DISCIPLINARY INFLECTIONS:
Contesting Three Concepts for the Construction of the Post-Neoliberal City

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When words become fashionable, their use modifies their meaning. By understanding this performative condition, this text analyzes the current implications of the concepts of sustainability, resilience, and integration. Then, it argues the need to overcome the neoliberal city if we want these meanings to become real.

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"It's not 30 pesos, it's 30 years."[1] At the end of 2019, this motto accompanied one of the most important social uprisings in Chile's history. Collective mobilizations and actions evidenced a deep discontent regarding the lack of power distribution, the privatization of services, the poor institutional provision of social rights, and the persistent socioeconomic inequality in different areas of everyday life. The so-called 'social outbreak' not only reflected the population's frustration towards the direction the country had taken but also highlighted the weakness of social and territorial integration processes. A month after the beginning of the outbreak, the economist and academic of the University of California (UCLA), Sebastian Edwards

(2019), stated: "The neoliberal experiment is completely dead." In its requiem, Chilean neoliberalism was a model of economic growth focused on the privatization of public life, with a limited contribution in reducing inequality and a constitutional design aimed to nullify the democratic majority (Atria et al., 2013). This system has been advantageous for companies created at the expense of the privatization of social security, but indifferent to the vast majority of the population (Bohoslavsky et al., 2019; Sulimano, 2012; Monckeberg, 2014).

While liberal economists have insisted that, according to the Gini Coefficient inequality, the country has lowered its inequality in the last 20 years, the most recent results of the World Inequality Lab show that not only has the 10% of the population of higher income increased its participation from 57.6% to 60.2% between 2000 and 2017, but also that Chile is by far the most unequal country in the region in terms of this same indicator (De Rosa et al., 2020). Other studies show that, when the scale is changed and the focus is placed on household economy, the bonanza of macroeconomic statistics since the return to democracy hides a great inequality and a high level of indebtedness (Vergara-Perucich et al. 2020).

In turn, and contradicting Friedman,[2] the city did not become more diverse and innovative with the neoliberal model but rather embraced the monotony of the housing tower typology as a key strategy to ensure return on investment (Cattaneo Pineda, 2011; Vergara-Perucich and Boano, 2020b). During the COVID-19 pandemic, the unequal city – a natural and expected result of this model – has shown that trickle-down economics[3] does work, but only when it comes to infectious diseases that begin spreading in high-income neighborhoods, to then express their morbidity and mortality in the most vulnerable sectors (Vergara-Perucich, Correa-Parra and Aguirre-Nuñez, 2020). Neoliberalism was a model of growth, not a model of development. In the current planetary scenario, correcting its course is not even a necessity because of inequality but as a matter of survival (Springer, 2016; Featherstone, 2013; Lukacs, 2017).

One of the most widely used discourses in the neoliberal narrative is that "every crisis represents an opportunity" (mainly regarding business), and that multiple benefits can be obtained in the face of multiple crises. At this critical moment of transition from 2020 to 2021, the need for 'sustainability' to combat the climate crisis, for 'resilience' to face the health crisis, and for 'integration' to address the social and political crises seem evident in a context where society demands an urgent change in a big part of the world. We believe that these three concepts can influence and articulate the current public debate. They have the ability to build narratives and realities, yet they cannot be neutral to ideological conceptions, understanding these as the way in which a society should be structured in social, economic and political terms (Piketty, 2019).

Using the metropolitan area of Santiago[4] as a case study, this article questions the interpretations

of sustainability, resilience and integration. Empirical evidence based on quantitative data should be reflected if there is a concordance between the conceptual discourse of these ideas under the neoliberal paradigm and their consequences in the city. With the implementation of the National Urban Development Policy of 1979 – which expanded the urban limit and gave the market the responsibility to carry out the transformations of the city –, Santiago became the first neoliberal city in the world. Then, the Constitution of 1980 created a model strongly oriented by private interests and the defense of private property, transforming citizens into consumers in a society aligned towards income rather than the collective and social habitat (Valencia, 2007; Daher, 1990; Vergara-Perucich and Boano, 2020a; Janoschka and Hidalgo, 2014).

