

HISTORICAL DYNAMICS AND SPIRITUAL CULTURE OF THE SOCIETY: REGIONAL AND GLOBAL CONTEXTS

SPACE MIDDLE CLASS IN A MODERN CITY

Anzhelika Barzeeva

OmSU named after F.M. Dostoevsky, Omsk, Russia

Keywords: neoliberalism, middle class, structural adjustment, politics of compaction and verticalization, class identity.

Several authors describe Santiago de Chile as the ‘quintessential’ neoliberal city [1, p. 737]. Here it will be appropriate at once to clarify the meaning of these words. The Oxford Dictionary interprets the quintessence as the basis, the very essence of something, literally, the fifth element – ether, which was recognized in medieval philosophy as the basis of other elements. Neoliberalism, on the other hand, is an ideology based on the logic of the capitalist market, extended not only to the economy, but also to all other spheres of life. For neoliberalism, the market economy is not just the best economic model; according to this ideology, according to the logic of the market, all spheres of life, including government and interpersonal relations, should function. There is a connection here with McDonaldisation, the main idea of which is the introduction of corporate governance principles in all spheres of society.

Let's go back to Santiago. While it is not one of the most segregated cities in Latin America, it also represents the inequalities characteristic of a social structure in which wealth and opportunity are concentrated in only a few municipalities.

Material and methods. The study uses an institutional approach to identify the causes of this problem. It was revealed that the spatial distribution of the Chilean social structure was influenced by the policy of ‘structural adjustment’ [2, p. 113]. According to the proposed position, thanks to this policy, housing, education and health care have been gradually liberalized.

Findings and their discussion. In the early years of the dictatorship (late 1970s – early 1980s), there were processes of forced relocation of the poor and working class residents to the outskirts of the city. The 1970s and 1980s saw the consolidation of the high-income sector into the so-called high-income cone or *barrio alto* (literally ‘upper region’), increasing the segregation and concentration of the upper middle and upper classes. During these decades, the localization of different social classes in specific geographic sectors has advanced through the differentiated provision and placement of social health and education services depending on the income level of each district.

Meanwhile, over a 20-year period from 1990 to 2010, the country's social structure has been restructured. The working class (manual labor) sector has gradually declined, while the middle class sector has grown, accounting for about 45% of the population by 2010. While middle class jobs are not manual labor, they tend to be low skilled. The professional sector has also grown steadily over the past three decades as a result of the creation of private universities in the early 1980s. Chile is a very centralized country with over 50% of the population concentrated in the capital, Santiago. According to some recent studies, more than 60% of the middle class – broadly speaking – currently live in the capital.

Since the 1990s, a number of housing initiatives have emerged to serve Santiago's burgeoning middle class. In particular, we are talking about the policy of compaction and verticalization. In other words, subsidies began to be issued in the city center to attract members of the lower middle class to middle management or administrative positions. In addition, the real estate market has segmented its offer into middle and upper class socio-economic groups. Homes in restricted areas and apartments in high-rise buildings in the more central areas of the city are aimed at the lower middle class, while residential buildings in the suburbs are sold mainly to the upper middle class. Thus, we see that the space of the middle class in a modern city directly depends on the resources offered and controlled by the state (employment, type of housing and its various costs).

Given the rapid growth of the middle class in Chile, and the difficulty of defining class identity among people from different social groups, different trajectories of residence simultaneously become a narrative of social mobility, and thus a marker of class identity. Reproducing class position requires a calculus that includes school choices, lifestyle choices, and social identity. These are three elements that are closely related to the place of residence. Placement practice is key to understanding the middle class's claim to belonging.

Maria-Luisa Mendez of Diego Portales University conducted research in five urban areas of Santiago using a variety of methods: in-depth interviews, unencumbered observation, content analysis of legal texts, as well as copies of files prepared by community activists [1, p. 744]. In her research, she analyzed the practices that determine the attitude of the middle class to the territory and the place of this class as such in the modern city.

Most of the middle class residents involved in local politics in the districts that were studied complained about the so-called 'urban massacre' in the traditional neighborhoods. By this speech turnover, they meant (from their point of view) the unexpected, indiscriminate and systematic demolition of a residential building in order to make room for new high-rise buildings. These residents took certain measures, including preparing and submitting cases to the Council for National Monuments. The aim of the whole action was to have their areas of residence declared 'heritage areas'. This was what the residents saw as a way of protecting what they called 'living in a certain way of life in the area.' They implied a lifestyle based on a small local economy with local shops, a relatively dense and family-oriented sociality, etc. However, in the course of justifying

their interests, residents had to draw a line between what is considered and what is not considered part of the area, and, accordingly, were pushed to define a lifestyle that is worth protecting. This process of space production includes institutional, discursive and performative dimensions, and leads to the physical delineation of the boundaries of the heritage area [3, p. 57].

Maria-Luisa Mendes argued that while middle-class living politics includes a strong institutional, symbolic, social and spatial boundary, it also expresses what they perceive to be inclusive political views. In other words, they claimed to defend the political rights of broad strata of society, not just the elite [4, p. 223]. The statements of middle-class neighbors demonstrate that it is possible to develop justifying rhetoric that simultaneously expresses an awareness of neo-liberal politics of residence and a desire for relatively exclusive spaces.

Conclusion. Thus, the traditional middle class positions itself as opposed to neo-liberal urban massacre, rather than as a rejection of treatment of less privileged people. The neighborhood rhetoric these residents use criticizes privatization and neoliberalism, bringing back pre-neoliberal social life in the area. Despite this, their claims of creation and ownership continue to perpetuate inequality.

Accordingly, the conclusion is clear: belonging to a territory inevitably becomes a matter of abandoning Chile's new, ambitious, emerging neoliberal middle classes.

1. Mendez, M.-L. Neighborhoods as Arenas of Conflict in the Neoliberal City: Practices of Boundary Making Between 'Us' and 'Them' / M.-L. Mendez. – 17:3. – City & Community, 2018. – 737–753 p.
2. Veltmeyer, H. Neoliberalism and Class Conflict in Latin America: A Comparative Perspective on the Political Economy of Structural Adjustment / H. Veltmeyer, J. Petras, S. Vieux. – New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997. – 258 p.
3. Benson, M. Trajectories of Middle-class Belonging: The Dynamics of Place Attachment and Classed Identities. / M. Benson. – 51(14):3097. – Urban Studies, 2014. – 112 p.
4. Mendez, M.-L. Middle Class Identities in a Neoliberal Age: Tensions Between Contested Authenticities / M.-L. Mendez. – 56(2). – The Sociological Review, 2008. – 220–237 p.

THE WORKS OF W.H. AUDEN IN THE CONTEXT OF MODERNIST LITERATURE

Daria Borbachenko

VSU named after P.M. Masherov, Vitebsk, Belarus

Keywords: W.H. Auden, English Modernism, poetry, influence, generation.

Nowadays, the name of W.H. Auden, who has become perhaps the most well-known English modernist poetry creator, is popular not only among genuine connoisseurs of the 20th century's daring and sophisticated literature, but also with ordinary admirers of intellectual lyrics, which determines the relevance of the given study. The vast readership of his literary works together with the truly