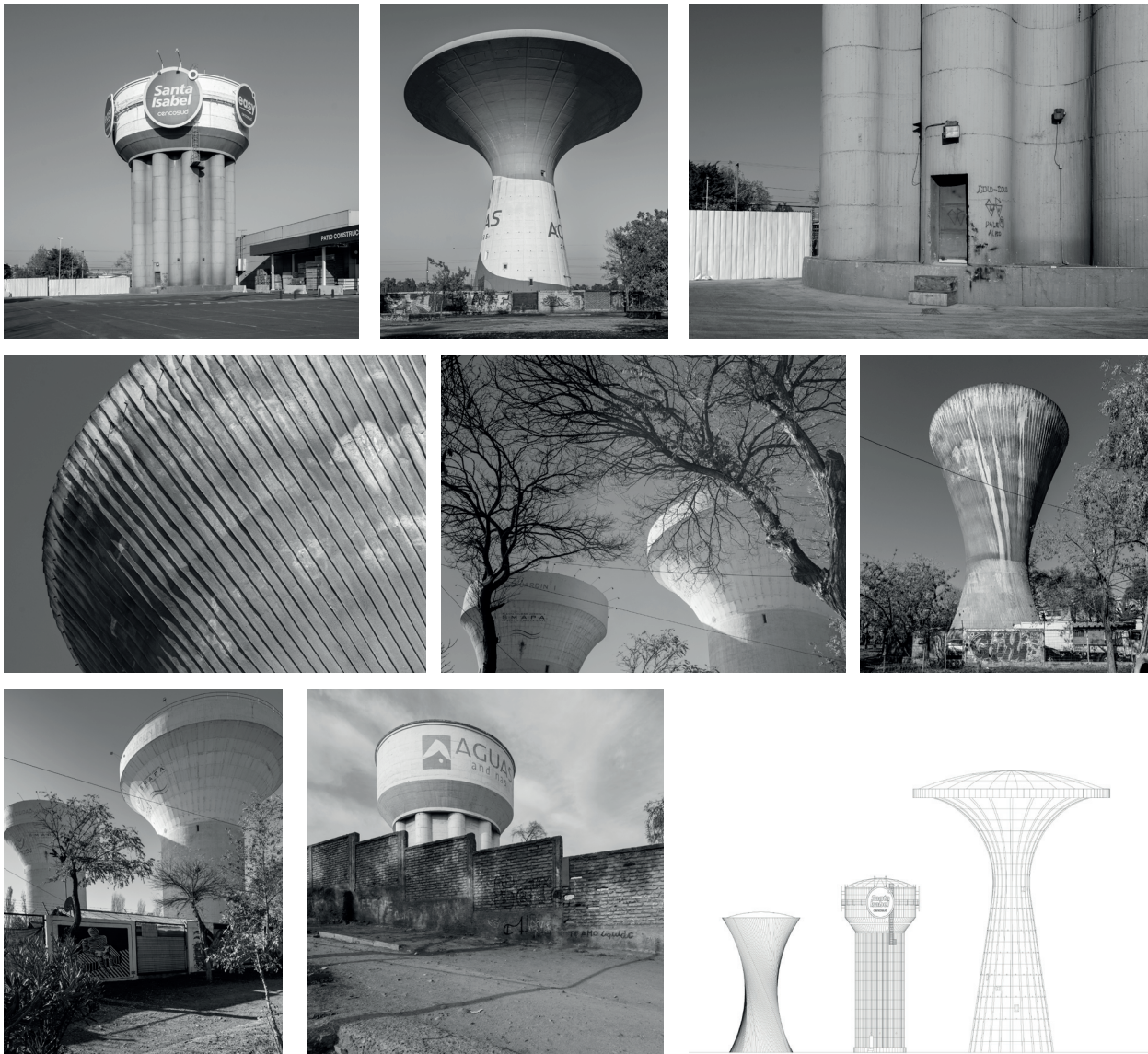
themselves in a very different and innovative way compared to the covered gallery or the multi-level store (de Simone, 2012a, 2012b; Marchant, 2011). Among its particularities, the extension of the uninterrupted commercial front stands out around a central space with daylight that establishes multiple visual relationships between space, people, and merchandise. In this particular case, the building comprises two hermetic truncated-conical volumes, which capture the public as if they were air circulating inside through a coil that returns them to the street. The two ramps, one in each volume, solve the problem of the traditional spiral ending in a dead end, allowing the public to go up and down through different spaces. This is a curious commercial artifact that allows walking in front of a long and continuous band of variegated goods, which manages to build an uninterrupted and fluid route through two monumental spaces, while occupying the inside of a block that is integrated into the street's commercial front, now extended.

### Systems / Networks and Paths

These can be expressed in the following ways: as a network of relationships, paths, or potential movements; as the way of systematic repetition of a specific piece; as a mode of performance, usually used to satisfy instrumental orders. These autonomous patterns are imposed on the territory based on an understanding of the city as a system of flows and activities (Allen, 2009).

The *Santiago Water Tanks*, mostly built between 1950 and 1980, constitute a system that is part of the water storage and distribution network (Figure 5). These show the hygienist vision put in place by modernization, so the location, shape, and dimension of each one obey a unique role and constitute a kind of typological family defined using parameters of demand, capacity, and structural efficiency. Today, these striking urban landmarks are decontextualized in old peripheries that have been densifying and mutating towards residential uses. There they become a strange, unusual presence. Many of them are no longer used, alien forms that fail to establish a formal or even programmatic relationship with the place.

In another example in this category, the *Paseo Las Palmas complex and the adjacent underground passages* in Providencia comprise a network that interconnects different properties along underground pedestrian paths, at street level, and above ground (Figure 6). This was built as a result of an urban renewal policy in this sector, which, starting in 1976, granted incentives to buildings that included commercial galleries on their ground floors and subfloors (Briceño, 2009). In the complex, in terms of its shape and route, the formal complexity of the *Dos Providencias Shopping Center*, consisting of a spiral intersected between the basement and the fourth floor with internal ramps with access from Paseo Las Palmas, a tower with enveloping external helical paths and a low level oriented towards an outdoor pedestrian passage with patios, stairs, and half commercial levels.



**Figure 5.** Photographs and descriptive drawings of the Water Tanks 2021-2022. Source: Preparation by the Authors.

### VOIDS/ FOOTPRINTS:

These include the obsolete territories or pieces that persist due to uncontested changes in the ways of thinking and production about the city and its objects, in an analogous way to what Solà-Morales recognized as *vague terrains* (Solà-Morales, 2002). On these voids, as footprints, layers of signs from different eras or activities tend to accumulate. Entropically, the accumulation and progression of the loss of the sense of architectural or urban performance are expressed, as a persistent layer of dust that testifies that instrumental thinking or the complete legibility of the city will never succeed in imposing a general order (Bois & Krauss, 1997).