To illustrate the contradictions of this paradigmatic neoliberal case, the article proposes three methodological instances: (i) a thematic analysis of literature on this discussion, highlighting the performative and political nature of these concepts; (ii) a search for quantitative data from official sources to inform a model of analysis on how these three concepts are expressed spatially in a series of critical mappings; and (iii) a reflection that allows us to move towards a critical theory of these three concepts for a post-neoliberal scenario, where the opportunities arising from the crises are for all and not just investors. Since projective disciplines are called to imagine the space for the society that survives de-neoliberalization, this article seeks to articulate empirical evidence with theoretical reflections oriented towards a purposeful posture, which could allow envisioning components for a new practice of architecture and urbanism.

Performative and Political Nature of the Three Concepts

Instead of offering an essentialist or unique definition of the above concepts, it is more interesting to analyze the political uses and performative effects that they present in the way a city is planned and made. In this sense, the social life of these concepts – i.e., how they gain meaning, operate, and mobilize in urban projects – is not harmless or reduced to a purely conceptual problem. On the contrary, we propose that the way in which these concepts are put into practice by institutions, companies, or study centers, contribute to the production of socio-commercial realities, generating concrete effects on how the city is managed and produced. As indicated by different authors (Callon, 2007; Butler, 2010; Mondada, 2000), concepts are never neutral or detached from reality. Rather, they have performative effects, since they disseminate and configure particular versions of the urban according to how they are mobilized and used in the public space.

To advance towards a critical perspective of these concepts means recognizing that these notions are not only debated in academia but act politically on social reality, assembling and shaping certain realities while silencing others. In this sense, we could point out that

they have a character of "political ontology" (Winograd and Flores, 1986; Mol, 1999; Latour, 2010), by subjecting urban reality to certain parameters that determine the range of what is possible, which, in this particular case, depends on forms of governmentality and neoliberal intervention. While our cities remain set within limits imposed by concepts based on a neoliberal-development regime, they will head towards a negative ontology, where they refuse the possibility of thinking alternative ways of making and inhabiting cities (Fry, 2020). This common fatality is, in a way, what motivated Lefebvre (1968) to postulate "the right to the city," which seeks to open alternative options to conceive the city, trying to counteract the logic of commodifying urban space. As cities are becoming privileged spaces of capitalist development, it is necessary to problematize the concepts on which the process of neoliberalization of urban spaces is based upon, characterized by the escalation of investments and projects that enhance the free movement of market logics in the organization of the city (Peck and Tickell, 2002). This requires not only questioning the uses and applications of the concepts that govern the urbanization processes but also recognize that the problems of spatial justice cannot be solved under the logics and perspectives that created them.

