CONTESTING METROPOLIZATION BY NEOLIBERALISM

ACTIVATING VULNERABLE AREAS THROUGH INTER-MUNICIPAL SPATIAL PLANNING IN SANTIAGO DE CHILE



CONTESTING METROPOLIZATION BY NEOLIBERALISM
ACTIVATING VULNERABLE AREAS THROUGH INTER-MUNICIPAL SPATIAL PLANNING IN SANTIAGO DE CHILE

Diego Reinaldo Moya Ortiz
Architect
D.R.MoyaOrtiz@student.tudelft.nl
4740688

P5 Thesis Report

First Mentor:
Dr. Diego Sepulveda Carmona. Chair of Spatial Planning and Strategy.

Second Mentor:
Dip. Ing. Birgit Hausleitner. Chair of Urban Design.

Advisor:
Dr. Stephen Read. Chair of Spatial Planning and Strategy.

Delft University of Technology
Faculty of Architecture and Built Environment.
MSc Architecture, Urbanism and Building Sciences
MSc track Urbanism
Complex Cities Studio

For further information please contact the author to the email:
diego.moya@usach.cl or D.R.MoyaOrtiz@student.tudelft.nl

This work has been realized thanks to the support of the National Commission for Scientific and Technological Research (Conicyt) of the Chilean Government.

Delft, The Netherlands.
June, 2019.

Abstract

Metropolization process in Santiago de Chile has been strongly influenced by neoliberal rationale in the field of urban planning. A diffuse interaction between the forces of the urban land market, national-global trends of capital agglomeration and fragmented governance have led to a highly segregated socio-spatial structure. These processes have fostered the economic marginalization of the most vulnerable municipal areas unable to profit within the current model of market driven development.
During the last five years the Chilean government has raised the necessity to address these issues through a new governance and planning national agenda. Based on this context, this graduation thesis investigates the evolution of those urban issues in the Metropolitan area of Santiago (MAS) and evaluates a collaborative spatial planning strategy for three vulnerable municipalities by using adaptive scenarios. A paramount emphasis is focused in the social and economic activation of the morphological urban tissue of these areas by using a multi scalar perspective.

Keywords:
Metropolization, Neoliberal Urbanism, Urban segregation, Endogenous development, Governance, Strategic spatial planning, Land management.

0. CONTENTS

0. CONTENTS

1. PROLOGUE 6

1.1 Preface
1.2 Acknowledgements
1.3 Motivation

2. PROBLEM CONTEXT 14

2.1 Process of metropolization in Latin America
2.2 Chile: Economic ambivalence and vulnerability
2.3 References

3. PROBLEM ANALYSIS 24

3.1 Metropolization
3.2 Governance Structure
3.3 Historical evolution of Segregation in Santiago
3.4 Evolution of Metropolitan Plans
3.5 Mapping the Metropolitan structure
3.6 Segregation through scales: from the metropolitan to the local
3.7 Concluding
3.8 Design and planning approach
3.9 References

4. METHODOLOGICAL RESEARCH FRAMEWORK 90

4.1 Roadmap
4.2 Problem Statement
4.3 Aim of Research
4.4 Research Questions
4.5 Expected otucomes
4.6 Methodological flow chart
4.7 Proposed Research approach
4.8 Methods
4.9 Analytical Framework
4.10 Theoretical Framework
4.11 Conceptual Framework
4.12 Timeline
4.13 References

5. FRAMING THE APPROACH 122

5.1 Governance context analysis
5.2 Municipal areas characterization
5.3 Inter communal spatial analysis
5.4 References

6. TEST BY DESIGN 178

6.1 Test by design : Introduction to the collaborative spatial planning strategy
6.2 Profile areas
6.3 Spatial capital
6.4 Adaptive roadmaps
6.5 References

7. CONCLUSIONS 244

7.1 Conclusions
Outcomes main research question
Outcomes sub research questions

7.2 Replicability / Transferability
7.3 Research limitations
7.4 Future research
7.5 References

8. RESEARCH REFLECTION 254

8.1 Research reflection
8.2 Knowledge, skills and tools
8.3 Societal and scientific relevance
8.4 Ethical considerations
8.5 Studio and program criticism
8.6 References

9. APPENDIX 260

9.1 Glossary
9.2 Theoretical paper
9.3 Interviews
9.4 Complementary analysis (Tables, maps, indicators)

1. PROLOGUE

Overview

The prologue exposes the personal reasons that motivated me to write this thesis. In turn, this chapter also includes an acknowledgment to the people and institutions that have supported me to do my studies of MSc at TU Delft. The prologue also includes a preface about the contents developed in this report.

Sections

1.1 Preface
1.2 Acknowledgments
1.3 Motivation

Preface

This report documents the working process developed for this master's thesis graduation in urbanism, during one year. It consists of the problem analysis and the methodological body for the test by design of the strategic spatial planning based on the investigated case.

The work has been developed in the study Complex Cities of the section Planning and strategy of the Department of Urbanism of the Faculty of Architecture and Built Environment of TU Delft.

The general objective of the research seeks to reveal alternative urban development for the most vulnerable municipal areas of the metropolitan area of Santiago de Chile, in order to revert the unevenness produced through the process of metropolization.

Based on a wide range of recent studies and research, I regard social exclusion as, above all, an morphological spatial phenomenon, fueled not only by the market-driven urban development but also by irreflective governance, mainly biased by neoliberalism rationale, and a limited model of land-used planning. In this regard, the governance reforms proposal by the Chilean government open an explorative context for new redefinitions and scenarios. In this sense, I purpose and test by scenarios a spatial planning strategy through a collaborative lens between local municipalities and central government. As a overall conclusion, it is necessary a substantial shift in the current market-driven urban development model, by focusing firstly in the public good and its implications in terms of diversity and legitimity of the different socio spatial projects.

Acknowledgments

First of all, I would like to thank the entire international community of the Department of Urbanism of TU Delft, I mean their professors, students, and officials. All contribute in a certain way to create this environment in which we can study and learn. It is something marvelous that continues to dazzle me and I felt very grateful for having experienced that.

Secondly, I would like to recognize the support of the National Commission for Scientific and Technological Research (Conicyt) of the Chilean Government, to support my studies here.

Along with that, I would like to thank particularly to my family, friends from Chile and especially to my girlfriend Rocío. All of you helped me to keep going in all the circumstances.

In addition, I would like to thanks to my mentors. First of all to my first mentor, Dr. Diego Sepulveda, for his support, wise guidance, and strong commitment during all the process. Secondly, to my second mentor, Dipl. Ing. Birgit Hausleitner. Her incredible pedagogic vocation, knowlegde and motivation were crucial. Finally to my advisor Dr. Stephen Read, for the critical stimulus and depth reflections about urban and territorial processes.

I also would like to aknowledge the people that participated in this research through their opinions and perspectives in the interviews and conversations realized: Mr. Ernesto Lopez Morales, Mr. Alfredo Rodriguez, Mr. Eduardo Zenteno, Mr. Rodrigo Martin, Mr. Luis Eduardo Bresciani, Mr. Hernán Ortega, Mr. Remigio Pirul, Mr. Luis Albrechts, and especially to the neighborhood boards of Lo Valledor Sur of Pedro Aguirre Cerda, Oreste Plath of Cerrillos and José María Caro of Lo Espejo.

Lastly but not least, I would like to thank to all the amazing people and friends that I have met here. Thank you for everything.

Motivation

In 1973 Chile suffered a violent coup d'état by the right-wing parties of that time. This coup was a direct intervention by the military army with the support of the CIA (USA), in the very context of the Cold war. The result was a repressive dictatorship that lasted for 17 years. It was in this context, in which Chile was the first Latin American country to adopt the economic neoliberal model through a new political constitution.

The model was consolidated in democracy through a stronger openness to the global market economy and the privatization of strategic state companies and public services. The neoliberal economist Milton Friedman, baptized the success of this process as "the Chilean miracle."

At 38 years of the constitutional reform, Chile has changed considerably. At the global and macro economic level, Chile is recognized as the Country with the highest economic growth in the Latin American region during the last decades. It is the second Latin American country in the OECD together with Mexico. However, despite the macroeconomic figures, Chile has experienced a huge unbalance in terms of social inclusion and income distribution.

The social implications of this scenario are difficult to imagine, especiallly at territorial level, due to the enormous segregation and fragmentation that caracterizes chilean cities. Chilean urban planners have learned in a very drastic way at what extent an hegemonic political ideology can influence and shape the territory. In this regard, I have realized in the practice of the everyday life that concepts such as development and economic growth operate differently regarding scales and geographies.

Throughout my life as a student and young professional, I have seen the social exclusion and precarity that neoliberal process reproduces by organizing the territory. I have also seen how its narrative, makes even more difficult to visualize other alternatives far from individualist logic. At some extent, it has been able to produce a sort of negative realism.

All of the above reveals for me the urgent necessity of redefining our way perspective about the urbanity. Therefore, our way to define our role as urbanists. The need to embrace a transformative spatial planning.

That's what this is for me: the task of designers/planners is to offer critical alternatives for a hope future. That's why today, more than ever, design is in the political. Even though that may be difficult to understand as a statement, for many of us who come from the "global south", it is absolutely necessary if not essential.

In this thesis I have wanted to challenge my own limits and conceptions, knowing that the weight of "reality" can always sabotage the imagination, and it is not easy.

Finally, I can understand now what was the reason because I left my continent to study in the Netherlands. It was to finding a space to think freely. A space to imagine without my self-imposed constraints. That was what I was looking for when I came.

1973

Enero

lunes	martes	miércoles	jueves	viernes	sábado	domingo
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	9	10	11	12	13	14
15	16	17	18	19	20	21
22	23	24	25	26	27	28
29	30	31				

Febrero

lunes	martes	miércoles	jueves	viernes	sábado	domingo
			1	2	3	4
5	6	7	8	9	10	11
12	13	14	15	16	17	18
19	20	21	22	23	24	25
26	27	28				

Marzo

lunes	martes	miércoles	jueves	viernes	sábado	domingo
			1	2	3	4
5	6	7	8	9	10	11
12	13	14	15	16	17	18
19	20	21	22	23	24	25
26	27	28	29	30	31	

Abril

lunes	martes	miércoles	jueves	viernes	sábado	domingo
						1
2	3	4	5	6	7	8
9	10	11	12	13	14	15
16	17	18	19	20	21	22
23	24	25	26	27	28	29
30						

Mayo

lunes	martes	miércoles	jueves	viernes	sábado	domingo
	1	2	3	4	5	6
7	8	9	10	11	12	13
14	15	16	17	18	19	20
21	22	23	24	25	26	27
28	29	30	31			

Junio

lunes	martes	miércoles	jueves	viernes	sábado	domingo
				1	2	3
4	5	6	7	8	9	10
11	12	13	14	15	16	17
18	19	20	21	22	23	24
25	26	27	28	29	30	

Julio

lunes	martes	miércoles	jueves	viernes	sábado	domingo
						1
2	3	4	5	6	7	8
9	10	11	12	13	14	15
16	17	18	19	20	21	22
23	24	25	26	27	28	29
30	31					

Agosto

lunes	martes	miércoles	jueves	viernes	sábado	domingo
		1	2	3	4	5
6	7	8	9	10	11	12
13	14	15	16	17	18	19
20	21	22	23	24	25	26
27	28	29	30	31		

Septiembre

lunes	martes	miércoles	jueves	viernes	sábado	domingo
					1	2
3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	11	11	11	11	11
11	11	11	11	11	11	11
11	11	11	11	11	11	11

Octubre

lunes	martes	miércoles	jueves	viernes	sábado	domingo
11	11	11	11	11	11	11
11	11	11	11	11	11	11
11	11	11	11	11	11	11
11	11	11	11	11	11	11
11	11	11				

Noviembre

lunes	martes	miércoles	jueves	viernes	sábado	domingo
			11	11	11	11
11	11	11	11	11	11	11
11	11	11	11	11	11	11
11	11	11	11	11	11	11
11	11	11	11	11		

Diciembre

lunes	martes	miércoles	jueves	viernes	sábado	domingo
					11	11
11	11	11	11	11	11	11
11	11	11	11	11	11	11
11	11	11	11	11	11	11
11	11	11	11	11	11	11
11						

On September 11, 1973, Chile suffered a violent coup d'etat. After 17 years of dictatorship and 29 years of democracy, the legacy is not only the historical trauma produced, but above all, the radical influence of neoliberalism in all the layers of chilean social reality.

Image 1. September 11, 1973, 1974 by artist Alfredo Jaar. As part ot the exhibition An Aesthetics of Resistance. Exhibition at 3 Berlin institutions: NGBK, Berlinische Galerie, Alte Nationalgalerie, June - Sept. 2012. New York.

"Our thesis is that the idea of a self-adjusting market implied a stark utopia. Such an institution could not exist for any length of time without annihilating the human and natural substance of society; it would have physically destroyed man and transformed his surroundings into a wilderness."

Karl Polanyi (2001). The great transformation.

"The reality of this Global South metropolis where to ground an investigation on the material conditions of neoliberalism is ideal to both discovering and experimenting alternatives, considering that Chile was one of the first places in the world in which neoliberal policies proposed by Milton Friedman were implemented. The dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet installed by force a system oriented to privilege free markets, reducing the power of the state to its minimum and keeping civil society unorganized. The effects of these changes are visible in the city of Santiago, whose delirium laissez-faire is visible everywhere in all aspect of the urban society. In a way, Santiago provides the perfect case study to see how neoliberalism works through urbanism."

Camillo Boano (2017). Neoliberalism and Urban Development in Latin America.

"A building is not an end in itself. A building conditions and transforms the human experience of reality; it frames, structures, articulates, links, separates and unites, enables, and prohibits."

Arturo Escobar (2018). Design for the Pluriverse.



Image 2. "Vertical ghettos" in Estación Central. Retireved from:
https://www.emol.com/noticias/Nacional/2017/04/11/853675

2. PROBLEM CONTEXT

Overview

This chapter briefly introduces the phenomenon of metropolization and its effects, focusing mainly on the Latin American urban context. Along with this, the current overview of development in Chile is introduced, contextualizing its main local and global challenges. This first problematization allows contextualizing processes mentioned in the following chapter related to the problem analysis.

Sections

2.1 Process of metropolization in Latin America
2.2 Chile: Economic ambivalence and vulnerability
2.3 References

The process of Metropolization in Latin America

Process of metropolization in Latin America is closely linked to the process of globalization initiated throughout the 70s. At a planetary level, globalization meant the extension of the capitalist project and with it the opening of financial markets worldwide. The transition from an industrial economy to a financial economy redefined the relationships and networks of geographical interdependence, exceeding and redefining scales, national and regional boundaries. The urban-territorial implications of this process in global institutional and spatial restructuring have been widely studied (De Mattos, 2010) and have involved a complete mutation of urban processes at national, regional and global levels.

The process of metropolization at the urban regional level, as defined by Bourdeau-Lepage (1996), consists of an adaptation of strategic cities to this new financial and services in a global economy. In this regard, the main focus of these areas has been to capture the foreign direct investment (FDI) in order to atract metropolitan functions at national and global level, thus occupying a strategic place within the global economy.

This process has produced a concentration of metropolitan functions (services, financial capital, infrastructure, and telecommunications) in specific urban areas (generally traditional business districts), initiating a continuous process of restructuring of the urban fabric, which is characterized by the polarization of functions between the Business central districts (CBD) and the periphery. The implementation of neoliberal policies (Mattos, 2007) has reinforced this polarization through a strong process of spatial fragmentation and social segregation.

The metropolization process in the Latin American cities has presented general characteristics. As De Mattos recognizes, there are at least three general phenomena (De Mattos, 2010).

The first one is related to the investment of the financial surplus in the real estate sector, which plays a leading role in urban development within a context of deregulated land use. This capitalization has implied an exponential real estate sector growth, often not corresponding to the demand for housing, but mainly to investment as financial assets.

The second aspect relates to governance. The withdrawal of the state as guarantor of urban development, step to corporate governance, establishing an appropriate scenario for an urban development oriented to hyper located profitability. In this context, developers have achieved enough power to influence urban policies to readjust them to their expansion interests, pushing the boundaries of municipal codes and restrictions. Indeed, in those cases in which certain municipalities have tended to block market action, real estate development has tended to concentrate in peripheral cheaper lands, increasing the isolation of mono-residential areas.

This last point is related to the third and more critical element: the competition between local governments. The market driven urban development has generated a process of competition among Municipalities. However, their ability to compete under this model has been determined by their economic investment capacity or attractiveness, reinforcing the spatial fragmentation and marginalization of the most vulnerable ones.

Because of these processes, the Latin American metropolises have evolved through fragmented urban morphologies, over layered on their historical socio-spatial inequalities. The final result has consisted in a highly polarized in which social landscapes of extremely different material quality coexist without perceiving each other.

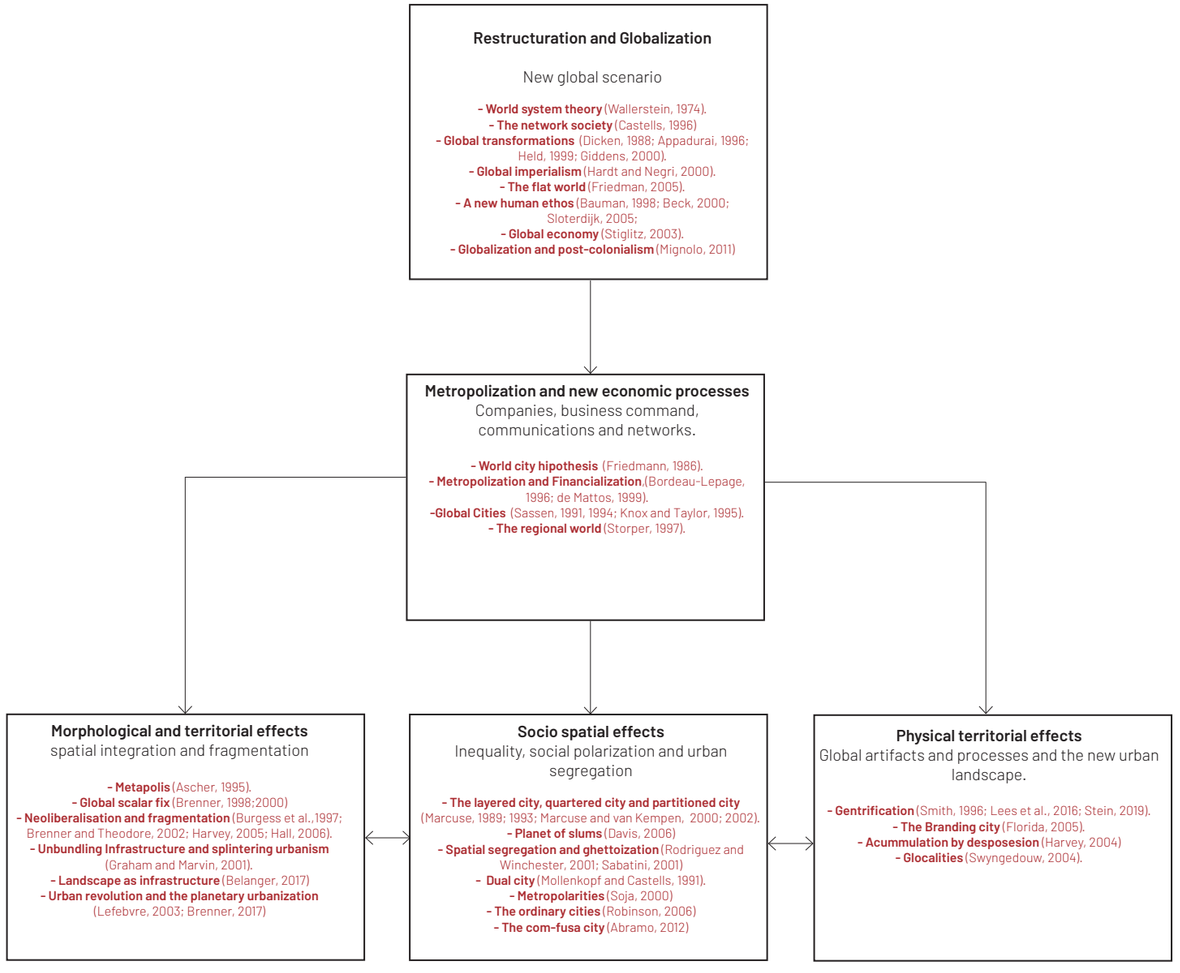


Fig. 1. Conceptual geneaolgy of Globalization and metropolization processes.
Own ellaboration in base of Carlos de Mattos (De Mattos, 2000) and Kozak Schemes (Kozak, 2008).

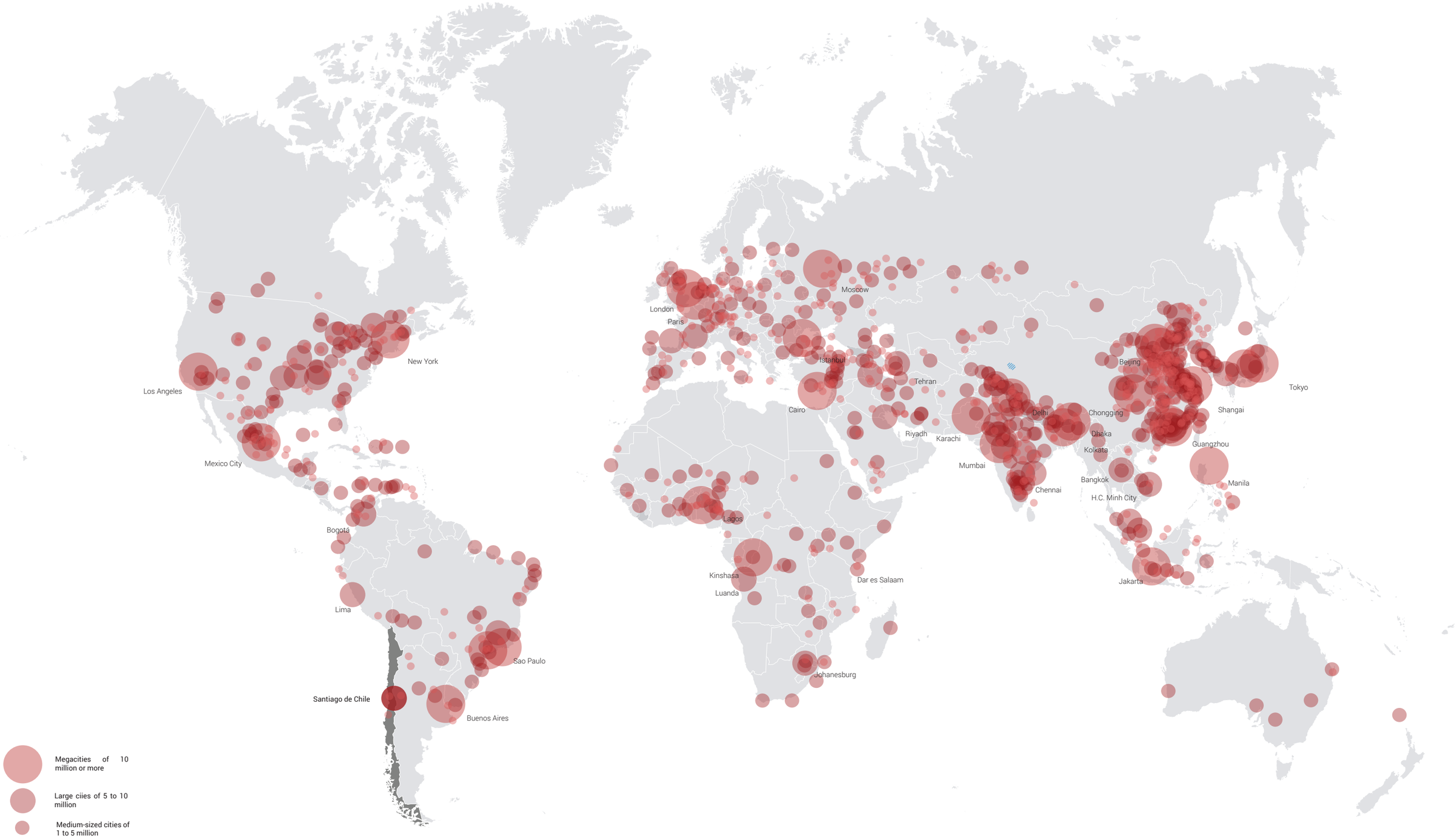


Fig. 2. Metropolitan areas Worldwide with more than 5.000.000 inhabitants.
Source: Own elaboration based on data of United Nations World Urbanization Prospects 2014.

Chile: Economic ambivalence and vulnerability

Chile is the South American Country with the highest Gross domestic product (GDP) per capita: 15.346,4 USD. The explosive economic growth during the 90s and 2000s has ranked Chilean as an example of free market economy.

However, Chile is also one of the most unequal Countries of the The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). According to the last report of income distribution (OECD, 2018), Chile achieves the highest inequality rates together with Mexico and USA.

On the other hand, the difference between rich and poor groups has been amplified exponentially during the last ten years, accentuating social polarization and differentiation. According to the last annual report of the Chilean central bank, the richest quintile of the population concentrates 72% of the national wealth, this is only to 20% of the richest population.

These trends have also proven to be resilient, presenting other difficulties for the country. According to the latest OECD Report (OECD, 2018), although social and educational spending has increased, inequality has not been cushioned. In addition, the private pension system has not been able to reduce inequalities, exerting greater pressure on subsidiary fiscal spending. Lastly, a high proportion of the population still works in temporary and informal jobs (30%) while a large part of the worker population has low qualification.

Finally, the OECD also remarks that a 52,65% of Chileans are economically vulnerable. This means this group of people run the risk of falling into poverty because they do not have enough financial resources to protect themselves against a loss of income. This vulnerability is also associated with the limited diversification of the economy, both in terms of activities and markets, which leaves Chile highly vulnerable to external shocks.

This context of contradiction and vulnerability has also been reflected in the territory, especially in those areas that concentrate the greatest economic agglomerations and the amount of population. This is the case of the Metropolitan Area of Santiago (MAS).

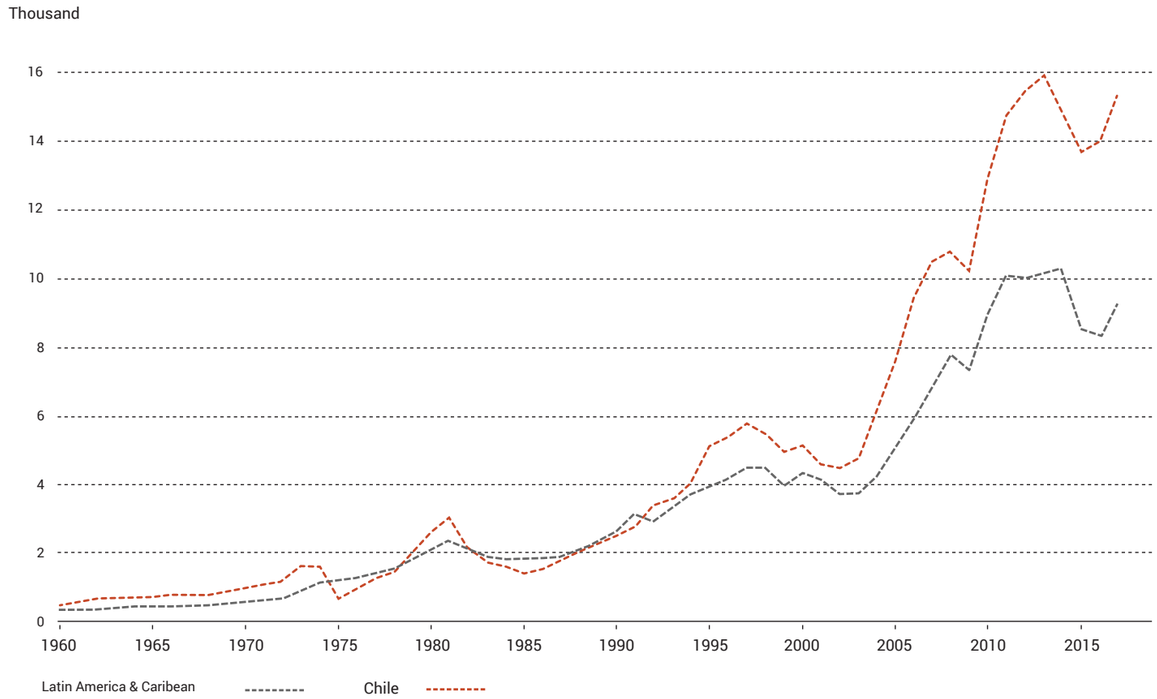


Fig. 3. World Bank report (2017), Gross Domestic Product of Chile vs. Latin American & Caribean (Average).
Own ellaboration based on original graphic.

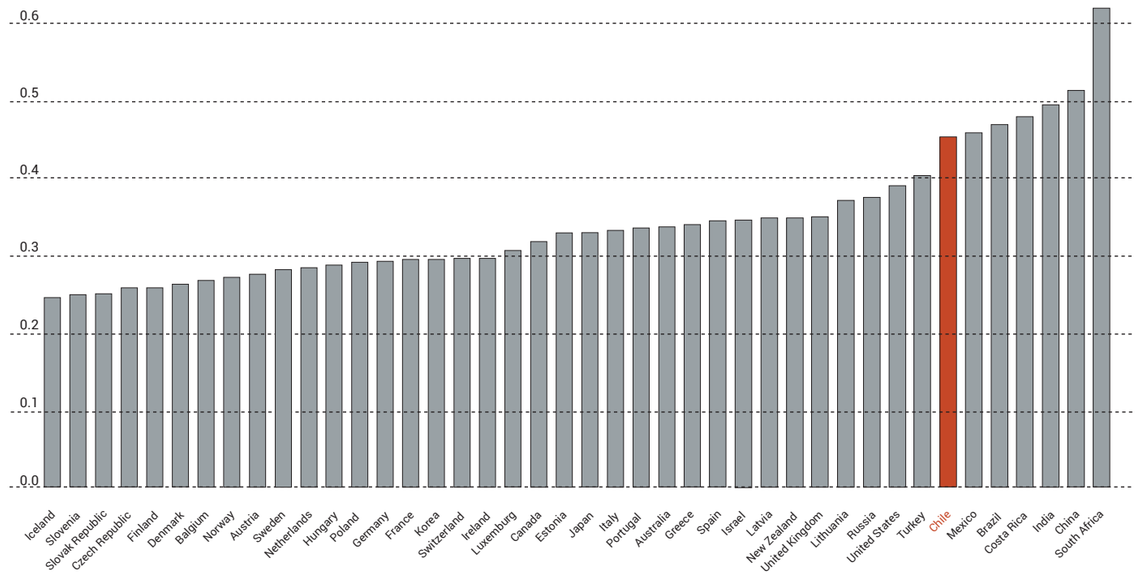


Fig. 4. OECD (2018), Income inequality indicator.
Own ellaboration based on original graphic.

REFERENCES

Articles / Books

Abramo, P. (2012). The com-fused city: land market and the production or urban infrastructure in great Latin-American cities. Eure-Revista Latinoamericana De Estudios Urbano Regionales, 38(114), 35-69.

Appadurai, A. (1996). Modernity at large : cultural dimensions of globalization. Minneapolis, Minn.: University of Minnesota Press.

Ascher, F. o. (1995). Métapolis, ou, L'avenir des villes. Paris: Editions O. Jacob.

Bauman, Z. (1998). Globalization : the human consequences. New York: Columbia University Press.

Beck, U. (2000). What is globalization? Cambridge, UK ; Malden, MA: Polity Press.

Bélanger, P. (2017). Landscape as infrastructure : a base primer. Abingdon, Oxon ; New York, NY: Routledge.

Bourdeau-Lepage, L. and Huriot, J.-M. (1996) Local Interactions and the Global City Metropolization in Warsaw. Available at: http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download;jsessionid=42915B647F061B453099A0E6113D2138?doi=10.1.1.502.1094&rep=rep1&type=pdf (Accessed: 23 October 2018)

Brenner, N. (1998). Between fixity and motion: accumulation, territorial organization and the historical geography of spatial scales. Environment and Planning D-Society & Space, 16(4), 459-481. doi:DOI 10.1068/d160459.

Brenner, N. (2000). The urban question as a scale question: Reflections on Henri Lefebvre, urban theory and the politics of scale. International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 24(2), 361-+. doi:Doi 10.1111/1468-2427.00234

Brenner, N., & Theodore, N. (2002). Preface: From the "new localism" to the spaces of neoliberalism. Antipode, 34(3), 341-347. doi:Doi 10.1111/1467-8330.00245

Brenner, N. (2017). Critique of Urbanization: Selected Essays. Critique of Urbanization: Selected Essays, 156, 1-293.

Burgess, R., Carmona, M., & Kolstee, T. (1997). The challenge of sustainable cities : neoliberalism and urban strategies in developing countries. London ; Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Zed Books.

Castells, M. (1996). The rise of the network society. Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers.

Davis, M. (2006). Planet of slums. London ; New York: Verso.

De Mattos, C. A. (1999) 'Santiago de Chile, globalización y expansión metropolitana: lo que existía sigue existiendo', EURE (Santiago). Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile. Facultad de Arquitectura, Diseño y Estudios Urbanos. Instituto de Estudios Urbanos y Territoriales, 25(76), pp. 29–56. doi: 10.4067/S0250-71611999007600002.

De Mattos, C. (2002) 'Santiago de Chile de cara a la Globalización: ¿otra ciudad?', Revista de Sociologia e Política. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.5380/rsp.v19i0.

De Mattos, C. (2007) Globalización, negocios inmobiliarios y transformación urbana. Available at: http://nuso.org/media/articles/downloads/3481_1.pdf (Accessed: 28 October 2018).

De Mattos, C. (2010) 'Globalización y metamorfosis metropolitana en América Latina. De la ciudad a lo urbano generalizado', Revista de Geografia Norte Grande.

Dicken, P. (1998). Global shift : transforming the world economy (3rd ed.). New York: Guilford Press.

Florida, R. L. (2005). Cities and the creative class. New York: Routledge.

Friedmann, J. (1986). The World City Hypothesis. Development and Change, 17(1), 69-83. doi:DOI 10.1111/j.1467-7660.1986.tb00231.x.

Friedman, T. L. (2005). The world is flat : a brief history of the twenty-first century (1st ed.). New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

Giddens, A. (2000). Runaway world : how globalization is reshaping our lives. New York: Routledge.

Graham, S., & Marvin, S. (2001). Splintering urbanism : networked infrastructures, technological mobilities and the urban condition. London ; New York: Routledge.

Hall, S. (2006) 'Cosmopolitan Promises, Multicultural Realities', in Divided cities: The Oxford Amnesty Lectures.

Hardt, M., & Negri, A. (2000). Empire. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Harvey, D. (2004) 'The "New" Imperialism: Accumulation By Dispossession the Spatio-Temporal Fix and Its Contradictions', Social Register.

Harvey, D. (2005). A brief history of neoliberalism. Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press.

Held, D. (1999). Global transformations : politics, economics and culture. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

Jenks, M., Kozak, D., & Takkanon, P. (2008). World cities and urban form : fragmented, polycentric, sustainable? Abingdon, Oxon ; New York: Routledge.

Knox, P. L., & Taylor, P. J. (1995). World cities in a world-system. Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press.

Lefebvre, H. (2003). The urban revolution. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Lees, L., Shin, H. B., & López Morales, E. (2016). Planetary gentrification. Cambridge, UK Malden, MA: Polity Press.

Marcuse, P. (1989). Dual City - a Muddy Metaphor for a Quartered City. International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 13(4), 697-708. doi:DOI 10.1111/j.1468-2427.1989.tb00142.x

Marcuse, P. (1993). Whats So New About Divided Cities. International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 17(3), 355-365. doi:DOI 10.1111/j.1468-2427.1993.tb00226.x

Marcuse, P., & Kempen, R. v. (2000). Globalizing cities : a new spatial order? Oxford ; Malden, Mass: Blackwell publishers.

Marcuse, P., & Kempen, R. v. (2002). Of states and cities : the partitioning of urban space. Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press.

Mignolo, W. (2011). The darker side of Western modernity : global futures, decolonial options. Durham: Duke University Press.

Mollenkopf, J. H., & Castells, M. (1991). Dual city: restructuring New York. New York:

Robinson, J. (2006). Ordinary cities : between modernity and development. London ; New York: Routledge.

Rodriguez, A., & Winchester, L. (2001). Santiago de Chile: Metropolization, globalization and inequity. Eure-Revista Latinoamericana De Estudios Urbano Regionales, 27(80), 121-139.

Sabatini, F., Caceres, G., & Cerda, J. (2001). Residential segregation in main Chilean cities: Tendencies from the past three decades and possible frameworks for action. Eure-Revista Latinoamericana De Estudios Urbano Regionales, 27(82), 21-42.

Sassen, S. (1991). The global city : New York, London, Tokyo. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Sassen, S. (1994). Cities in a world economy. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Pine Forge Press.

Sloterdijk, P. (2005). Im Weltinnenraum des Kapitals : für eine philosophische Theorie der Globalisierung (1. Aufl. ed.). Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp.

Soja, E. W. (2000). Postmetropolis : critical studies of cities and regions. Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub.