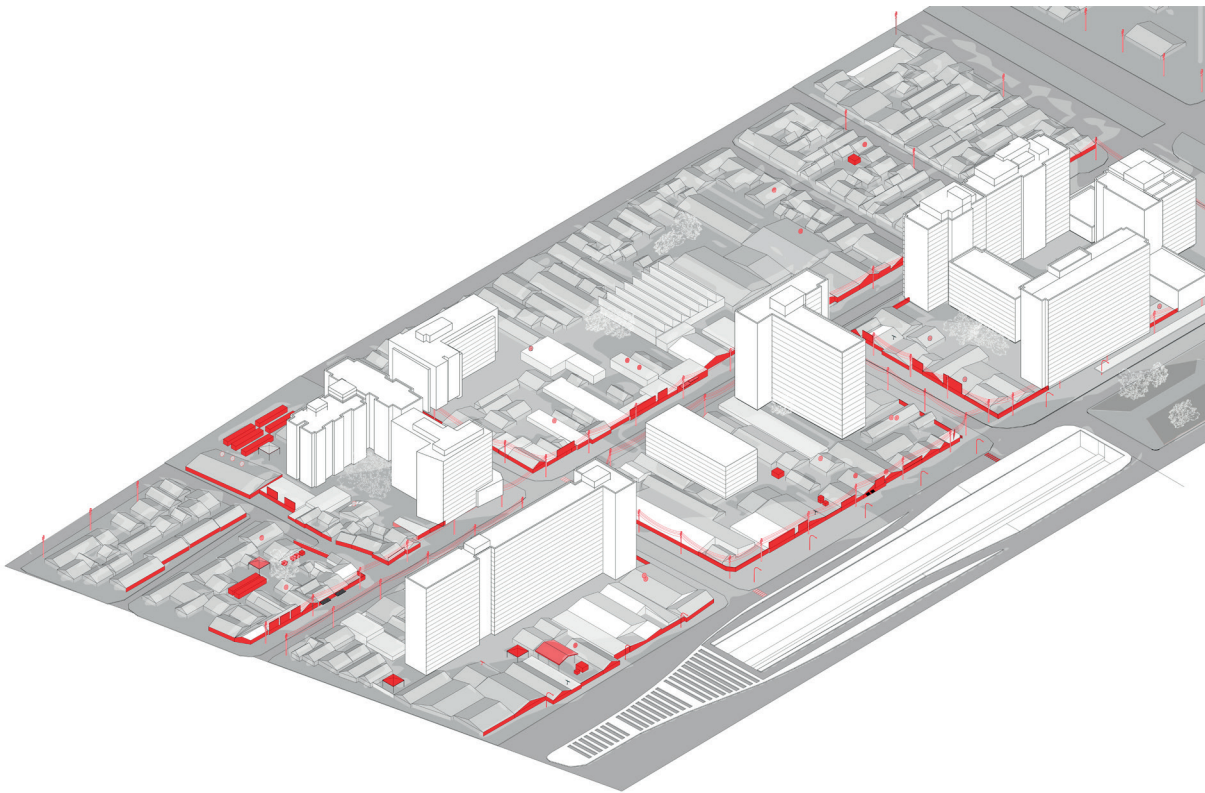
This is the case with *waste and persistence in the recent development of Estación Central* (Figure 7), where the fragmentation and emptiness left by the large speculative operations in this sector have led to a singular urban power. The absence or laxity of regulations caused a ghettoization process, where about



80,000 people have settled in recent years, those who live in hundreds of small apartments located in buildings that are around 30 floors and sometimes occupy almost entire blocks (Andrade, 2021).

In the urban landscape, huge buildings are combined with the remains of an old working-class neighborhood, warehouses, or empty sites. The demand, deregulation, and availability of obsolete space have caused a varied offer of local commerce that occupies old houses and vacant lots, sidewalks, and public spaces. Thus, how these activities occupy the space, the signs with a different scale and quality, the color, the display of the merchandise, and the congestion, contrast by their small scale and picturesqueness with the brutal architecture imposed by speculation.

**Figure 6.** Photographs and interpretative drawings of Paseo Las Palmas and underground passages 2021-2022. Source: Preparation by the Authors.



## CONCLUSIONS

**Figure 7.** Photographs and interpretative drawings of Waste and persistence in the recent development of Estación Central 2021-2022. Source: Preparation by the Authors.

*The Invisible Cities* de Italo Calvino (1972) is a collection of fantastic cities that Marco Polo describes in long conversations with the emperor of the Mongol empire and the first emperor of China, Kublai Khan. In the narration, Polo reveals to the monarch the magnitude and richness of his empire through the enormous diversity and complexity of the fifty-five cities visited. These cities, each one more amazing than the other, do not form a hierarchically or legibly ordered set but are rather an index pointing to different places, *others* of the empire. As Calvino himself describes (1985), they constitute a network where multiple paths can be traced and different conclusions are drawn.

Calvino's book is often used as a reference in teaching and architectural criticism, as he is recognized both for the value of his texts and the



complex devices that detonate images and spatial opportunities (Bari, 2017; Enrich et al., 2004; Sun, 2022; Taylor, 2016) and that, in addition, explore a complex relationship of otherness. The text culminates with a recommendation from Polo to Khan, who is saddened by the inevitability of one last hellish city:

The inferno of the living is not something that will be; if there is one, it is what is already here, the inferno where we live every day, that we form by being together. There are two ways to escape suffering it. The first is easy for many: accept the inferno and become such a part of that you can no longer see it. The second is risky and demands constant vigilance and apprehension: seek and learn to recognize who and what, in the midst of the inferno, are not inferno, then make them endure, given them space (Calvino, 1972).

What is presented here as unusual architecture should be understood in an analogous way to this otherness of Calvino's cities. An index of complex situations, but interrelated in many possible ways to the extent that you can discover their power, their lines of escape. A structure of a fragile and provisional order, an index, from which to think of experiences that can make sense of their own location or new ones or to exist. The exercise of observation, accumulation, selection, and representation of these unusual architectures allowed the astonishment before shapes and spaces not previously considered, evidencing other possible ways of thinking about architecture and the city.

This otherness, which is beyond the curious or the unusual, is presented as potential having been subjected to the representation and discussion of the architecture itself. Unusual architectures thus make up a set of *other* experiences, those that, despite some being recognized as works of the canon, others ignored, and others as part of the domestic landscape, are unique and constitute part of the specificity of Santiago de Chile, because they constitute the keys to reading urban space and its transit through time and are capable of generating recognizable spatial orders, useful in the revision of the city.

From the methodological point of view, the selection of the cases is based on both their readability and the way they are perceived by grouping them into categories for analysis. These categories are unstable and show that many of the cases could be associated differently. In the case of representations, a common denominator is proposed that, through these, allows linking the cases and establishing crossed-comments between them in a dynamic very typical of studies on architecture and urbanism. In this way, the review of unusual architectures aspires to represent other ways of approaching reading and producing space, placing architecture in a broader framework that allows new exchanges for disciplinary work on emerging views on the city and its processes.