Contradictions and Empirical Tensions in Neoliberal Care

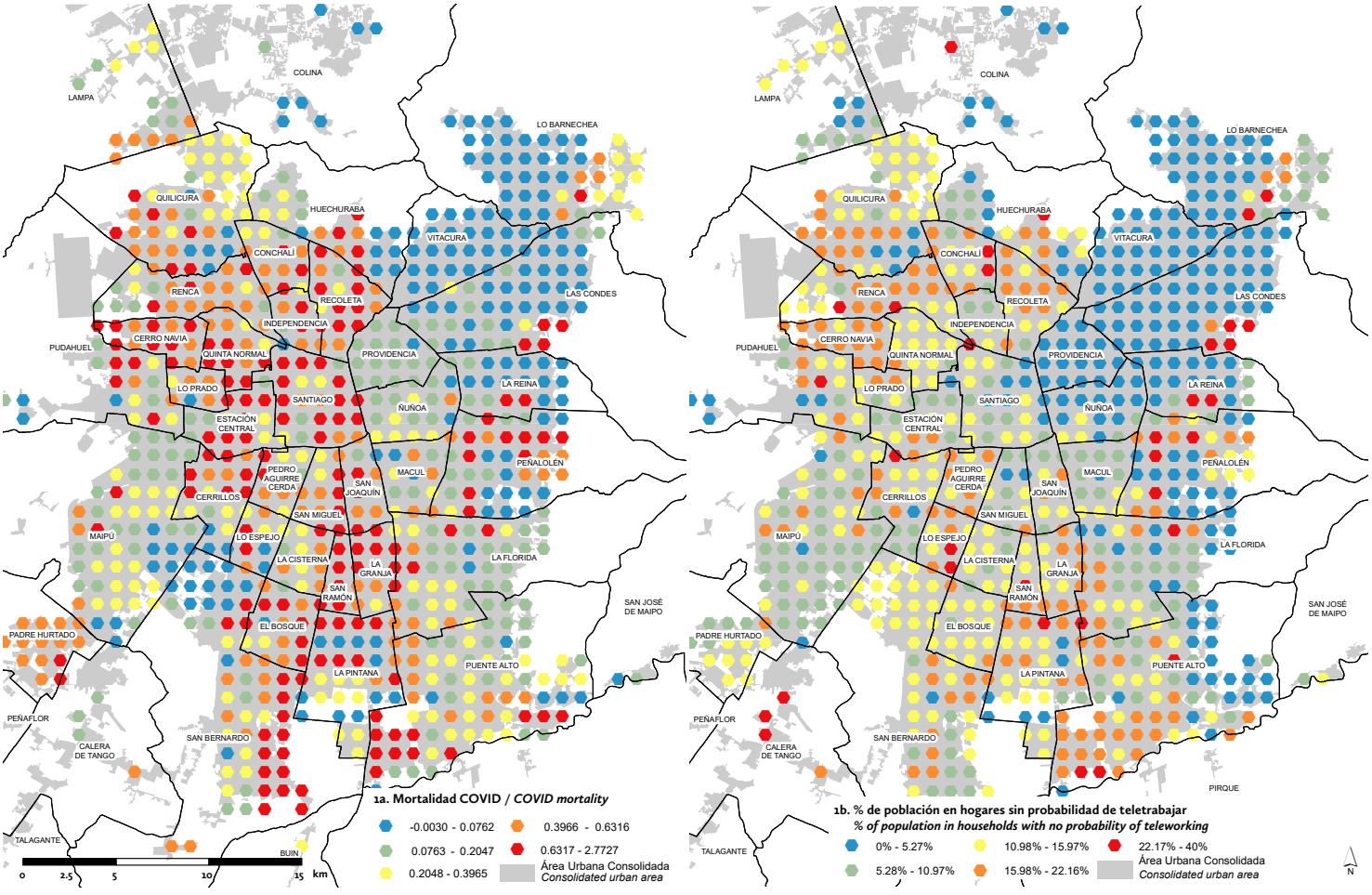
Resilience

Probably the concept that has conquered urban and architectural practice the most after the earthquake of February 27, 2010, and more recently with the climate emergency, has been that of resilience.[5] Its discursive component revolves around an extended and socialized practice, which has allowed elements to be incorporated into disaster design and management. However, the social formation of the built space must be understood it as a complex phenomenon of response to acute and serious actions, following the line proposed by Wagemann, D'Alençon, and Greene (2020), for whom "resilience is more than resistance." This concept requires understanding resilience as a composite set of socio-spatial and economic relationships.