Smith, N. (1996). The new urban frontier : gentrification and the revanchist city. London ; New York: Routledge.

Stein, S. (2019). Capital city : gentrification and the real estate state. London: Verso.

Stiglitz, J. E. (2003). Globalization and its discontents. New York: W.W. Norton.

Storper, M. (1997). The regional world : territorial development in a global economy. New York: Guilford Press.

Swyngedouw, E. (2004) 'Globalisation or "glocalisation"? Networks, territories and rescaling', Cambridge Review of International Affairs. Erik Swyngedouw, 17(1), pp. 25–48. doi: 10.1080/0955757042000203632.

Francisco, J. and Católica, V. U. (2018) 'Aplicaciones de la teoría implosión / explosión : relación entre la Región Metropolitana de Santiago de Chile y los territorios productivos regionales', EURE, 44, pp. 71–90.

Held, D. et al. (2010) 'Global Transformations: Politics, Economics, and Culture', International Journal. doi: 10.2307/40203424.

Wallerstein, I. M. (1974). Capitalist agriculture and the origins of the European world-economy in the sixteenth century. New York,: Academic Press.

Reports and figures

Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas (2017) Compendio Estadístico. Santiago de Chile. Available at: www.ine.cl; (Accessed: 7 January 2019).

OECD (2018) Estudios Económicos de la OCDE: Chile 2018. Available at: www.oecd.org/eco/surveys/economic-survey-.htm (Accessed: 7 January 2019).

The World Bank (2017) GDP per capita (current US$) | Data. Available at: https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.PCAP.CD?locations=ZJ-CL (Accessed: 7 January 2019).

United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division (2014). World Urbanization Prospects: The 2014 Revision, Highlights (ST/ESA/SER.A/352).

3. PROBLEM ANALYSIS

Overview

This section focuses on the problem and aims to clarify the analysis and justify the methodological plan and design approach for the next chapters.

The first part seeks to characterize the metropolization process for the case of Santiago de Chile and explaining the main spatial drivers that have fostered social segregation during the last decade. To do this comprehensively, the main critical variables are analyzed together with the current urban governance structure. Moreover, the reforms proposed by the recent National Urban Development Policy (PNDU, 2014) prepared by the Government are briefly explained.

The second part emphasizes this previous analysis by introducing two historical mapping reviews that allow to understand how different variables have influenced the process of fragmentation and segregation at a spatial level. First, the main policies and governmental actions that influenced the configuration of the metropolitan area during the last four decades, and second, a historical review of the different metropolitan plans carried out, focusing mainly on its objectives and failures of concretion.

The third part corresponds to a mapping of the current spatial structure of the metropolitan area. This study will lead to the critical municipal areas in terms of vulnerability and social segregation.

The fourth part illustrates the critical area of analysis through a zoom in through scales, showing how the morphological structure implications differs among them.

Finally, the chapter concludes with the conclusions of the problem analysis and the design approach.

SECTIONS

3.1 Metropolization of Santiago de Chile
3.2 Governance Structure
3.3 Historical evolution of segregation in Santiago
3.4 Evolution of Metropolitan Plans
3.5 Mapping the Metropolitan structure
3.6 From Macro to micro
3.7 Concluding
3.8 Design approach
3.9 References

Metropolization of Santiago de Chile

The current context of metropolization in Santiago is related to the restructuration of the State during the 80's along with the introduction of the neoliberal constitution (Jiménez et al., 2018). The historical deployment of neoliberal policies interplay with market factors and governance conditions have resulted in a strong social and economic segregation in the Metropolitan Area of Santiago (MAS)(De Mattos, 2010; Volker Anguita, 2014; Garreton, 2017). It is necessary to recognize the confluence of various factors to understand this process. Among the most fundamental ones, we can consider the next:

- Social housing sub-urbanization: The eradication of camps and distribution of social housing firstly in pericentral and suburban areas without equipment and urban infrastructures that facilitate their accessibility (Garreton, 2017).

- The withdrawal of the state in terms of urban development: The deviation of services provision responsibility to Municipalities without legal and economic effective decentralization of operative capacities and the subsequent relegation of urban services provision to the market (Vicuña del Río, 2013).

- Land liberalization and market-driven urban development: The deregulation of the land and the consequent consolidation of market-driven urban development model (Jiménez et al., 2018; Lopez, 2013).

- Land Value is driven by the interplay of Infrastructure and urban code flexibility: The land value varies according to the concentration of strategic public transport infrastructure in the most attractive economic zones for developers (Galilea O., 1988; Lopez, 2013).

- Fragmented and hierarchical governance: The lack of proper instruments of governance and its centralized and sectoral structure (Heinrichs et al., 2009)

The interaction of these multiple factors encouraged a context of competence for real estate development and metropolitan functions, in which Municipalities with different capacities compete for capturing investment. All in all, this dynamic has consolidated a fragmented territory characterized by the socioeconomic difference.

Within this territory of difference we can recognize at least three current concomitant processes at inter municipal Level:

- The consolidation of an urban core of historical economic attractiveness in which the wealthier municipal urban areas concentrate and integrate the large amount of metropolitan services, urban infrastructure, profitability, and higher socioeconomic groups.

- The radical urban transformation of surrounded Municipal urban areas of average income, which have tended to flexible their municipal code to capture new investment development.

- The exclusion of the most vulnerable Municipal urban areas from urban economic development, due to their spatial and functional characteristics, social stigmatization, low institutional capacity, low level of infrastructure and economic attractiveness.

In the next pages these variables will be analyzed by different forms of study, including timelines, analysis of flow charts and mapping of spatial trends.

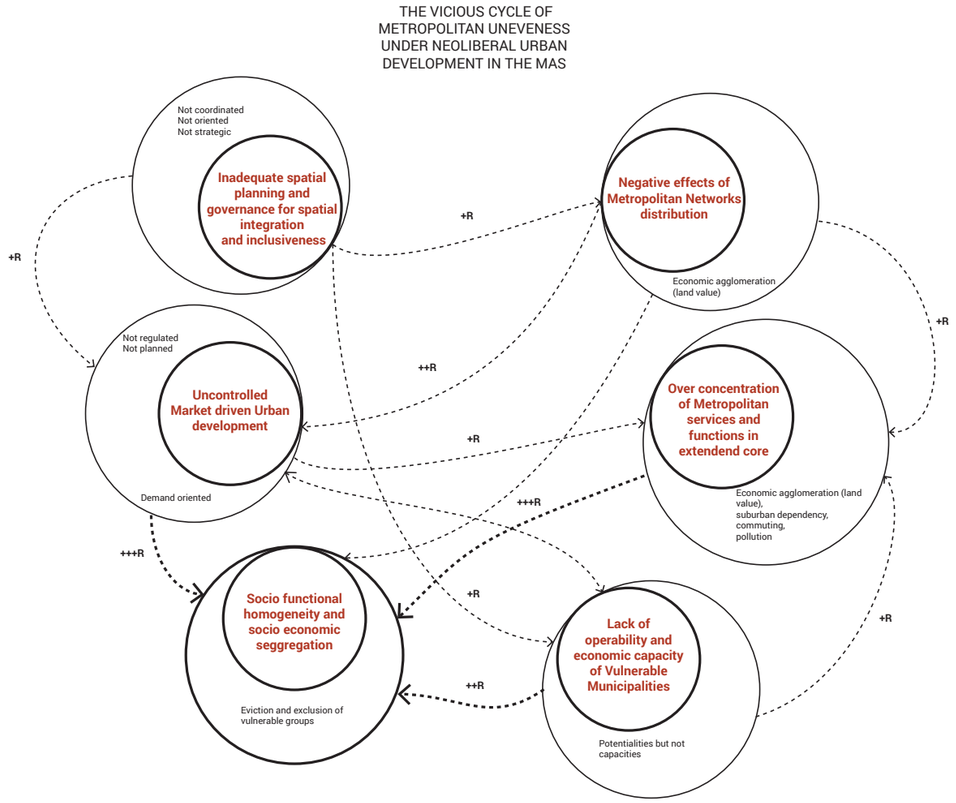
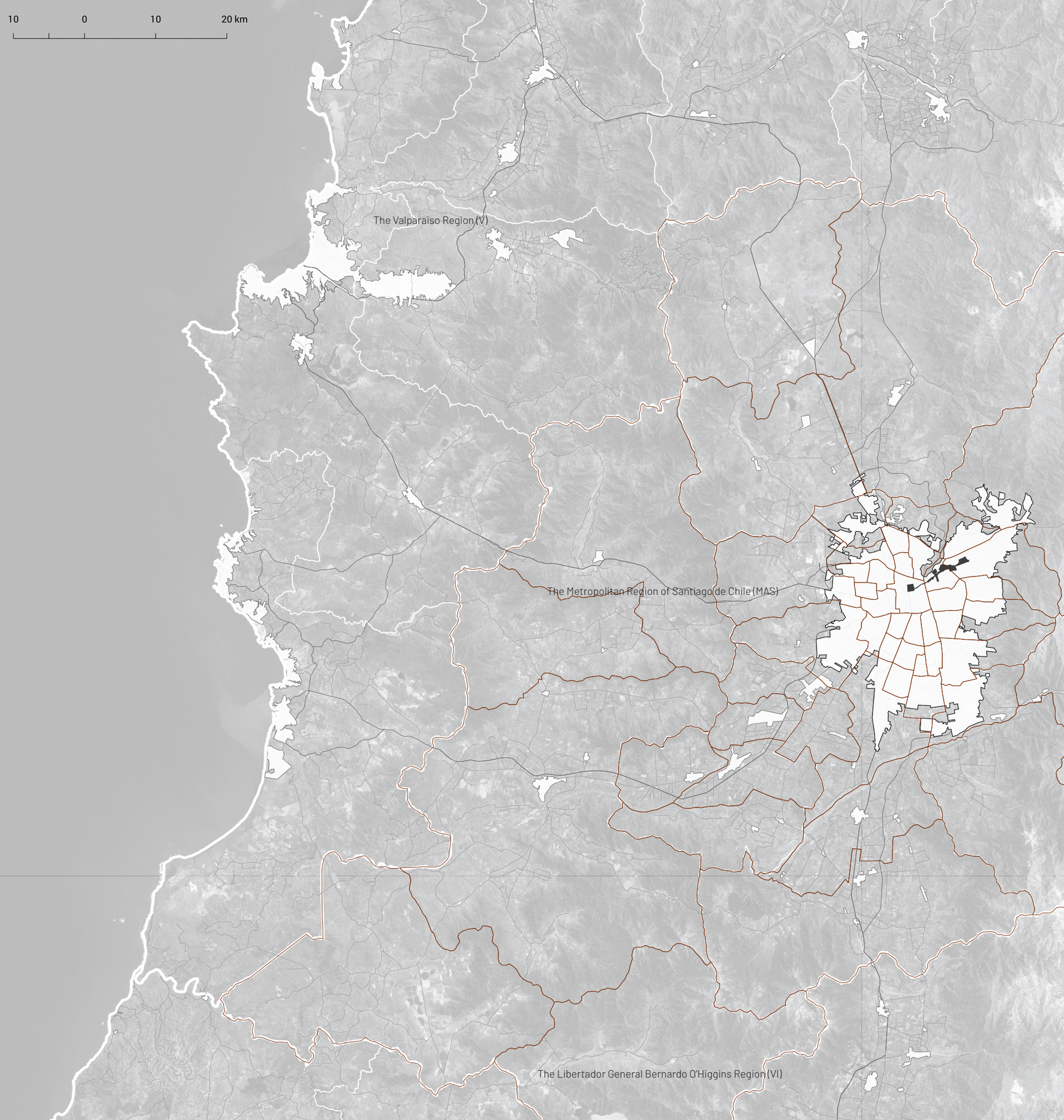


Fig. 5. Dynamic complexity scheme explaining seggregation, exclusion and eviction production within the Metropolization process. Own elaboration.



The Macro mega region

The macro central zone of Chile (composed by three contiguous regions of intensive exchange: Valparaíso (V), O'Higgins (VI) and Metropolitan) acquires a meaningful potential role in terms of global markets, not only for its demographic and economic relevance, but also for its strong centralization and therefore its considerable quantitative and qualitative infrastructure.
Actually, the V, VI and Metropolitan regions represent more than half of the population in Chile and almost 60% of the geographical product of the country.

The Metropolitan area of Santiago (MAS)

Santiago de Chile is the capital and largest city of Chile as well as one of the largest cities in the Americas. It is the center of Chile's largest and the most densely populated conurbation, the Santiago Metropolitan Region, whose total population is 7.112.808 million (INE, 2017). The city is entirely located in the country's central valley, limited by the Andes Mountain (East) and by the Coast Mountain chain (West). Most of the city lies between 500 m (1,640 ft) and 650 m (2,133 ft) above sea level.

In administrative terms, Santiago does not constitute a single administrative unit, but forms part of the territory of at least 37 communes, of which 26 are completely within the urban radius and 11 with some part outside it. Most of the metropolis is located within the province of Santiago, with some communes within the provinces of Cordillera, Maipo and Talagante.

The metropolitan area concentrates the most significant amount of metropolitan services and significantly sales of the national product for global importation, especially regarding mining and forestry (Vergara, 2018). In the map, the polygon in black represents 42.5% of sales of mining companies and 66.61% of sales of forestry companies, coincidentally with the most attractive economic areas in the Capital: The Municipal areas of Las Condes, Vitacura, Providencia and Santiago.

Fig 6. Map of the Macro Mega region of Chile, showing the preeminence of the Metropolitan Area of Santiago (MAS) with the area of operation of Minery and Forsestry in terms of Global sales. Source: Own elaboration based on Vergara, 2018.

Governance structure

The Urban governance model in Chile has historically been highly centralized, fragmented and sectoral. Therefore, decision-making has been concentrated mainly at the level of administrative units of the state: Ministries. On the other hand, ministries work through silos, having different attributions related to different scales. This characteristic generates difficulties in the coordination of policies, investments and projects, together with high levels of bureaucracy for the approval of measures at the local level (Vicuña del Río, 2013).

Furthermore, the set of normative and legal figures of the planning model is highly hierarchical, which finally reduces the attributions of the Municipalities only to issues of functional zoning without land management inference. Therefore, the land use rigidity of these instruments restricts possibilities of development, something especially critical to the most vulnerable municipalities.

In this way, as pointed out by Jimenez (2018), planning instruments and urban development policies have worked in interaction with neoliberal policies, indirectly deepening urban segregation.

Planning authorities

As indicated in figure 7, the authorities involved according to management, regulation and investment are varied and obey different institutional units. Among the most important ones:

- The Ministry of housing and urbanism (MINVU), which is on charge of the promotion of housing, urban paving and public space together with the regulation of land and buildings. It is also the promotor of housing subsidies.

- The Ministry of public works (MOP), which is the responsible for the design and control of public Inter regional infrastructure and public building.

- The Ministry of transport and telecommunications (MTT), which is the responsible for the planning and control of the public-private transport system and telecommunications.

- The Ministry of the environment (ME), which is on charge of the evaluation and environmental mitigation of the different infrastructure projects.

- The Ministry of Finance (MF), which is responsible for the establishment and collection of property taxes on private property.

- The Regional Government (GORE), which is on charge of the approval of regional and intercommunal plans.

- The Municipalities, which are on charge of the Communal Plans, management of the local infrastructure and building regulations.

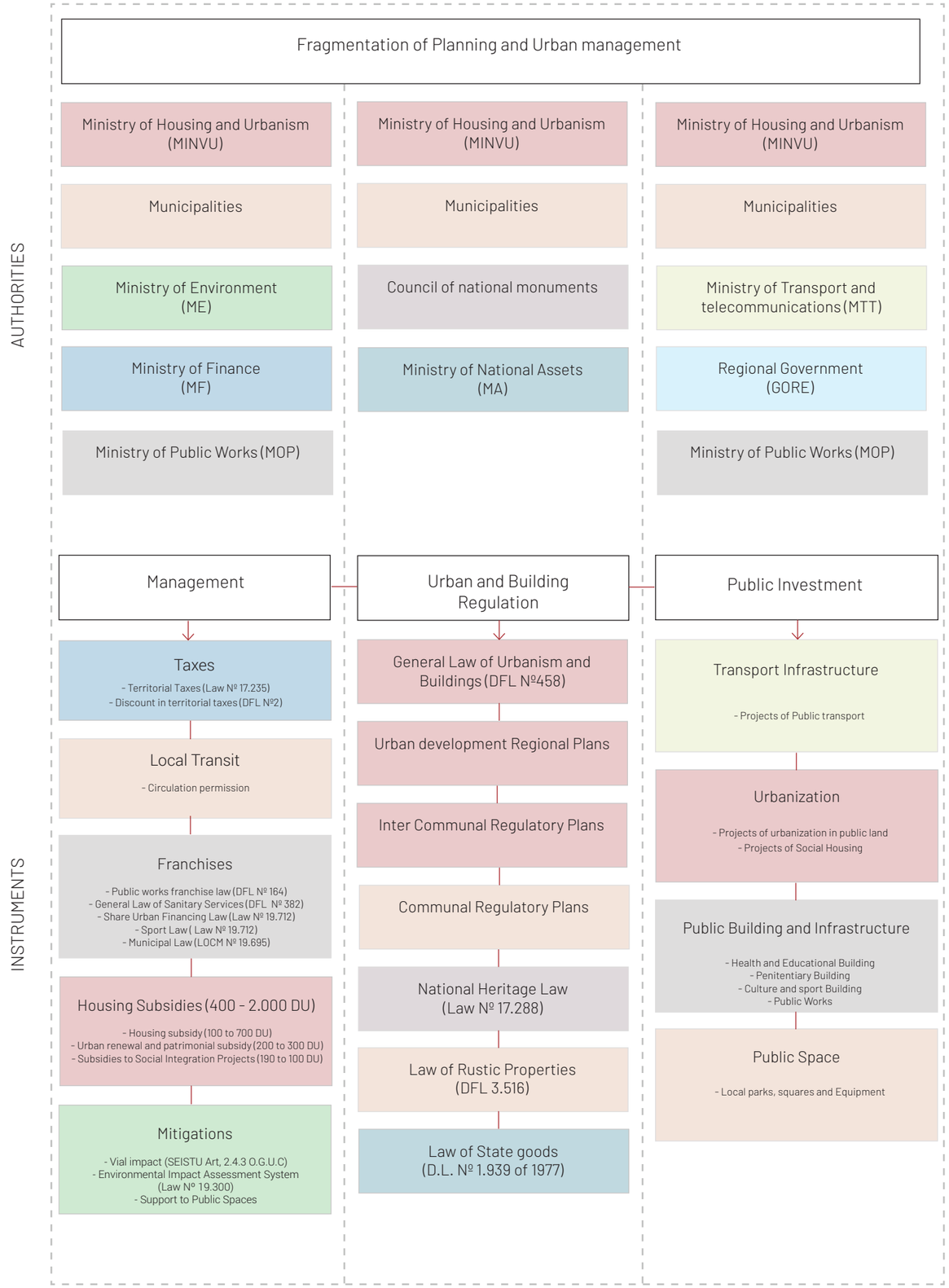


Fig. 7. Chilean Framework of Public Urban Magamente according character, institutionality and type of law. Own ellaboration.

Urban legislation and Urban development plans

Chilean urban legislation obeys a statutory and land use planning model. It is structured under different hierarchical regulations, which are defined by both the legislative branch and the executive branch.

Under the Political constitution, the main laws are the following:

1. General Law of Urban Planning and Constructions (LGUC): The law has a normative, non-prospective character and is defined by the legislative power. The main objective of the law is to define the principles, attributions, responsibilities and regulations that govern the actions of urban planning, urbanization and construction.

2. General Urban Planning and Construction Ordinance (OGUC): It is also a law of a normative nature, not prospective and defined by the legislative power. It contains the regulatory provisions and regulates the administrative process of planning, urbanization and construction. At the same time, it provides technical design standards for the building.

3. Technical Standards: They are developed by technical institutions and approved at the executive level. They contain and define the technical characteristics of systems of construction and urbanization for compliance with the OGUC.

4. Territorial Planning Instruments (IPT): Correspond to territorial development plans at different scales. Their function is to guide and regulate the development of urban centers according to a national, regional and / or communal policy. Each of its parts has normative value: memories, ordinances and plans. However, they do not constitute spatial design plans. They are divided into the following types according to their scale and hierarchy (in order):

4.1 Regional Plans for Urban Development (PRDU): They are indicative and developed by the MINVU. Its aproval depends on the GORE. Their objective is to guide the development of the urban centers of the regions in a time framework of approximately 15 years.

4.2 Regulatory Plans Communal (PRI) or Metropolitan (PRM): They are normative and developed by the MINVU also. Plans in areas over 500.000 inhabitants are considered Metropolitan. They regulate the physical development (zoning and road) of urban and rural areas of various communes.

4.3 Communal Regulatory Plans (PRC): They are normative and developed by the municipalities. They are focused on the local administrative area, in accordance with the objectives of the Communal Development Plan, the PRI and the PRDU. They are zoning plans and refer to the use of land, location of facilities, road hierarchy, urban limits and building regulation.

As can be summarized, the structure of Chilean governance is distributed in different Ministries, which obey different scales of management and type of infrastructure. In concrete terms, this dispersion generates a fragmentation of public and private interventions with a low level of multisectoral integration, thus enhancing the spatial fragmentation.

Additionally, the legal authority in terms of normative is mainly concentrated at the central government level. In this sense, the municipalities do not have independence nor effective tools to guide their development at the local level. This process is finally subsumed in the determination of the plans developed at ministerial level, without greater coordination with specific local needs, mainly affecting the poorest municipalities.

The National Policy of Urban Development

In response to the territorial challenges mentioned before, the Chilean Government has promulgated a presidential mandate (2014) in order to create a National policy of urban development (PNDU) to be implemented in the medium-long term. The Government

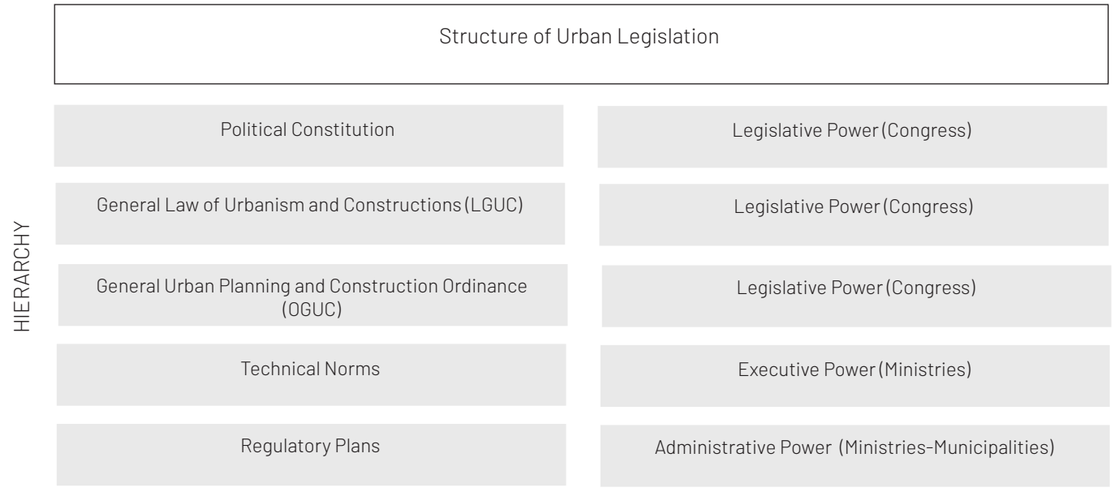


Fig.8. Hierarchical distribution of Urban legislation instruments.
Own ellaboration based on documents of CNDU.



Fig.9. Hierarchical distribution of Plans according to scales and normative character.
Own ellaboration based on documents of CNDU.

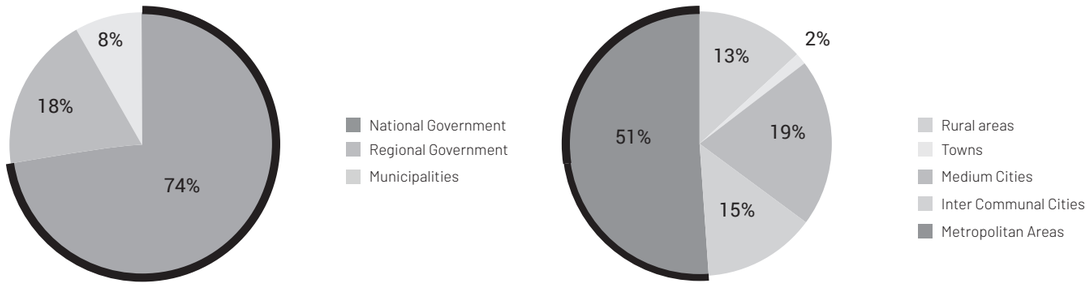


Fig.10. Pie chart on the left shows the distribution / concentration of fiscal spending.
Pie chart on the right shows the percentage of inhabitants by type of settlement nationwide.
Own ellaboration based on information of Ministry of Social Developmnent.

outlined three actions: set up a National Council for Urban Development (CNDU), a gradual Implementation of an an Agenda for Integrated Urban Governance (2018) and a set of recommendations for reforms to the State. As a result of the Council's work, the PNDU ellaborated three integrated reforms:

1. A policy of land and social integration, whose main objective is to counteract urban segregation and ensure social integration. In this regard, the main aspects emphasize expanding the public capacities for social integration and guarantee urban and territorial equity standards.

2. A New urban governance that seeks to guarantee Institutional integration based on territorial cohesion. This reform is based mainly in the increase on democratization and decentralization in the management of cities, by transferring resources and planning policies to regions and municipalities.

3. An Integrated Urban planning whose objective is to unite the different urban plans and projects. This reform seeks mainly integrating spaces for associativity and citizen participation in the urban plans and projects and diversify the types of instruments to respond to diverse local urban needs.

Criticism and discussions

It is expected that these changes will occur gradually once the regional governors act is enacted (2020). Notwithstanding the foregoing, the road map drawn by the PNDU and designed by the CNDU has not been exempt from observations and criticism. These have been mainly related to the change of the organizational paradigm and its implications in the political power distribution.

On the one hand, one aspect is related with the difficulties and resistances that could represent a transition towards a non-hierarchical and inter-sectorial model between ministerial units that historically have operated individually and with different logics and objectives. On the other hand, the difficulties inherent to decentralization, which implies assuming a new distribution and agreement of political and economic power among different governmental actors. This point also highlights the level of decentralization of strategic faculties especially towards the local municipal level.

Considering these previous observations, it is questionable whether the capacities of the regional Governors to guide this process will be sufficient, especially in a context of high asymmetries of power. Therefore, this point is connected with the criticism of the neoliberal policies introduced during the last decades and with the accountability of the state.

Finally, the Governance model proposed will demand inherently a new way to understand the territory and their actors, beyond the rational and jurisdictional rigid limits that at the same time, have encouraged a narrow comprehension of the urban.

As a conclusion, beyond the consensus in the diagnosis and the proposal of the PNDU and the CNDU, the questions refer to the effectiveness of the implementation of the developed agendas and, therefore, to the types of mechanisms and specific capacities that the different territorial communities should have to overcome their territorial issues.

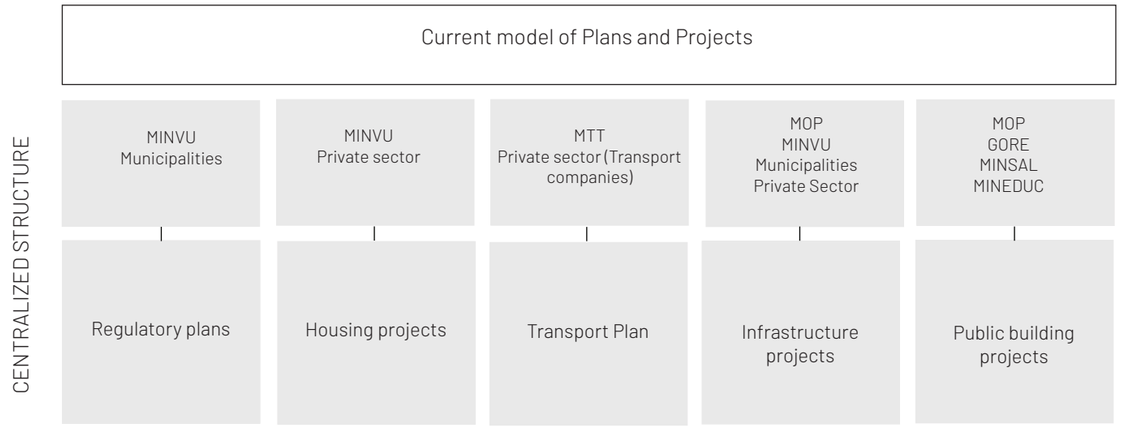


Fig.11. Distribution of Plans and Projects according to Ministry or Public Government Unit.
Own ellaboration based on documents of CNDU.

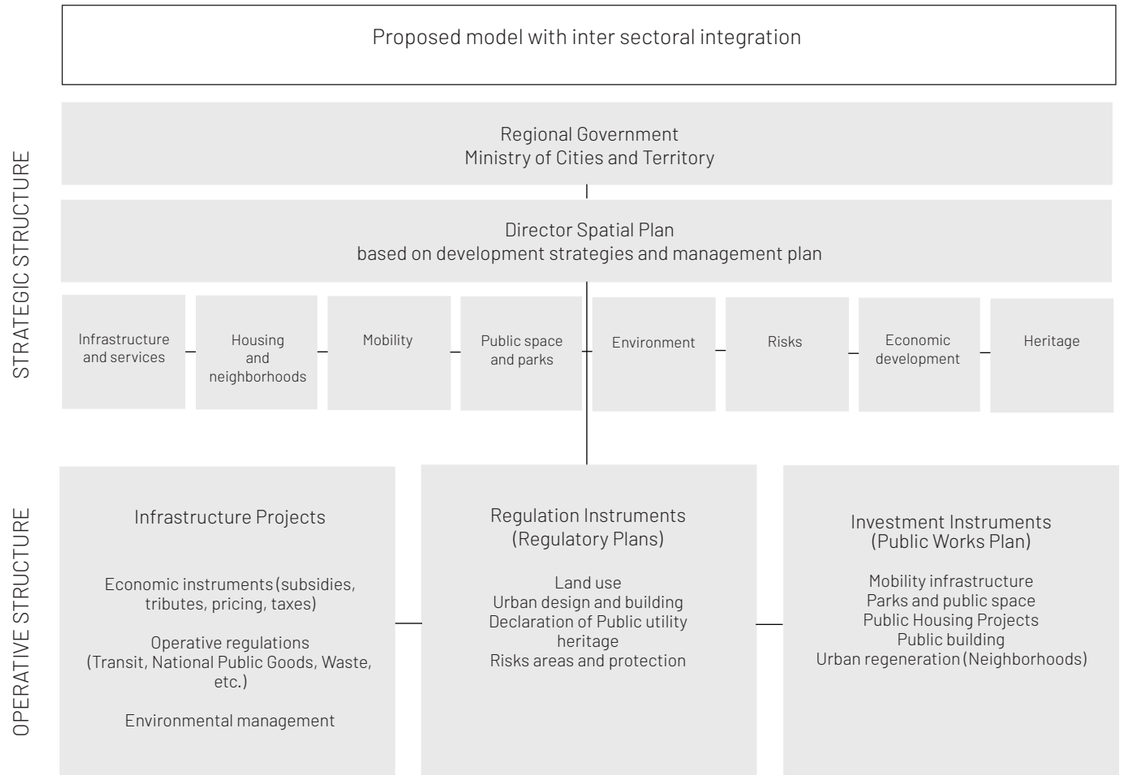


Fig.12. Proposed Model of inter sectoral integration according to PNDU and CNDU.
Own ellaboration based on documents of CNDU.

Historical evolution of urban segregation

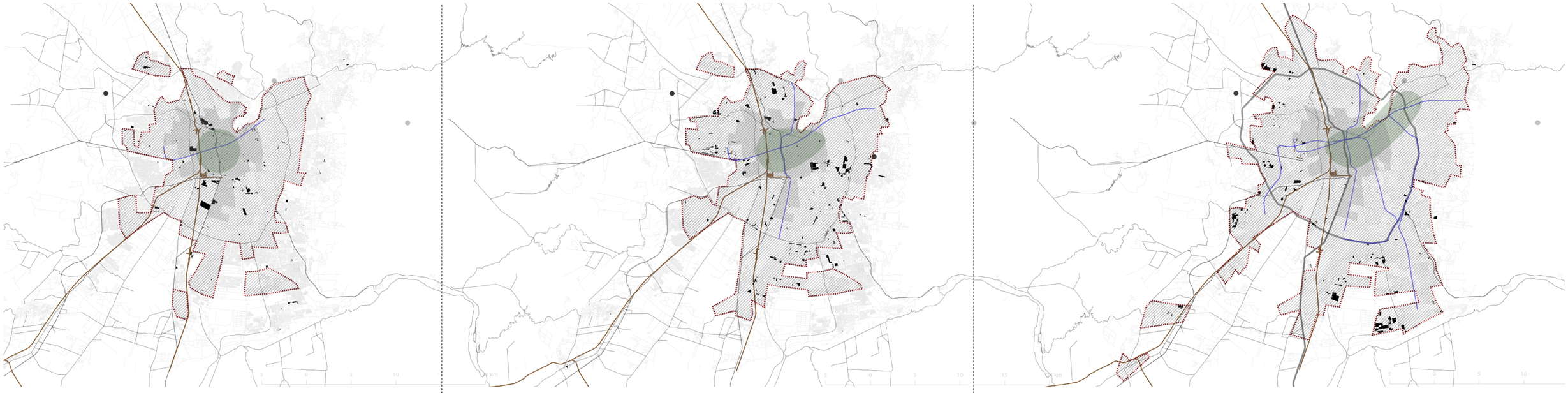
As noted at the beginning of the chapter, the process of socio-spatial segregation in Santiago has been influenced by specific policies, in which the real estate market and franchised infrastructures have had a privileged role. On the other hand, this development has been benefited by the lack of foresight of the current model of Governance.

As Garretón (2017) has identified, during the last four decades, the parceled actions taken by the different Ministries of Housing, Public works and Transportation, privileged the creation of mono-residential areas of social housing, or low income, in pericentral and peripheral areas.

Lopez (2013) characterizes this model of urban development as Pro managerial urbanism because it privileges the action of the real estate sector, which finally defines when and where the development is done. Indeed, real estate developers invest in municipal areas which already concentrates or will implement basic public infrastructure (Galilea, 1988). In this way, the surplus value generated by the public provision of infrastructure is captured primarily by the developers.

As it was mentioned above, it is relevant to understand that the phenomenon of eviction and spatial exclusion has developed over the last three decades in different institutional periods. However, as Garretón (2017) recognizes, these actions are materialized through the specific introduction of policies at the level of central state.

In the following pages a timeline is shown indicating the main policies and conformations of mono-residential areas together with the main metropolitan interventions developed during the last six decades.



1960–1973: Developmental State

Societal and political events

- High levels of migration from countryside.
- Santiago concentrates national demographic and economic growth.

Public works, infrastructure and transport

- Metropolitan Plan for Santiago (PRI) - 1960.
- From 1934, development of CBD in Santiago downtown district.

Planning

- Creation of MINVU; centralization of social housing policies – 1965.

1975–1990: Neoliberal Dictatorship

- Military Coup (1973).
- Dictatorial Constitution: creation of the Subsidiary state (1980).

- Inauguration of Santiago's Subway – Metro (1975).
- Construction of Inter urban highways, in spite of railways deterioration.
- Disolution of National Transport Enterprise and total deregulation of Urban transport.
- Creation of MTT (1981): Autonomy of transport policies.

- National Urban Policy (PNDU): massive erradications and market driven planning (1979).
- Extension of urban limits (DS 420, 1979), and allowance of suburban parcels (DL 3.516, 1980)
- Social Housing developments in greater Santiago.

1990–Now: Neoliberal democracy

- Recovery of Democracy: Creations of foreign markets and opening to foreign capital (1990).
- Start of civil contestation cycle against market deregulation (2006).
- Specialization in subventions and weakening of public planning in favor of private expertise.

- Presidential decree allows franchises (MOP Nº161) (1991).
- Franchised Urban Highways in Greater Santiago, increase of motorization (1999).
- Strong public opposition to new highways (2006).
- Integration and expansion of Metro (2007).

- Increasing funds for housing deficits: Massive social housing in the periphery (1991)
- Plan for Santiago repopulation regeneration subsides (1991)
- High rise deregulation and downtown gentrification (1995). Land value capture from Real estate market.

Legend

- Urban limit until 1945.
- Current Urban limit.
- Social Housing build in the refered period.
- Central Business District
- Metro Network
- Railway

Fig. 13. Map Timeline of historic evolution of Urban structure during the last five decades in the MAS. Own ellaboration based on Figueroa and Rodriguez (2013) and Garretón (2017).

The evolution of the Metropolitan plans

A relevant aspect to understand the metropolitan conformation of Santiago, is related to its different Intercommunal plans and the visions that they wanted to concretize. As previously indicated, these instruments have historically had an indicative rather than a normative character. Despite this condition, their objectives and scope were determined according to the specific needs of each historical moment, and to a certain extent they sought to contribute to the integrated and organic growth of the City.