Finally, we can only insist on the partiality and provisionality of the investigation undertaken here as a transversal and fragmentary observation, but always attentive to the possibility of identifying new findings that force us to reassemble the pieces of the puzzle that has just begun and allow us to see how within the city there are keys from where to innovate to solve the immediate or the next.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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# TIME AND SPACE: PORTUGUESE ORIGINS IN OSCAR NIEMEYER'S URBAN DECISIONS

TEMPO E ESPAÇO: AS ORIGENS PORTUGUESAS  
NAS DECISÕES URBANAS DE OSCAR NIEMEYER

TIEMPO Y ESPACIO: LOS ORÍGENES  
PORTUGUESES EN LAS DECISIONES  
URBANÍSTICAS DE OSCAR NIEMEYER



**Figure 0.** Niemeyer and Perret  
in Le Havre. Source: Image of  
the author.

CAPES, CAPES Thesis Award 2018.

## RESUMO

O urbanismo no Brasil se apropriou da tradição urbanística na mesma medida em que a arquitetura moderna pioneira? Este artigo constrói uma resposta a este questionamento, que passa pelo desdobramento teórico da definição do termo espaço a partir do reconhecimento de duas concepções historicamente aceitas. Parte da apresentação breve das genealogias e principais aspectos destas concepções, como suporte metodológico para a leitura de seu rebatimento na obra de Oscar Niemeyer; cerca as estratégias projetuais em duas obras do arquiteto, o projeto para a Praça XV no Rio de Janeiro (1991) e para o conjunto urbano de Pena Furada, em Portugal (1965). Com noções emprestadas de outros campos disciplinares, propõe uma interpretação da incorporação do tempo como elemento mediador da experiência espacial: como marco literal – impresso nas referências concretas à tradição - e como elemento gerador das decisões espaciais - ao ser incorporado na experiência do deslocamento.

**Palavras-chave:** arquitetura moderna brasileira, Oscar Niemeyer; espaços livre e edificado, projeto urbano, estratégias projetuais.

## ABSTRACT

Did urbanism in Brazil appropriate the urban tradition to the same extent as pioneering modern architecture? This article builds an answer to this question, which goes through the theoretical unraveling of the definition of the term space from the recognition of two historically accepted conceptions. It starts with a brief presentation of the main genealogies and principles of these conceptions, as methodological support to read their impact on the work of Oscar Niemeyer: It looks at the design strategies used in two works of the architect: the project for Praça XV in Rio de Janeiro (1991) and the urban complex of Pena Furada, in Portugal (1965). With notions borrowed from other disciplinary fields an interpretation of the incorporation of time as a mediating element of spatial experience is proposed: as a literal landmark - printed in concrete references to tradition - and as a generating element of spatial decisions - when incorporated into the experience of displacement.

**Keywords:** modern brazilian architecture, Oscar Niemeyer; free and built spaces, urban design, design strategies.

## RESUMEN

¿Se apropió el urbanismo en Brasil de la tradición urbana en la misma medida que la arquitectura moderna pionera? Este artículo construye una respuesta a esta pregunta, que implica el despliegue teórico de la definición del término espacio a partir del reconocimiento de dos concepciones históricamente aceptadas. Comienza con una breve presentación de las genealogías y principales aspectos de estas concepciones, como soporte metodológico para la lectura de su impacto en la obra de Oscar Niemeyer; rodea las estrategias de diseño en dos obras del arquitecto, el proyecto para la Praça XV en Río de Janeiro (1991) y para el conjunto urbano de Pena Furada, en Portugal (1965). Con nociones tomadas de otros campos disciplinares, se propone una interpretación de la incorporación del tiempo como elemento mediador de la experiencia espacial: como hito literal -impreso en referencias concretas a la tradición- y como elemento generador de decisiones espaciales -al incorporarse a la experiencia del desplazamiento-.

**Palabras clave:** arquitectura moderna brasileña, Oscar Niemeyer; espacios libres y construidos, diseño urbano, estrategias de proyecto.

## INTRODUCTION

The adherence of Brazilian architects to modern lines, guided by the Charter of Athens (CIAM, 1933), and the success of Brasília guaranteed by the theoretical force of Lucio Costa, eclipsed a necessary reflection: has urbanism in Brazil appropriated the urbanistic tradition to the same extent as pioneering modern architecture?

The modern form is born in Brazil, with a position already described in the historical sequence of architectural styles, in a concatenation as logical as accepted by the following generations of architects, who found no arguments – for decades – to question its validity. Modernity was created congenitally (WISNIK, 2004; 2022) in Brazil. It occupied gaps in a developing culture and was embedded in the nationalist imaginary, supported by references to tradition. The purpose of this article is to approach the impact that this had on facing urban issues, using the work of Oscar Niemeyer.

Niemeyer's first projects materialized Lucio Costa's conciliatory equation, by connecting the teachings of Central European modern architecture to the Portuguese colonial tradition. This condition is explicit in the material decisions of buildings, with the exploitation of symbolic references: tiles, shading elements, and balconies. The question that arises is the following: is there also, in the urban space forged by his projects, evidence of specific contamination by the Portuguese colonial tradition?

The answer undergoes a theoretical unraveling of the definition of the term, space, from the recognition of two historically accepted conceptions. Part of the brief presentation of the genealogies and main aspects of these conceptions, as methodological support for the reading of their rebuttal in the work of Oscar Niemeyer, surrounds the design strategies in two works by the architect, the project for Praça XV square in Rio de Janeiro (1991), and for the Pena Furada urban complex in Portugal (1965).

Finally, the article will discuss the inclusion of a third conception of space, which absorbs the notion of time as a mediating factor; borrowing concepts from physics to clarify the approximation between the spatial procedures of Niemeyer's work with aspects of the Portuguese urbanistic tradition.

## METHODOLOGY

### TWO CONCEPTIONS OF SPACE

The conceptualization of space is the subject of a perennial discussion about the history of philosophy and science. Until recently, the defenders of the Aristotelian vision, which considers space between bodies, and those attached to the vision consecrated by Newton, who formulates a model of the universe where emptiness is understood as support for bodies, regardless of their existence, were antagonists.



These two concepts of space can be contrasted with the following: (a) space as positional quality of the world of material objects; (b) space as container of all material objects. In case (a), space without a material object is inconceivable. In case (b), a material object can only be conceived as existing in space; space then appears as a reality which in a certain sense is superior to the material world. (Einstein, 2010, p. 17)

The first conception is structured in antiquity and derives from the interpretation of what is not an object, but rather the result of the association between them: "Space is the immovable limit that embraces a body" (Aristotle, cited by Abagnanno, 2007, p.349). The existence of space is conditioned to the elements that contain its limits. It makes no sense, in this equation, to imagine empty space, independent of the presence of other bodies. Space is understood as a place, a slice determined and defined by a positional condition. The association with the unoccupied voids of traditional cities seems appropriate. A crossing or a square, in this scheme, is defined by the boundaries of the objects that guarantee their existence. Any change in the object interferes with the composition of the created space.