The spatial explanation for the spread of COVID-19 in the metropolitan area of Santiago relates to both physical-social elements (e.g., quality of housing, overcrowded conditions, spacing between houses), and the interaction between the different territories of the city. In this sense, it is of particular importance both, the commute to the eastern sector – the city's high-income cone and a great attractor due to the concentration of working sources – and the commute within the districts themselves, given the local economies and the daily search for the provision of basic inputs. The supposed resilience of households that have been able to adapt to the demands of confinement while working from home, has only been possible thanks to a sacrificial group: workers in low-qualification jobs, vulnerable and without the possibility of teleworking – street vendors, delivery

FIG. 1 Coeficiente ajustado de determinación múltiple OLS: 0,5761 (relación positiva). Análisis de regresión OLS[6] para mortalidad por COVID-19 para el *peak* de junio de 2020 en el área metropolitana de Santiago como variable dependiente. Los valores indican la relación que existe en dicha zona con la variable y su incidencia. A la izquierda, un número mayor refleja mayor mortalidad; y, a la derecha, se presenta el porcentaje de la población que trabaja en profesiones que requieren desplazamiento (sin posibilidad de teletrabajo) y con vulnerabilidad socioeconómica[7]. La información fue generalizada a nivel de cuadrantes de 1 kilómetro con el fin de homologar escalas de trabajo disímiles (Censo y estadísticas de salud).

Adjusted OLS multi-determination coefficient:0.5761 (positive ratio). OLS[6] regression analysis for COVID-19 mortality during June 2020's peak in the Santiago metropolitan area as a dependent variable. The values indicate the relationship that exists in that zone with the variable and its incidence. To the left, a higher number reflects higher mortality; to the right, and the percentage of the population working in professions that require commuting (without the possibility of teleworking), and that present socioeconomic vulnerability.[7] The information was normalized at the quadrant level of 1 kilometer in order to equate dissimilar work scales (Census and health statistics). Elaboración propia / *elaborated by the authors.*



persons, garbage collectors, essential labor workers, among others. They not only agglomerate clearly in the northern and southern areas of Santiago, but also have a spatial correlation with areas where there is greater morbidity, lower health coverage, and higher mortality associated with COVID-19. The model in FIG. 1 shows that, during the 2020 winter peak for COVID-19, the mortality in Santiago can be largely explained (with an R^2 of 0.576) by the percentage of participation in basic and informal occupations, as defined in the 2017 Census (P18 Branch of Economic Activity). This proves that, with a single and territorially dimensioned physical intervention, it is not feasible to reduce the effects of the disaster and also to rebuild. A city can be resilient only if it understands the interrelationships between its physical, social, productive, and economic systems as well as the effects of an economic regime whose main objective is capital rather than the quality of life of its inhabitants.

Sustainability

Given the great diversity and range of meanings that the concept of sustainability can contain, the limited interpretation that the real estate market has made of it is very noticeable. This interpretation is based on Lancaster's (1966) concept of housing as a complex asset, which argues that housing is not sought for itself, *per se,* but for the attributes contained in each real estate product, generating a compensatory logic or trade-off. Consequently, in practice, sustainability became 'sustainability attributes,' being encapsulated in a series of very limited content, which in its most complete version, constitute 'green premium markets.'

An analysis of 8,255 advertisements between 2012 and 2017 revealed that the main sustainable attributes of the Santiago real estate market were basically related to construction features (e.g. double glazing in windows), renewable energy systems, and energy and water savings (Encinas et al., 2018). From this perspective, the discourse of sustainability appears as something generally inconsistent, functional to real estate targeting, and linked to the logics of housing production – therefore, to the land. Consequently, sustainability attributes become residual elements within projects, being relegated to very specific market niches or dangerously bordering the greenwashing[8] associated with real estate development.[9]

When analyzing spatial patterns in which the sustainability attributes are distributed in new real estate products on the market, we can see that they are agglomerated in a clear order of land prices and, therefore, housing [FIG. 2]. First, there is a large number of projects classified as non-significant, which shows the generalized absence of sustainability criteria, especially in districts located in the center and pericenter of the city. Instead, they appear in enclaves located in the districts of Lo Barnechea, Las Condes, Providencia, and Ñuñoa, confirming the hypothesis – from a spatial point of view – of sustainability attributes being residual elements. Finally, it is worth noting certain areas with low cluster patterns, that is, geographical areas with little presence of these attributes, of which Estación Central stands out, which also concentrates a large number of real estate projects. Accordingly, this analysis shows that spatial agglomeration in the presence of sustainability attributes is associated with an obvious location pattern in high-income areas and/or real estate products with high-end details.