In this sense, although some aspects were achieved, as in the case of certain centralities and metropolitan connections in the first Plan in 1960 (Galetovic and Aravena, 2006), the historical interaction between factors of different order, exceeded the forecast of the planners, especially in subsequent Plans.

The lack of coordination of the different projects, the regulatory nature of the Plans and the emergence of neoliberal policies of urban development, privileged fragmented actions under diverse interests. In this way, the Urban development plans did not achieve their purpose, and ended up adjusting to the fait accompli of the fractured territorial growth.

On the other hand, the scalar principles of the Intercommunal plans were never articulated with the municipal communal scales. In other words, the Plans did not use a multi-scale model approach and privileged narrow actions top-down at the metropolitan level. This methodological omission also helps to explain why the developments and centralities have not necessarily contributed to overcome the problems of spatial integration and cohesion at local levels.

Finally, the analysis of the various plans will allow to see that there has also been a paradigm shift, from rational and comprehensive planning in 1960 to planning based on strategic and focalized projects. In this sense, planning seems to have omitted its physical dimension. Indeed, this last aspect has been one of the main points endorsed by the PNDU.

In the next page shows a chronology of the most important actions that have influenced in the metropolitan growth of the Santiago area in terms of planning. In addition, the following pages show the different Plans developed since 1960. For each case, its main objectives, scope and aspects not achieved are indicated.

Chronology

1960 First Inter communal plan of Santiago. It is considered the first and last Metropolitan vision for the Region of regional development for the Metropolitan area.

1979 Introduction of the Supreme decree Nº420 (National Policy of Urban development). The land is liberalized and the urban limit is expanded in 99.935 ha. It is considered the first neoliberal transformation in terms of deregulation and commodification of land.

1980 Introduction of Law decree Nº 3.516. The decree allowed the subdivision of rural properties outside of the urban limit. The action leads to a massive subdivision of rural land and its subsequent sale to developers.

1985 Introduction of the New Policy of Urban Development. It disables the decree Nº420.

1994 The Metropolitan regulator plan is approved, by reducing the potential urbanized area to 62.303 ha. The Plan is considered a sort of antithesis to the idea of horizontal urban expansion. The urban area is delimited according the "real" urban growth experienced the previous decade.

1997 Comuna de Chacabuco is added (elevates land use to 74,335 ha). The concept of "Conditional Urban Planning" appears with the "Zones of conditioned urban development" (ZODUC). The new instruments constitute a particular form of strategic planning for the provision of housing for the middle and high income sectors. Since then, a public-private partnership is promoted to densify specific areas.

2003 Projects of Urban development conditioned (floating ZODUC) in areas of forestry and farming interest are allowed.

2006 The 52 Communes of the Metropolitan region are regulated by the Metropolitan Regulatory Plan, adding the Rural Communes of Curacavi, María Pinto, Melipilla, San Pedro, Alhue, El Monte, Talagante, Isla de Maipo, Peñaflor, Padre Hurtado, Buin and Paine. The action starts a new process of urbanization in peri urban areas.

2010 The last Metropolitan regulator plan is approved, by incorporating 10.262 ha of extension in rural areas. The proposal considers a total hectares of extension and reconversion: 9.473 of them are extension and new territories are annexed to the communes of Quilicura, Pudahuel, Maipú, San Bernardo and La Pintana.

2013 Creation of the "Urbanized areas of conditional conversion" (ZURC) and the "Conditional urban areas" (ZUC) in Quilicura, Pudahuel, Maipú, San Bernardo, La Pintana, Renca and Puente Alto. The new figures encourage a process of residential gentrification in central urban areas and gated communities in peri urban areas.

10 0 10 20 km

The Micro regional plan of 1960

In 1960, the first Metropolitan Plan with bio-regional principles was developed. The comprehensive plan established an urban use of 38.600 ha. It was built on the basis of three main principles. Firstly, to protect and recover the agricultural resources and the ecology of the region and secondly, to form sub urban centers of different sizes and specialties, distributed according to transport corridors. The last aspect was the productive aspect. The aim was to enable mining production areas. In turn, the Plan established a zoned urban area, an urban expansion area and a protected rural area.

However, the Plan could not foresee the pressure for the migration of the countryside and the city, and in reality its limits were contravened.

Finally, the upcoming changes with the military coup would implies new transformations for planning.

Legend
- Rural land
- Urban Area
- Urban cores
- Industrial areas
- Centralities
- Metro line
- Highroad network
- Railway

10 0 10 20 km

The urban limit extension of 1979

In 1979 the supreme decree 420 was approved. The decree declared the land as a non-scarce good. The policy was strongly influenced by the ideas of Arnold Harberger, who pointed out that if the urban area were limited, the price of the urbanizable land would increase and the rural price would decrease, distorting the market. However, after the law was launched, the city did not grow at the expected rate since one of the development criteria was that the real estate sector should finance the urbanization (Galetovic and Aravena, 2006). A more significant aspect was related with decree of law 3.516, which allowed to subdivide the rustic land with. In practice, the law allowed the massive purchase of cheap land beyond the urban limit.

Finally, the new urban development policy introduced a different paradigm of planning. The concept of "objective image", focused on design (vision), was abandoned, and replaced by a land use planning that could be adapted to the requirements of the urban economic system.

Legend
- Rural land
- Urban Area
- Urban cores
- Urban Limit expansion
- Metro line
- Highroad network
- Railway

10 0 10 20 km

The Metropolitan regulator plan of 1994

In 1994, a new Metropolitan Regulatory Plan of Santiago was approved. The Plan included 37 Communes and added the Municipalities of San Bernardo, Puente Alto, San José de Maipo, Pirque and Calera de Tango. The Plan sought to regulate the growth of the metropolitan area.The aim was to develop sub-centralities, to densify the central area and to shrink the urban limit. It established three uses at the urban level: mixed housing areas, productive activities zones and industrial services (located in the extra radio ring of Americo Vespucio).

However, the Plan did not work as it was expected. On the one hand, the proposals of the instrument were modified with the launch of the ZODUC.

On the other hand, the Plan did not manage to concentrate greater density into the Americo Vespucio ring. While inside the ring, these communes lost population, three out of every four homes were built outside the ring. Finally, only the sub centers that had already been consolidated were able to consolidate: La Florida, Maipú and Puente Alto.

Legend
- Rural land
- Urban Area
- Urban cores
- Residential Expansion
- Industrial areas
- Centralities
- Metro line
- Highroad network
- Railway
- Americo Vespucio Ring

10 0 10 20 km

The Metropolitan regulator plan of 2010

In 2010, the last regulatory plan was issued to date, which was approved in 2011 and the year 2013 was finally modified. The project aims to extend the developable area by 10.262 ha in the north, west and south of the metropolitan area. The chosen lands correspond mainly to rural areas and industrial uses.

Of the total of the land destined to expansion, 65% is considered for residential uses under the instrument of Conditional Urban Areas. 27% goes to inter-communal parks and 8% to land that is already urban but changes from industrial to mixed residential. However, the Metropolitan plan only adds areas to urbanize under the preceding logic of urban extension. The figures of conditioned development remain, facilitating isolated and fragmented urban housing projects, without a clear metropolitan project.

Finally, to date, the CBD has been extended, while only three subcentralities have been relatively consolidated: La Florida, Maipú and Puente Alto.

Legend
- Rural land
- Urban Area
- Urban cores
- Residential expansion (2006)
- New areas for urbanization
- Sub centralities
- Metro line
- Metro line extension
- Highroad Network
- Railway
- Americo Vespucio Ring

Mapping the metropolitan structure

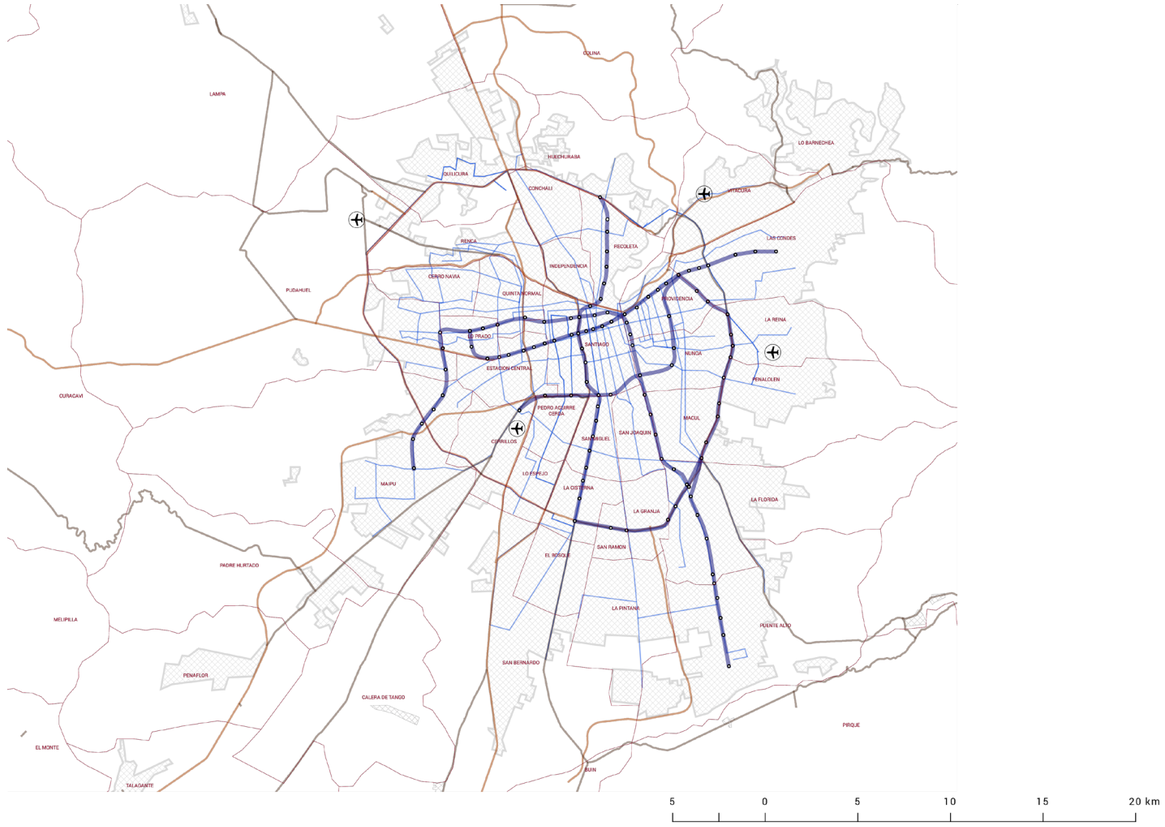
In the previuous sections the governance structure and the metropolitan plans were illustrated. This former analysis helps to understand the influence of these aspects in the conformation of the social segregation phenomenon in the MAS. The next section of the report focuses on the analysis of the metropolian structures and trends under the current situation of the MAS in terms of social, functional and economic distribution at a spatial level.

The mapping seeks to expose the asymmetric composition of the territory by revealing the main variables related with land value, provision of infrastructure and functionallity. This phenomenon can be appreciated in terms of economic concentration, wealth and vulnerability in relation with the different physical and functional structures of the MAS.

The maps focus on the following structures / processes:

1. Transport network infrastructure
2. Metropolitan functions
3. Wealth concentration
4. Real estate investment concentration.
5. Land value evolution
6. Vulnerable areas
7. Commuting
8. Green structure and environmental risk
9. Population variation
10. Migrants concentration
11. Index of quality of urban life

The maps are summarized with a Conclusion Map which defines the most critical Municipal areas.



Legend

Main Transport network infrastructure

- Existent Metro lines
- High way network (concessioned)
- High way network (not concessioned)
- Main Transantiago Network
- Airports

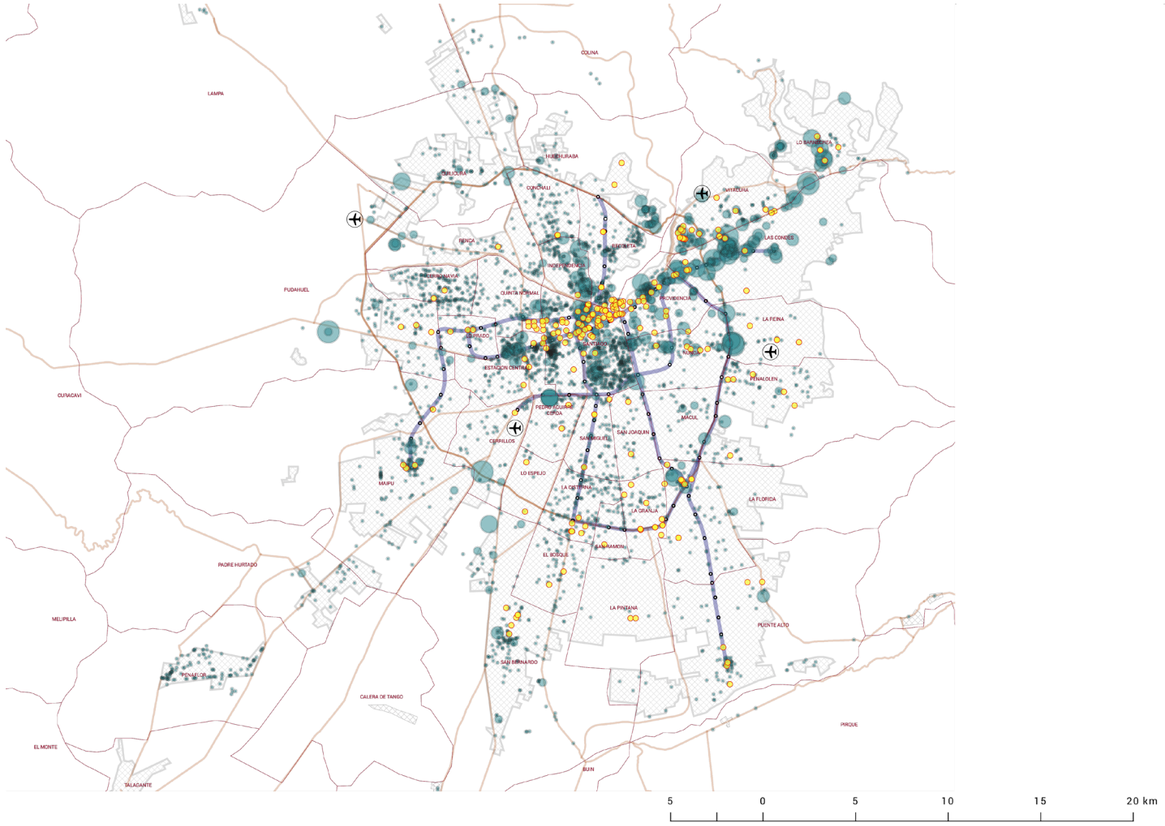
Administrative structure

- Municipality boundaries
- Urban boundary

Transport network infrastructure

The main metropolitan spatial Infrastructure is concentrated within and in the ring of Americo Vespucio. However, the urban highways only have fragmented the vulnerable areas.

Source of data: Own ellaboration based on data from CEDEUS observatory, National Institute of Statistics (Census 2002-2016-2017).



Legend

Main Transport network infrastructure

- Existent Metro lines
- Metropolitan High way network
- Airports

Administrative structure

- Municipality boundaries
- Urban boundary

Services/Offices/Commerce
Surface concentration (sqm2)

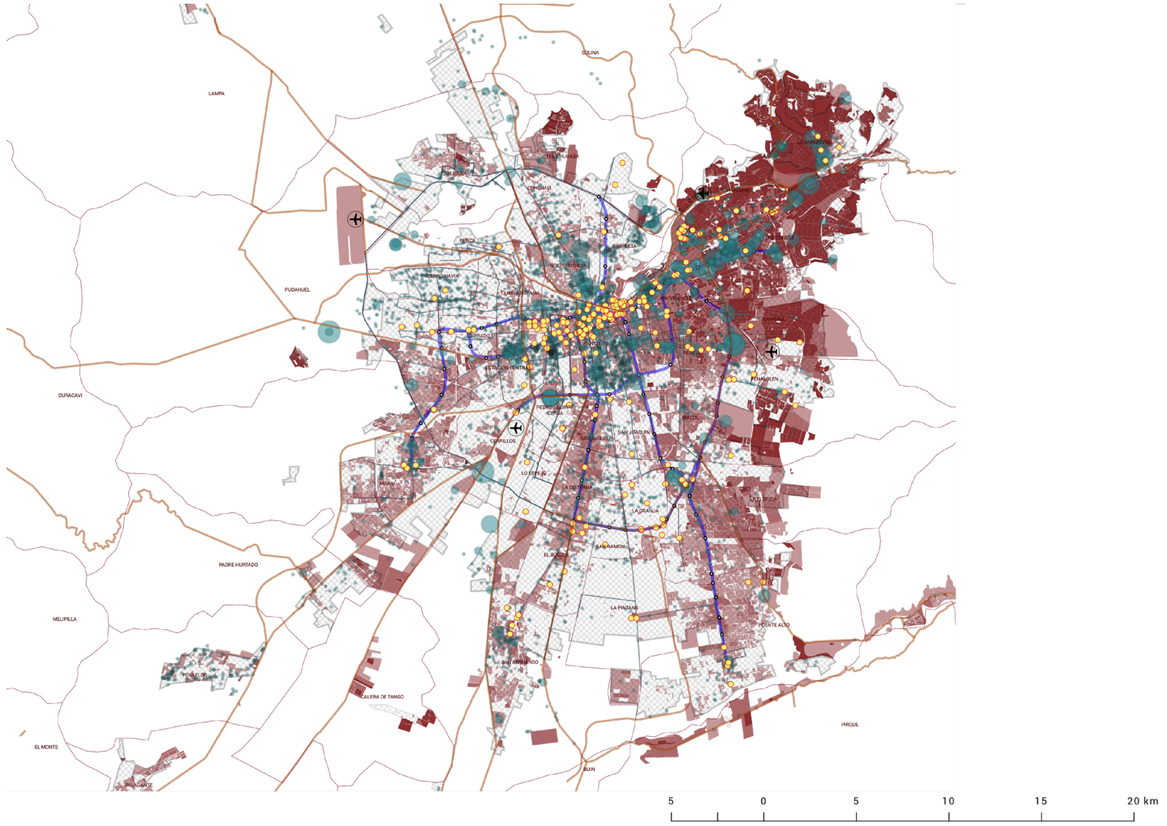
- 7.500
- 7.500 - 25.000
- 25.000 - 50.000
- 50.000 - 100.000
- 100.000 - 250.000

- Cultural Equipment

Metropolitan functions

Metropolitan services, offices, commerce and cultural functions are concentrated in the CBD and its sourroundings. Especifically in four Municipal areas: Las Condes, Vitacura, Santiago and Providencia. Sub services of commerces feed isolated parts of the periphery.

Source of data: Own ellaboration based on data from CEDEUS observatory, National Institute of Statistics (Census 2002-2016-2017).



Legend

Main Transport network infrastructure

- Existent Metro lines
- Metropolitan High way network
- Airports

Administrative structure

- Municipality boundaries
- Urban boundary

Services/Offices/Commerce
Surface concentration (sqm2)

- 7.500
- 7.500 - 25.000
- 25.000 - 50.000
- 50.000 - 100.000
- 100.000 - 250.000

- Cultural Equipment

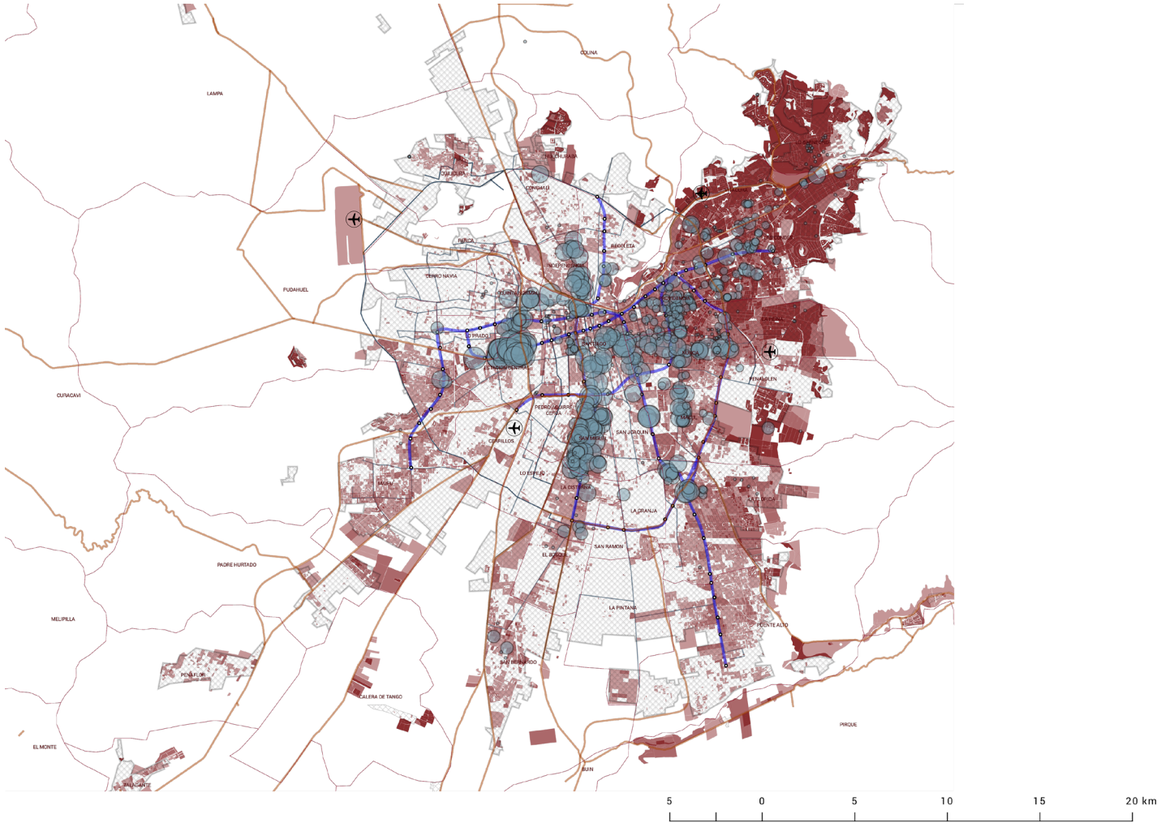
Socio Economic structure - Average income per household

- ABC1 : From € 2.487 to € 63.456
- C2 : From € 1.304 to € 2.487
- C3 : From € 811 to € 1.304

Wealth concentration

Two layers coincide with the most wealthy areas in the MAS: the concentration of Metro network, services, commerce and jobs.

Source of data: Own ellaboration based on data from CEDEUS observatory, National Institute of Statistics (Census 2002-2016-2017).



Legend

Main Transport network infrastructure

- Existent Metro lines
- Metropolitan High way network
- Airports

Administrative structure

- Municipality boundaries
- Urban boundary

Real State developments concentration 2010-2016
number of floors

- 2 - 6
- 6 - 11
- 11 - 17
- 17 - 24
- 24 - 38

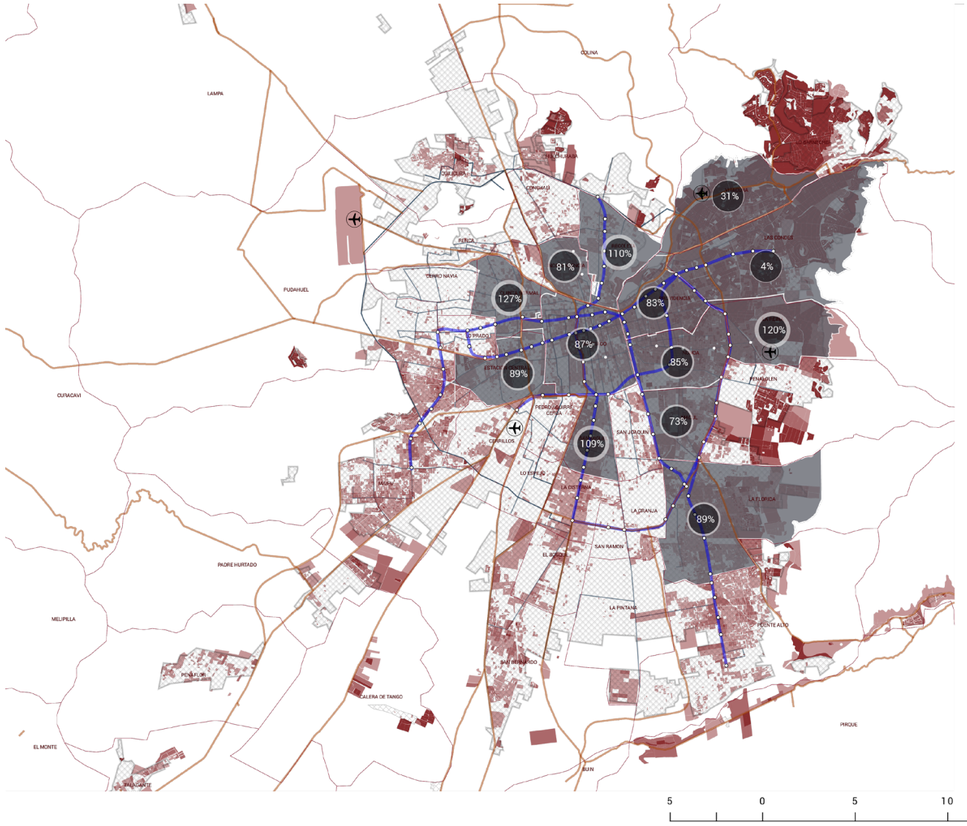
Socio Economic structure - Average income per household

- ABC1 : From € 2.487 to € 63.456
- C2 : From € 1.304 to € 2.487
- C3 : From € 811 to € 1.304

Real estate investment concentration

Main concentration of real estate investment is directly related to the distribution of Metro infrastructure in Communes with a weak regulatory building control.

Source of data: Own ellaboration based on data from CEDEUS observatory, National Institute of Statistics (Census 2002-2016-2017).



Legend

Main Transport network infrastructure

- Existent Metro lines
- Metropolitan High way network
- Airports

Administrative structure

- Municipality boundaries
- Urban boundary

Socio Economic structure - Average income per household

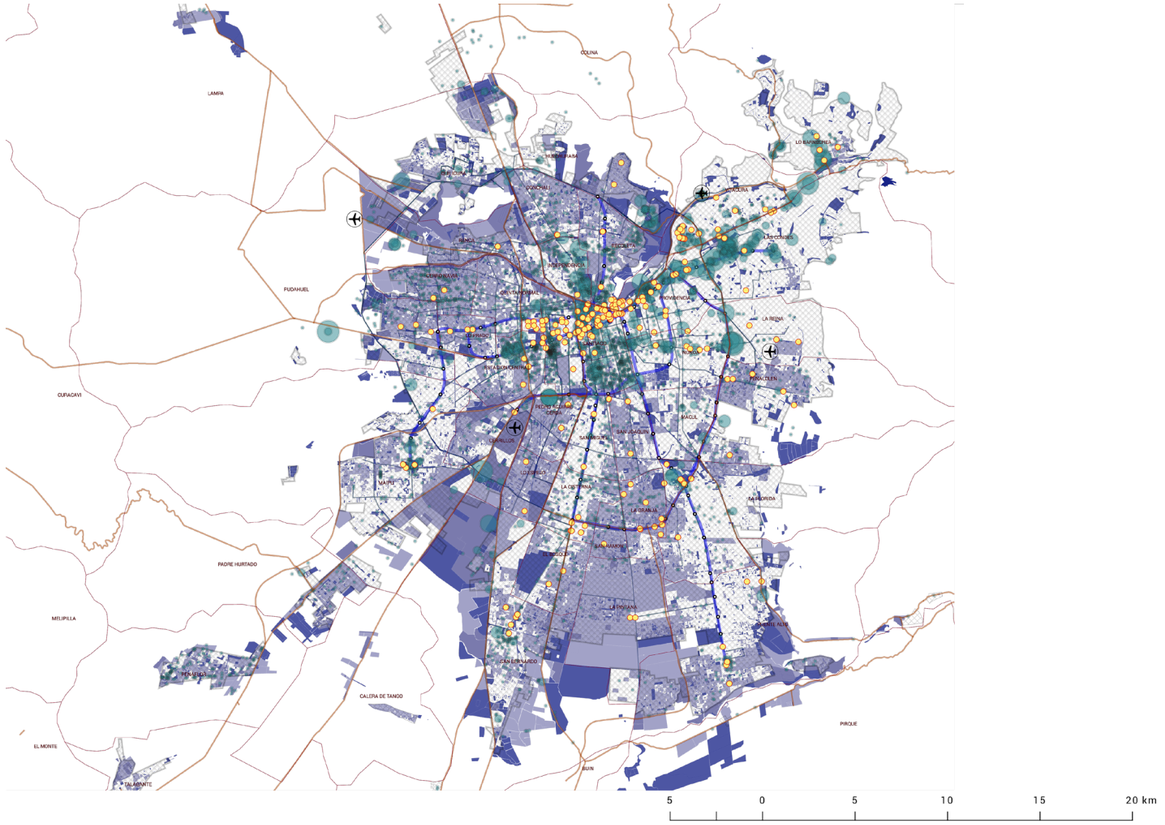
- ABC1 : From € 2.487 to € 63.456
- C2 : From € 1.304 to € 2.487
- C3 : From € 811 to € 1.304

Variation in land value in percentage between 2008/2016

Land value evolution

Consistenly with the investment in the economic agglomeration, the land value has increased in the same area.

Source of data: Own ellaboration based on data from CEDEUS observatory, National Institute of Statistics (Census 2002-2016-2017) and ´Diario Financiero´(Finance Journal), retrieved from: https://www.df.cl/noticias/empresas/construccion/precio-del-suelo-se-dispara-en-santiago-cinco-comunas-duplican-valores/2016-02-19/201815.html



Legend

Main Transport network infrastructure

- Existent Metro lines
- Metropolitan High way network
- Bus rapid transit system (Transantiago)
- Airports

Administrative structure

- Municipality boundaries
- Urban boundary

Services/Offices/Commerce
Surface concentration (sqm2)

- 7.500
- 7.500 - 25.000
- 25.000 - 50.000
- 50.000 - 100.000
- 100.000 - 250.000

- Cultural Equipment

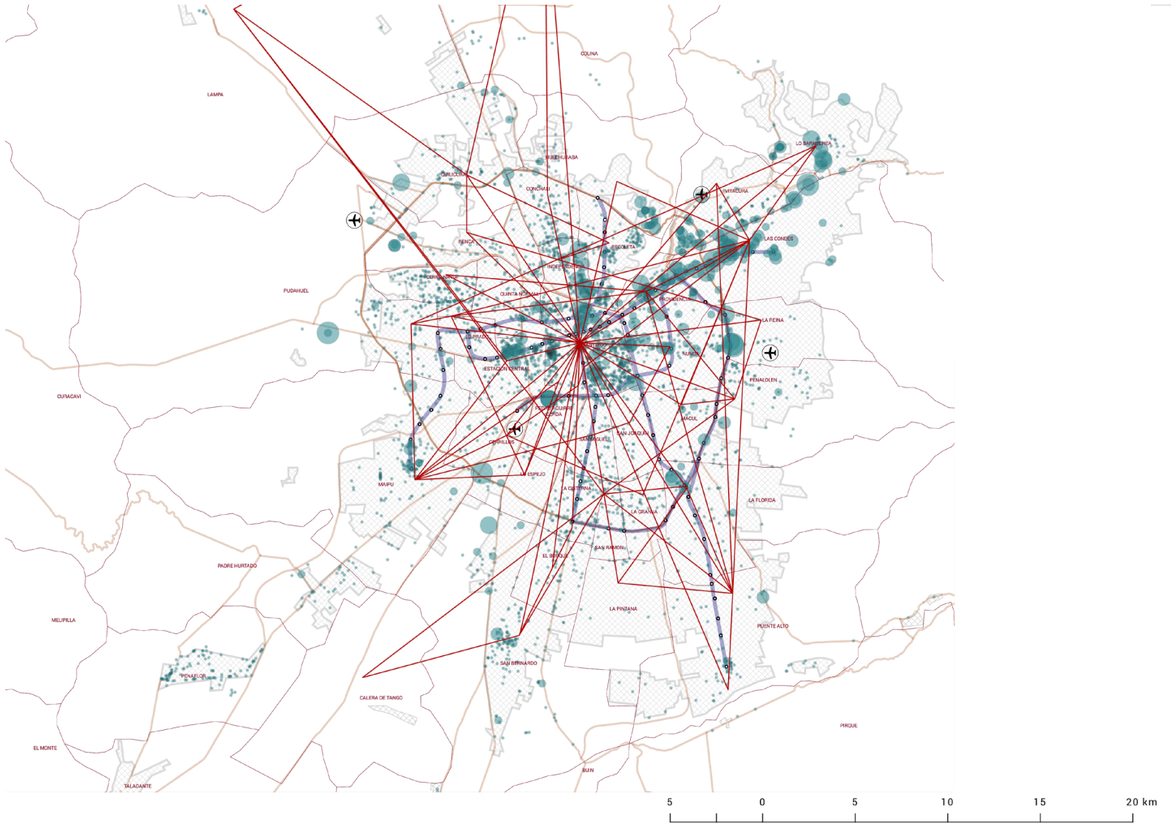
Socio Economic structure - Average income per household

- D : From € 366 to € 811
- E : Until € 366
- Without information

Vulnerable areas

To rest of the MAS, the lower socio economic groups are concentrated in monofunctional residential areas of low density without substantial access to services and infrastructure.

Source of data: Own ellaboration based on data from CEDEUS observatory, National Institute of Statistics (Census 2002-2016-2017).



Legend

Main Transport network infrastructure

- Existent Metro lines
- Metropolitan High way network
- Airports

Administrative structure

- Municipality boundaries
- Urban boundary

Services/Offices/Commerce
Surface concentration (sqm2)

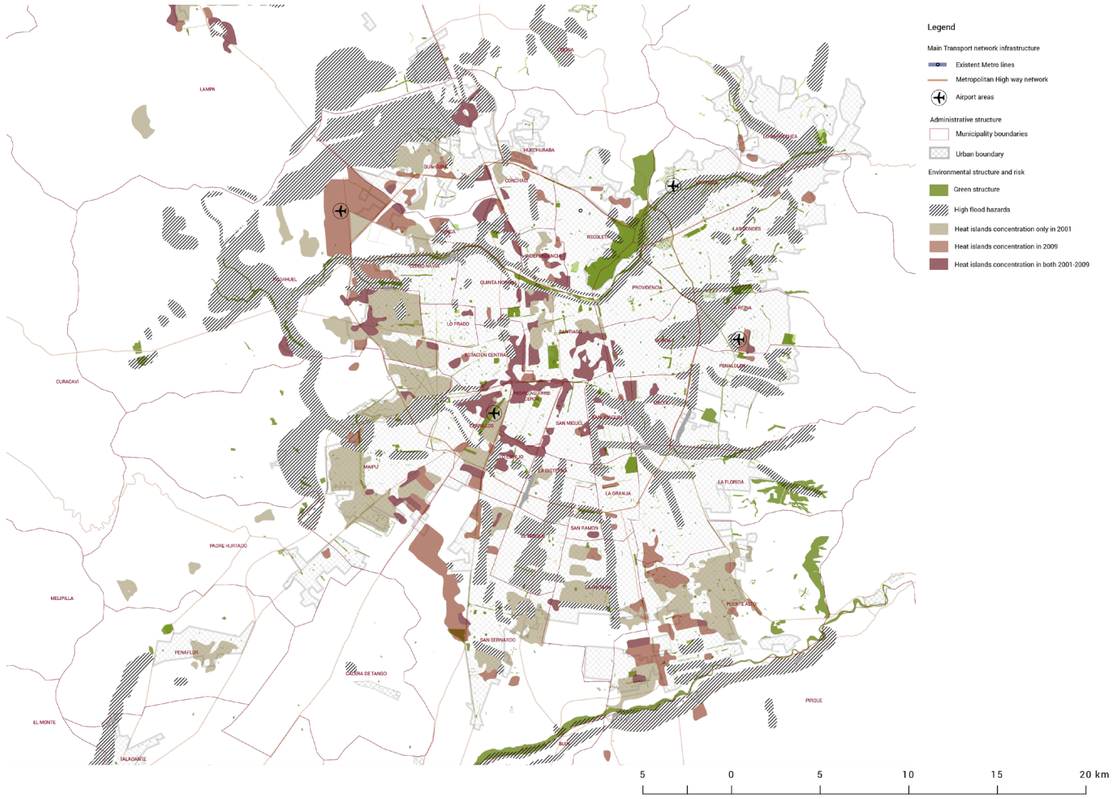
- 7.500
- 7.500 - 25.000
- 25.000 - 50.000
- 50.000 - 100.000
- 100.000 - 250.000

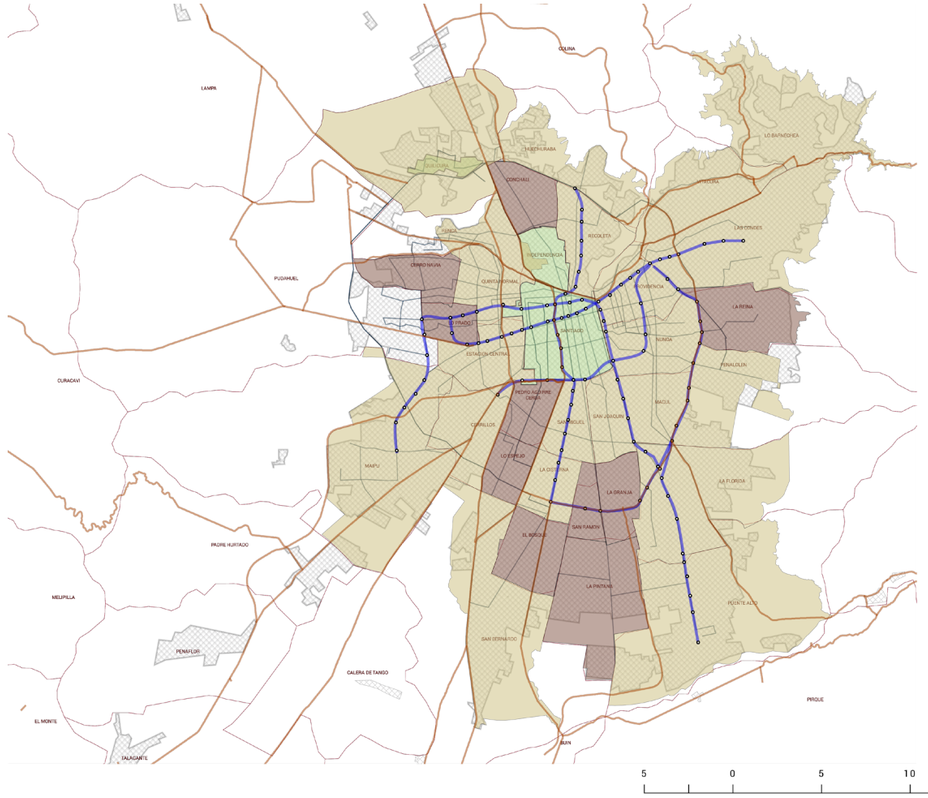
- Commuting

Commuting

Main daily trips are realized from the periphery to the Center or the CBD, which coincides with the concentration of global and national metropolitan services and functions.