The second conception is born with telescopes when the observation of space allows their description as a container that holds material objects. The understanding gives space, an absolute condition, independent of the objects contained in it and without any possibility of containment. The causal disengagement between body and space is embodied in the discourse of modern urbanism in its essence. The rhetoric of machinist functionalism demanded that buildings be disconnected from their urban matrices and that they lose, therefore, their main role as conformers of the empty city space. Once the correlation is made, the city is understood as a continuous free space, and the utopia of the city park is consolidated as the maximum objective of functional urbanism (Rowe; Koeter, 1983).

The break with the notion of corridor street, fought by Le Corbusier, and the inseparable nature of the building and free space, frays the static limits of space, allowing the multiplication of understandings about displacement and experimentation related to the transitions between exterior and interior. The facades, until then limiting elements of the public experience, lose their mediating function. The buildings, free, can explore alternative relationships with the city, and, above all, can be understood as autonomous structures. "Modern man is, above all, a mobile human being" (Sennet, 2008, p.261).

Niemeyer works, in some way, with the reconciliation – with greater or lesser complexity – of these two conceptions. Perhaps the most correct thing is to state that there are projects where modern linkage takes its toll in a more evident way, where the understanding of space subjugates it to the condition of inert support and little participation in the use scenarios. We continue to explore these conceptions in two works by the architect highlighted here because his urban intentions make explicit the proposed methodological argumentation.

## RESULTS

### FREE SPACE IN TWO WORKS BY OSCAR NIEMEYER

#### Praça XV

1° de Março and 7 de Setembro streets. On one corner was the sober whitewashed Old Convent of Carmo, on the other, the Metropolitan Cathedral, dark, heavy, of no interest to me. And I was considering why they didn't paint it white, linking it by color to the convent and the Palace. White has always been the color of all buildings of the colonial period. [...]

In the Square, to give it the indispensable architectural unity and a livelier and more attractive environment, he would start by hiding the existing buildings, building two blocks of apartments in front of them, with five floors and shops on the ground floor; foreseeing between them, the necessary space so that the Telles Arch was visible and accessible. The two blocks followed the architectural spirit of the building built to house the Telles Arch: simple, with small openings, painted white, giving the shops a purpose [...]. The cathedral would be painted white and the station and jetties diverted away from the Stock Exchange building, leaving that area connected with the sea. [...]

But the Square was still too large and as I would like to see it on a fairer scale, stripped of vegetation, highlighting the Imperial Palace, I transferred the trees in it to the area between the viaduct and the sea, it seemed to me the fairest solution, making it smaller, more sober, and this sector more welcoming, all wooded, with bars and outdoor tables.

It remained to study the area between Albamar and Estação das barcas and the desire to create the free spaces that this city claims, in it I only put a hotel, a shopping mall, and a block with three cinemas. For this, as I already predicted, it would invade the sea where I designed a theater, an exhibition and handicraft block, an underwater aquarium, and a restaurant. (Niemeyer, 1991)

In this project, Niemeyer juxtaposes the two conceptions of space and appropriates each of them as a response to the urban particularity faced.

In the first case, when facing the existing city - in a traditional way - he proposes a negotiation between building and free space, an interdependence that mediates the co-existence of both, a "*fair scale*" to highlight the Imperial Palace, with the appropriate dimensions to ensure the prominence of the historic building. The concern progresses with forming a continuous ambiance, standardizing the buildings, painting them white, "*as with all buildings of the colonial period*", and building two new blocks, with the same height and "*character*" as the original ensemble (Palace and Church). The construction of the free space is three-dimensional and depends on the precision of the containment elements. The suggested removal of the trees shows the need to visually share the buildings with the squares' users, under penalty of not completing the formative equation of the free space (Figure 1 and Figure 2).



**Figure 1.** Praça XV: the historical setting.  
Source: Oscar Niemeyer Foundation.

**Figure 2.** Praça XV: the modern park.  
Source: Oscar Niemeyer Foundation.

The second case presents the opposite situation, the lack of contours, which results in an inseparable reading of the space created with the landscape. If in the stretch of the traditional city, the monumentality of the complex is materialized in the free space, the element that is worth the creative effort here, with the city being created, the protagonism is clearly linked to the building-object that starts to compose the highlighted landscape.

Niemeyer suggests a distinct nature on the other side of the viaduct (existing at that time), reaffirming this even programmatic duality. The surface, without clear boundaries, merges with the sea (even advances on it) offering support for the myriad of autonomous buildings that are not constrained by the creation of enclosures or shaped shelters. This function is served by the vegetation, transplanted from the Square. The effectiveness of this argument must be questioned. It seems more appropriate to put faith in the buildings themselves as promoters of shelter, as a protected exception in the landscape's openness.