Integration

Another of the most revised and communicatively exploited urban concepts has been integration, understood as the coexistence of diverse economic and social sectors in a shared space. However, the neoliberal conception has made it an often-contradictory concept, as integration and segregation appear as two sides of the same coin, in clear harmony with the economic model of land liberalization and housing production conditions. If the market and its supply and demand

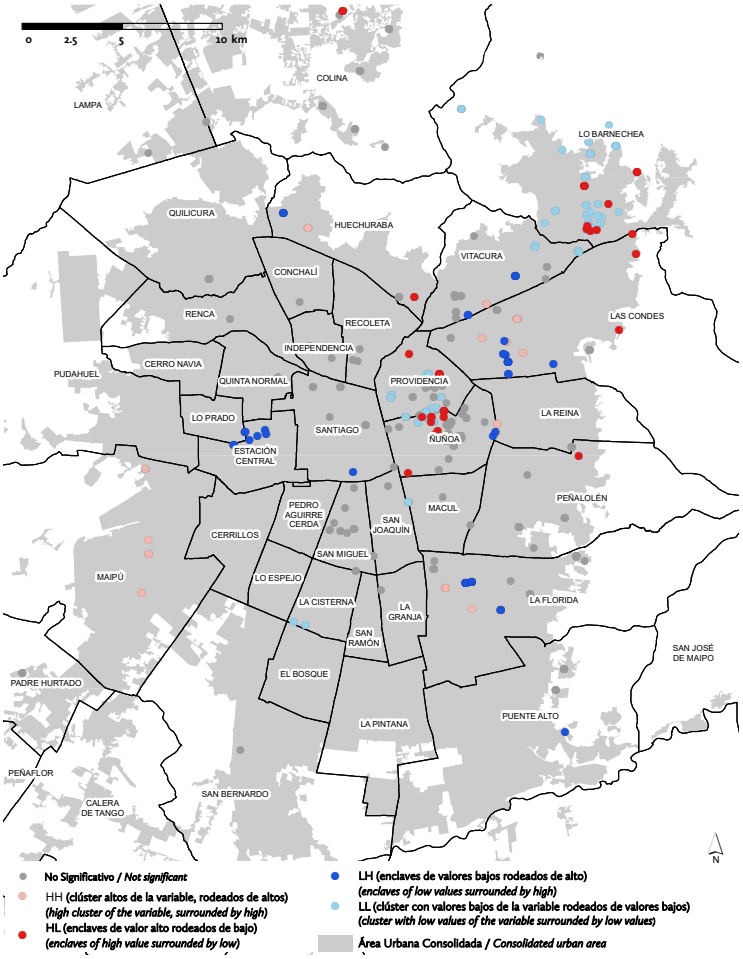
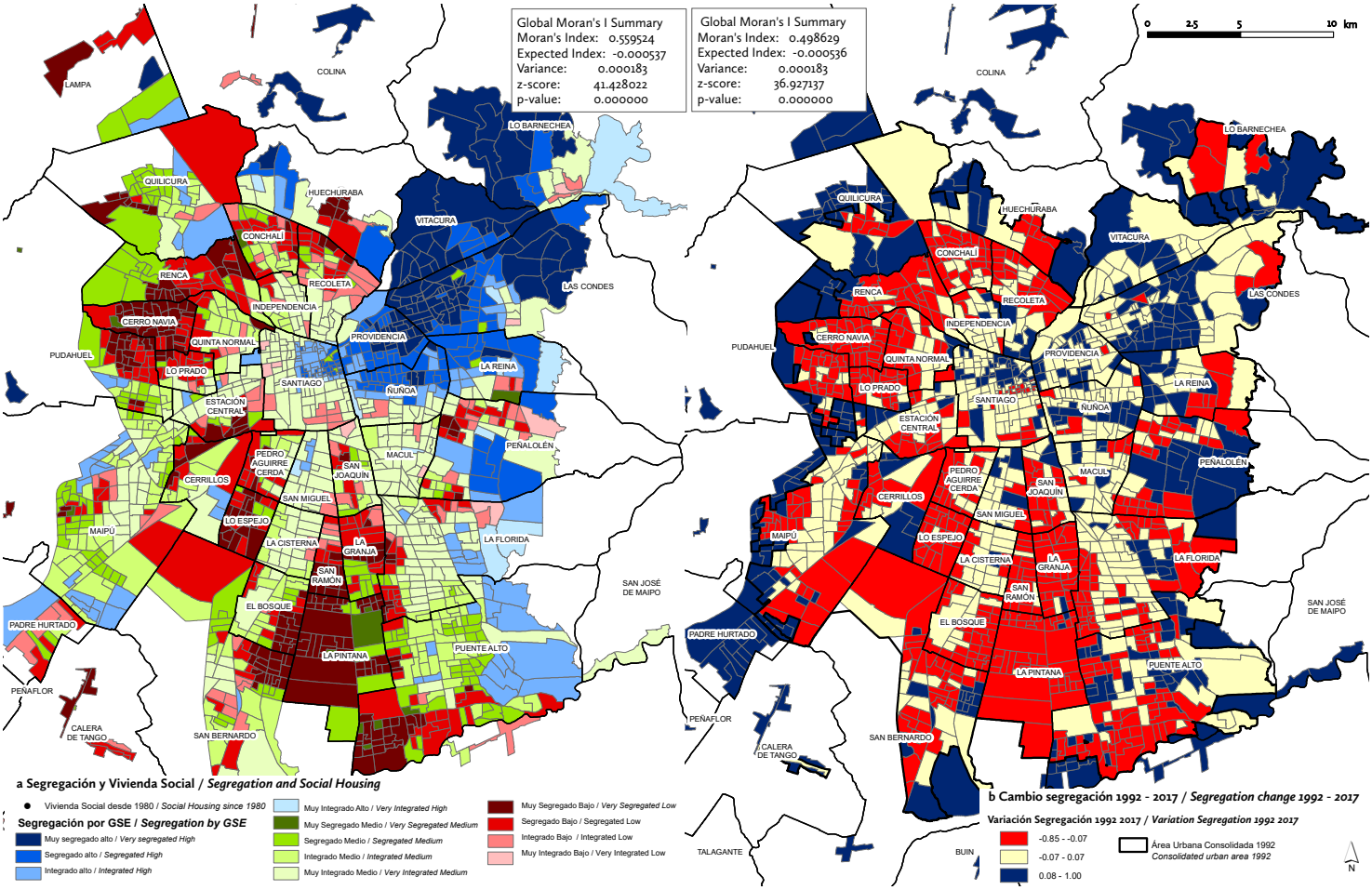


FIG. 2 Atributos Sustentabilidad (LISA). / *Sustainability atributes (LISA).* Análisis LISA[10] para la conformación de *clusters* de proyectos inmobiliarios nuevos con atributos de sustentabilidad. / *LISA[10] analysis for the cluster formation of new real estate projects with sustainability attributes.* Elaboración propia / *elaborated by the authors.*

logic were to function freely, this would only lead to real estate speculation, privatizing the city and its public space (Encinas, Aguirre, & Truffello, 2019; Sabatini, Cáceres, & Cerda, 2001; Sabatini et al., 2020). Hence, integration is only effectively possible with a more regulated market, oriented to share the common good generated by the city.