Source of data: Own ellaboration based on data from CEDEUS observatory, National Institute of Statistics (Census 2002-2016-2017) and Figueroa and Rodriguez (2013) .





Green structure and environmental risk

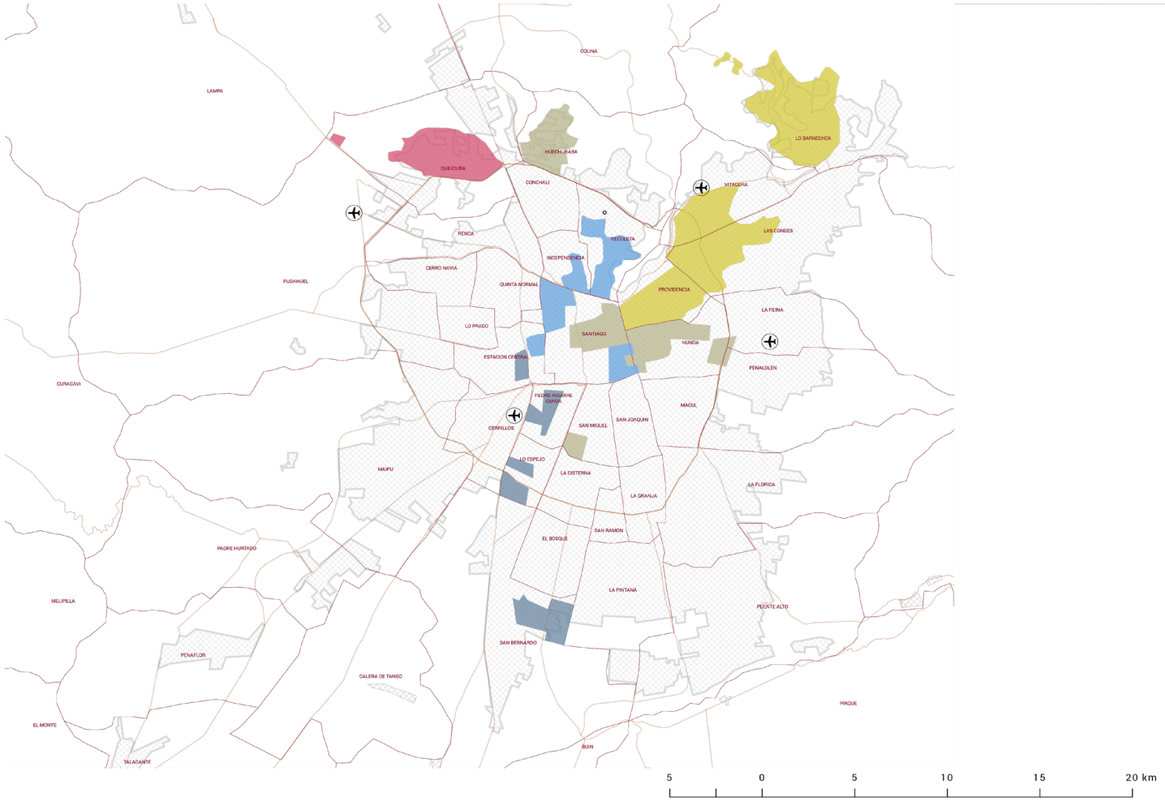
Green structure is mainly concentrated in the CBD municipal areas. Althoug these areas also present risk of flooding due to the presence of the river basin, we can observe clearly that flooding risk and heat island effects have more distributed and concentrated in the peri urban or suburban areas of the MAS. Coincidantally with areas that have green structure scarcity.

Source of data: Own ellaboration based on data from CEDEUS observatory, National Institute of Statistics (Census 2002-2016-2017) and Kreller et al. 2013.

Population variation

According to the last census eight vulnerable Communes are losing population, specifically those that are more disconnected from metropolitan services and infrastructure.

Source of data: Own ellaboration based on data from CEDEUS observatory, National Institute of Statistics (Census 2002-2016-2017).



Legend

Main Transport network infrastructure

- Existent Metro lines
- Metropolitan High way network
- Airport areas

Administrative structure

- Municipality boundaries
- Urban boundary

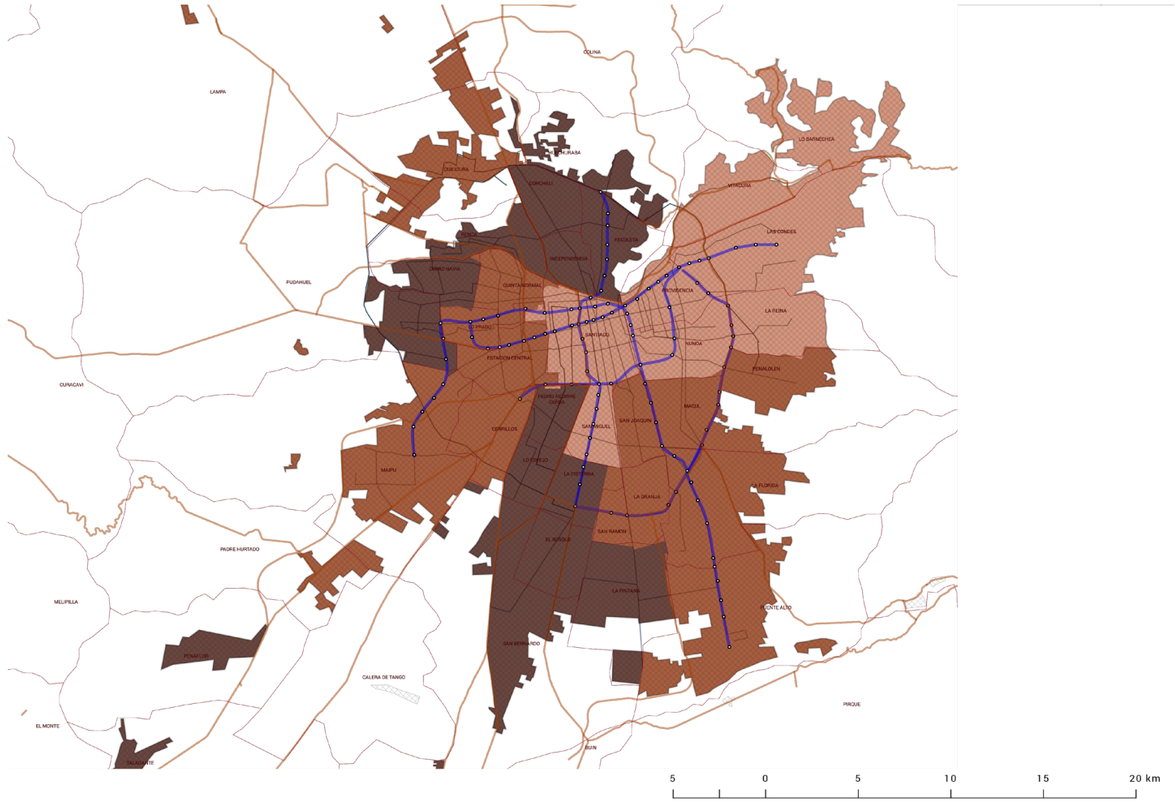
Migrants in relation to country of origin

- COLOMBIA
- EUR + EEUU
- HAITI
- PERU
- VENEZUELA

Migrants concentration

Despite the decrease in population registered in 2016. A recent study (Dammert et al.,2018) states that vulnerable areas have continued to receive migrant population. In this sense, pericentral and peripheral communes have received population from Haiti, Venezuela and Colombia without having the conditions of appropriate social and physical infrastructure for it.

Source of data: Own ellaboration based on data from CEDEUS observatory, National Institute of Statistics (Census 2002-2016-2017) and Lucia Dammert et al. (2018).



Legend

Main Transport network infrastructure

- Existent Metro lines
- Metropolitan High way network

Administrative structure

- Municipality boundaries
- Urban boundary

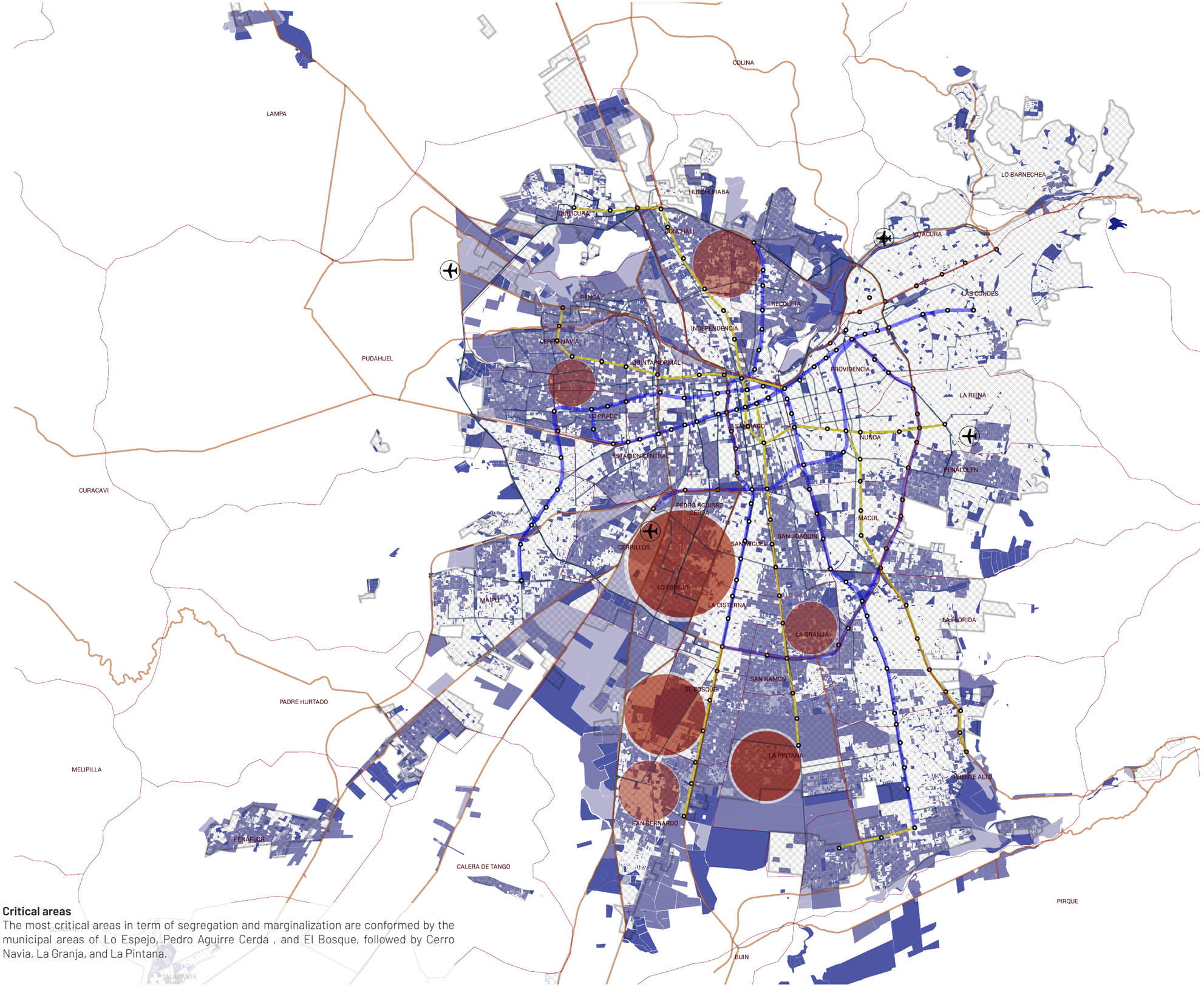
Index of Urban Quality of Life (ICVU)

- Upper
- Medium
- Low

The quality of urban life

In 2014 a group of researchers from Universidad Católica in Santiago developed an Index to asses the quality of Urban Life. The darker areas presents vulnerability in terms of economic income, access to culture, environmental quality, education and opportunities of employment. (To check more details about the index go to the Appendix)

Source of data: Own ellaboration based on data from CEDEUS observatory, National Institute of Statistics (Census 2002-2016-2017).



Legend

Main Transport network infrastructure

- Existent Metro lines
- Projected Metro lines
- Metropolitan High way network
- Bus rapid transit system (Transantiago)
- Airports

Administrative structure

- Municipality boundaries
- Urban boundary

Socio Economic structure - Average income per household

- D : From € 366 to € 811
- E : Until € 366
- Without information

Major clusters of Urban precarity and Vulnerability

- Critical Area of influence in relation Surface x Accesibility to Public Transport

Critical areas

The most critical areas in term of segregation and marginalization are conformed by the municipal areas of Lo Espejo, Pedro Aguirre Cerda , and El Bosque, followed by Cerro Navia, La Granja, and La Pintana.

Source of data: Own ellaboration based on data from CEDEUS observatory, National Institute of Statistics (Census 2002-2016-2017).

5 0 5 10 15 20 km



THE NEW BUSINESS CENTRAL DISTRICT

The economic core is located in the northeast sector of the Capital. This area concentrates the largest amount of metropolitan services and foreign capital investment, business areas, commerce and wealthy households. At the same time, the area is completely connected by highways, metro and public buses, without the necessity to leave the area to work, have leissure or study. On the other hand, the morphological conditions are similar and fluid in terms of connectivity and urban tissue.

Image 3. The image shows a view of Las Condes municipal area.



"URBAN RENEWAL"
The evolution of the value of land in the adjacent Municipal areas to the business district has generated an aggressive urban renewal with weak regulation. Municipalities have tried to capture the real estate investment by flexibilizing their urban codes. This process has led to the eviction of the low income traditional residents to pheri urban areas. In addition, the imposition of high rise buildings over traditional low rise neighborhoods has generated an aggresive deformation of the urban fabric.

Image 4. The image shows a view of Estación Central municipal area.



SEGREGATION
On the other extreme of the Metropolitan area, vulnerable municipal areas subsist within a poverty vicious cycle. A lack of municipal capacity, instruments and urban conditions of accesibility determine in large part the inertia of this process. These areas are uncapable to capture capital, encourage urban development and are highly dependent in terms of metropolitan functions.

Image 5. The image shows a view of a neighborhood street in Lo Espejo municipal area.

Segregation through scales: from the metropolitan to the local

In the previous section, the most critical Municipal areas have been defined in terms of social, economic and environmental vulnerability. Having exposed this analysis, I have explained the deviations in terms of governance and the variables involved in the fragmentation and socio-spatial segregation at the metropolitan level.

As Sabatini (2003) point out, segregation consist basically as the homogeneous agglomeration of people of the same socio-economic class. This has been a general definition for Latin american cities, regarding three main dimensions: the level of spatial concentration of the social groups (metropolitan and geographical lens), the social homogeneity and the stigmatization (prestige or discredit).

Notwithstanding the foregoing, as spatial phenomenon social segregation manifests itself in different ways at different scales and presents different conditions and potentialities to counteract its effects. This is considered as part of a paradox of the scale (De Jong, 2012). In this regard, different spatial conditions and actors emerge according to each level of analysis, regarding different capacities, interests and values.

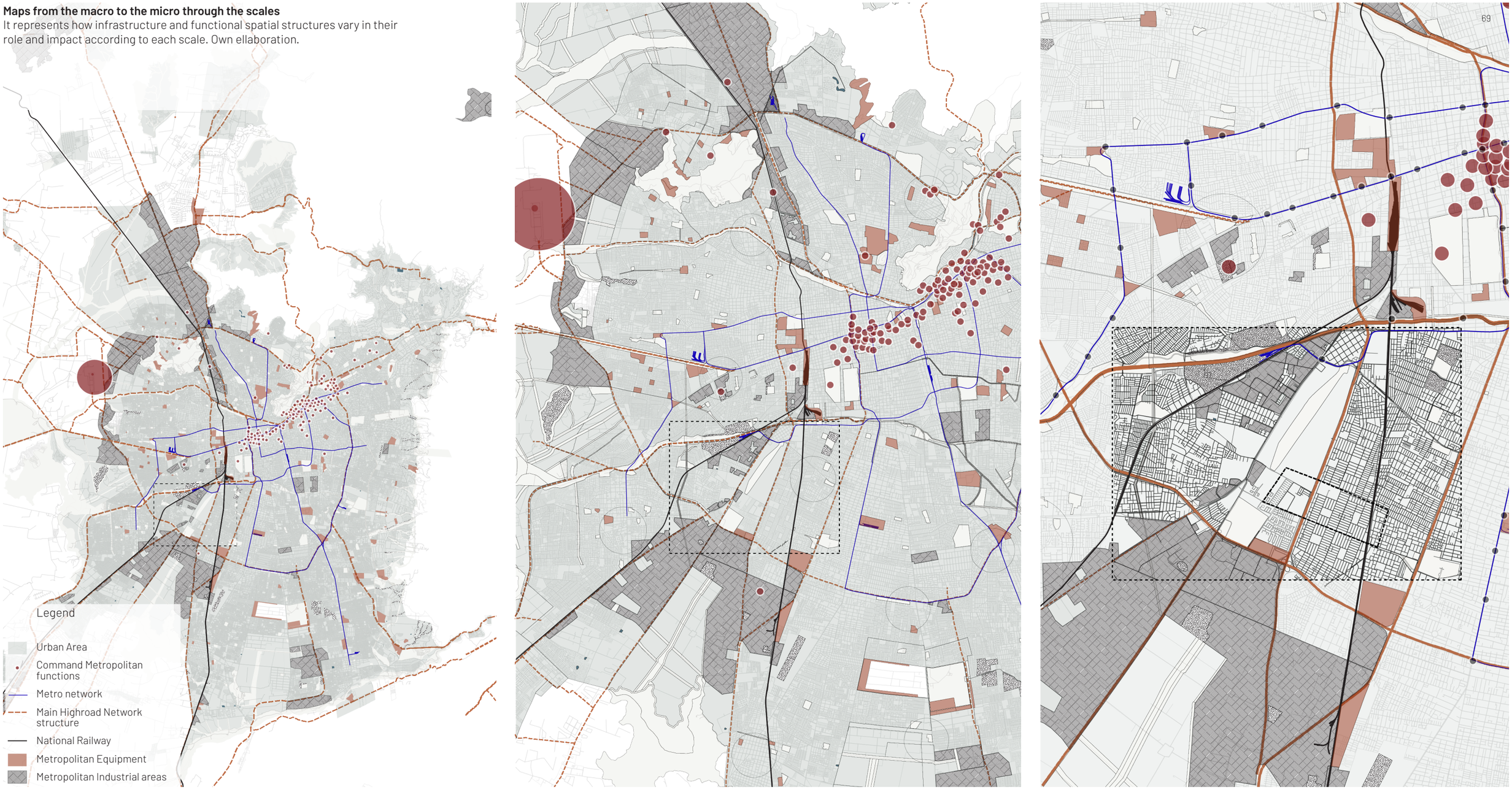
In this regard, this section frames the area corresponding to the municipalities of Lo Espejo, Pedro Aguirre Cerda y Cerrillos. These three municipal areas share an adjacent geographical area and at the same time they are fragmented by Metropolitan transport infrastructure. Although these areas constitute features and a common location, they are fragmented functionally and morphologically. The foregoing resides in their different patterns of urbanization and typology together with the presence of large land destined for metropolitan functions.

On the one hand, the three communes originate in general as pericentral areas to accommodate the demand for social housing in the decade of the 60s. In fact, Pedro Aguirre Cerda and Lo Espejo are communes mainly made up of people who informally joined their land and then received formal residences and urbanization.

On the other hand, the three Communes lack clear centralities, and correspond mostly to low density residential pericentral areas.

A preliminar analysis illustrates a specific spot of the spatial setting of these areas it is found in chapter 9, as part of the Appendix.

Maps from the macro to the micro through the scales
It represents how infrastructure and functional spatial structures vary in their role and impact according to each scale. Own ellaboration.



MACRO - Metropolitan

At the metropolitan scale, the main arteries (Highroads and railways) of the spatial network provide connection to the metropolitan system with the main functions and services located in the CBD, regarding the Communes of Las Condes, Vitacura, Providencia and Santiago. At the same time, the governance institutions that operate at this scale are focused in the functional network system of the MAS.

MESO - Urban

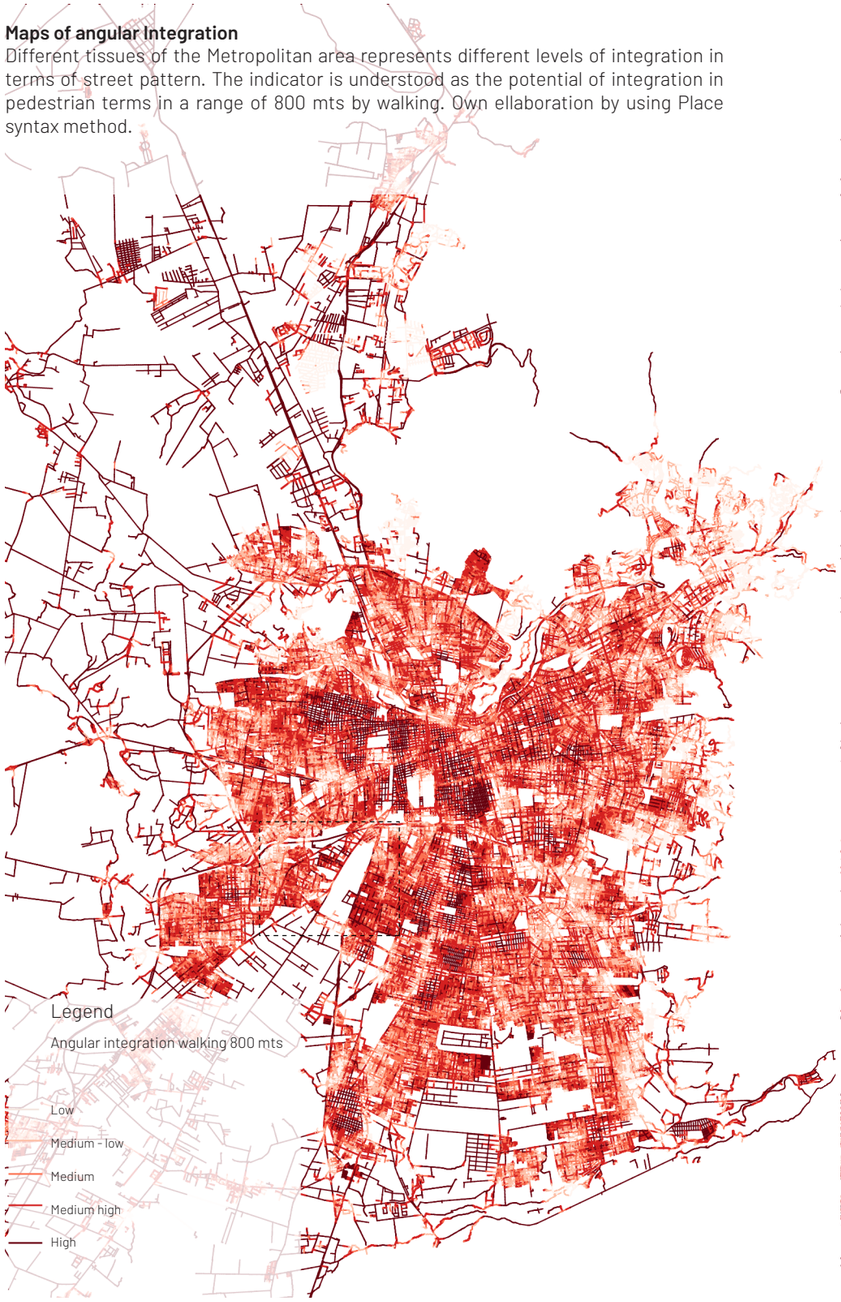
At the urban scale, other infrastructures emerge as the Metro network and the "Transantiago" rapid bus system. These transport infrastructure provides connection and accessibility in different levels to the wide range of Municipalities. Therefore, other institutions assume the relevance in terms of Governance.

MICRO - Local

At the local scale, adjacent municipal areas of Lo Espejo, Pedro Aguirre Cerda and Cerrillos are highly dependent on the urban transport system. They are disconnected in morphological and functional terms among them, but sharing the same peri-central location. The metropolitan infrastructure network acts by cutting off the urban fabric, reinforcing the isolation of these areas.

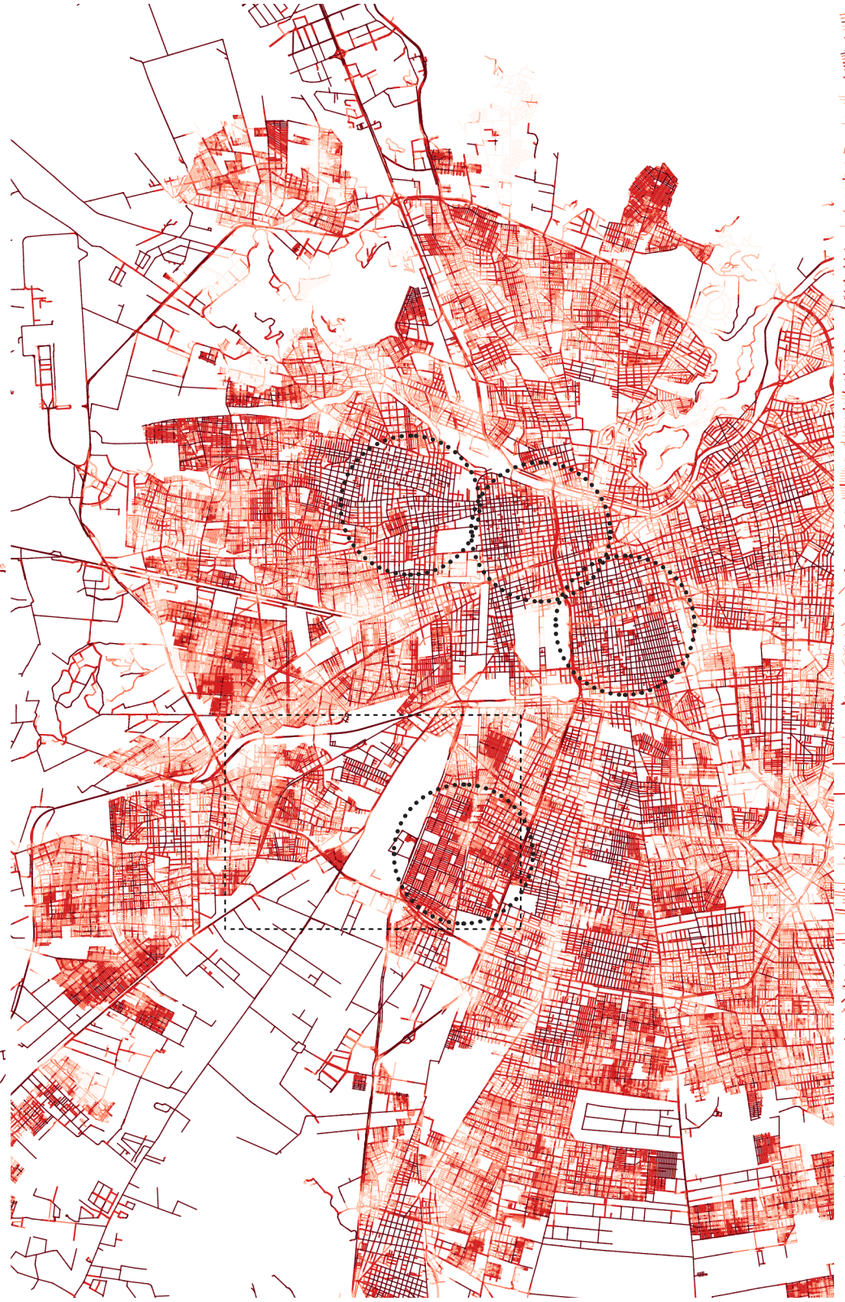
Maps of angular Integration

Different tissues of the Metropolitan area represents different levels of integration in terms of street pattern. The indicator is understood as the potential of integration in pedestrian terms in a range of 800 mts by walking. Own ellaboration by using Place syntax method.



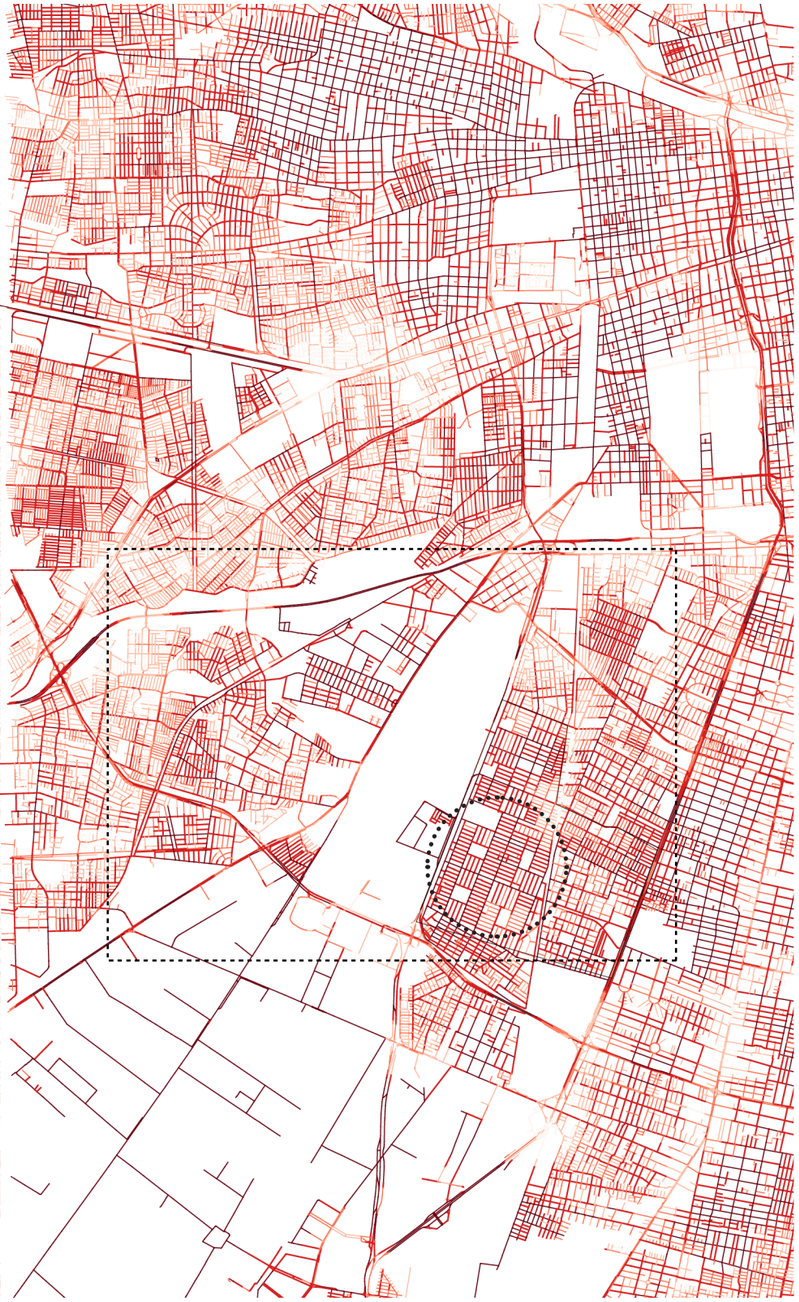
MACRO - Metropolitan

The integration of streets at the local level (800 mts by walking) for the metropolitan area shows a heterogeneous distribution, not necessarily dependent to the metropolitan economic concentration.



MESO - Urban

At the meso level, it can be seen that street integration has to be concentrated on regular patterns of neighborhood areas. However, although the structuring routes are the most integrated traces, the truth is that on a smaller scale they are revealed as barriers and local streets without transversal connections.



MICRO - Local

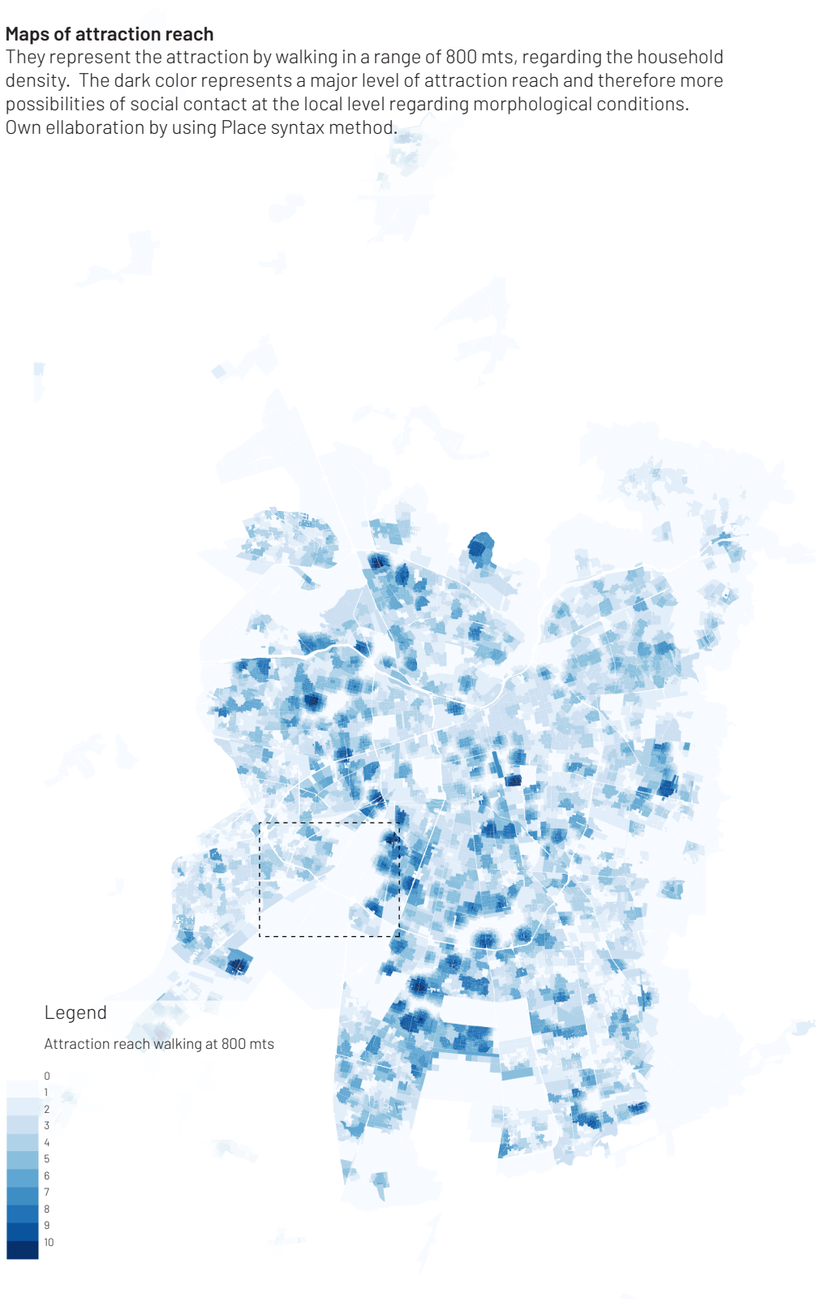
At the local level, small morphological patterns are related to neighborhood units. Although these patterns are fragmented at the urban scale, at the local one they present high integration and a possibility of social contact at the pedestrian level. Nevertheless, they function as isolated and endogenous networks, losing the potential for transversal integration.