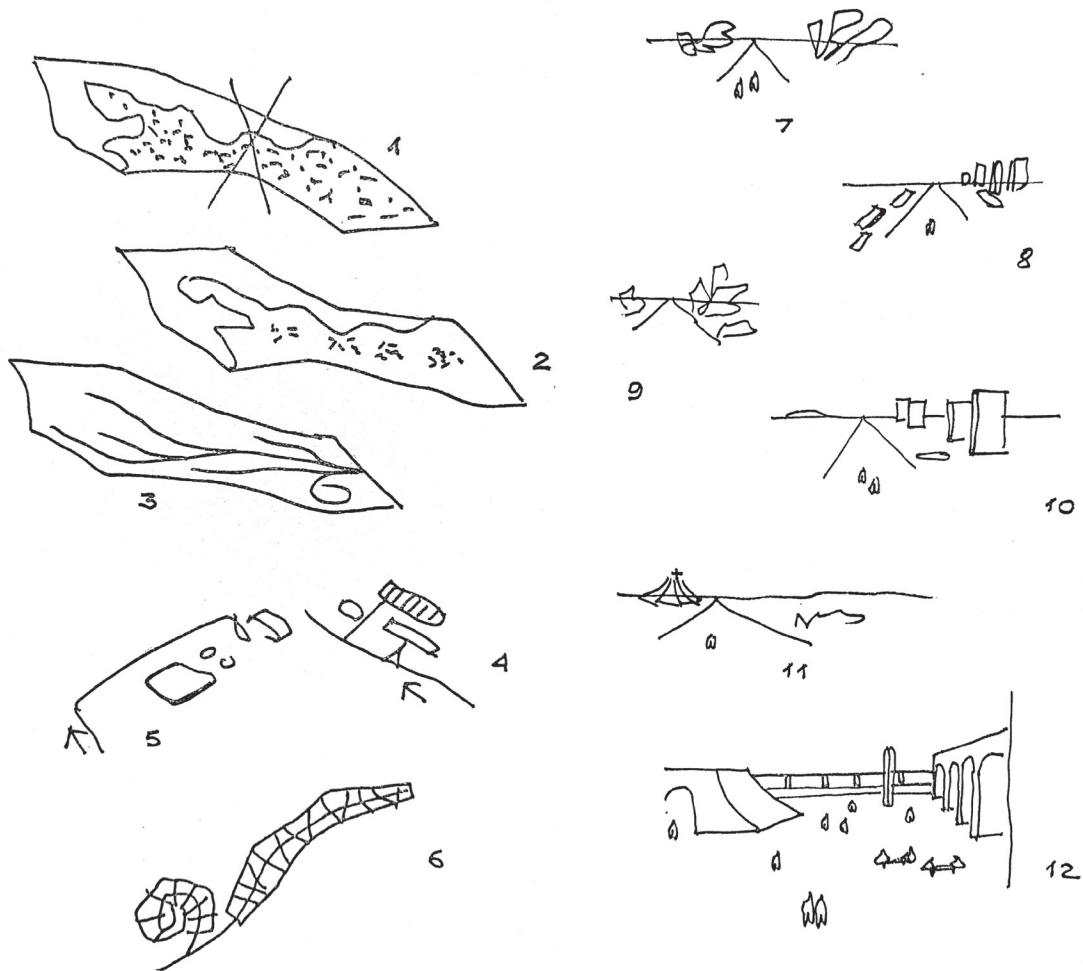
Edson Mahfuz (2002), paraphrasing Colin Rowe and Fred Koeter (1983), associates this double reading, which contrasts the traditional and modern city, to the condition of the two main spatial references of the Mediterranean tradition, the forum and the Acropolis. The argument is that for the Romans the void, the symbolic referential stage of the cities, is the urban objective itself, guaranteed by the existence of the buildings of power around it. Meanwhile, for the Greeks, the representation focuses on the image of the temple, set on a platform that plays a supporting role.

Reinforcing the methodological argument of this article, the author associates with the forum model, a conception of space of Aristotelian origin, which links its definition to the existence of objects that contain it and, consequently, to the typical characterization of traditional cities, where squares and their variants emerged as an exception to the built massif of the blocks. On the other hand, he indicates the affiliation of the notion of the Acropolis to a conception of absolute space, independent of external elements, as support for autonomous objects that do not participate in its existence. Thus, he describes the modern combative posture.

### **Pena Furada**

In the 1965 proposal for the Pena Furada coastal development in the Algarve (Portugal), the only urban project developed by Niemeyer in Portugal, the ancestral impulses break with the modern superego, explaining a literal approach to Portuguese urban references.

The project was presented in a notebook containing an illustrated version of the descriptive report, as well as a model elaborated with the summary of the proposal (CABRAL, 2018). The document describes a script of the project, built as a logic of approach to the proposed center. The route along the main road structure is linearly exposed, with the description and illustration of the sequence of proposed spatial situations, in a planned cinematographic storyboard (Figure 3).



Scene by scene, displacement is designed and justified by the succession of uses and, above all, spatial experiences controlled by the architect's hand. Prominent elements emerge and are hidden. The natural landscape takes its leading role by being kept intact in the vast portions of unoccupied territory, formatting rhythmic intervals between the buildings.

Opportunely, buildings are built in front of the access road, signaling the concentration of the residential sector. Fifteen-story towers also approach the road, informing about another one, at a greater distance. The villages of individual houses are removed from the structure, creating hubs agglutinated by independent formal logics, but linked to the topographic reality of the site. At the end of the route, almost at its meeting with the sea, a forty-story hotel lighthouse tower raises the prominent vertical reference, building the unavoidable communication with the route's users and more broadly with the landscape.

I transcribe the project report, which guides the construction of the arguments:

**Figure 3.** Pena Furada Urban Complex (Algarve, Portugal, 1965). Sketch. Source: Oscar Niemeyer Foundation.

A main road cuts the land towards the sea, and from it, the secondary roads depart that serve the different sectors. For those arriving at the site, the first building that appears is the administration building [...]. Then, on the right, the first street appears, indicating the supply area, market, and airport [...].

A little further on, on the left, a second street appears that leads to the next two lots, provided like the others with local commerce, "playground" etc.

It continues, then, [...] with free and wooded space and later, the first set of collective housing. There are 4- and 15-story buildings that line the road. It is a moment of surprise for visitors as if a small modern and civilized city was approaching, but as soon as they pass by, the fields reappear, the amazing nature that the project seeks to preserve. [...]

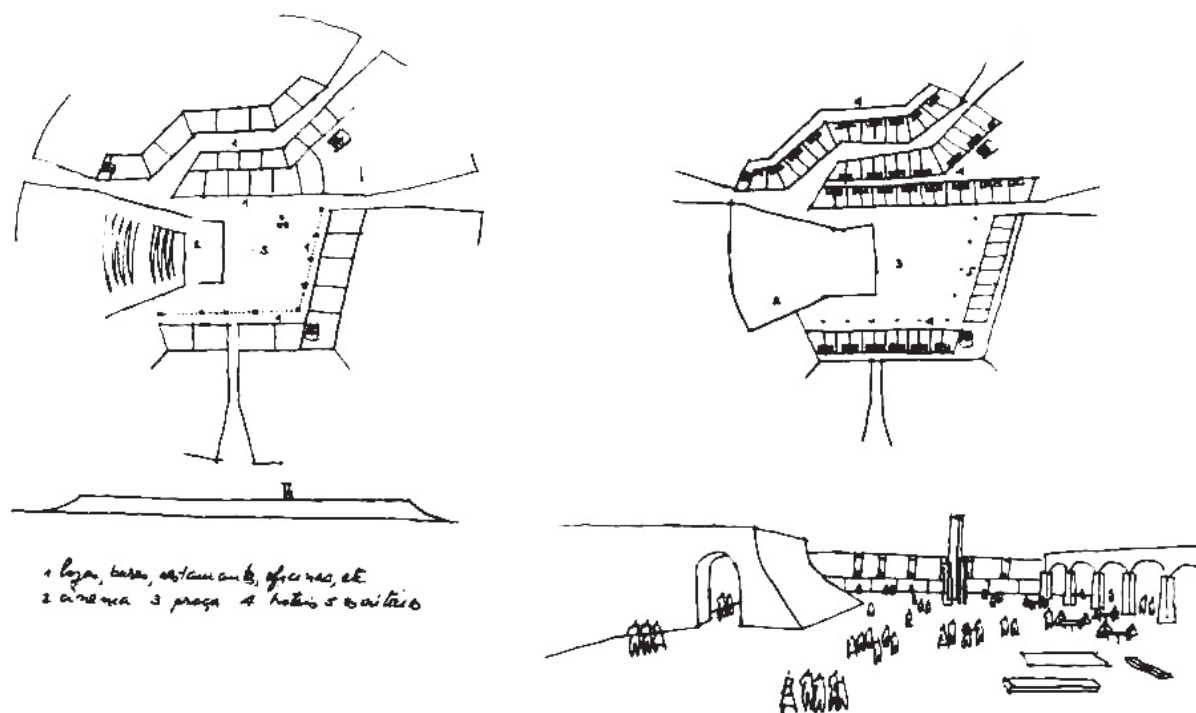
The free spaces appear again and soon after, among the vegetation, the hexagonal chapel, whitewashed in the best Portuguese tradition; the primary school and, on the other side of the road, the shops.