FIG. 3 shows the segregation calculated through Theil's index and its absolute variation[11] between 1992 and 2017. As seen in the cartography, the city is segmented into two major segregation types: (i) self-segregation of the high-income cone; and (ii) that of Santiago's outskirts, corresponding to the segregation of the most vulnerable population, generated by eviction and uprooting programs during Pinochet's dictatorship, and consolidated over time by social housing policy in the last 30 years. Then, the most integrated territories are located around the transport corridors, mediating among the most segregated areas of Santiago, and generating a fully segmented city in spatial terms (as demonstrated by the high value of Moran's Index).[12] It is interesting to see how the evolution of segregation has been consolidated in the most vulnerable territories, evidencing the null social integration in these segments. In contrast, the high-income cone has been slowly integrated, although it still retains the lowest entropy



rates (less likely to find different socioeconomic groups) in locations like Lo Barnechea and Las Condes.

Towards the Construction of a Post-Neoliberal City

The evidence discussed disputes the real possibility of realizing the expected results in terms of resilience, sustainability, and integration with neoliberal tools. In other words, these concepts generate palliatives or mirages of achievement that do not end up setting up true resilience, sustainability, or integration. If there is one common element that crystallizes this defeat – by virtue of the contradictions and tensions presented – it is inequality. This article continues the previous reflection, in which it was proposed that the generation of inequality at the city level can no longer be seen as 'market failure,' but as a direct and inherent consequence of the model of housing production and land exploitation for real estate speculation (Encinas et al., 2019). Therefore, to strain these three concepts is not a repetitive or redundant exercise, but one necessary to think and propose principles for a post-neoliberal city.

Overcoming neoliberal urbanism is critical to achieving resilience, sustainability, and integration. Such overcoming is part of certain key precepts: (i)

FIG. 3 Análisis descriptivo de segregación y vivienda social (izquierda); y variación de la segregación para el período 1982-2017 (derecha) del Índice Global de Moran para determinar patrones de ordenamiento. / *Descriptive analysis of segregation and social housing (left); and segregation variation for the period 1982-2017 (right) determining the sorting patterns according to the Global Moran's Index.* Elaboración propia / *elaborated by the authors.*

neoliberalism produced an unequal city that must be evened so that the urban space offers similar qualities to all its inhabitants, without distinction; (ii) architectural and urban discipline must break its methodological dependence on neoliberal evaluation mechanisms aimed at the profitability of capital and the circulation of money in order to rethink its own epistemology in favor of the city as a representation of solidarity; (iii) this new city is democratic at the neighborhood level, allowing the self-determination of districts with their territories through systems of direct democracy enshrined in a new Constitution, in which public funding matches the needs of the population to achieve a high base standard in all neighborhoods. This does not involve eliminating real estate businesses – the focus of analysis of this article – but subordinating its objectives and goals to generating this city of solidarity, at least until the cities in Chile can offer a similar level of urban quality.

Just in a nearby present and in an environment dominated by constitutional change, the Chilean city and the concepts of sustainability, resilience, and integration will be put into question. They should serve to social, climate, and political change. The challenges that our time imposes are so great that, in Piketty's (2019) words, it is difficult to imagine solutions to problems such as climate and migration, "if we are not able to reduce inequalities first and build a standard of economic justice that is accepted by the majority." But one wonders whether these concepts will continue to be co-opted by neoliberal politics – such as the right to the city or gentrification – as part of their strategy of discursive cleansing, or whether we can move on to deeper debates that represent justice and equality.Today, in the face of the social, political, health, and climate multi-crisis that threatens us, it is clear that we cannot continue to act under the same logics that, precisely, have generated these problems in the last 30 years. **ARQ**

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Notas / *Notes*

1 The phrase refers to the rise of 30 Chilean pesos in the ticket of the Metro of Santiago, which ignited the first demonstrations related to the October 2019 social uprising. Subsequently, the concept was expanded to reference the 30 years between the return to democracy in 1990 and the present day.