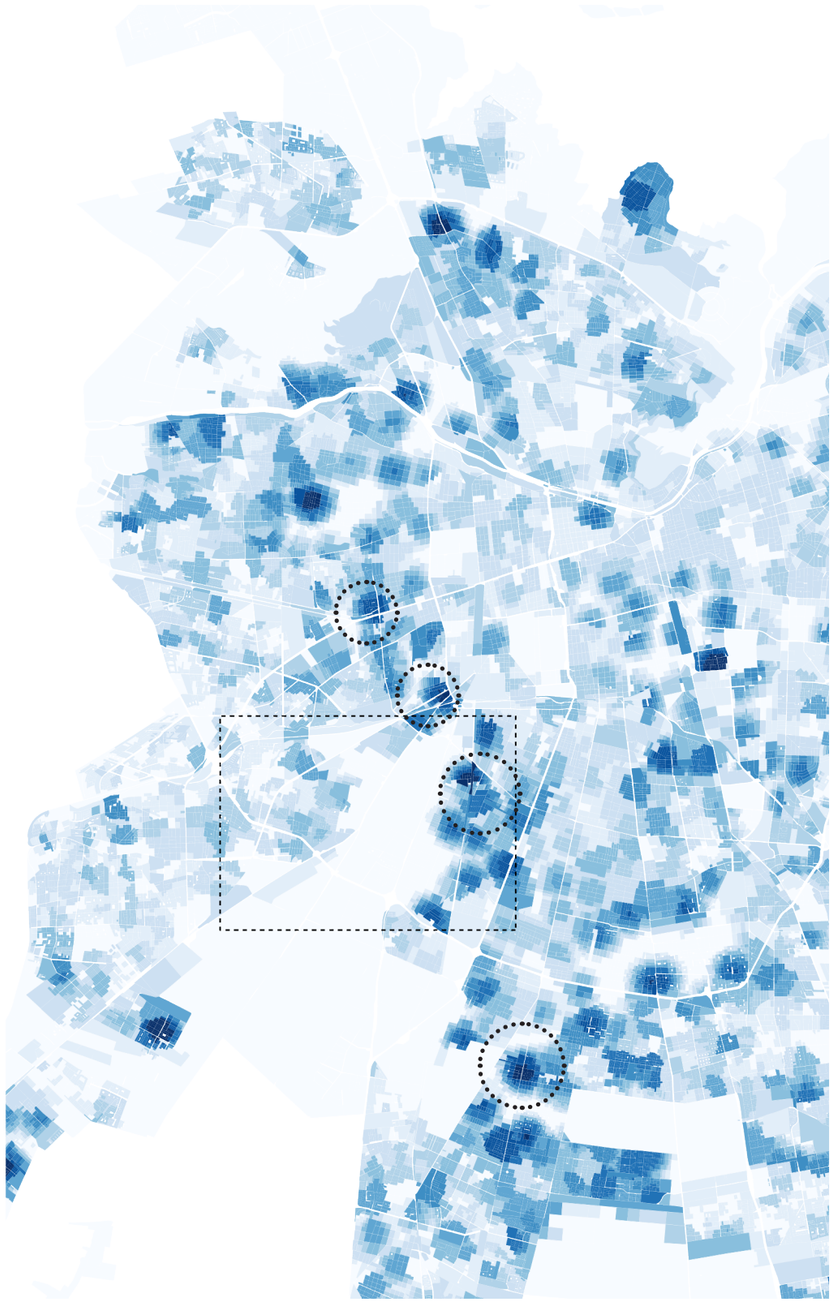
10 0 10 km

9 0 9 km

4 0 4 km

Maps of attraction reach
They represent the attraction by walking in a range of 800 mts, regarding the household density. The dark color represents a major level of attraction reach and therefore more possibilities of social contact at the local level regarding morphological conditions.
Own ellaboration by using Place syntax method.







MACRO - Metropolitan

Regarding the pedestrian range in relation to the density of inhabitants per household (800 meters), the analysis at the local level for the MAS shows that the highest concentration does not obey specific administrative areas or high-rise construction areas, such as in the case of the CBD.

MESO - Urban

Integration potentials are located specifically in communes of the pericenter, They tend to be located in areas that have historically constituted low-density residential mono communities.

MICRO - Local

At the local scale, concentrations occur in residential areas (neighborhoods) of low density but with households consisting of a high number of people living in the same space.

10 0 10 km

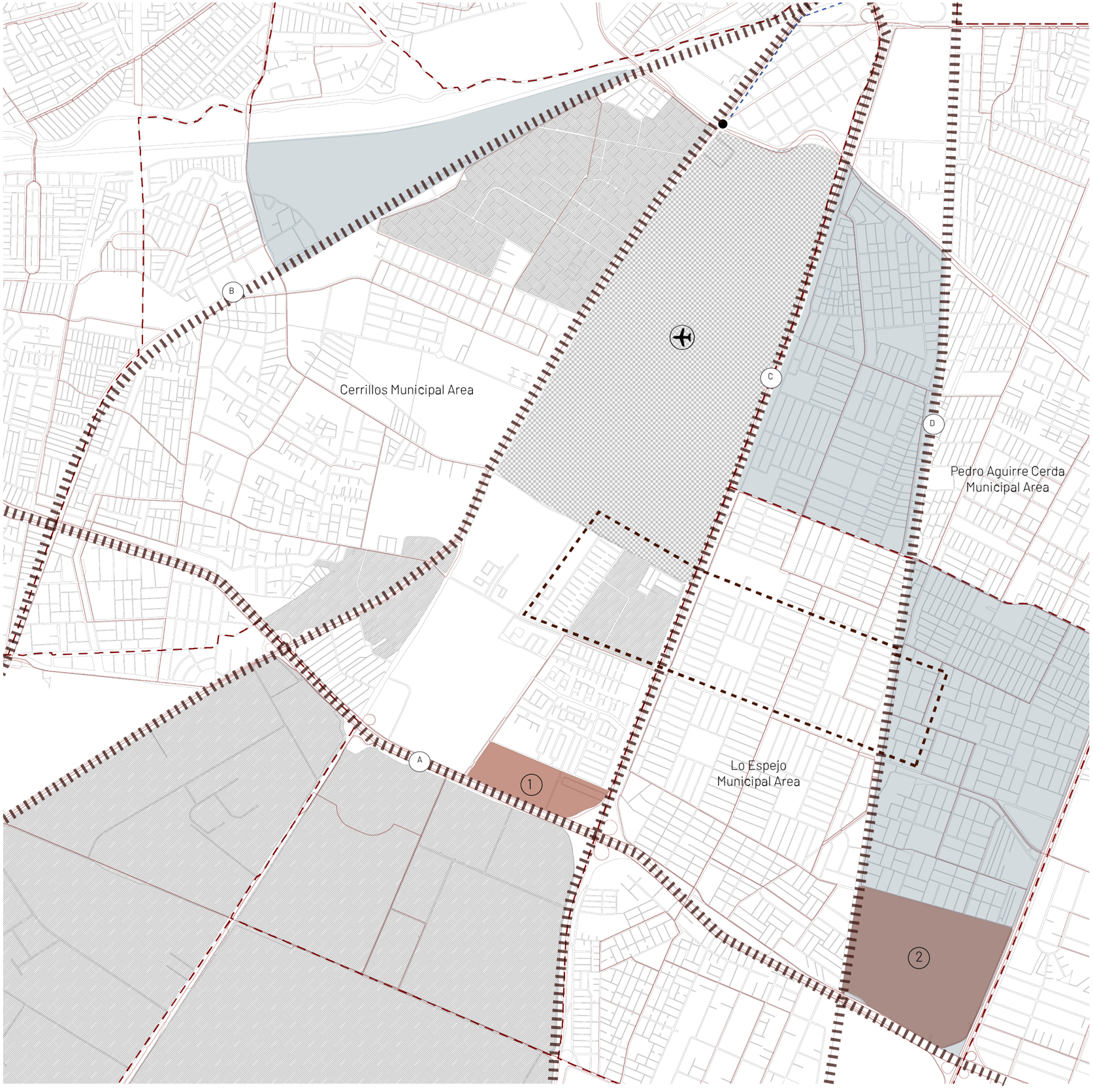
9 0 9 km

4 0 4 km

SPATIAL FRAGMENTATION AND CONFINEMENT

The three municipal areas, fragmented by the metropolitan highways and railroads.

Image 6. The satelital image shows a aerial view of the areas of Lo Espejo, Pedro Aguirre Cerda and Cerrillos. Source: google maps.



Legend

Main Public Transport network infrastructure

Metro stations - Network

Transantiago (Bus rapid transit system)

Metropolitan Transport network - barriers

A Autopista Vespucio Sur - Vespucio Sur Highway

B Línea de Ferrocarril nacional - National Railway

C Autopista Central - Central Highway

D Línea de Ferrocarril nacional - National Railway

Functional and Administrative structure

Municipality boundaries

Metropolitan Equipment (1. Mega-market / 2. Cementary)

Industrial and manufacture Metropolitan Areas (Warehouses)

Priority Areas for the Government

Military Airport of Cerrillos (Not operative)

The Inter- Municipal area, conditions and potentialities

As it was explained before, the selected case is conformed by three municipal areas: Lo Espejo, Pedro Aguirre Cerda, and Cerrillos. These areas are within the group of the most vulnerable ones according to the Index of Urban Quality of Life (ICVU). Indeed, Lo Espejo is the municipal urban area with the lowest score regarding this index at the national level. In addition, all these areas contain priority zones for the Government in terms of social vulnerability. In fact, they have concentrated several public programs during the last decades.

At the metropolitan scale, the areas are disconnected from the main functions while at the local, they are fragmented. Just recently, one year ago, the network line six of the metro system was launched, including an ending metro station in the border of Cerrillos and Pedro Aguirre Cerda. However, the potential of this infrastructure regarding land value and accessibility is reduced by the disconnection of the local transport system of the municipal areas. In this regard, the local transport routes based on the rapid transit bus system continue to converge to the core of the city, reflecting the pattern of dependence on the metropolitan core.

On the other hand, the area contains several underused plots of lands based on private properties, industrial and metropolitan functions. The case of the Cerrillos former-airport is probably the most emblematic. The airport stopped operating in 2001, after years of decline. Subsequently, given the spatial potential of the area, the government, through a public-private partnership promoted a new residential project on the area. The Project, called "Bicentennial Park City" intended to be a compact residential nucleus that would include services and an a park.

In this regard, only the interior park managed to be materialized (Bicentennial Park). The impossibility of understanding the area as a space in-between, using a multi-scalar logic was one of the weak points of the proposal. Likewise, the failure of the project was associated with the difficulties to consider integrated urban regeneration policies opposed to the suburban densification model (see Silva, 2015). Finally, the project did not manage to be attractive enough for the developers.

All in all, the area continues to represent a potential for integration, especially at the inter-municipal level, which could foster endogenous development associated with the three communes, both at the metropolitan, urban and local levels.

0.5 0 0.5 1 1.5 2 km

Concluding

Metropolization: between neoliberal policies and fragmented governance

The metropolization process of Santiago de Chile under globalization, has been strongly influenced by a set of neoliberal policies introduced during the last three decades (Garreton, 2017). These policies can be summarized in the next main processes:

(1) the withdrawal of the state as guarantor of integrated urban development towards a subsidiary state model, wich entails the deviation of this responsibility to the municipalities and the shift towards a managerial market governance (de Mattos, 2007; 2010);

(2) the liberalization and commodification of the land, which entails the land value regulation by the market dynamic (Jiménez et al., 2018);

(3) the subsequent consolidation of an urban development model based on the action of the market as provider of infrastructure. In this model, market action is pushed by real estate and developer's investment, which entails a competition among municipalities for funding (López, 2010).

The evolutionary interaction of these transformations together with hystorical morphological patterns, led to the formation of a highly fragmented spatial structure at a metropolitan level and a segregated social structure at the local one.

Inter-Municipal competition

From the local level, a significant aspect that has reinforced the inequity in the MAS refers to the uneven capacities of the different Municipalities to react to this dynamic of urban development. Municipalities must compete for capturing real estate investment or metropolitan functions. The situation above generates differentiated concomitant processes according to the capacities of each Municipality, which impact not only the spatial setting of each but also the metropolitan structure.

Under this dynamic, the wealthy municipalities, which have better planning and economic means, are able to capture the investment and tend to concentrate the metropolitan functions, generating even alliances of intermunicipal cooperation among similar Municipalities. This translates into a major concentration and integration of metropolitan infrastructure, functions and public goods, further enhancing the economic clustering in these areas (Garreton, 2017).

On the contrary, the municipalities of medium income, have tended to increase flexibility of their urban codes to capture real estate development and infrastructure. The above have generated processes of eviction through an aggresive urban renewal (Lopez, 2010), substantially altering the quality of the urban space and the morphological conditions.

Lastly, the poorer Municipalities which were constituted hystorically to allocate social housing, due to their weak integration to the metropolitan system are the most affected within this dynamic. In addition, given their lack of economic and lack of adequate governance instruments, they are unable to attract and manage urban development, perpetuating the urban poverty in a vicious cycle. In this regard, the current governance structure acts as concomitant factor, deepening the process of marginalization. This is the case of Lo Espejo, Pedro Aguirre Cerda and Cerrillos.

Market-driven urban development

Lopez (2013) characterizes this model of urban development as Pro managerial Urbanism because it privileges the real estate sector, which finally defines when and where the development is done. Indeed, real estate developers invest in municipal areas which already concentrate or will implement basic public infrastructure (Galilea, 1988).

The current governance has encouraged these operations through the creation of specific policies and subsidied infrastructure in 'adjacent' areas to metropolitan infrastructure, by privileging the creation of gated communities (Ruiz-Tagle et al., 2017). The overall result has been a process of spatial fragmentation driven by unboundling metropolitan road infrastructure (Graham and Marvin, 2001) and a monofunctional suburban expansion.

Morphological conditions

The result of the process mentioned above at metropolitan scale has been the integration of certain infrastructures in specific municipal areas and the functional and the spatial fragmentation in the rest.

In this way, the morphological and functional conditions of the vulnerable areas are different from other areas.

Summarizing variables of agency

In summary, the spatial segregation of these Municipalities refers to a set of specific variables which frame it:

(1) Governance:

Centralized and fragmented governance has focused on the provision of unbundled infrastructure for metropolitan and urban operation purposes or endogenous public programs from a top-down perspective, with little investment and relationship with the most vulnerable municipalities.The dispersed institutional structure also have contributed to sectoral interventions with weak level of integration. In this sense, a new way of inter sectoral and collaborative planning could counteract these processes at local level.

(2) Land management:

A high variation of the land value fostered by the investment of the real estate sector is linked to the lack of land management instruments of vulnerable municipalities and the restrictive character of top-down land use planning. Mechanisms that enable land management and development are necessary to encourage urban endogenous development to these areas.

(3) Functions:

As a result of the previous factors, the concentration of metropolitan services and functions has tended to concentrate in specific municipal areas, while the vulnerable ones have not been able to develop interest and only maintain basic or neighborhood domestic local services. In this regard, activation and diversity of functions are necessary to revert the process of homogeneous functionality.

4) Morphology:

The morphological structure does not offer major diversity in vulnerable areas due to their monofunctional composition, however this represents similar conditions that enable possibilities and potentials of integration.

5) Infrastructure :

Metropolitan infrastructure and its specific deployment reinforce the metropolitan clusters, which at metropolitan level contribute to the development of specific spatial areas and to the marginalization of others (Graham and Marvin, 2001). Therefore, a new way of integrated of infrastructure is necessary to revert the process of spatial fragmentation.

Defining the collaborative approach

The aforementioned factors have led to the reinforcement of the segregation phenomenon in the most vulnerable municipal areas. Notwithstanding the above, these areas have particularities and points in common that can offer opportunities for development through collaboration in terms of inter-municipal spatial planning. As Zegras and Rayle (2013) point out, the contexts of high metropolitan fragmentation in terms of governance and planning face different problems, which can be better addressed by inter-sectoral spatial strategies.

To determine this feasibility, different factors are contemplated, such as expected benefits and costs, legal and institutional environments, existing networks, external triggers, organizational characteristics and geographical context. These factors determine the potential of potential spatial strategies.

In the case of the Communes of Lo Espejo, Cerrillos and Pedro Aguirre Cerda, these factors obey to similar conditions and respond to a common need: social and economic development integration.

The benefits and expected costs would respond to the possibility of integration into the metropolitan area, assuming the challenges of a new inter-municipal organization in terms of planning and resources.

As for the legal and institutional environments, these obey similar characteristics, marked by the scarcity of technical and economic means but with the institutional will continue advancing in the face of local needs.

In this sense, the great social capital resides in local networks, based on social and collective community organizations (Putnam, 2012), and the potential spatial capital (Marcus, 2010).

In the context of the PNDU, the facilitator of structural change falls into the decentralization of political, economic and technical power to the municipalities under an inter-collaborative planning scheme.

Finally, the conditions of geographical and functional location favor these conditions of connectivity at a multi-scalar level.

The uneven performance

Summarizing, the chart in Figure 14 and the map showed in Figure 19 illustrate the level of influence in the conformation of the different municipal areas at the metropolitan and local level. As can be seen, under the current model of urban development, at different scales distribution of metropolitan functions and infrastructure enable or disable possibilities and conditions to different Municipalities.

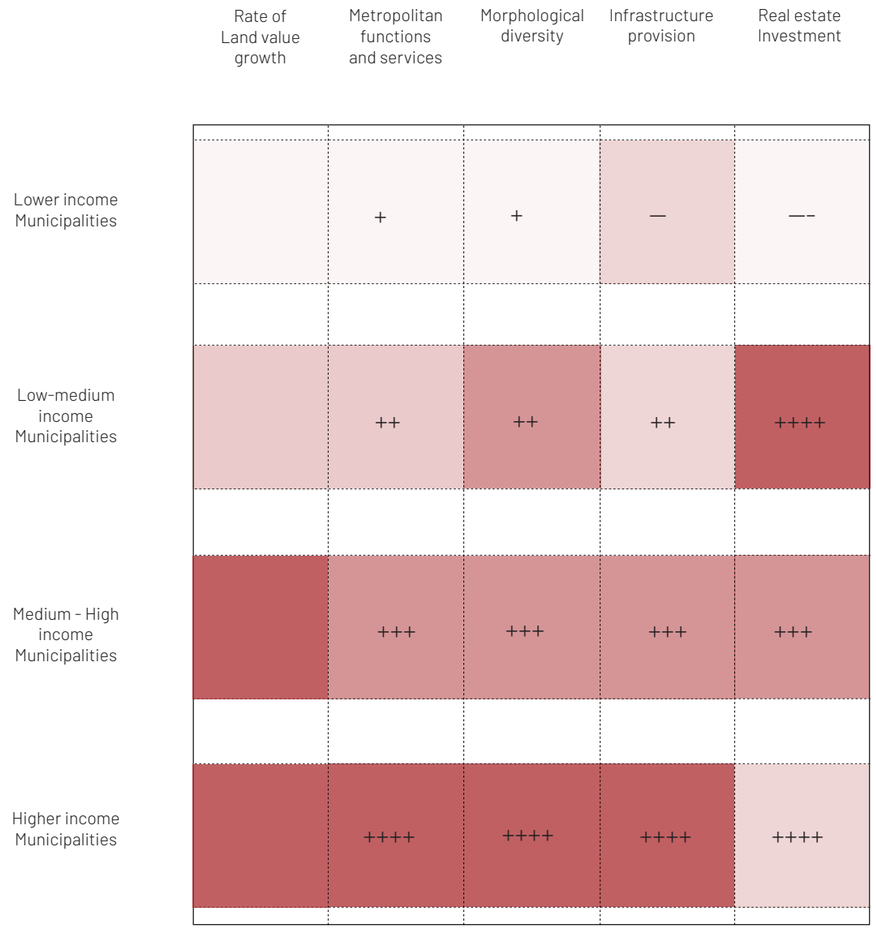


Fig. 14. Chart of Conditioners, showing the different interaction with Municipalities according to their capacities and limitations. Different levels of development and metropolitan qualities can be recognized. Own elaboration.

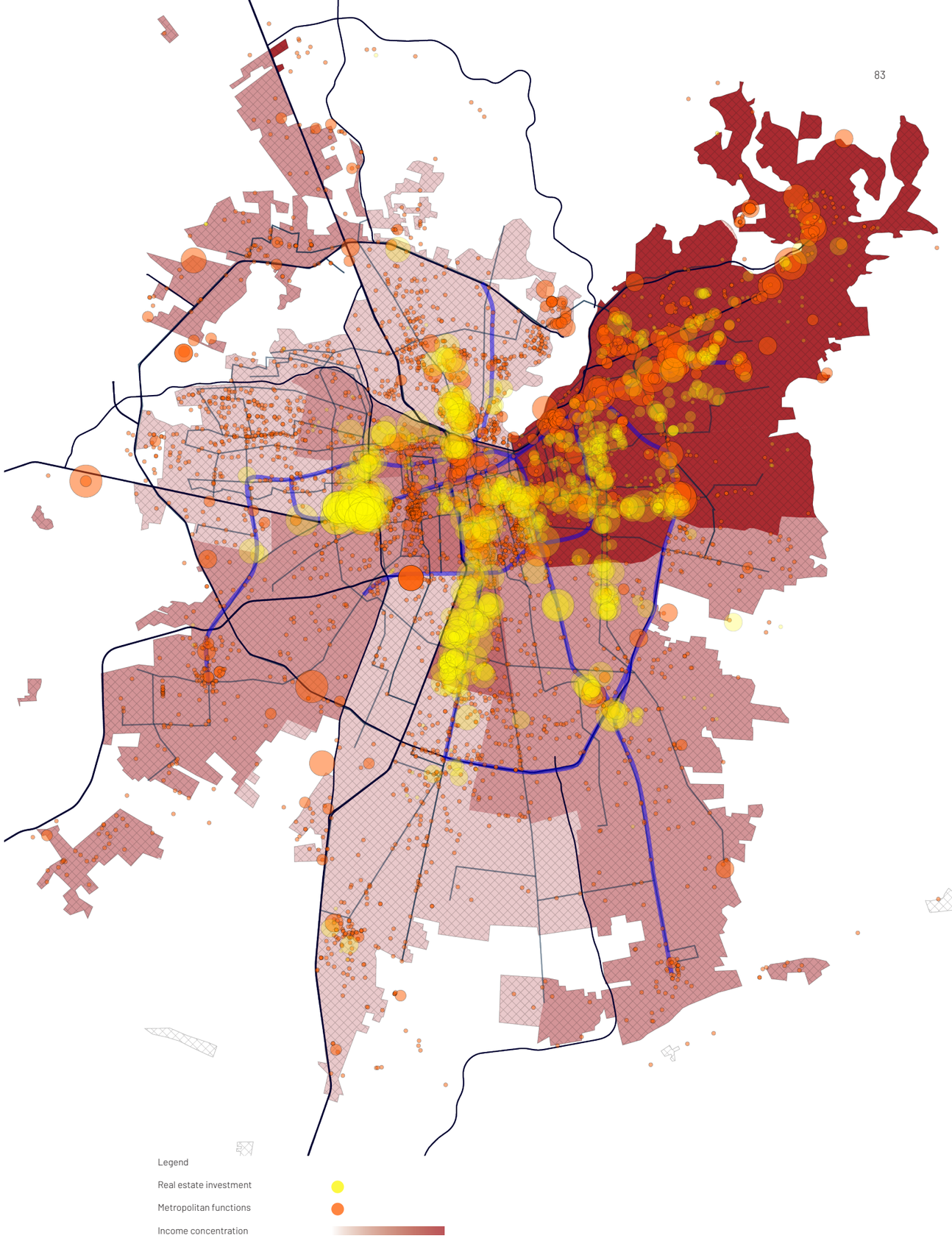


Fig. 15. Map pf metropolitan area showing the different interaction between municipal areas and main metropolitan infrastructure network, concentration of functions and real estate investment. Own elaboration based on INE (2017).

Design and planning approach

From the analysis of the problem, two general approach are clearly drawn.

First, that the phenomenon of socio-spatial segregation manifests itself in a different way according to each scale. At the metropolitan level, the "segregated areas" consist of morphological fractions or urban patches that group residents with a similar socio-economic and cultural profile. These areas have tended to concentrate in sub urban and peri central areas. On the other hand, at a local level, the global integration into the City is not possible, since these municipal areas work as limited enclaves and fractured by transport routes of metropolitan function. In this way, these areas are not only limited in their integration to the rest of the metropolitan area but above all in their relationship with adjacent areas.

Second, that the reproduction of segregation has been influenced by a top-down and fragmented governance and by the lack of land management tools to guide local urban development. The high fragmentation of public policies, plans and projects, together with a disarticulation in their scalar understanding, has reflected in the territory the same culture of disintegration. A synergetic relationship from the local to the metropolitan is key in this regard.

These aspects that define the problem of spatial segregation in vulnerable areas, converge on the need to have collaborative planning strategies that respond to the morphological and functional conditions and potentials inherent to these areas. In this sense, the municipal areas of Lo Espejo, Cerrillos and Pedro Aguirre Cerda have contextual conditions that would facilitate this integration.

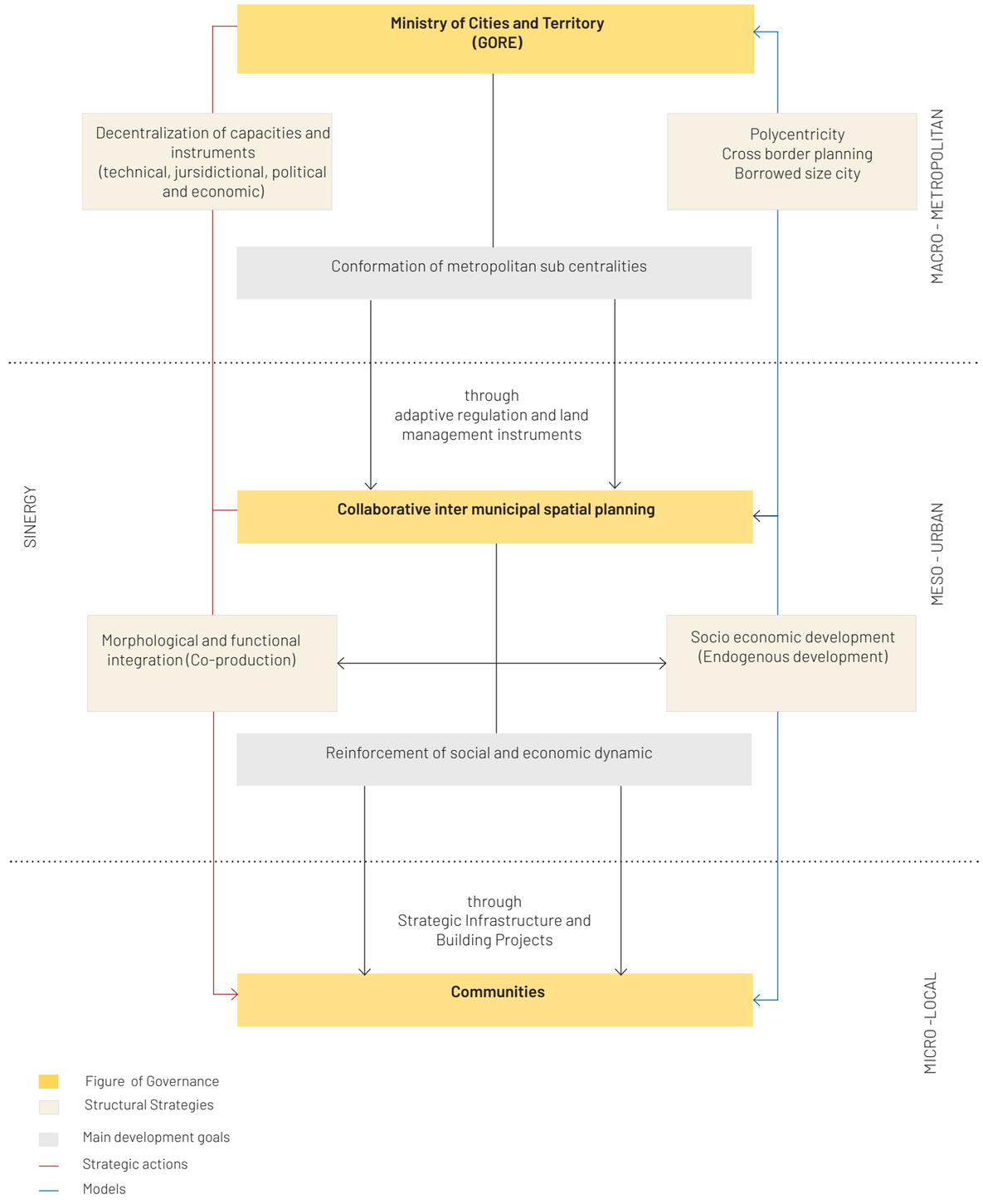
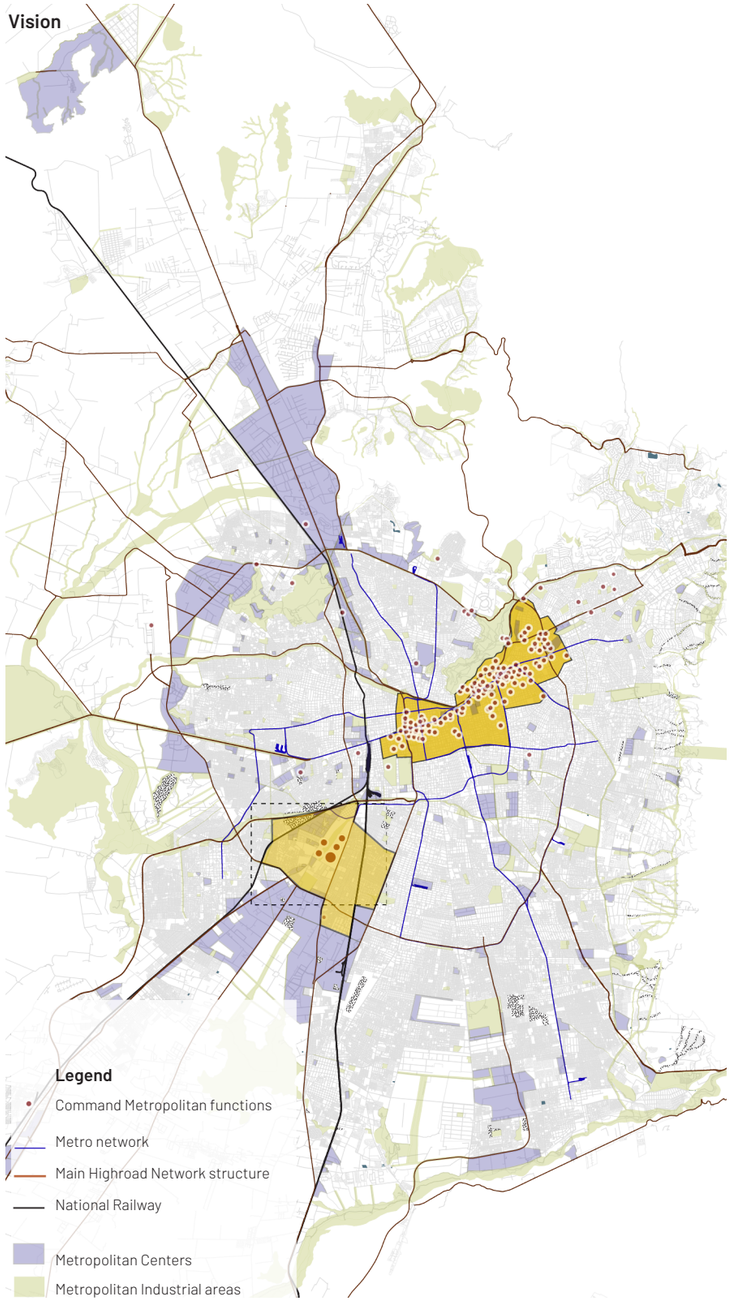
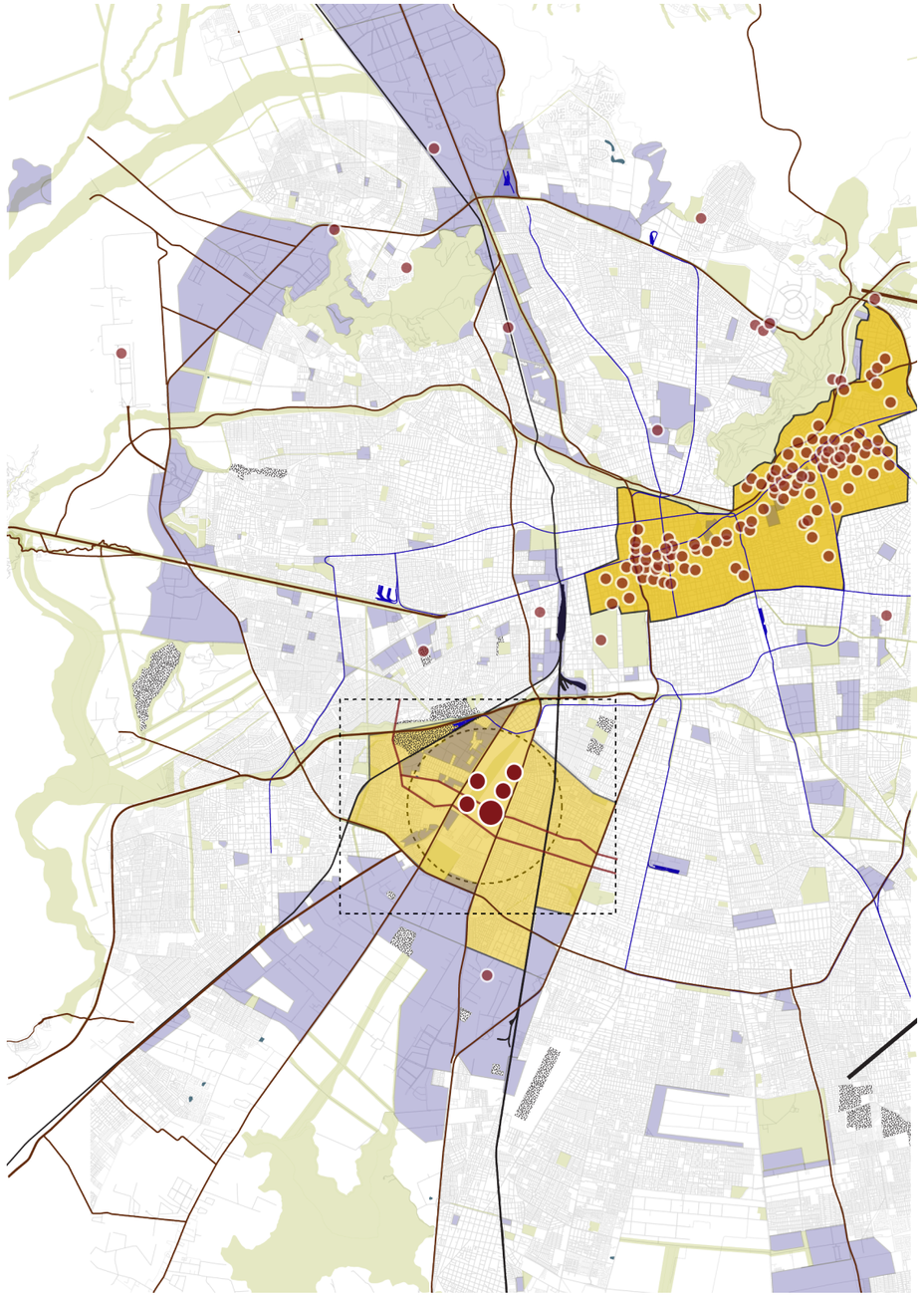
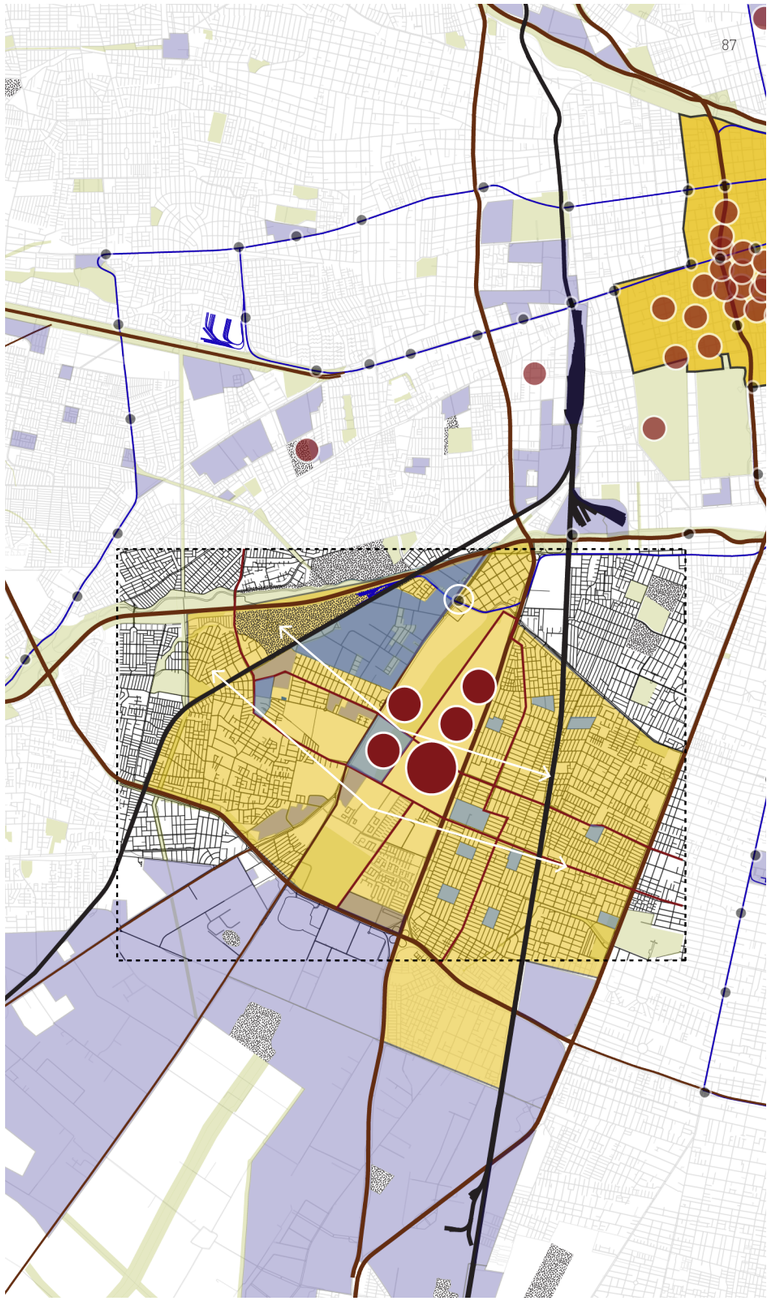


Fig. 16. Speculative conceptual model of strategic governance for vulnerable municipal governments, showing structural actions articulated per scale.