Then you should go down and enter the small ensemble. Through the narrow alleys, open on the slope, visitors penetrate, curious, into the construction, hoping to find the modern solutions they left behind. And they are surprised to see the small rustic, almost provincial, square with simple buildings that surround it, where shops, restaurants, bars, etc. are located. It is a bit of the old Portugal that, without copying it, we intend to fix. It is a protected and quiet place, for meetings and indispensable contact. (Niemeyer, 1966)

The report lays bare the cinematic intentions of the project. The user is in motion, transitioning between the portions of intact nature and the constructed ensembles revealed and overcome as they move through them. The Portuguese occupation tradition guides the reasoning, even if implicitly. Landmarks define the high points, ordinary buildings accompany the path between them, and the generic and residential city adapts, sinuously, to the topography.

But the reference becomes literal in the construction of the shopping center: Attentive to the discussion about the heart of the city (VIII CIAM, Otterlo, 1951), the project recreates parameters of an "ancient Portugal", a "rustic square", where the infinite modern surface is replaced by a space controlled by "simple buildings", "a protected and quiet place, for indispensable meetings and contact".

The architectural proposal of this complex, although little detailed in the available material, is unquestionably innovative, and reverberates a trend that would be established as an important investigative axis of Brazilian architecture, especially that of São Paulo, the manipulation of the land as a conforming element of space. It approaches, for example, the experiences of Vilanova Artigas in the Santa Paula Boathouse (São Paulo, 1961), and Paulo Mendes da Rocha, in the Brazilian Pavilion for Expo 70 (Osaka, 1969). Three accomplices in overcoming rigidity in the definitions of floor and building masonry and structure. If the European modern architecture of the 1930s broke down the boundaries between interior and exterior, the Brazilians, in the 1960s, undid the distinction between object and support, converting it into a single floor and building entity.



1 loja, teatro, estacionamento, oficinas, etc  
2 academia 3 praça 4 hotéis 5 escritórios

The Pena Furada shopping center is the result of a deliberately irregular geometry excavated on an artificial slope, forcing the surprise effect, where the Baroque counterpoint revealed civic free space to those who only saw the landscape, from the road. The feature of controlled access, along ramps or tunnels that accentuate the experience of the passerby, gains a topological version here, with the landscape being sculpted to favor the architectural experience. It is the materialization of the description made by Sophia Telles about the pure geometry buildings of the architect: "They are forms that do not create space, but condense all space within and, like geometric figures, have neither exterior nor interior" (Telles, 1988, p.79).

The reference to "old Portugal" frees the design from its monumental demands, guiding the project through concrete space explorations, maintained by the "simple" buildings that define them. The prominent element of the square's organization is a cinema, the most abstract and referential volume of the proposed void, the convergent end of the four proposed access alleys: the significant symbolic reference. The building is not isolated but is incorporated into the geometry of the blocks excavated on the slope. The other faces of buildings facing the square are taken by shops and two of them receive a typical shading treatment of Italian *loggias* or French *palisades*, reaffirming the commitment to the protection assumed by the report. The Portuguese reference is extended to the Mediterranean tradition, in an almost literal quotation to the designs of Italian and French squares, with their churches incorporated into the blocks without greater effects of monumentalization than those guaranteed by the very contra-position in turn guaranteed by the free space in front of it, with streets that do not directly reach the square, allowing the continuity of the facades that define the void (Figure 4).

**Figure 4.** Shopping center, Pena Furada Urban Complex (Algarve, Portugal, 1965). Source: Oscar Niemeyer Foundation.

## DISCUSSION

The projects described make two opposing urban spatial matrices coexist. Different spatial intentions (and notions) unfold, mediating between the modern sectorized and organized city, to offer itself as neutral support for buildings, and the recreated space in the mold of the traditional city, with its emptiness linked to the existence of physical boundaries.

Niemeyer understands the complementarity of these two situations and triggers the time to sew together the equation. Appropriate time in two ways: in the discursive reference to its passage, concretized in actions of deference to tradition, and in physical experimentation, translated as displacement. If in Rio de Janeiro the crossing of the viaduct defines the transition, in Pena Furada, the route allows the sequenced overlap of visual experiences (along the access intersection), either by the narrowness of the path through the alleyways, offset by the next moment of relief in the unexpected square.

I propose a disciplinary digression to argue in favor of an approximation of Niemeyer with what is presented as a third category of the conception of space, dependent on the inclusion of a third and defining factor: time, precisely the fourth variable of space suggested by Einstein. In the two original conceptions of space (Aristotle and Newton) the presence of the object is the key to the definition. In the mediation proposed by Einstein, it is replaced by the idea of the *event*, as it is detected also within a time sequence. The notion of the field arises, which is the association of these four variables and the realization that events must always be examined considering other verification systems.

The two concepts of space are free creations of the human imagination, resources designed to facilitate the understanding of our sensory experience. These schematic considerations consider the nature of space from the geometric and kinematic points of view, respectively. (Einstein, 2010, p. 18)

Geometry and kinematics, or rest and movement, are presented as complementary stages of human experience. Space necessarily has a four-dimensional experimentation and it is the role of architecture to work with this. However, movement supposes a certain acceptance of the absolute condition of space, understood as a fixed element and alien to the alteration of the bodies that are in it, and, at the same time, as support for this to happen, from the recognition of the multiplicity of potential experiences (Allen, 2008).

The implementation of the cinema as the central element of the Pena Furada Square should be taken as a metaphor: Einsteinian overcoming of the theoretical conflict between absolute (modern) and conditioned (pre-modern) space.

At this point, we can outline the answer to the question imposed at the beginning of the text: it is an urban procedure of Portuguese origin. To reinforce the argument, I resort to a project far from the context of this work, but close to its cultural consanguinity. This is the project for the Memorial Tower of Porto





**Figure 5.** Casa dos 24, Porto (Portugal): approach to the church. Source: Image of the author.

**Figure 6.** Casa dos 24, Porto (Portugal): Alta da Sé square. Source: Image of the author.



Cathedral, an intervention made between 1998 and 2002 by the architect Fernando Távora, a Master and key theoretical reference for the consolidation of the modern movement in Portugal.