2 "Government can never duplicate the variety and diversity of individual action. At any moment in time, by imposing uniform standards in housing, or nutrition, or clothing, the government could undoubtedly improve the level of living in man individuals; by imposing uniform standards in schooling, road construction, or sanitation, the central government could

undoubtedly improve the level of performance in many local areas and perhaps even on the average of all communities. But in the process, the government would replace progress with stagnation, it would substitute uniform mediocrity for the variety essential for that experimentation which can bring tomorrow's laggards [...]" (Friedman, 2002).

3 The so-called 'trickle down' economics or '*chorreo*' effect (as it is colloquially known in Chile) belongs to neoclassical economic theory and proposes that taxes or regulations applied to wealth or large businesses in a country should be reduced as a way to encourage investment in the short term, hoping that this would improve the economic conditions of the rest of the population in the long run.

4 This metropolitan area comprises 40 districts and 1,752 census areas, considering the main consolidated urban area, with 6,375,463 inhabitants, 2,144,706 dwellings, and 83,789 hectares (INE; MINVU, 2017).

5 This concept comes from material mechanics and is defined as the ability of a solid to deform and return to its initial state (Gere; Goodno, 2012).

6 The ordinary OLS model, or Ordinary Least Squares, corresponds to the simplest linear regression model to evaluate the dependency relationship between a dependent variable and one or more independent variables. As with any regression, precautions should be taken regarding multicollinearity, spatial autocorrelation, and avoiding the heteroscedasticity of errors.

7 The complete result of the statistics for the OLS regression model is as follows:

Indicators		Dependent variable	Mortality
Number of Observations	989	Akaike's Information Criterion (AICc) [d]	-316.049
Multiple R-Squared [d]	0.576613	Adjusted R-Squared [d]	0.576184
Joint F-Statistic [e]	1344.198	Prob(>F), (1,987) degrees of freedom	0.000000*
Joint Wald Statistic [e]	524.5124	Prob(>chi-squared), (1) degrees of freedom	0.000000*
Koenker (BP) Statistic [f]	88.03767	Prob(>chi-squared), (1) degrees of freedom	0.000000*
Jarque-Bera Statistic [g]	3795.278	Prob(>chi-squared), (2) degrees of freedom	0.000000*

8 'Greenwashing' describes the misinformation disseminated by a company to present an environmentally responsible public image.

9 This can be understood by the fact that monopolistic land exploitation captures most of the value by location, over the technical or architectural project (Encinas et al., 2019). In the same line, it has been observed how immediate profitability imposes on the purchase decision over sustainability, even when it could make housing a better investment in the long run (Encinas et al., 2020).

10 The LISA analysis corresponds to a spatial statistic that accounts for the spatial autocorrelation of a variable. It was defined by Anselin (2010) as the spatial component in Moran's Index. In this way, defining an array of spatial weights determines the grouping patterns (clusters) for a continuous quantitative variable, with statistical significance. Patterns are HH (cluster with high variable values surrounded by high values); LL (cluster with low variable values surrounded by low values); HL (enclaves that account for a high observation value surrounded by the reverse pattern, i.e., low), and LH (low values surrounded by high values).

11 The index of Theil calculates entropy (as a segregation measure), in this case considering the internal proportion of census areas according to the value of the Socio Material Territorial Indicator (socio-economic proxy indicator) and weighing it by comparing census areas and their contiguous areas (topological matrix of spatial weights) (Parisi; Lichter; Taquino, 2011).

12 The Global Moran's Index is a spatial statistician that analyzes a variable's global spatial pattern, classifying it into three categories of autocorrelation: random (0), clustered (1), or dispersed (-1). This value is also reaffirmed by a Z-value, allowing us to see how atypical the value is by normalizing it – especially when the variable distribution is not normal. In this way, it reveals the spatial autocorrelation of a variable.

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