MACRO - Metropolitan

At the metropolitan level, the approach seeks to generate a new centrality of services and equipment to decompress the local dependence of the most vulnerable residents and attract development activities to the three municipal areas.

MESO - Urban

The three communes are integrated into a new area that allows connecting their activities and areas to enhance social and local economies. The presence of the Metro is seen as an opportunity to attract investment and generate new programs of metropolitan and local interest. It is in this scale that the synergy between the metropolitan and the urban develops.

MICRO - Local

At the inter municipal local level, three main actions are activated. The airport area is used as a mixed-use urban regeneration area: including residential densification, development activities and metropolitan services, public areas and local productive services functions. This area is connected by transversal corridors, which connect a multimodal local transport system. These connections seek to break down the physical barriers and connect: Projects triggering development located in the pre-existing activity centers of the neighborhood units.

10 0 10 km

9 0 9 km

4 0 4 km

REFERENCES

Articles

De Jong, T. M. (2012) 'Urban ecology, scale and identity', in Sustainable Urban Environments: An Ecosystem Approach. doi: 10.1007/978-94-007-1294-2_3.(Accessed: 1 November 2018).

De Mattos, C. de (2007) Globalización, negocios inmobiliarios y transformación urbana. Available at: http://nuso.org/media/articles/downloads/3481_1.pdf (Accessed: 28 October 2018).

De Mattos, C. A. (2010) 'Globalización y metamorfosis metropolitana en América Latina. De la ciudad a lo urbano generalizado', Revista de Geografia Norte Grande. doi: 10.4067/S0718-34022010000300005.

De Mattos C (2014)_Gobernanza neoliberal financiarizacion y metamorfosis urbana en el siglo XXI – CITE – FLACSO ECUADOR (no date). Available at: https://flacso.edu.ec/cite/de-mattos-c_2014_gobernanza-neoliberal-financiarizacion-y-metamorfosis-urbana-en-el-siglo-xxi/ (Accessed: 24 September 2018).

Figueroa, O. and Rodríguez, C. (2013) Urban Transport, Urban Expansion and Institutions and Governance in Santiago, Chile Case study prepared for Global Report on Human Settlements 2013 Urban Transport, Urban Expansion and Institutions and Governance in Santiago, Chile. Available at: http://www.unhabitat.org/grhs/2013 (Accessed: 17 September 2018).

Galetovic P., A., Poduje, I. and Aravena Mori, A. (2006) Santiago : dónde estamos y hacia dónde vamos. Centro de Estudios Públicos. Available at: https://www.cepchile.cl/santiago-donde-estamos-y-hacia-donde-vamos/cep/2016-03-04/094228.html (Accessed: 1 December 2018).

Galilea O., S. (1988) 'Efectos del metro en la estructura urbana de Santiago.' Available at: https://repositorio.uc.cl/handle/11534/3795 (Accessed: 7 October 2018).

Garreton, M. (2017) 'City profile: Actually existing neoliberalism in Greater Santiago', Cities. doi: 10.1016/j.cities.2017.02.005.

Graham, S. and Marvin, S. (2001) Splintering Urbanism, Technology. doi: 10.4324/9780203452202.

Heinrichs, D., Nuissl, H. and Rodríguez Seeger, C. (2009) 'Dispersión urbana y nuevos desafíos para la gobernanza (metropolitana) en América Latina: el caso de Santiago de Chile', EURE (Santiago). Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile. Facultad de Arquitectura, Diseño y Estudios Urbanos. Instituto de Estudios Urbanos y Territoriales, 35(104), pp. 29–46. doi: 10.4067/S0250-71612009000100002.

Jiménez, V. et al. (2018) 'Normalización del modelo neoliberal de expansión residencial más allá del límite urbano en Chile y España', Eure. doi: 10.4067/s0250-71612018000200027.

Krellenberg, K. et al. (2013) 'Flood and heat hazards in the Metropolitan Region of Santiago de Chile and the socio-economics of exposure', Applied Geography. doi: 10.1016/j.apgeog.2012.11.017.

López-Morales, E. J. (2010) Real Estate Market, State-Entrepreneurialism and Urban Policy in the 'Gentrification by Ground Rent Dispossession' of Santiago de Chile. Available at: www.portalinmobiliario.com; (Accessed: 21 October 2018).

López-Morales, E. J. (2013) Urban Entrepreneurialism and Creative Destruction: A Case-study of the Urban Renewal Strategy in the Pericentre of Santiago de Chile, 1990-2005. University College of London. Available at: https://infonavit.janium.net/janium/Documentos/035807.pdf (Accessed: 9 December 2018).

Marcus, L. (2010) 'Spatial Capital', The Journal of Space Syntax.

Putnam, R. D. (2012) 'The Prosperous Community: Social Capital and Public Life', The American Prospect.

Rayle, L. and Zegras, C. (2013) 'The Emergence of Inter-Municipal Collaboration: Evidence from Metropolitan Planning in Portugal', European Planning Studies. doi: 10.1080/09654313.2012.722932.

Ruiz-Tagle, J., Imilan Ojeda, W. and Lukas, M. (2017) 'Santiago de Chile en disputa: de la avalancha neoliberal a las alternativas de resistencia y auto-gestión'. Available at: http://repositorio.uchile.cl/handle/2250/144581 (Accessed: 13 September 2018).

Sabatini, F. (2003) 'La segregación social del espacio en las ciudades de América Latina', Banco Interamericano de Desarrollo. doi: 10.4067/S0250-71612001008200002.

Silva Lovera, C. A. (2015) 'Urban sprawl and infrastructural lands: Revamping internal spaces in Santiago de Chile', Geoforum. doi: 10.1016/j.geoforum.2015.10.004.

Vergara, F. (2018) 'Aplicaciones de la teoría implosión / explosión : relación entre la Región Metropolitana de Santiago de Chile y los territorios productivos regionales', EURE, 44, pp. 71–90.

Vicuña del Río, M. (2013) 'El marco regulatorio en el contexto de la gestión empresarialista y la mercantilización del desarrollo urbano del Gran Santiago, Chile', Revista INVI. doi: 10.4067/s0718-83582013000200006.

Volker Anguita, P. (2014) 'La Ciudad Neoliberal. Gentrificación y exclusión en Santiago de Chile, Buenos Aires, Ciudad de México y Madrid', Revista de geografía Norte Grande. doi: 10.4067/S0718-34022014000200014.

Zegras, C. and Gakenheimer, R. (2000) 'Urban growth management for mobility: the case of the Santiago, Chile Metropolitan Region', Report prepared for the Lincoln Institute of Land Policy and the MIT Cooperative Mobility Program.

Reports and figures

Bergoeing, R. and Razmilic, S. (2017) Desarrollo Urbano de Santiago: Perspectivas y Lecciones. Santiago de Chile. Available at: www.cepchile.cl (Accessed: 1 November 2018).

Consejo Nacional de Desarrollo Urbano and Gobierno de Chile (2018) Nueva Institucionalidad para la Gobernanza Urbana. Available at: http://cndu.gob.cl/wp-content/uploads/2018/03/3.-PROPUESTAS-PARA-UNA-NUEVA-INSTITUCIONALIDAD-PARA-LA-GOBERNANZA-URBANA.pdf (Accessed: 1 November 2018).

Gimenez, P. and Ugarte, J. R. (2014) Política Nacional de Desarrollo Urbano: Ciudades Sustentables y Calidad de Vida Hacia una Nueva Política Urbana para Chile. Santiago de Chile. Available at: http://cndu.gob.cl/wp-content/uploads/2014/10/L4-Politica-Nacional-Urbana.pdf (Accessed: 1 December 2018).

Global Cities Inititative (2016) Global Santiago, Profiling the Metropolitan Region's competitiveness an connections. Available at: https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/BMPP_GCI_Santiago_Final-LowRes-1.pdf (Accessed: 1 November 2018).

Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas (2017) Compendio Estadístico. Santiago de Chile. Available at: www.ine.cl; (Accessed: 7 January 2019).

Instituto de Estudios Urbanos y Territoriales Universidad Católica and Cámara Chilena de la Construcción (2018) ICVU 2018 Índice de Calidad de Vida Urbana Comunas y Ciudades de Chile. Santiago de Chile. Available at: http://estudiosurbanos.uc.cl/images/investigaciones/Arturo_Orellana/ICVU_2018/20180508_ICVU_2018_-_Version_Definitiva.pdf (Accessed: 1 November 2018).

Lucía Dammert et al. (2018) Propuestas para la Integración Social. EL Mapa de la inmigración en Santiago. Santiago. Available at: www.atisba.cl (Accessed: 22 May 2019).

Parrochia J. and Pavez M. (2016) Los primeros planes intercomunales metropolitanos de Chile, 2016. Available at: http://www.libros.uchile.cl/index.php/sisib/catalog/book/581 (Accessed: 1 December 2018).

4. METHODOLOGICAL RESEARCH FRAMEWORK

Overview

This thesis addresses the process of social and economic segregation in the Great Santiago, under the context of metropolization.

The leading causes attributed to these processes are associated to the consolidation of a neoliberal urban development model which has not been able to reduce inequality. On the contrary it has fostered Inter-municipal competition and the real estate market. This process has been reinforced by a centralized and sectoral model of governance.

This thesis will explores a model of strategic spatial inter-municipal planning collaboration to counteract the process of fragmentation and segregation by strengthening social and local economy. Main goals seek to contribute to a better quality of urban life for their communities and to achieve major cohesion of the metropolitan structure.

The purpose of this chapter is to explain the research design for the development of this thesis, regarding its problematization, its approach, and its intended outcomes. The methodological framework explains the reasons why the selected methods are used to address the research questions of the thesis according to the case chosen.

The problematization of the methodological framework is developed at the beginning of the chapter.

The sequence of components and detail of the methodological framework will be explained with more detail in the roadmap.

Research limitations and relevance reflections link to this chapter are detailed in the chapters 7 and 8.

Sections

4.1 Roadmap
4.2 Problem Statement
4.3 Aim of Research
4.4 Research Questions
4.5 Expected otucomes
4.6 Methodological flow chart
4.7 Proposed Research approach
4.8 Methods
4.9 Analytical Framework
4.10 Theoretical Framework
4.11 Conceptual Framework
4.12 Timeline
4.13 References

Roadmap

The roadmap shown in figure 1 explains the logical flow of the chapter. This chapter contains three main parts.

The first part corresponds to the Research design. This section explains every component of the research proposal. It starts with a summary of the problem analysis in order to build the argument to the problem statement.

The problem statement explains the knowledge gap and drives to the aim of the research and the research questions. Accordingly, the design outcomes are explained.

Then, the methodological flowchart summarizes and shows the different connections among the problematization, the aim, the research questions and the methods chosen to address them.

After this, the proposed research approach is developed. It explains the approach of research chosen to develop all the research plan. Subsequently, the analytical framework shows the different methods associated with each question.

Following this part, the methods are explained in detail, by signaling each aspect (type, aim, sources and procedure).

Afterwards, the theoretical framework is developed, by explaining the main theories involved in the approach. Consequently, a conceptual framework regarding all the constructs is developed.

Finally, a timeline of the all thesis plan is presented.

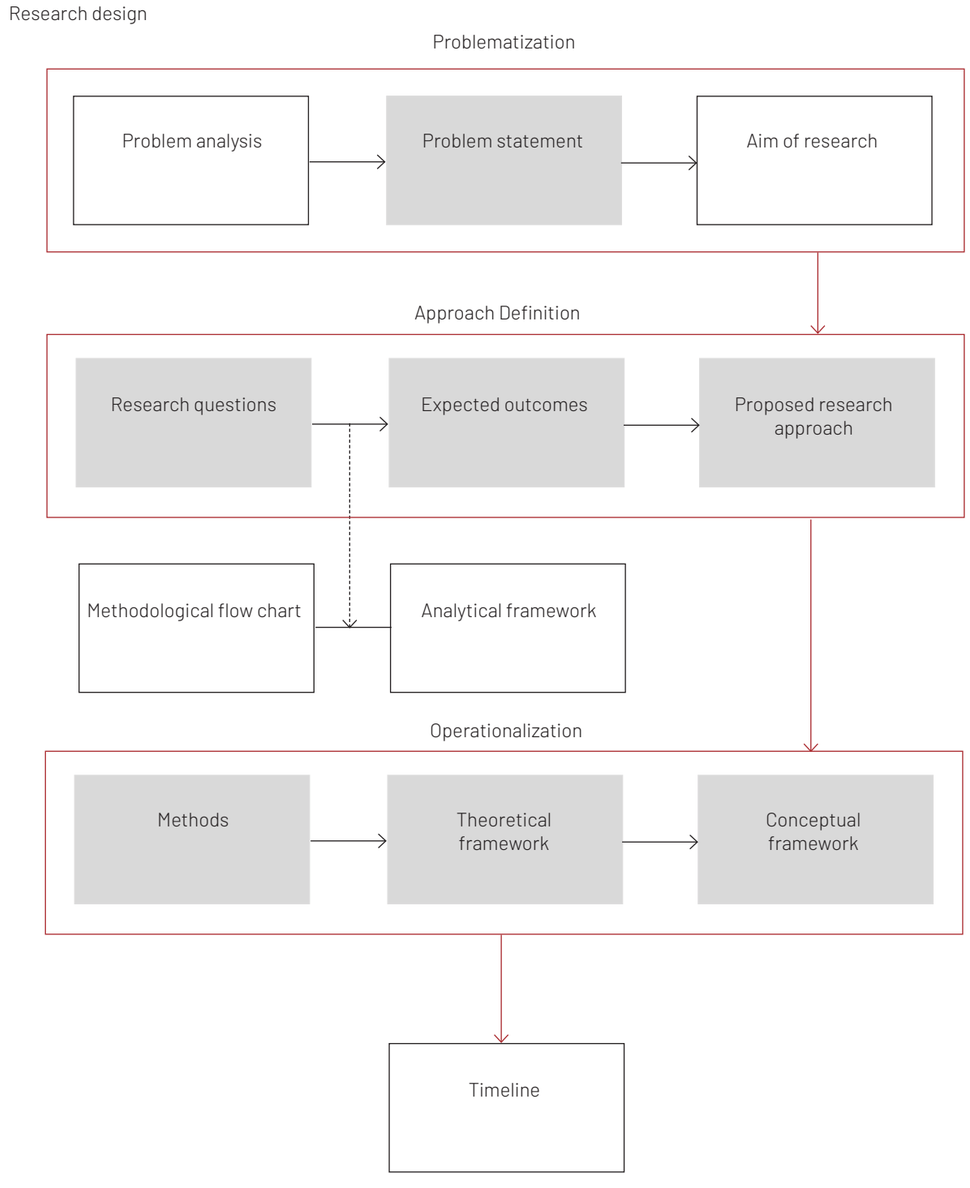


Fig. 17. Roadmap of the Chapter, by illustrating the different contents and research components

RESEARCH DESIGN

Problem statement

The metropolitan area of Santiago (MAS) is highly fragmented and presents critical levels of socio-economic and environmental segregation, which have affected mainly the most vulnerable municipal areas (Dockemdorff et al., 2000).

Given the model of urban market development that the metropolitan area has adopted, these Municipalities have entered into a vicious circle of poverty (Garreton, 2017) due to their monofunctional structure, weak accessibility, lack of substantial investment and spatial fragmentation . A main weakness is related with their lack of instruments to drive their own local development.

In this way, a homogeneous metropolitan belt of municipal areas excluded from the prevailing urban development has been formed.

The government has raised the necessity to advance towards an integrative model of governance by including the figure of a metropolitan authority (Valenzuela, 2017). However, the proposal has not been substantially clear to recognize the very structural effects of the neoliberal urban development nor the assymetries of Municipal capacities in front of that process.

The aforementioned suggests to take this context to rethink the governance structure and land use planning in order to enable alternative and integrated planning models for vulnerable Municipalities, in which they can manage strategically their land to foster an endogenous form of deveopment.

However, as the vulnerable municipalities do not have a spatial planning model that allows them to manage their land, they have been unable to attract and integrate investment at local level.

This leads us to ask what are the necessary spatial planning mechanisms to facilitate an inter municipal planning among the most vulnerable Municipalities that allow them to integrate strategically to the metropolitan structure.

Aim of research

The research aim of this project seeks to explore spatial development alternatives for municipal vulnerable areas under the current process of metropolization of Santiago driven by the current model of urban development.

Specific goals of the research seek to explore spatial actions that can enable an integrated and collaborative model of planning for cross - border municipal areas and contribute to an endogenous development. These goals entail also the need to explore potential mechanisms that could help the Municipalities to manage their urban land management.

Research question

The main research question resulting from problem statement, and research aim is:

Until what extent an inter-municipal spatial planning collaboration can contribute to an endogenous urban development to counteract segregated urban areas and advance towards a Metropolitan cohesion?

Sub research questions

The following sub-research questions explore different aspects of the research question and are related with the different variables that have framed the process of spatial segregation at the metropolitan level. These aspects are: the inter municipal planning as a integral strategy for vulnerable areas; the planning conditions nedeed for this model; and the conditions of spatial design to achieve an integrated urban development at local and metropolitan level.

About instruments

SRQ1. What are the governance and planning conditions for inter municipal planning collaboration and their implementation?

SRQ2. What are the planning instruments/actions to foster endogenous urban development in segregated areas and how can they be implemented?

About strategies

SRQ3. What are the spatial, functional and morphological conditions to enable integral urban development in segregated areas?

SRQ4. What are the spatial strategic interventions to enable integral urban development in segregated areas?

About outcomes

SRQ5. Until what extent a model of inter municipal spatial planning can contribute to an integral urban development of vulnerable areas and to a Metropolitan cohesion?

Testability

The answers to the research questions will be validated by functional and morphological integration to the metropolitan structure. These variables have been defined in the problematization and constitute the units of analysis of the case.

Intended outcomes

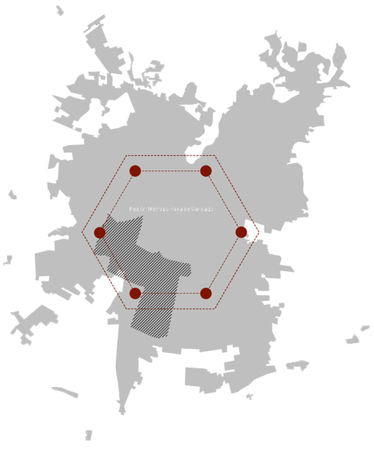
The Project proposes three main products that act intertwined through different and referential scales (Metropolitan, Urban, Local).

1. First, a multi-scale redefinition in the model of metropolitan governance to facilitate the planning operability of vulnerable municipalities.

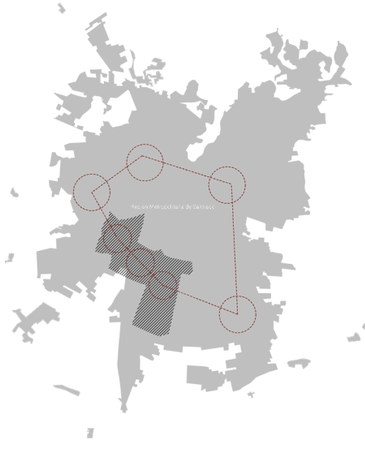
This redefinition is developed under the context of the National Policy of Urban Development (2014).

2. Secondly, an inter-municipal spatial planning strategy explored on the basis of morphological conditions.

3. Third, a strategy of spatial development, linking the metropolitan and municipal urban levels by integrating a specific set of urban projects (actions), focused in the activation and articulation of the urban tissue.



The Governance conditions



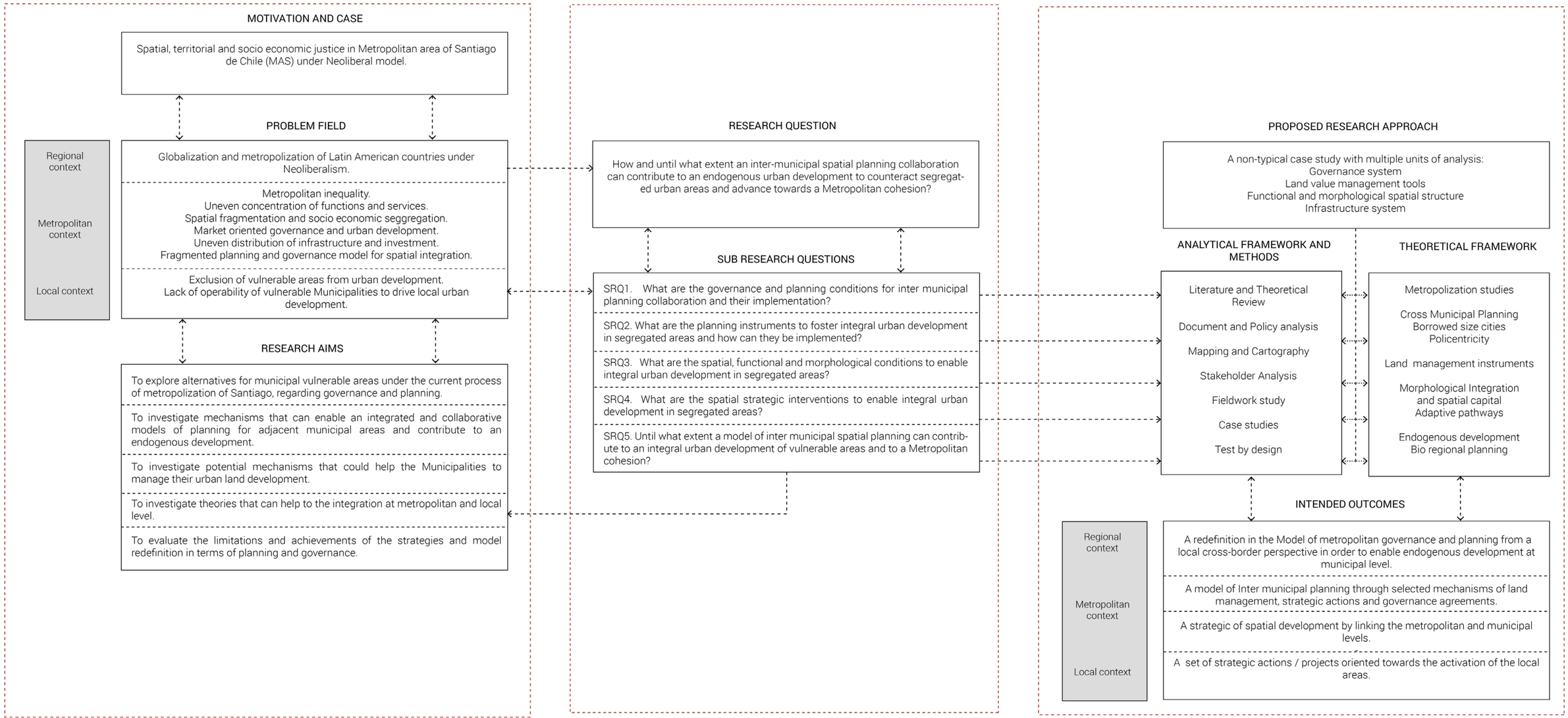
The prospected model of
Strategic inter-municipal Planning



The Strategic Projects

Methodological flowchart

The Methodological flowchart shows the sequence among the different components of the research design, including the motivation, problem field, research question and the research approach proposed.



Proposed research approach

Case study with multiple units of analysis

The research approach uses a case study with multiple units of analysis (Yin, 2014). The MAS is the case study and their units of analysis are defined as the conditioning variables or drivers that have influenced the process of socio-spatial segregation. These units are inquired in the different sub research questions. They are the next:

(1) Governance structure

Structure of normative legislation at metropolitan and municipal level.

(2) Land management operability

Dynamic of action in terms of land management and their potential instruments.

(3) Functional structure

Structure and dynamic of functions at metropolitan and municipal level.

(4) Morphological structure

Structure and dynamic of morphological composition at metropolitan and municipal level.

(5) Infrastructure system

System of metropolitan and urban infrastructure.

Non-typical Case justification

The case of Santiago is considered not typical or extreme due to the historical and institutional conditions that the country has experienced since 1973, related to the opening to globalization and the introduction of a series of neoliberal policies protected in the 1980 political constitution. As it has been expressed in the problem analysis, these policies have had a direct impact on the units of analysis previously exposed.

As Boano (2017) points out:

"The reality of this Global South metropolis where the ground conditions of neoliberalism are ideal to both discovering and experimenting alternatives, considering that Chile was one of the first places in the world in which neoliberal policies proposed by Milton Friedman were implemented. (...) The effects of these changes are visible in the city of Santiago, whose delirium laissez-faire is visible everywhere in the aspect of the urban society. In a way, Santiago provides the perfect case study to see how neoliberalism works through urbanism."

The above proposes the case of Santiago as a unique space for research in relation to the urban problems that the country has experienced during the last three decades.

About the methods

For this Project I will use a set of mixed methods, mainly qualitative. Since the research will also be based on the collection of quantitative data, possibly embedded in the qualitative research, the general approach will be considered mixed.
Given that the metropolitan area of Santiago have different sources of statistical data, documentary open information, recent research, and georeferenced information, the methods will seek to integrate the information through a convergent approach that helps to the analysis and conclusions during the process and thus the design approach.
In this regard, since the understanding of the different interactions of the units of analysis is vital to achieve the aims of the research, this will involve a triangulated and complementary approach (Greene et al., 1989).
The objective is to use different methods to specify the problem definition and with it, the design approach. In this sense, the triangulation approach can facilitate the interpretation, verification and corroboration of information from different sources or bodies of analysis.
Additionally, a complementary approach is used, which allows complementing the methodologies to facilitate the validation and significance of the results throughout the research process and avoid biases.

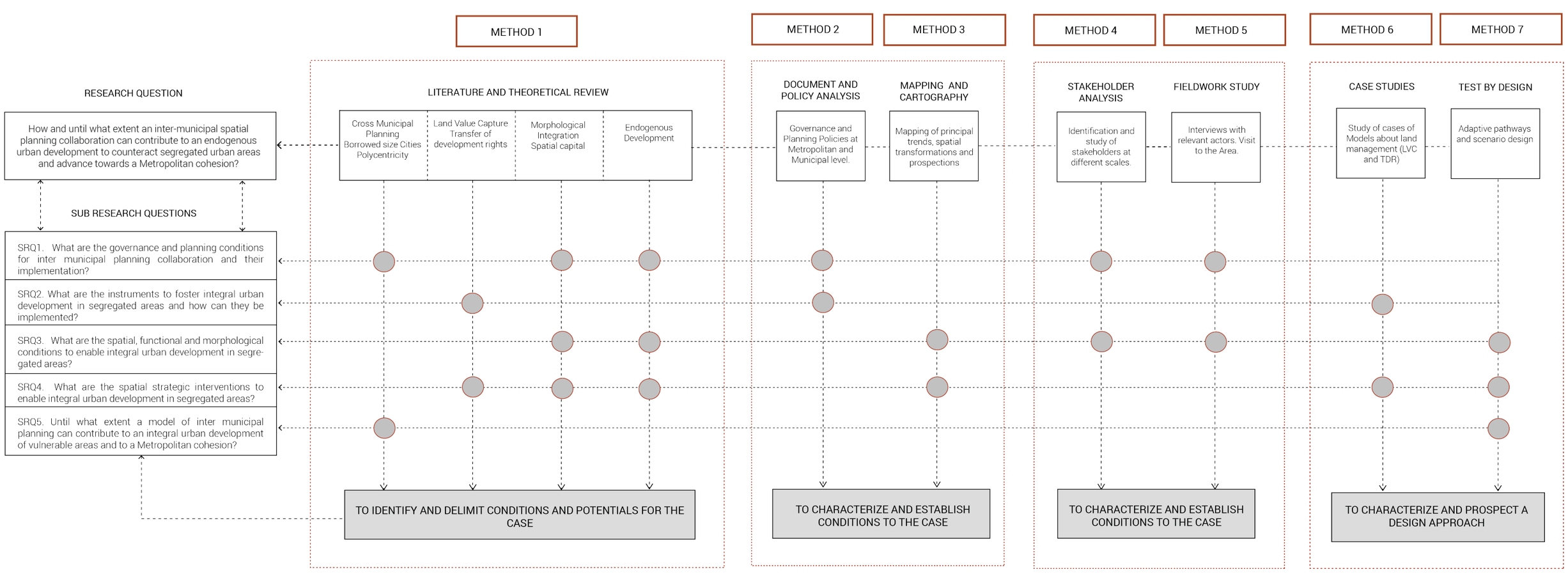
Since the data collection used in some methods involves different type of data, sources and points of inquiry, and all of them have to be interpreted, the methods have been categorized according subtypes (Johnson 2007), to clarify which methods are using quantitative information. Therefore, they are defined as shown in fig. 18.
The integrated use of the different proposed methods and the design approach will allow to answer the research questions and thus to conduct the intended outcomes.
In the following pages the analytical framework is described pointing out how the methods point in an integrated way to the research questions. Subsequently, each of the proposed methods, their objectives, expected results, types, sources and process is detailed.



Fig. 18. Graphic of the three research models, including subtypes of Mixed Research methods. Own ellaboration based on Johnson (2007).

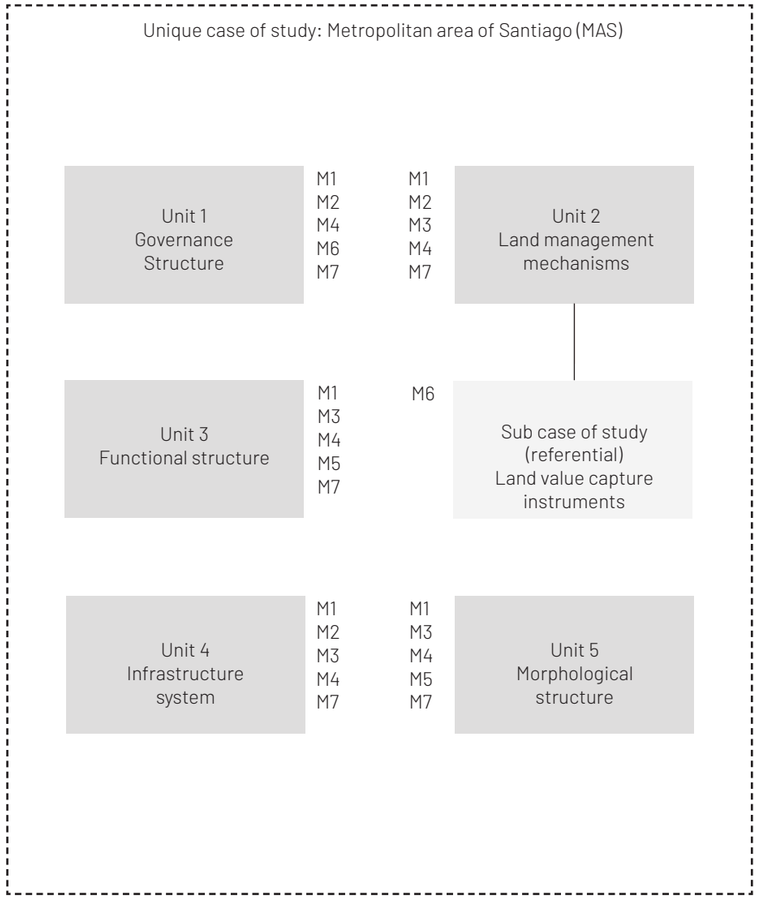
Analytical framework

The Analytical Framework shows the different methods used to address the research questions and lead to the final results. It consists of the integration of qualitative and quantitative data, integrated, allow the deployment of research.



Methodological scheme

The methodological scheme below, summarizes the type of case study, its multiple units of analysis and the type of methods used:



Method 1: Literature and theoretical review

Type:

Qualitative mixed

Sub Question addresed

1, 2, 3, 4, 5

Methods associated:

2; 3; 4; 5; 7

Aim and outcome:

The objective of this method is to identify and define operative theories and information to inform the analysis of the problem and the design approach. In the application of the method articles, books and reports are considered. To the study of the case I have focused on five major bodies of research:

1. Problem Field / Analysis: Aspects of Globalization, Neoliberal governance, urban segregation, urban eviction are the main aspects studied for the Latin american and Chilean case. The objective is to obtain main variables related with the processes of social segregation and spatial fragmentation.

2. Metropolitan and regional approach: Theories of policentricity, Cross border - planning and Borrow size cities are studied, in order to decipher certain key aspects for integrative development at metropolitan level.

3. Land development approach: Theories of transferable development rights and land value capture are studied referentially, in order to inform potential strategies applicable to the Inter Municipal planning design approach.

4. Urban activation approach: Theories and recent research are explored in terms of conditions to activate the urban environment and improve their quality. Morphological studies in terms of integration and spatial capital theories are explored in order to identify conditions and strategies at local level.

5. Endogenous development approach: An endogenous development framework is studied in order to guide the structure of the design strategy.

Main sources consulted:

- EURE; Science direct; Web of Science; Wiley; Springer; SAGE.

- Centro de Estudios Publicos / Center of Public Studies (CEP).

- Instituto de Vivienda Universidad de Chile / University of Chile Housing Institute (INVI).

- Centro de Desarrollo Urbano Sustentable / Center of Sustainable Urban Development (CEDEUS).

- Comision Económica para Latinoamerica y el Caribe / Latin American and Caribbean Economic comission (CEPAL).

Main authors:

Globalization, Neoliberal Urbanism and Metropolization:
Jonathan Friedman, Neil Brenner, David Harvey, Erik Swyngedouw, Daniel Kozak, Michael Storper, Stephen Graham, Carlos De Mattos, Camilo Boanno, Francisco Vergara, Rodrigo Hidalgo, Matias Garreton.

Spatial Fragmentation, Urban and Environmental Segregation:
Ann Legeby, Laura Vaughan, Ernesto Lopez; Hugo Romero; Francisco Sabatini, Rodrigo Hidalgo, Pablo Mansilla.

Polycentricity, Cross Municipal Planning and Borrow size Cities:
Evert Meijers, Martijn Burger, Nick Green, Maros Finka, Martin Becerril-Padua, Miguel Angel Garcia-Lopez, Joren Jacobs.

Land Value management:
William Alonso, Carlos Morales, Paulo Sandroni, Martim Smolka, Abigail Friendly.

Morphological Integration and Social capital:
Bill Hillier, Lars Marcus, Ann Legeby, Taeke de Jong, John Habraken.

Endogenous development and strategic spatial planning:
Sergio Boisier, Antonio Vasquez-Barquero, Manfred Max-Neef, Michael Storper, Doina Petrescu, Elinor Ostrom, Patsey Healey, Judith Innes, Louis Albrechts.

Procedure:

1. Relevant articles, reports, books and papers are selected according to their pertinence to the case, from global to local perspective.

2. Relevant findings are selected per topic, regarding for the election complementary material as models, statistics, trends evolution, historical analysis and maps.

3. A summary of findings and conclusions is created, in order to converge a new and operative knowledge to inform the design strategy.