A small tower was erected over the ruins of Casa dos 24, the original administrative seat for the city of Porto. Távora reoccupies the place deconfigured by successive interventions, attentive to the urban events that shaped the site. He rebuilds by intervening in the landmark that visually defined the path to the Cathedral: arranged in a non-orthogonal way to the church. The building serves as a scalar reference to the main monument. It indicates a gradual approach and provides tangential, never axial, observations of the whole (Figure 5 and Figure 6).

The Portuguese urban tradition associates paths with their symbolic landmarks. The street nomenclature itself indicates what one should look at. The image of the city is built in motion, from the succession of fragments of the building reached in its normally sinuous approach.

Let us return to the Brazilian to narrow down the approach. In the project for the House of Culture of Le Havre (1972), Niemeyer reproduces the procedure of his Portuguese colleague.

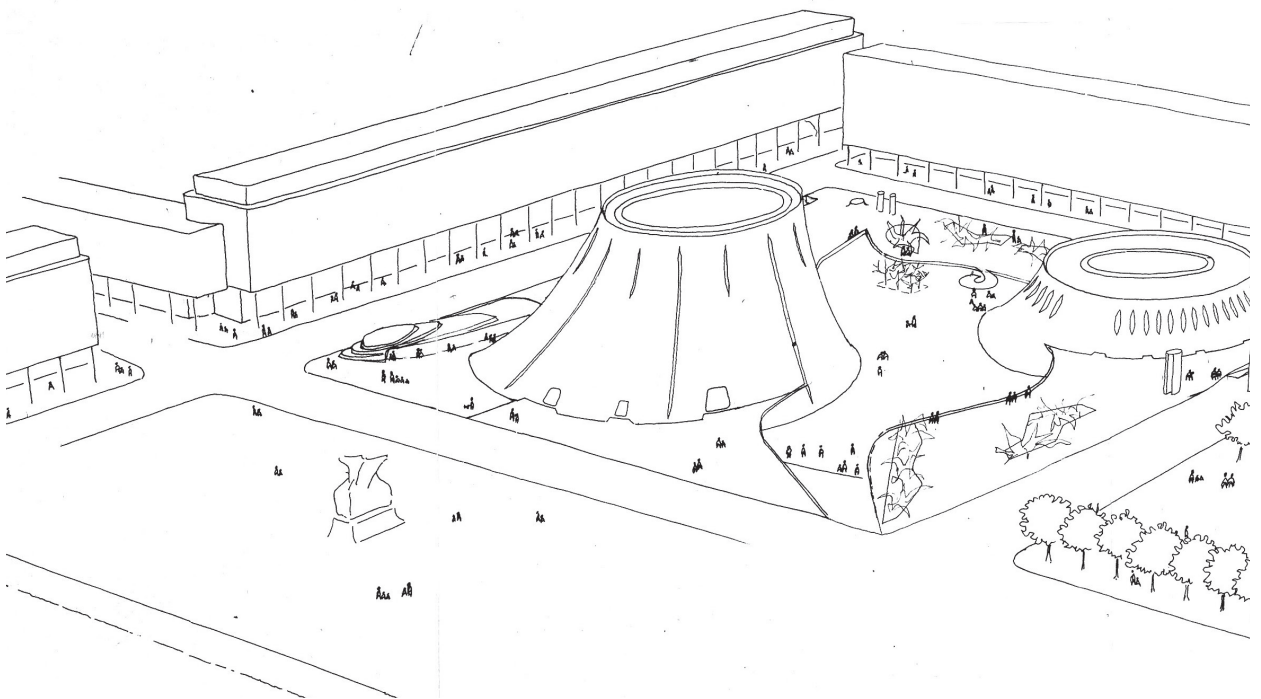
When I started the Le Havre project, I thought that architecture was linked to a whole, to the climate, and I didn't want a square where people looked at the elements from a single point of view. There, I always wanted to find a solution that would protect the square from this wind. By placing it on a lower level, it could also be seen from above. In this way, it gave other dimensions to its life and architectural space. (Niemeyer, cited by Petit, 1998, p. 43)

The great symbolic building (theater) is only a noticeable protagonist at a certain distance, conquered by the remoteness of an urban dimension. The approach to the square of coexistence, intended for daily use, requires a tangential path to the theater, abstracted as a mere conditioner of the gaze during the journey. The descent of the ramp is, as in the climb to Sé do Porto, gradual and choreographed. Along the route, there are no complete exhibitions of the symbolic building, only occasional news. The reveal only takes place only at the end of the route, in an enclosure that expands, reaffirming the contrast with the promenade within it<sup>1</sup>.

Like the Tower of Távora, the second block of Le Havre's multipurpose room is sacrificed as a regulating element of scale, correcting the perception of the complex by giving new proportion to the space created and establishing a visual reference (of a template, in this case) with the consolidated environment. Niemeyer offers a new point of view and experimentation of the city designed a few decades before by August Perret (Figure 7 and Figure 8).

The act of lowering the square, associated with the implementation of the scalar secondary block and the choreographed and contained accesses,

<sup>1</sup> A renovation in a 2015 project of the Architectural offices of Deshoulières Jeanneau and Sogno, removed the access system described by these comments.



**Figure 7.** Niemeyer and Perret in Le Havre.  
Source: Image of the author.

**Figure 8.** Niemeyer and Perret in Le Havre.  
Source: Oscar Niemeyer Foundation.

manipulates the condition of the surroundings making it serve, by contrast, the monumentalization of the theater building. Sophia Telles recalls that

[...] Niemeyer's form, on one hand, is far from the modern technique that one wants to be evident, and on the other, his imagination wants to be free of all contingency. They are forms that are so natural that it is only up to them to contemplate. (Telles, 1988, p. 83)

The volume of the theater, not because of its referent geometry, but because of the engendering of the site's urban conditions, becomes a landscape: left to contemplation. It eventually earned the nickname volcano. There is an effort to create the desired protagonism, so that the abstract volumetric object gains a neutral existence, with autonomy from the urban fabric. But there is also the construction of a contrary process to this condition, which, in a baroque negotiation, directs the user in a sinuous approach, with controlled visual parceling, before the final reveal. The building is landscape only if seen from afar. Whoever approaches it must pay the penance of the approach so that there is no doubt of its sacralization.

The link between the free space and the symbolic building is part of the Portuguese urban tradition, most often with a church. The existence of the square (spacious churchyard or yard) was linked to a building of public significance and was established as an exceptional element in the occupation of the city and, therefore, as an announcement of the presence of an urban landmark.