4. The new knowledge is then integrated with the rest of conclusions and results to inform the outcomes.

Method 2: Policy and document analysis

Type:

Pure mixed

Sub Question addresed

1, 2

Methods associated:

1 ; 5

Aim and outcome:

The objective of this method is to collect, analyze and synthesize main policies instruments of planning at the regional, metropolitan and municipal levels regarding the design approach. The aim is to identify the governance structures, gaps and articulations that have facilitated urban development at municipal level in its current form. In addition, the study seeks to reveal the character and limitations as well as the discourse embedded in the policies. Finally, the study should guide to the definition of the limitations and potentialities of an Inter Municipal Planning Strategy regarding the governance structure.

Main sources consulted:

- Santiago Metropolitan Regulator plan (PRMS)
- Regulator Communal plan (Municipalities selected).
- Local Urban Ordinance (Municipalities selected).
- General Ordinance of Urbanism (OGUC), Communal Plans of development (Municipalities selected.
- General Law of Urbanism and Constructions (LGUC).
- National Plan of Infrastructure.

Procedure:

1. Main planning and governance policies sources have to be collected and studied.

2. A a summary of the aspects to research regarding governance at metropolitan and municipal level is created.

3. Main aspects are identified and summarized.

4. The different aspects are studied and and analyzed in order to identify: relations, limitations and potentialities regarding a prospective alternative of inter-municipal spatial planning collaboration.

5. The outcomes are crossed and complemented with the outcomes from the methods associated.

6. A diagnosis is obtained in order to inform the design proposal.

Method 3: Mapping

Type:

Qualitative mixed

Sub Question addresed

3, 4

Methods associated:

1; 2; 3; 4

Aim and outcome:

The objective of this method is to map the conflicts, conditionings of the problem and potentialities (Corner, 1999). For this, the mapping is concentrated in the main units of analysis of the Metropolitan case: socio-economic spatial structure, land use variation, metropolitan structural constraints, social networks, functions and morphological conditions.

Data is obtained through official sources of geo information or reports and also by empirical analysis during the fieldtrip.

Main sources:

- Instituto Nacional de Estadisticas de Chile /National Institute of Statistics (INE)
- Observatorio de Ciudades UC / Cities Observatory (OCUC)
- Existent Maps and Reports.
- Empirical fieldwork.

Procedure:

1. A selection of geodata material is downloaded from official sources of information to create a basis.

2. Main aspects are mapped according to the units of analysis considered, regarding offical and empirical data. All the sources are considered complementary.

3. Main aspects are identified and summarized according to each stage during the process of researching.

4 The outcomes are integrated and complemented with the outcomes from the methods associated.

Method 4: Stakeholder analysis

Type:

Qualitative mixed

Sub Question addresed

1, 3

Methods associated:

1 ; 2

Aim and outcome:

The objective of this method is to recognize the main actors that have intervened in the metropolization process, according to the units of analysis previously described. These actors are understood as Institutions, companies or public agents that operate at different levels within the governance structure. It is intended to conclude the use of this method the main relationships, inter dependencies and influences determined by these actors to identify limitations and potentialities for the design approach. The final outcome consists in a redefinition of the critical aspects of the structure that could facilitate the approach of intermunicipal planning.

Main sources consulted:

- Municipalities Corporation (CONAM).
- Ministry of Public Works (MOP).
- Ministry of Housing and Urbanism (MINVU).
- Ministry of Transport and Telecommunications (MTT).

Procedure:

1. Main Institutions, companies and Organizations related with the process of Metropolization are identified.

2. A model of evaluation is created, by identifying the different relations, hierarchies and authorities in relation of the management of the urban system.

3. Main highlights and issues are identified and summarized.

4. The different aspects are studied and analized in order to purpose different mechanisms of power redistribution.

5. The outcomes are crossed and complemented with the outcomes from the methods associated.

Method 5: Fieldwork analysis

Type:

Pure Qualitative

Question addresed

1, 3

Methods associated:

1; 2

Aim and outcome:

The fieldwork study consists of visiting the intervention area to reveal specific information about the governance dynamic and the territorial characteristics. The main objective is to identify the different issues that the main professionals, researchers and civil actors of the territory have, considering the different opinions and interests.

To do this, two sub methods are used:

- Semi-structured interviews of the main actors: municipal planners, social organizations and urban experts. The study seeks to establish a range of opinions from different experts and professionals.

- Critical field analysis, to identify the main urban issues and characteristics of the Municipal areas. Through this method, pictures, sketches and maps are developed.

Main sources:

- Secretary of Planning (SECPLA) of Municipality of Cerrillos, Pedro Aguirre Cerda and Lo Espejo.
- Social Organizations of Communes of Cerrillos, Pedro Aguirre Cerda and Lo Espejo.
- Experts related to the case: Alfredo Rodriguez (Urbanist), Luis Eduardo Bresciani (Ex-President of the National Urban Development Council of Chile), Ernesto Lopez (Researcher and urbanist), Rodrigo Martin (Researcher), Eduardo Zenteno (MINVU professional) and Louis Albrechts (Urbanist).

Procedure:

1. Surveys and forms for fieldwork are developed.

2. The directors of the Municipal Units and the experts involved are contacted to conduce the interviews.

3. A fieldtrip is programmed and carried out during January, according the timeline of the thesis project.

4. Surveys and field analysis are done.

5. An analysis of the results is done, and the outcomes are summarized to inform the design process.

6. The outcomes are crossed and complemented with the design development and the methods associated.

Method 6: Case studies

Type:

Qualitative mixed

Sub Question addresed

2, 4

Methods associated:

2 ; 4; 7

Aim and outcome:

The project uses the case study of Santiago as a central focus of research design. However, the strategy also explore (referentially) land management mechanisms through an strategic spatial planning perspective (Albrechts, 2004). In this way some instruments as transferable development rights (TDR) and land value captures mechanisms (LVC) experiences in Brazil, Colombia and Hong Kong are explored. These models are contrasted in terms of land use legislation with the Chilean case. Choices are done in base to availability of information and context similarity.

Main sources consulted:

LVC/TDR foreign models (cases):
- Colombian model and Brazilian model (Sandroni, 2012).
- Hong Kong case (Zuzuki, et. al, 2015)

Chilean legislation about land:
- Articles 19 Nº and Nº20, 1980, Chilean Constitution.
- Decrees of Law Nº 18.695 (Municipalities), Nº 1.939 (Law of adquisition and management of State goods), Nº 458 (General law of Urbanism and Constructions).
- Supreme Decree of Law Nº47 (General Ordinance of Urbanism and Constructions).

Procedure:

1. General theories about LVC and TDR are studied.

2. The selected cases are studied in relation to land use planning Chilean case.

3. Conclusions about strategic policies are obtained based on Chilean land use mechanisms.

4. General policies inform the strategic inter-municipal planning test by design.

Method 7: Test by design

Type:

Qualitative mixed

Sub Question addresed

3, 4, 5

Methods associated:

1; 2; 3; 4

Aim and outcome:

The objective of this method is to evaluate the strategic inter-municipal spatial planning approach through the design process of the outcomes. As the main thesis is conducted through research by design, the objective is to evaluate the design approach through the main conditionings detected in the problem analysis and to explore potential possibilities trhough its development. To carry out this process, an adaptive pathway method (Haasnoot et. al, 2013) is applied, based on an spatial capital approach (Marcus, 2010).

Main sources:

- Thesis Design Project.
- Research Questions.
- Conditioners of metropolitan structure (integration).

Procedure:

1. A convergence of all the previous methods described has to lead to the intended outcomes of design.

2. The outcomes inform the adaptive roadmap based on scenarios, to inform the limitations, implications and potentialities of the design approach.

3. Final reflections are summarized according to the limitations, potentialities and feasibility of the inter-municipal spatial planning developed approach.

4. Research questions are addressed and future research ideas are explored.

Theoretical framework

The theoretical framework is built through the practical and complementary application of the concepts and theoretical constructs which lead to the understanding of the problem and the design approach. Main theoretical constructs related to the strategic approach are briefly explained.

Metropolitan concepts

Cross-Border Planning
Cross-border planning is a practical approach to enable cooperation among governmental institutions that share the same geographical space and thus common challenges. Municipal cooperation based on common strategical interest are encouraged to use this approach. Although this approach comes from Europe and it is applied to large-scale areas, its use is becoming more and more relevant for metropolitan areas with higher levels of spatial fragmentation. As Sohn (2009) recognizes:
"From a political perspective, the border situation enables the local authorities to hope for increased autonomy through cooperation and alliances which transcend institutional and territorial divides".

Borrowed size cities

The concept of borrowed size is proposed by Alonso (1973) and consists of smaller urban areas that benefit or "borrow" from the economic agglomeration of more economically active areas at the metropolitan level. In the case of metropolitan areas or mega-regions, this phenomenon occurs among cities, within a spatial network that facilitates benefits for complex urban dynamics as transport, accessibility, and functions (Meijers and Burger, 2017). This can be a positive process if an integrated governance acts strategically based on local challenges.

Endogenous Development
Endogenous development approach is a frame focused on the transition from the current model of urban development driven by globalization forces, towards a local development based on territorial and local conditions. Vazquez-Barquero (2002) see the approach as a notion able to be an effective instrument for analysis and action, in which the territory is redefined. As Vazquez-Barquero recognizes (2007):
"the territory is no longer merely a place where resources and economic activities are located. Its analysis explains how economic viability is possible due to the generation of a surplus and how it is affected by external economies of scale and the reduction of production and transaction costs. In this process, the territory works as an agent for transformation because local firms and other actors interact in order to develop the economy and society.

Land management instruments

Land value capture
According to Friendly (2017):
"Land value capture refers to the public sector's recovery of part or all of the land value increments or "windfalls" accruing to new development through taxes, fees, exactions, or improvements that benefit the wider community."

The mechanisms of the capture of surplus value have become increasingly relevant especially in favor of municipalities or districts. This strategy is ultimately translated into an investment at the local level.

Transferable development rights

The transferability of development rights (TDR) consists of public policy programs used to re-direct development actions in strategic areas. As stated by Pruetz and Standridge (2008), the primary objective is to reduce or eliminate the potential for harmful development in places that should be preserved and to move it to spatial areas where this growth or development is required. The definition of these areas to preserve or care for is an essential part of local needs, in order to guide their development strategically.

Design approaches

Morphological transformation and spatial capital

Spatial segregation is not just a phenomenon on a metropolitan scale. The consolidation of mono-residential areas is determined by an interplay of factors at the local level, related to the configuration of the urban space itself. In this sense, it is relevant to recognize the profile and characteristics of the segregated communities (Legeby, 2009) to recognize their potentialities. Thus, strategies that can reduce segregation are not only related to public policies at a metropolitan scale.

As Buraglia (2009) explains, the updating strategies for segregated areas must consider a series of design issues at the morphological level (streets, plots, blocks, buildings). Among the most important, the role of the public space as a place of activity and integration. Secondly, the incorporation of transport networks that can facilitate activation through accessibility. Thirdly, the local economic activity through the management of land use patterns. Finally, the updating of housing typologies. Thus, morphological, functional activation obeys to another relational scale that is embbeded into a larger spatial scale.

In addition, Marcus (2007) recognizes that to address issues of segregation, it is necessary to understand how density, accessibility, and functional diversity. This integration defines the level of urbanity, understood as to how urban form influences social performativity, and therefore, it is related to social capital (Putnam, 2012).

Co-production perspectives

Local development, as an endogenous process, must necessarily change the production paradigm of the urban. Elinor Ostrom (1996) defined the concept as:
"a process through which inputs from individuals who are not "in" the same organization are transformed into goods and services."

At the urban level, this has two direct political implications, on the one hand, the greater involvement of the production of the urban and the association of these actions as part of new ecologies and local economies. As Petcou and Petrescu (2015) define:
"It is not only about the manner in which public needs are to be met, but also about citizens' rights. In this case, the citizens' right to the city does not only mean the right to occupy space in it, but it also means to decide how it is developed, managed and used"

Adaptive pathways and design based on scenarios

As a method, the adaptive pathway proposed by Haasnoot et al. (2013) allows visualizing an ensemble of scenarios depending on the desirable future at the stage, altogether with their objectives. Furthermore, the approach allows to determine when a scenario reaches a turning tipping point (Kwadijk et al. 2010) in which its level of resilience of a system is insufficient to be able to continue in the pursuit of its objectives. In this way, under each adaptation inflection point, possible adaptation routes emerge reformulating the scenario to pursue its goals. This approach could help to understand the different variations and implications along with a test by the design process.

Besides, scenarios represent the possibility to explore and show alternatives or desirable futures. As Stojanovic et al. (2014) recognizes, the scenario planning can reduce the uncertainty by creating and identifying possible alternative paths but at the same time can work as an argumentative form. These aspects can inform a process of reflection and questioning in terms of the possibility of agreements, interactions and spatial actions among different actors.

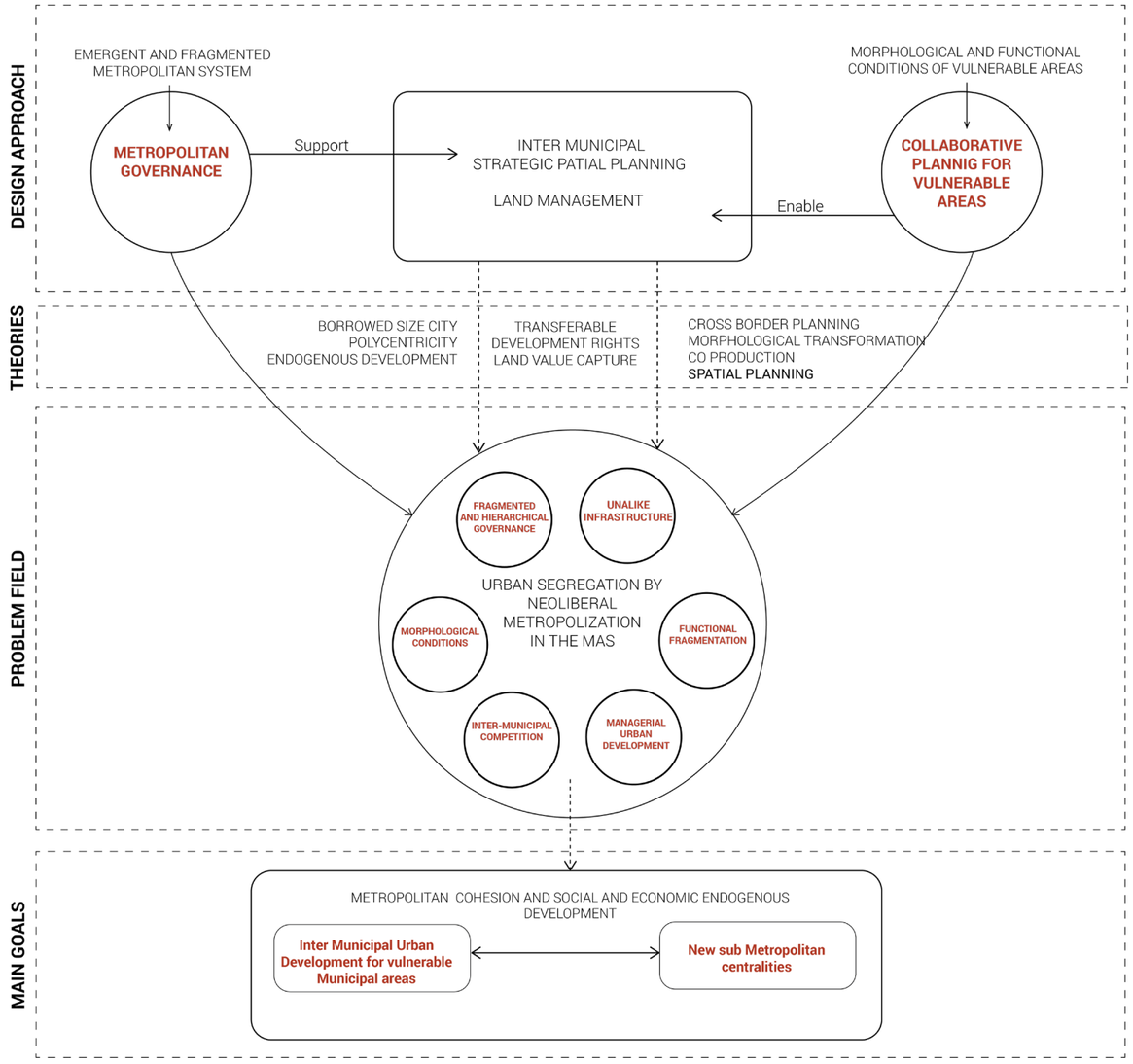
Conceptual framework

The conceptual framework shows the relation between problem field, approach and aim of research, by establishing the different links between all the components involved in the research.

As shown in the graphic diagram, the conceptual framework links the field and analysis of the problem, pointing out the incident variables in the phenomenon of urban segregation during the metropolization process (units of analysis).

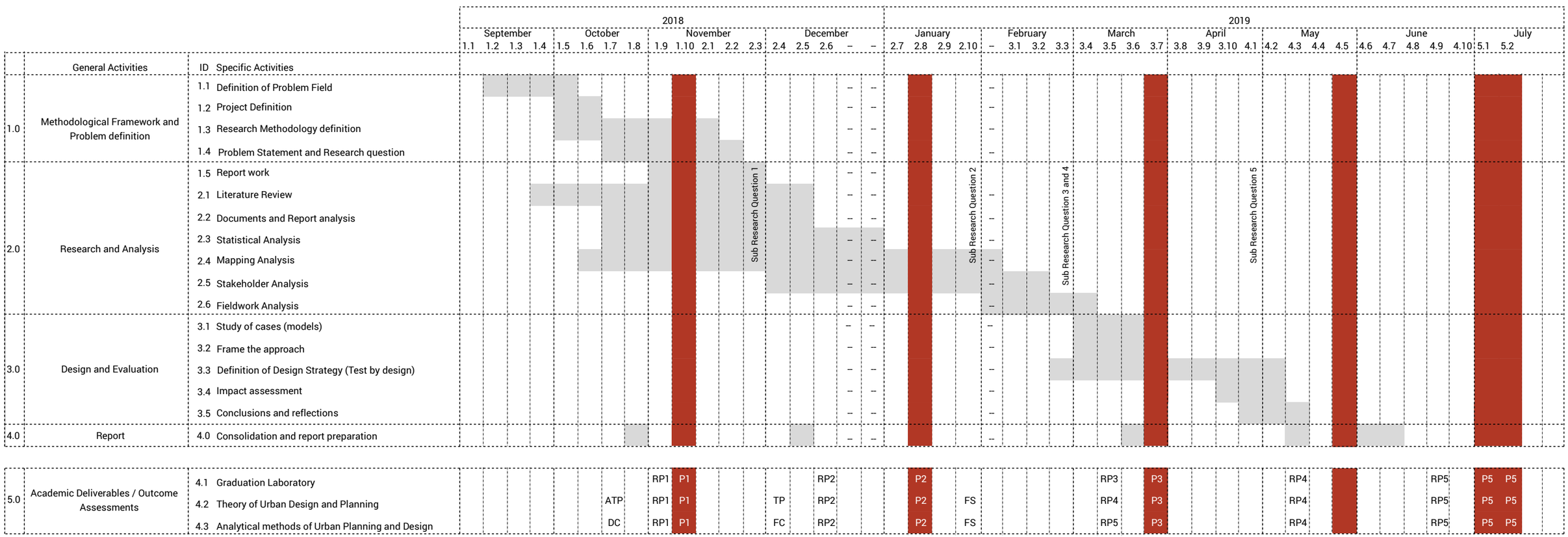
This system of variables or conditioning factors is linked to the strategic approach derived from the research question. In this sense, the approach is associated with the theories explored in the theoretical framework, according to the different scales of the problem.

Finally, the interaction of these constructs should guide towards the objective of metropolitan cohesion and endogenous urban development at inter-municipal level.



Timeline

The timeline shows the main activities and the specific activities to be developed during the graduation year. Main activities are sub divided in three main categories according to each stage of the process: Methodology and problem definition, Research and analysis and Design and evaluation. At the same time, the timeline shows how the development of the procces achieve the different answers to the research questions by unfolding all the activities.



RP1: Hand in Report P1
RP2: Hand in Report P2
RP3: Hand in Report P3
RP4: Hand in Report P4
RP5: Hand in Report P5

P1: P1 period
P2: P2 period
P3: P3 period
P4: P4 period
P5: P5 period

ATP: Hand in Abstract theory paper
DC: Draft Methodology Chapter
TP: Hand in theory paper
FC: Hand in Final Methodology Chapter
FS: Feedback sessions

REFERENCES

Articles

Albrechts, L. (2004) 'Strategic (spatial) planning reexamined', Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design. doi: 10.1068/b3065. Alonso, W. (1971) 'The economics of urban size', Papers of the Regional Science Association. doi: 10.1007/BF01908693.

Alonso, W. (1973) Urban zero population growth. Daedalus 109: 191–206.

Boano, C. and Vergara-Perucich, F. (2017) Neoliberalism and urban development in Latin America: the case of Santiago. Routledge. Available at: https://www.routledge.com/Neoliberalism-and-Urban-Development-in-Latin-America-The-Case-of-Santiago/Boano-Vergara-Perucich/p/book/9781138123694 (Accessed: 13 September 2018).

Boisier, S. (2004) 'Desarrollo territorial y descentralización. El desarrollo en el lugar y en las manos de la gente', Revista EURE. doi: 10.4067/S0250-71612004009000003.

Buraglia Duarte, P. G. (2009) 'Informal settlements: A neglected aspect of morphological analysis', Urban Morphology.

Corner, J. (1999). Recovering landscape : essays in contemporary landscape architecture. New York: Princeton Architectural Press.

Cruz, I., Stahel, A. and Max-Neef, M. (2009) 'Towards a systemic development approach: Building on the Human-Scale Development paradigm', Ecological Economics. doi: 10.1016/j.ecolecon.2009.02.004.

De Mattos, C. (2007) Globalización, negocios inmobiliarios y transformación urbana. Available at: http://nuso.org/media/articles/downloads/3481_1.pdf (Accessed: 28 October 2018).

Dockemdorff, E., Rodríguez, A. and Winchester, L. (2000) 'Santiago de Chile: metropolization, globalization and inequity', Environment and Urbanization. Sage PublicationsSage CA: Thousand Oaks, CA, 12(1), pp. 171–183. doi: 10.1177/095624780001200112.

Friendly, A. (2017) Land Value Capture and Social Beneets: Toronto and São Paulo Compared. Available at: http://munkschool.utoronto.ca/imfg/ (Accessed: 1 November 2018).

Galilea O., S. (1988) 'Efectos del metro en la estructura urbana de Santiago.' Available at: https://repositorio.uc.cl/handle/11534/3795 (Accessed: 7 October 2018).

Garreton, M. (2017) 'City profile: Actually existing neoliberalism in Greater Santiago', Cities. doi: 10.1016/j.cities.2017.02.005.

Graham, S. and Marvin, S. (2001) Splintering Urbanism, Technology. doi: 10.4324/9780203452202.

Greene, J. C., Caracelli, V. J. and Graham, W. F. (1989) 'Toward a Conceptual Framework for Mixed-Method Evaluation Designs', Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis. doi: 10.3102/01623737011003255.

Haasnoot, M. et al. (2013) 'Dynamic adaptive policy pathways: A method for crafting robust decisions for a deeply uncertain world', Global Environmental Change. doi: 10.1016/j.gloenvcha.2012.12.006.

Johnson, R. B., Onwuegbuzie, A. J. and Turner, L. A. (2007) 'Toward a Definition of Mixed Methods Research', Journal of Mixed Methods Research. doi: 10.1177/1558689806298224.

Jiménez, V. et al. (2018) 'Normalización del modelo neoliberal de expansión residencial más allá del límite urbano en Chile y España', Eure. doi: 10.4067/s0250-71612018000200027.

Kwadijk, J. C. J. et al. (2010) 'Using adaptation tipping points to prepare for climate change and sea level rise: A case study in the Netherlands', Wiley Interdisciplinary Reviews: Climate Change. doi: 10.1002/wcc.64.

Legeby, A. (2009) 'Accessibility and Urban Life Aspects on Social Segregation', in Proceedings of the 7th International Space Syntax Symposium, Stockholm.

López-Morales, E. J. (2010) Real Estate Market, State-Entrepreneurialism and Urban Policy in the 'Gentrification by Ground Rent Dispossession' of Santiago de Chile. Available at: www.portalinmobiliario.com; (Accessed: 21 October 2018).

López-Morales, E. J.(2013) 'Urban Entrepreneurialism and Creative Destruction: A Case-study of the Urban Renewal Strategy in the Pericentre of Santiago de Chile, 1990-2005'. University College of London. Available at: https://infonavit.janium.net/janium/Documentos/035807.pdf (Accessed: 9 December 2018).

Marcus, L. (2007) 'Spatial Capital and How To Measure It', 6th International Space Syntax Symposium İstanbul 2007.

Meijers, E. J. and Burger, M. J. (2017) 'Stretching the concept of "borrowed size"', Urban Studies. SAGE Publications Sage UK: London, England, 54(1), pp. 269–291. doi: 10.1177/0042098015597642.

Ostrom, E. (1996) 'Crossing the great divide: Coproduction, synergy, and development', World Development. doi: 10.1016/0305-750X(96)00023-X.

Petcou, C. and Petrescu, D. (2015) 'R-URBAN or how to co-produce a resilient city', Ephemera: Theory & Politics in Organization.

Pruetz, R. and Standridge, N. (2008) 'What Makes Transfer of Development Rights Work?: Success Factors From Research and Practice', Journal of the American Planning Association. doi: 10.1080/01944360802565627.

Putnam, R. D. (2012) 'The Prosperous Community: Social Capital and Public Life', The American Prospect.

Ruiz-Tagle, J., Imilan Ojeda, W. and Lukas, M. (2017) 'Santiago de Chile en disputa: de la avalancha neoliberal a las alternativas de resistencia y auto-gestión'. Available at: http://repositorio.uchile.cl/handle/2250/144581 (Accessed: 13 September 2018).

Sandroni, P. (2012) Plusvalía Urbana, Fuente de Financiamiento de Infraestructura: La experiencia de Brasil y Colombia, Área de pensamiento estratégico. Available at: http://biblioteca.camarco.org.ar/libro/plusvalia-urbana-fuente-de-financiamiento-de-infraestructura-la-experiencia-de-brasil-y-colombia/ (Accessed: 21 May 2019).

Schneider, B. R. (2013) Hierarchical Capitalism in Latin America. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi: 10.1017/CBO9781107300446.

Sohn, C., Reitel, B. and Walther, O. (2009) 'Cross-Border Metropolitan Integration in Europe: The Case of Luxembourg, Basel, and Geneva', Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy. SAGE PublicationsSage UK: London, England, 27(5), pp. 922–939. doi: 10.1068/c0893r.

Stojanović, M., Mitković, P., and Mitković, M. (2014) Facta universitatis. Series architecture and civil engineering. University of Niš. doi: DOI: 10.2298/FUACE1401081S.

Suzuki, H. et al. (2015) Financing Transit-Oriented Development with Land Values: Adapting Land Value Capture in Developing Countries, Financing Transit-Oriented Development with Land Values: Adapting Land Value Capture in Developing Countries. doi: 10.1596/978-1-4648-0149-5.

Valenzuela, E. and Toledo, C. (2017) 'Pugna por gobernanza urbano-metropolitana en Chile: resistencia de agencias y reforma intergubernamental con poder regional', Revista Urbano, 20(35), pp. 18–31. doi: 10.22320/07813607.2017.20.35.02.

Vásquez-Barquero, A. (2002) Endogenous development: analytical and policty issues.

Vásquez-Barquero, A. (2007)'Desarrollo endógeno. Teorías y politicas de desarrollo territorial', Investigaciones Regionales. doi: 10.1080/09654313.2012.716246.

Yin, R. K. (2014) Case study research: Design and methods (5th ed.), Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications. doi: 10.1097/00001610-199503000-00004.

Zegras, C. and Gakenheimer, R. (2000) 'Urban growth management for mobility: the case of the Santiago, Chile Metropolitan Region', Report prepared for the Lincoln Institute of Land Policy and the MIT Cooperative Mobility Program.

Reports and figures

Bergoeing, R. and Razmilic, S. (2017) Desarrollo Urbano de Santiago: Perspectivas y Lecciones. Available at: www.cepchile.cl (Accessed: 1 November 2018).

Instituto de Estudios Urbanos y Territoriales Universidad Católica and Cámara Chilena de la Construcción (2018) ICVU 2018 Índice de Calidad de Vida Urbana Comunas y Ciudades de Chile. Santiago de Chile. Available at: http://estudiosurbanos.uc.cl/images/investigaciones/Arturo_Orellana/ICVU_2018/20180508_ICVU_2018_-_Version_Definitiva.pdf (Accessed: 1 November 2018).

Consejo Nacional de Desarrollo Urbano and Gobierno de Chile (2018) Nueva Institucionalidad para la Gobernanza Urbana. Available at: http://cndu.gob.cl/wp-content/uploads/2018/03/3.-PROPUESTAS-PARA-UNA-NUEVA-INSTITUCIONALIDAD-PARA-LA-GOBERNANZA-URBANA.pdf (Accessed: 1 November 2018).

Global Cities Inititative (2016) Global Santiago, Profiling the Metropolitan Region's competitiveness an connections. Available at: https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/BMPP_GCI_Santiago_Final-LowRes-1.pdf (Accessed: 1 November 2018).Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas de Chile (no date) Compendio Estadístico. Available at: www.ine.cl; (Accessed: 1 November 2018)

OECD (2018), Income inequality (indicator). doi: 10.1787/459aa7f1-en (Accessed on 01 November 2018)

OECD (2018) Estudios Económicos de la OCDE Chile. Available at: www.oecd.org/eco/surveys/economic-survey-.htm (Accessed: 1 November 2018).

5. FRAMING THE APPROACH

Overview

This chapter frames the last stage of the analysis. It is composed by three main bodies: a governance analysis (stakeholders), a municipal characterization and a spatial analysis at inter municipal level. This framing allows to define the main goals and actions in these three dimensions.

The analysis is developed from the basis of the fieldwork (to check the interviews go to the appendix) and allows to define a general map of potentials at different scales altogether with the main goals for each municipal area.

Firstly, the macro governance stakeholder structure is defined to see the limitations of the current model. Secondly, the communal areas are characterized based on their social, economic and environmental structure in order to establish the Communes goals. Lastly, the main issues of the inter municipal area are presented with a caracterization of the functional and spatial structure. Thus, the main strategic actions are defined.

The intersection and articulation of these analytical bodies determine a multiscalar map of potentials and the general vision for the area.

In that regard, main critical goals are revealed along this chapter. In methodological terms, to carry out this process, a method of triangulation and complementarity, mentioned earlier in the methodological chapter, has been used to be concluded in the next chapter.

Sections

5.1 Governance context analysis

5.2 Municipal areas characterization

5.3 Inter communal spatial analysis

5.4 References

Governance context analysis

The governance context analysis is carried out based on the field study (interviews and material collected), related research and theoretical material.

The stakeholders are defined here, by using the descriptions of Nutt and Backhoff (1992), Bryson (1995) and Johnson et al., (2005), as all the main parts, individuals or groups, that are affected (dependants) and affect the organizational model.

The information collected allows to define two aspects, that allows to understood the general behaviour and conditions of the different stakeholders:

1. The logic of participation (power) that each stakeholder has in the current planning and governance model, along with his will and interest towards change and,

2. The relationship and hierarchy between the different relationships performed by the stakeholders according to three aspects (units of analysis): infrastructure development, land management and planning capacities.

Participation logic

For the modeling of the first aspect, the proposed model of stakeholder mapping, developed by Murray-Webster and Simon (2006), has been adapted. This model is three-dimensional and defines the stakeholders according to their interest, power and attitude. In this regard, for the purposes of this analysis, these concepts are defined as follows:

- Power, as the ability to influence the institutional model of relationships, which can be supported from a political-legal, or economic control of resources.

- Interest in the change of the governance model, which can vary between an "active" or "passive" interest.

- Attitude, as the will to support the change to the governance model, which can vary between "support" or "block".

Additionally, the model defines the position adopted by the different actors in eight categories. However, according to their correspondence with the stakeholders involved in the model of governance, only six categories are used. It should be noted that these descriptions are not exclusive and share characteristics in some cases (hybridization). In addition, the level of power, attitude, and interest also can vary in relation to the position. The descriptive positions, adapted according to this analysis, are showed in the table (figure 19).

Relationship and hierarchy

For the modeling of this aspect, the onion diagram developed by Czischke Ljubetic (2018) has been used. The diagram allows to visualize the position and relationship of the stakeholders around a project or a process. In this case, the diagram shows the relationships established according to critical fields of the current urban development model. The diagram uses three rings that surround a center, which corresponds to the "field" or "process" and is virtually divided into three domains to which the different stakeholders belong: market, state and civil society. This distinction sheds light on the different motivations of each actor.

The distance of each ring from the center, from the closest to the farthest, reflects the level of operational involvement, power or action in the process. The onion diagram used in this analysis is based on three aspects that determine the position in the process along with the relationships woven between stakeholders. Adapted from the original model, these aspects are the following:

- Domain of resources: understood as the power over legal and economic resources with which the stakeholder has to intervene in the process.

- Veto: understood as the ability of the stakeholder to affect positively or negatively in the process given the domain of resources it has.

- Legitimacy: understood as the level of acceptance and authority in the process, given the basic conditions.

For the purposes of the case analysis, the diagram has been adapted to show the relationships based on three critical capacities related to planning. In turn, these capabilities constitute the units of analysis proposed in the analysis of the problem. These are the following:

- Infrastructure development

- Land management

- Operability for Planning

Aditionally, the relationships are also classified according to three caracterizations:

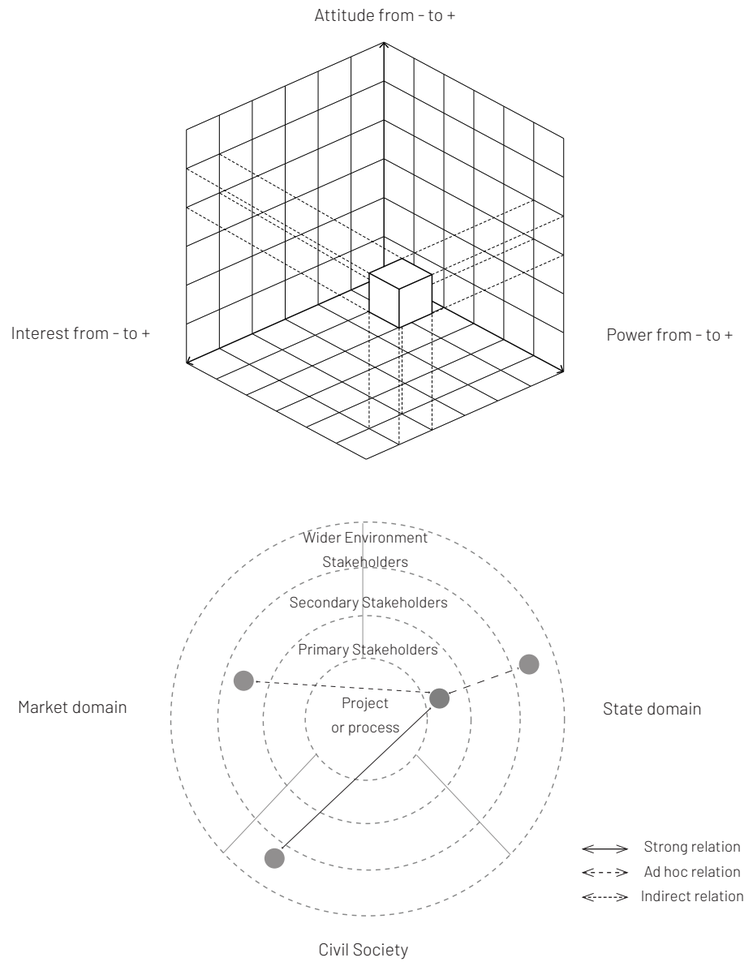
- Strong relationship of exchange or collaboration: related to a high frequency, mutual influence or dependence.

- Ad hoc relationship of exchange or collaboration: limited to exchanges or mutual actions in technical, financing or service areas.

- Indirect relationship: related to the implicit and the contextual, without a direct relationship between the stakeholders but with a gradient in influence.

Stakeholder category	Description	Relative Power	Relative Attitude (A)	Relative Interest (I)	Stakeholder in the model	Scale of action
Savior	It has a high level of power, a wide interest in change and a positive and relatively influential attitude. They need to be incorporated regarding their needs to push forward.	High	Positive	High	Public companies	Metropolitan Supra Municipal
					Regional government	
Friend	It is not possess greater power, but has a high interest and positive attitude toward change. It can become a blocker according to the interest that supports. It considers himself a confident and acts as a sounding board.	Low	Positive	High	Municipalities	Municipal
					Neighbors	
					Social organizations	
Saboteur	It has a high level of power, high interest but negative attitude towards change. It can be highly influential and an active blocker. It needs to be highly involved in order to disengaged.	High	Negative	High	State	Metropolitan Inter municipal Municipal
					Real estate market	
Sleeping giant	It is a powerful actor, with low or medium interest and possitive attitude. It can be highly influential. It needs to be confronted and engaged in order to "awake".	High	Positive	Low / medium	State	Metropolitan Inter municipal Municipal
Acquaintance	It has low power, low interest but relatively positive attitude. It is a passive actor. It needs to be engaged.	High	Positive	Low / medium	Franchised infrastructure companies	Metropolitan Inter municipal Municipal
					Rapid bus transit	
Trip wire	It has low power, low interest and can present a negative attitude to the change. It is considered a passive blocker. It needs to be understood to advance in a different and positive position.	Low	Low	Low / medium	Neighbors	Municipal

Figure 19: Matrix of stakeholder position indicating actors according chilean model of governance, adapted from Murray-Webster and Simon (2006)



Figures 20 and 21: Models. The upper matrix corresponds to the participation model (Murray-Webster and Simon, 2008). The cube represents the stakeholder position within a three-dimensional matrix, which indicates its attitude, power and interest. The lower onion diagram indicates the relationships, indicating position, level of involvement and type of relationship (Czischke Ljubetic, 2006).