This relationship establishes a double construction process of monumentality, associated with the two scales of understanding of the building and the free space that accompanies it. Forum and Acropolis in the same operation. On the one hand, the churches are arranged in such a way as to be seen from a distance, affirming the prominence of their symbolic role. This requires distancing and they end up integrating into the landscape, as can be seen in Brazilian cities with the colonial fabric still maintained. On the other hand, church squares widen the local horizon and allow an approximate view of the object, offering themselves as a support to its integral presence, close to the concrete experience of visitors. In both processes, the result is the neutralization of the built urban mass, converted into a landscape by the distance, which blurs the reading of the individual pieces, or by the free space, which enhances the presence of the singular building.

## CONCLUSIONS

The experimentation of space mediated by time is not new. Le Corbusier, to use a close reference, incorporates displacement as an organizational motivation. The notion of walking (*promenade*) is presented as a manifesto in the project of the Ville Savoye (Poissy, France, 1928-29), where the spaces succeed each other in a vertical path, organized by a series of circulation elements, notably a ramp, protagonist of the complex, which culminates in a roof terrace.

The celebration of movement becomes an Einsteinian field, where the four variables of Space-Time, act for the individual experiences. The building is experienced in multiple ways, choreographed, however, by architecture.

In Niemeyer, the *promenade* repeats the logic of vertical movement but adds an element. The building offers itself as a landscape, making the route an excuse for the multiple and sequenced observation of that object.

The predominant movement is that of approaching the building, either by manipulating the terrain, with the multiplication of public levels and indications of access controls, or by adopting complementary elements to support the displacement, explicitly designed to amplify the intention. The solution of a ramp that prolongs vertical access or an internal connection between floors of a building is recurrent, constantly changing direction before taking the user to their destination.

There is no way to enter the Museum of Contemporary Art of Niterói (1991) without first seeing it from different points of view. Going down to the square of the House of Culture of Le Havre (1972) means leisurely passing by the theater building, while entering the Cathedral of Brasília (1958) forces the user to submit to narrowness and darkness before being rewarded with light and spaciousness.

We come to the point, the observation of an architectural object repeated, at different angles, along a route is, in essence, a Portuguese urbanistic habit. The implementation of symbolic buildings in cities of Portuguese origin respects an organization linked to the topography, taking hilltops as prominent elements in the landscape. Between the churches, outlined there, the main streets appear, responsible for communication between the parishes. Their designs respected the requirements of the terrain, making them, most of the time, sinuous, to offer their users intermittent views of the churches, as departure and arrival landmarks (Teixeira, 2012).

Niemeyer reaffirms his link to the myth of the origin of Brazilian modern architecture, the contribution to the traditional matrix as a validating historiographic element, but shifts this condition to the field of urbanism, tracing a path towards abstraction similar to that traveled by his architecture. Until Brasília, his architecture carried literal references to colonial materiality, from there, it starts from a volumetric synthesis that spatially incorporates the references, making them an inseparable part of the formal equation. It is not risky to state that the same occurs in his urban action.

Time, a mediator of experience, is initially taken as a literal landmark, imprinted in concrete references to tradition, and gradually becomes a generating element of spatial decisions by being incorporated into the experience of movement.

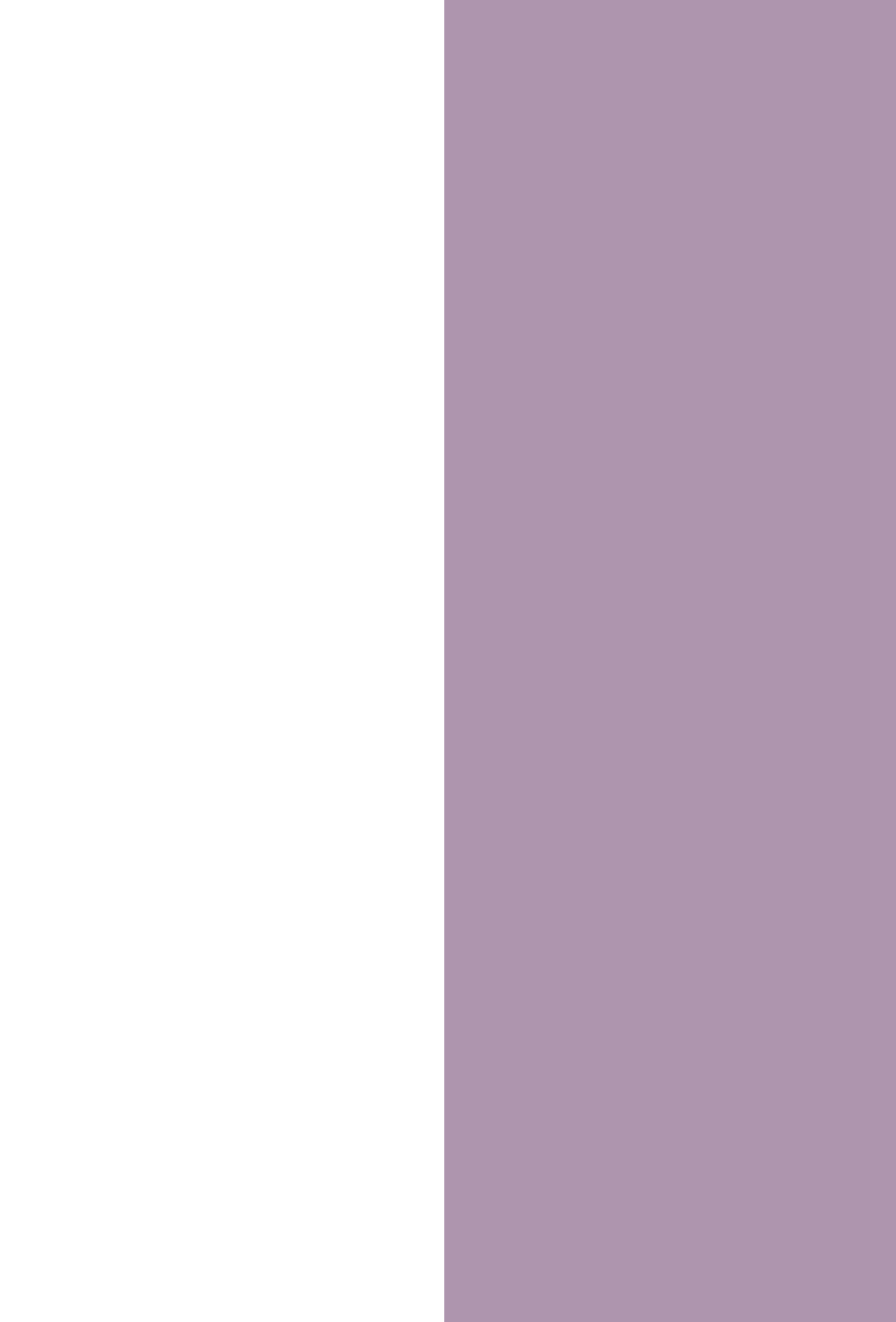
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