Logic of participation

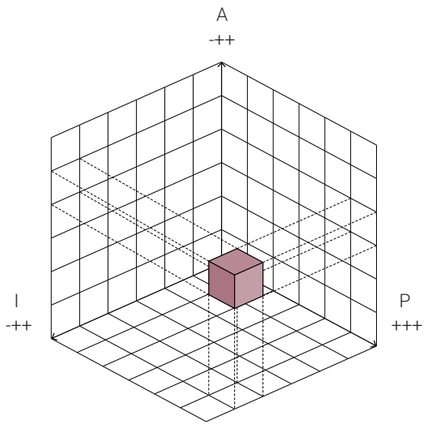
State

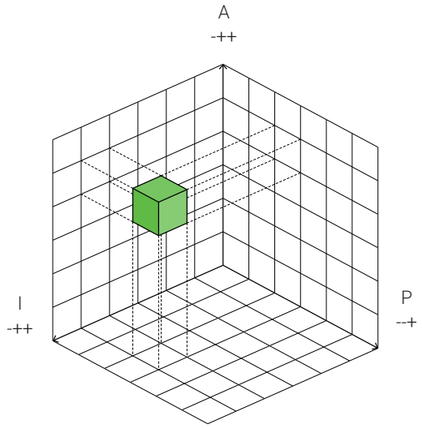
The state constitutes the central institutional level which gather the different Ministries that mostly intervene in territorial development (MOP, MINVU, MMA, MTT). It is the institution with the greatest legitimacy and regulatory authority. However, as explained in the previous chapters, its figure is highly centralized and fragmented.

On the one hand, the centralization refers to its vertical character which implies that every normative policy, project and investment is defined mostly at this level and has a hierarchical and a normative character. The fragmentation entails a second characteristic, related with the high sectoriality of the territorial functions. These are distributed among different Ministries and their sub units, which in general follow different and not aligned agendas.

A final aspect is related with the the neoliberal subsidiary logic of the state, by focusing mainly on focalized policies of investment and incentives (subsidies) to the market action, infrastructure agreements, and mitigations.

The foregoing is further hampered by the presidential political regime, which subjects the continuity of policies to the ideological interests of the ruling political parties. As Sierra (2006) recognizes, its administrative power is embedded legally, undermining the real possibility of municipalities or the GORE to have substantive autonomy. On the other hand, its sectoral structure easily can be influenced and opened by specific interests according the different market stakeholders. Finally, the silos culture of the professionals units affects their attitude and interest towards change.





The Real Estate Market

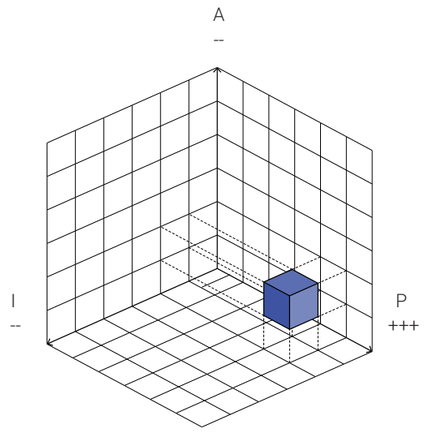
The real estate market is a heterogeneous actor, made up of small, medium and large companies. These companies are grouped under the "Chilean Chamber of Construction (CCHC)", one of the strongest private guild institutions in Chile. Main objective of this group is increase its rentability trhough its projects based on land value variation.

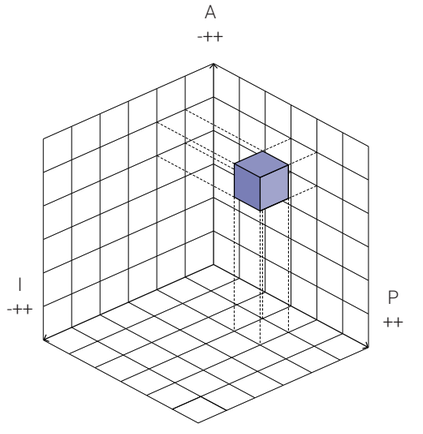
Since the 90s, the real estate market has played a central role in the construction of the urban metropolitan area due to the managerial shift in governance.

In this way, the guild has actively influenced housing policies, urban development models, and alliances with the public sector. This has narrowed the action of the State with the market (Jimenez et al., 2018).

However, real estate companies as a whole cannot be encapsulated under a single paradigm since their level of Influence varies according to economic capital, which defines the level of participation in the guild.

Nevertheless, since the guild acts as a unifying actor lead by the strongest companies, its attitude and interest towards change is not favorable towards structural changing the urban development model.





Municipalities

In legal terms, municipalities are conceived as decentralized and autonomous corporations, whose main objective is to administer the communes ensuring their participation in economic development. However, this autonomy does not happen in practice, since the validation of their planning policies depends on supra-municipal bodies such as the GORE and by the State (Ministries). In this last aspect, the State subordinates the action of the GORE, therefore, in short, the action of the municipalities depends mainly on instruments and laws defined at the central level.

This has generated particular resistances, mainly led by Municipalities with high economic income (Vicuña del Río, 2013). However, the case of low-income municipalities is contrary, since to a large extent they depend almost exclusively of investment funds (Programs or Projects) delivered from the ministerial level.

Although these municipalities receive differentiated funding (100%) from a municipal common fund, this finally is insufficient and become only a budget for spending, especially in decentralized urban services as education, healthcare and waste collection.

Another block of alleged revenues occurs through taxes for commercial, building and circulation permits. In this regard, since these communes are not attractive for the real estate market, they do not receive greater income for building permits. The circulation permits must be paid back to the communes of origin where vehicles were registered concretely. Finally, given that the greater economic activity of these communes is informal, the income from commercial patents does not occur mostly.

Additionally, given that the municipal income is low, the professional endowment of these municipalities decreases and can not compete for higher qualified. This scenario deepens the precariousness of services to the Communes, strengthening the search for resources at the central level, in which the mayors plays a preponderant role.

Finally, an important point is related to the political partinsanhip of the mayors. Political parties have a revelant influence in the municipal performances, something that is ideological-related. In addition, municipal political system in Chile is based on a mayor as a executive. Under this model, the executive power is primarily vested in the major, with the council playing only an oversight role (Bahl et al., 2013). At the same time, the council is formed by civil people, who in most of the cases, pertain to political parties. In this regard, social organizations and committees are not involved in the decision making. They take part only through a consultative way.

Franchised Infrastructure Companies

The franchised infrastructure companies (or concessionaires) are private entities, generally financed through foreign direct investment, which operate inter-regional and metropolitan highways (in this case, Vespucio Sur Highway, Costanera Norte Highway, Autopista Central). These companies have been operating for almost two decades and have been strategic in the creation and operation of infrastructures. These stakeholders operates directly in relation to the Ministry of Public Works in a model of public-private paternship that seeks to deliver infrastructure services progressively (Vicuña, 2013). This ministry controls the way in which the administrative bases of the exploitation contracts are fulfilled.

The development of these infrastructures has benefited the metropolitan connectivity but at the same time has had negative impact at the urban level in poorer or vulnerable areas, failing in their interaction with local communities and municipalities. Mitigations for these interventions have been financed by the State, and in most cases have been minimal in terms of effectivity. On the other hand, the systemic impact of these infrastructures has also enabled new forms of urban developments in expansion metropolitan areas, like gated communities, mainly car-based.

Although the action of these companies is strongly delimited by the central state, its effect in terms of land use distribution has been decisive. In this way, they are considered an stakeholder, with low interest, and a neutral attitude towards change, as long as their business is not affected, especially in relation to the development of public transport.

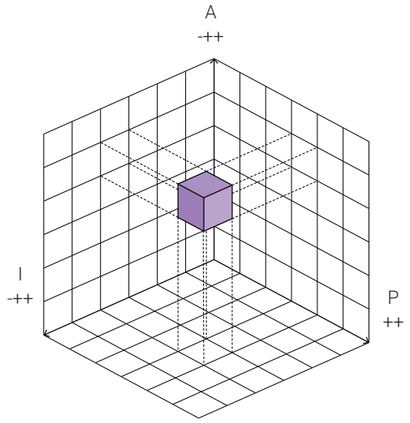
Infrastructure Public Companies

The public companies are autonomous companies of the state, which operate privately (Santiago Metro network / Metro de Santiago, National Railway Company / Empresa de

Ferrocarriles del Estado), created mostly to manage public transportation infrastructure. This figure is different from that of the concessionaires, since the companies in this case belong to state property and mainly fulfill a public transport role. These stakeholders has proven to be positive in general and have a real impact on the quality of urban accessibility. However, the deployment of new metro lines and inter-urban train stations, (especially metro) has also generated impacts in terms of the value of urban land, concentration of activities, real estate operation and urban segregation (Galilea, 1988). Given the lack of acountability in the current governance dynamic, this has generated aggressive processes of urban renewal, especially in municipal areas of medium and lower income.

Indeed, planning policies have not been coordinated to avoid and regulate these effects, which have finally generated eviction phenomena in central and peri-central areas (Galilea, 1988; Lopez, 2012).

Notwithstanding the above, these stakeholders play a crucial role in improving the general access of the population to the service and foster urban transformation. In this way, these public infrastructure companies are highly influential, with an innovative attitude, which can be potential for change if properly integrated into a more strategic planning model.



Rapid Bus Transit

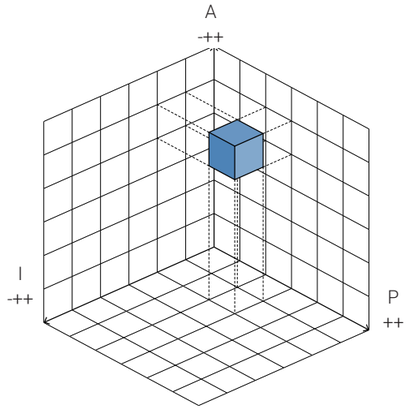
The "Transantiago" Fast Bus system was inaugurated in 2007. Today is well known as the "Metropolitan Mobility Network". The service corresponds to a public transport system of buses, which serves the entire Greater Santiago, directed mainly by the Ministry of Transport.

The system consists of a series of standardized routes divided into structuring routes, which mainly connect to the metropolitan center, and feeder roads, which connect to the Metro network. Although the system was innovative, since it integrated a fair rate, it proved to be insufficient in its fleet endowment.This supposed other effects for the dynamics of metropolitan transport, like the increase in the particular motorization and an on demand of the service of Metro network.

However, the quality of the service has been highly questioned to this day, especially given the high state subsidy that has had to be received as a result of high levels of evasion (Muñoz and Ortuzar, 2009).

In addition, the system has been defined in terms of monocentric functional concentration.

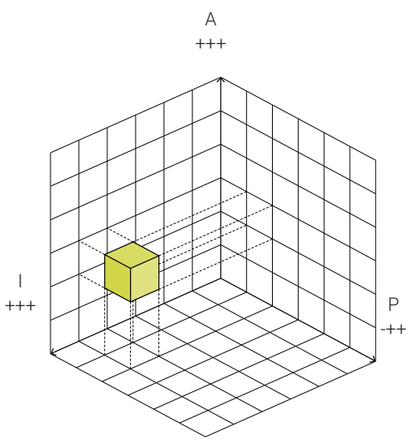
Finally, this stakeholder considers an average power, mainly related to its influence on the operation of daily transport. Since it is a service that is mainly defined and dependent on the MTT, its interest and attitude are instrumental to the objectives of the ministry.



Regional Governments (GORE)

The regional governments are public bodies responsible for the superior administration of each of the regions of Chile. Its objective is to achieve social, cultural and economic development at a regional level. For the exercise of their functions they have legal personality and public law. They are directed by an Intendant, appointed by the President and by a regional council, democratically elected. Its main functions include the preparation and approval of development policies, plans and programs and the definition of regional development funds.

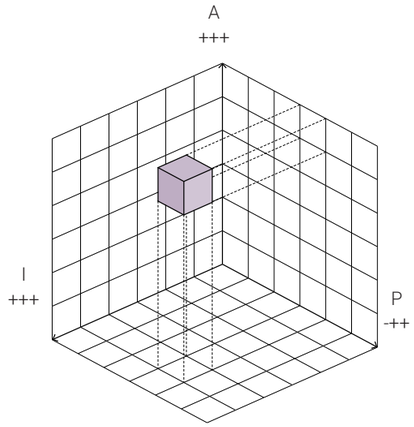
However, the apparent regulatory and administrative capacity of the Regional Governments has been highly "choreographic". As Sierra points out in Vicuña del Río (2013), the normative and administrative norms designed by autonomous bodies such as Regional Governments and Municipalities, which would constitute a communal-regional authority over the



territory, are finally submitted to the legislative and administrative norms dictated by the organs positioned at the level central, that is, the Ministries.

The foregoing, has made it impossible for the independent action of the GORE as an active agent in the production of the territory, relegating its actions mainly to the approval of the municipal communal regulatory plans.

All in all, the Regional Governments have considered themselves as the public bodie capable of redirecting the governance model towards a more integral and collaborative model (Orellana, 2013; Baereswyl, 2014; Bresciani, 2016).



Neighbors and civil community

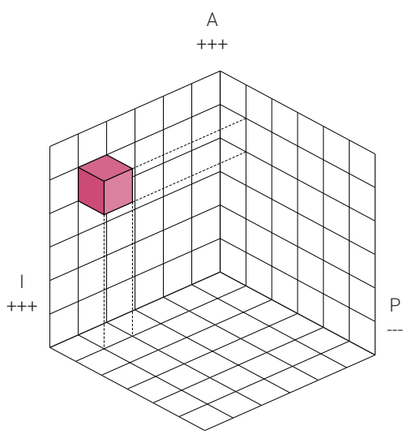
The neighbors constitute the municipal communities or communal civil stakeholders. Their actions often work in accordance with individual interests, but also collectively in the face of the emergence of processes that are considered as possibilities or conflicts for their development.

As indicated by Troncoso et al., (2018) the organization and collective behavior of neighborhood relations has mutated during the last four decades, due to the influence of neoliberal policies on forms of collective organization. Cohesion and neighborhood agency have been fragmented. The introduction of subsidiary policies and clientelist practices around the municipalities (Delamaza, 2016), has led to the dismantling of neighborhoods and, consequently, the disconnection of the inhabitants from the territory they inhabit. The above can also be understood, within a global logic in which the public sphere has been depolitized, enhanced by globalization (Marden, 2003).

For Troncoso et al., (2018), there has been a relationship between the business and the de-collectivization of access to housing, the proliferation of competitive public funds while the programs have objectified the problems of poverty and inequality, focusing on neighborhoods and their internal relations, omitting the multiple scale processes that generate these issues (Madden, 2014). In turn, these policies have been related to the consequences of segregation, without establishing the agencies of the processes of marginalization (Tapia, 2016).

This phenomenon has to do with the inability to visualize an integral project for the neighborhood space, since the neighboring actors do not manage to become agents capable of acting on the problems of territorial scope.

In this way, the concrete lack of control of these communities in their territory, also affects their attitude and interest towards change. In addition. In this sense, the recognition of their diversity and potential involvement can trigger changes in relation to their territorial agency.



Social organizations

The social organizations correspond to civil organizations with legal personality, recognized by law and the State. Neighborhood councils have played a preponderant role in the social organization historically, recognized constitutionally in 1968 through Law 16.880 of community organizations.

For each neighborhood unit, the existence of a neighborhood organization was established, acting on behalf of the number of inhabitants of its territory. However, after the military coup, the neighborhood organizations underwent profound changes during the military dictatorship, mainly due to the criminalization and control of social organization (Troncoso et al., 2018). In addition, in 1989, the law on neighborhood associations was modified, according to which the formation of several neighborhood associations in the same

territory was promoted. This law fostered the atomization of social organization, already weakened by the military dictatorship.

Today, despite the fact that there is still a large number of community social organizations, with broad participation, its power to modify the territory and influence urbanization processes is scarce. According to a Report of the United Nations Development Program (2005), social organizations are considered the weakest within the Chilean institutional structure.

On the other hand, the figure of a post-authoritarian state managed to prevail during the first democratic governments (Vergara, 2003), although a greater demand for participation has been questioning the democratic model under the neoliberal regime.

In sum, the reality of social organizations is still precarious, especially in the most vulnerable municipalities. The fracture in social cohesion and the growing precariousness in a market society have led to a breakdown in social involvement, undermining the mobilization of social organizations in terms of public action (Troncoso et al., 2018).

Notwithstanding the above, and even in a scenario of high social complexity, social organizations have persisted in the struggle for inclusive local governance. In this sense, the existence of an institutional framework that could articulate its territorial action could reverse the erosion and fragility that has accompanied the action of these organizations.

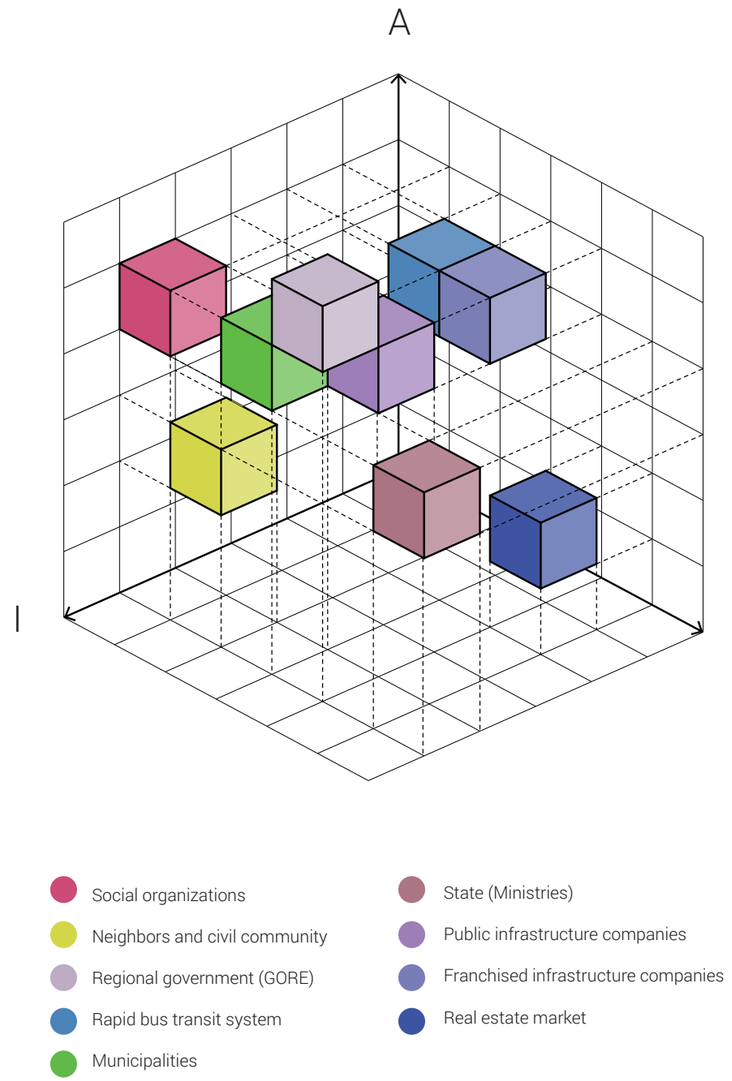


Figure 22: Three-dimensional matrix, locating all the actors according to the analysis.

Stakeholder relation under current model of governance and planning

(Own ellaboration)



Infrastructure development

In the field of infrastructure development, the State monopolizes the delivery of infrastructure together with the actors: the real estate market, the promotion of subsidies and the areas of conditioned development; With the franchised infrastrructure companies, by means of the extension of the works of metropolitan scale and with the companies of public infrastructure, through the planes of transport. In this framework, the relationship with civilian actors is established through an agency of consumption of services without giving rise to participation as co-producing actors. Here, the municipalities are displaced from decision-making, mediating indirectly with private and public companies, in response to the demand for greater services from the community and social organizations.

Land development

Regarding the management and development of the land, the municipalities do not have legal power to purchase land, which determines their high dependence on the state, who is the owner of public land, and also controls the regulatory power over the administrative authority of municipal and regional government. This allows the real estate market to rely on regulatory instruments of the LGUC and the OGUC to manage and buy profitable communal land, without major agency of the regulatory norms of municipalities. In this sense, the relationship of power in relation to the management of metropolitan land is concentrated in the State and the real estate market, and then in the public and private infrastructure companies, which additionally feed the real estate action through the provision of transport infrastructure and accessibility.

Planning operability

In terms of impact on planning, collaboration is closer between the State, the real estate market, and then distributed to the municipality and the GORE. The normative and instrumental operability in the planning is concentrated mainly in the State, and managed by the ministries and their different SEREMIS, who have regulatory authority over the municipal action and that of the GORE. Finally, the real estate market is enabled by the regulatory power of the State, indirectly but strongly influencing land regulation.

Conclusions of the stakeholder analysis

In this analysis, the main actors that intervene and are affected under the current urban development model have been defined.

As it can be seen, the failures of the planning and governance model in terms of spatial fragmentation and segregation processes are particularly due to a series of inter-related aspects. These are the aspects that have to be rethought and intervened strategically.

- Hierarchy and crossing of normative and administrative powers:

The institutional organism vertically and hierarchically centers the regulatory powers (laws, policies and instruments) in ministerial bodies and their respective regional secretaries (SEREMI), over the administrative power of municipalities and regional governments. This rigid framework, generates an overlap of powers, which ultimately hinders the effective autonomy of vulnerable municipalities in terms of territorial management. This finally translates into dependence, strengthening the clientelist logic between the state and mayors.

- Sectoral fragmentation and dispersion of planning attributions:

The different ministries and their respective secretaries operate through silos, controlling different agendas around the deployment of infrastructure and urban development. This tends constantly to the juxtaposition of projects, investments and regulations, enabling crossings and "gaps" of accountability.

- Neoliberal ideology and managerial urbanism:

The function of planning is instrumentalized ideologically. The development public policies are focused on subsidies or focalized policies at local level but with a metropolitan reasoning in terms of land value. On the contrary, they are managed at ministerial level by market and franchised companies.

On the one hand, this logic relegates the provision of housing in the market, boosting its action as the main actor based on a profitability of urban land and the deployment of infrastructure. On the other hand, subsidiary policies are focused to stimulate the real estate business under political-private paternships that may include local governments (ZODUC) or marginalize them from the process. In this sense, this instrumentalization encourages lobbying as the main practice to mobilize projects, undermining accountability.

- Decentralization of resources towards municipalities:

The decentralization of the State, begun in 1980, never considered endogenous characteristics or territorial diversity. The policies of distribution of resources are insufficient for the most vulnerable Municipalities, being highly restrictive in their economic action and limited in their normative and regulatory actions.

- Containment of participation and neighborhood action:

Forms of social organization have been highly influenced by neoliberal policies. The dismantling of social activity over the territory has finally resulted in contained participation, within subsidized and targeted public policies, divorcing the agency from local problems in its relation to the metropolitan urban development process. The result is a fragility in the action and a disconnection of the local actors with the policies of the state and local governance, fostering clientelistic logics with the municipalities.

- Zoning and highly restrictive land use planning:

The Chilean planning model is defined by the Ministry of Housing and Urban Planning. Its character is regulatory and hierarchical, this implies that the regulations defined in the LGUC and the OGUC operate over the Municipal regulations. On the other hand, metropolitan and intercommunal plans define a zoning at the metropolitan and intercommunal levels, conditioning the formulation of communal regulatory plans. The above, restricts the possibilities of change of land use and building regulation of the Municipalities. The real estate companies usually use laws registered at the level of the OGUC and the LGUC to "jump" and modify the communal subdivisions, and thus, increase their levels of constructibility. In this way, the communal regulations are eventually transgressed.

- Control of public land management:

The municipalities with the least resources do not have the instruments or resources to manage and change the destiny of the communal public land, since this is regulated and owned by the different organs of the State. The foregoing makes it impossible for municipalities to define the type of function and potential use of their communal public land. The above is highly problematic, due to the complexity of needs and conflicts faced by local governments.

Communal characterization

The Communes of Pedro Aguirre Cerda, Lo Espejo and Cerrillos are located in the peri-central ring of the MAS. The three Communes were created between the decades of the 80s and 90s as new Municipal communal administrations, mainly due to the growth in extension of the original Communes of San Miguel, Santiago and La Cisterna. In this sense, it is possible to argue that these Communes were created "by decree" of the State with the objective of optimizing the territorial administration of the nascent metropolitan structure. Notwithstanding the foregoing, the three Communes had a large percentage of social housing, industry (the latter mainly in Cerrillos), and a strong tradition of social and neighborhood organization. During the military dictatorship, the lack of investment, and the deviation of power toward their municipalities, generated a confinement and stagnation of the economic activity of these three communes. These conditions were reinforced by the deployment of metropolitan infrastructure during the period of return to democracy, which cut off the pre-existent urban tissue.

In the following pages, and with the objective of strategically determining the main strategic goals for these Municipalities, a characterization is developed based on four dimensions: urban history, social, economic and environmental dimension.

LO ESPEJO







Pictures of the area by the author

Urban History

Lo Espejo is a community territorially segmented by the railway line and the interurban highways, with shortage of equipment, infrastructure and services. It is a Commune with high social homogeneity and a strong cultural and historical capital, mainly given by the foundational town of Lo Espejo and the most traditional population settlements such as the towns of José María Caro, Santa Olga, Lo Sierra, Santa Adriana and Clara Estrella (Pladeco Lo Espejo, 2013).

The district or town of Lo Espejo arises in the 30s, as a sub sector of the Commune of La Cisterna, however it is not until the 90s when by presidential decree, it is transformed into the municipal area of Lo Espejo.

In 1960 the area began to receive the migration of hundreds of families who came from provinces in search of job opportunities in the Capital. Until then, the peri-central territorial area coexisted with uncultivated and wheat countrysides and wheat, which were gradually claimed by land seizures by the migrant population. In this context, the most important settlements or "neighborhoods", such as the José María Caro, Santa Adriana, Clara Estrella, Santa Olga, Lo Valledor, Villa Sur, Lo Sierra and Las Turbinas, emerged between 1960-1970. Thus the "Espejinos" residents of previous decades were witnesses of the growth of the peripheral ring of the center of the Capital, from Lo Valledor (Today part of the Commune of Pedro Aguirre Cerda) to the South.

It is mainly during the decades of the 50s, 60s and 70s within the framework of the developmental state, when governments began to adopt a series of policies and actions aimed at providing housing solutions for these communities (Millan, 2012). In this context, in 1953, the Housing Corporation (CORVI) was created, whose main objective was to formalize access to housing for rural migrant sectors. This institution merged various services, such as the Popular Housing Fund and the Reconstruction and Assistance Corporation, which were the institutions in charge of building social housing. The CORVI considered private and public housing typologies. To the conventional modality of construction of Social Housing, CORVI added self-construction and mutual assistance programs.

In the case of Lo Espejo, most of the towns that make up its territory were designed by CORVI, under the idea of the "minimum habitable". This conception is influenced by the reflection on minimum housing (...) and by the different approaches related to social relations that should be promoted from the social housing complexes "(Aguirre and Rabi, 1998).

In this sense, the main objective of the CORVI was to intensify the use of public space and open the traditional Spanish block ("manzana"). In these blocks, the community space of public services would be located. The symbolic effect of this measure, in relation to the morphological conformation of the surrounding areas, produced the collective feeling of lacking a Communal Center for the whole area.

On the other hand, regarding Housing, most of the housing blocks of the Commune were built under the so-called "operation sitio" (plot operation) (1964-1970). This operation promoted self-construction by the residents. The logic of the program was, after saving the beneficiaries, to deliver semi-urbanized plots of 9 sqm x 18 sqm, in which they would develop self-construction plans. This system, although it continued with the urban spatial segregation of the popular classes of the previous eradication plans, granted the inhabitants the possibility of owning the land through their entry into the existing financial systems (De Ramón, 1990).

During these governments, corresponding to the presidencies of Eduardo Frei Montalva and Salvador Allende, the policies were mainly focused on social and community development, under the National Council for Popular Development and the Law of Neighborhood Boards.

The strong character of the self-construction promoted as a viable alternative for poor



Main public facilities areas

Neighborhood unit

Nº	Neighborhood/ Village
24	Santa Adriana, Villa Las Palmeras
25	Clara Estrella
26	Santa Olga, Las Dunas
27	Villa Sur
28	Lo Valledor
29	José María Caro Sector D
30	Santa Adriana
31	José María Caro Sector E
32	Fraternal Ferroviaria
34	José María Caro Sector B
35	José María Caro Sector C
36	José María Caro Sector D
37A	Pueblo Lo Espejo
37B	Lo Sierra 2 D and E, Las Turbinas
37C	Lo Sierra A, B and C

Population

98.804

11.986 (Inhabitants/Ha)

26.774 Dwelling

50%

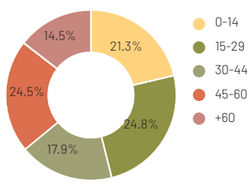
50%

Green areas/inhabitant

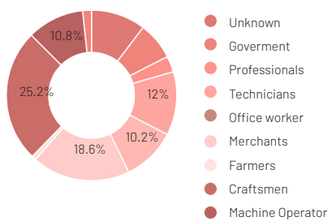
4.17 m2/inhabitant

Figure(s) 23 and 24: Map of Neighborhoods distribution. Own ellaboration based on PLADECO information. Pie charts of social composition based on www.mientorno.cl (2016 census information).

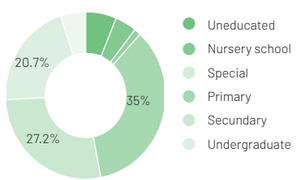
Age range



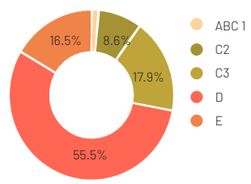
Occupation



Education level



Socio Economic Composition



families, neighborhood organizations and even local and national governments, was based on the premise that, within the housing processes, control by the inhabitants over the design, construction and administration decisions stimulated the individual and social welfare and achieved a better provision of goods and services, where the housing policy was directed by the State (Fichter et al.,1972; Mac-Donald,1984).

Despite the subsequent disruption by the military dictatorship, social repression and the implementation of the neoliberal model, Lo Espejo has largely maintained its identity as a community of local entrepreneurs, builders and artisans, who have managed to sustain their own economy and organization social, along with the sense of belonging to its neighborhood units.

Social Dimension

Lo Espejo has a social community with low levels of participation and organization, with an important segment of its population dependent on subsidiary public policies and with limited options for mobility and social integration. Its population experiences strong migratory pressures of precarious groups, which further conditions its development possibilities, accentuating population aging processes and the demand for social and communal health, protection and care services.

In turn, Lo Espejo is an eminently residential, densely populated locality, where some consolidated low-middle class neighborhoods coexist, with social condominiums that are characterized by a lack of services and public spaces. At the same time, the Commune presents areas with precarious housing, of scarce surface, with a high level of crowding and with limited potential for expansion and improvement.

Lastly, social participation has reduced during the last decades mainly by the lack of long-term policies and support from the local and central government. This issue is atributable to the lack of resources from the municipal administration, which has been restricted by the normative laws that comes from the Municipal law of 1980.

Economic Dimension

Lo Espejo presents an economic and productive structure highly dependent on retail trade, mainly tertiary, with low levels of entrepreneurship, which generates little employment and has limited capacities for the formation of poles of productive development and larger trade. This has been the result of the scarce availability of adequate spaces for its location. Additionally, the greatest concentration of labor activities is concentrated in the same area of the Commune (40%) or in the surrounding Communes but with a lower percentage. These activities are also mostly informal, corresponding to the sale of informal services that do not have municipal patents. This has generated an alternative and active micro economy, based on sales activities or local services located in the same dwelling. Indeed, Lo Espejo have the largest street market in Santiago and Chile, which shows the strong endogeneity of its internal economy

On the other hand, the Municipality is highly dependent on the common municipal fund, and other focalized subsidies. This situation creates pressure in the way in which resources are alocated and also restrict the possibilities of investment.

Environmental Dimension

The conformation of green structure of the commune, given by the set of squares, "bandejones", forested "platabandas" (sidewalks) sports courts and all their spaces of public use, has lacked an environmental logic in its distribution and of quality in its consolidation. In this sense, these areas have been built where the available space allows and based on the available resources of investment and administration. The above has generated waterlogging situations in specific points given the winter rainfall, added to the damage caused by vehicular traffic and bad residential practices, as well as the generation of high temperatures as a result of the lack of trees or harmful functions.

In terms of household waste, the generation of waste is handled by the local service administered by the Municipality. Despite the production of domestic waste is below the average of the rest of the communes, there are three factors that promote the generation of public pollution in the commune. These aspects correspond to the high density of inhabitants, the level of income of the inhabitants and the presence of polluting mechanical workshops. In this sense, the contamination of public areas has been enhanced by bad practices of certain groups of people, which has increased the presence of micro wastelands in unconsolidated public areas such as edges close to transport barriers and derelict lands.

One of the main environmental problems corresponds to noise pollution, with levels exceeding 80 db. The presence of avenues of regional and metropolitan transport that cross the Commune, seriously increases this problem.

Finally, in terms of infrastructure, the Commune has a provision of 99% of sewerage services, drinking water and electricity, which are in good condition. However, they have been affected by problems of collector overflow due to malfunctioning, as well as emanation of bad odors in sewage systems.

General goals of the Commune

Lo Espejo is a commune that has been built largely to itself, with a strong identity and a social character resilient to historical circumstances.

Given this and taking its characterization based on the analysis done, the main goals are related with the strengthening of their enterpreunership capacity through suitable infrastructure and public support. This infrastructure should be concerned about aspects as connectivity, mobility and economy but esentially focus in the reinforcement of social capital. The main goals according its socio spatial project are the next:

SOCIAL CAPITAL



To encourage the associativity between local organizations, community and municipality.



To encourage the communitary cohesion, co-responsability and co-productive practices.

ENVIRONMENT AND INFRASTRUCTURE



To provide/activate collective infrastructure to foster economic local development.



To provide affordable housing for vulnerable or emergent groups in the Commune.



To create inclusive green infrastructure to support the public, social and economic life of the area.



To activate public spaces for recreation, cultural activity and social development.

LOCAL ECONOMY



To reinforce the local skills and entepreunership to booster the local economic productivity and autonomy.



To support and reinforce the local economic productivity and sustainable conditions for employment according to the local capacities of the area.



To capture the local revenues under collective economic production in order to foster the sustainability of the local development and reduce the state-dependecy.

CERRILLOS









Pictures of the area by the author

Urban History

The Cerrillos commune was created in 1981 by presidential decree, whose main objective was to reduce the population that increased considerably in the Maipú commune, so the decision was made to create new communal administrative centers. This provision added 17 new communes to the Metropolitan Region, as a way to make the administration more effective for the sectors that had grown demographically and needed better attention in infrastructure and services. In this context, the implementation of the new commune of Cerrillos, takes place ten years later, by the decree of 1991, which meant the designation of the first Mayor.

From the beginning, the commune acquired a rapid industrial and airport character, since Cerrillos happened to assume the area of the former Airport of Cerrillos, together with a series of industrial areas that the Metropolitan Regulatory Plan of 1960 had located in the northern area of the now communal area.

Unlike communes such as Lo Espejo or Pedro Aguirre Cerda, Cerrillos urban plot assumed a heterogeneous, irregular and fragmented morphologically structure. In addition, with all the irruption of the railways and regional-metropolitan highways in the area, the commune had to assume a fragmented and dispersed territory.

This fracture at the urban level and the lack of clear and symbolic spatial centralities, has impacted on the perception of local identity, in a Commune that is still being built to this day. This is evident in the perception of the neighbors and their neighborhoods, who point out that there is nothing that identifies the Commune. Given this, the area of the airport, recently designated as a densification area, has been seen as an opportunity for the Municipality to generate a new community center. On the other hand, the strongest presence of the commune is its industrial area, scarcely related to the expectations and needs of its population.

Within its main urban communities are the neighborhood units Raúl Silva Enriquez, Raúl Mazzone and Villa Los Presidentes.

The Raúl Silva Enríquez residential complex was built between 1999 and 2000 and added almost 2,600 apartments. The majority of the population of Villa Raúl Silva Henríquez, especially from the early stages, belongs to the commune of Cerrillos, the towns and villages of this commune, giving them a strong struggle to stay in that place.

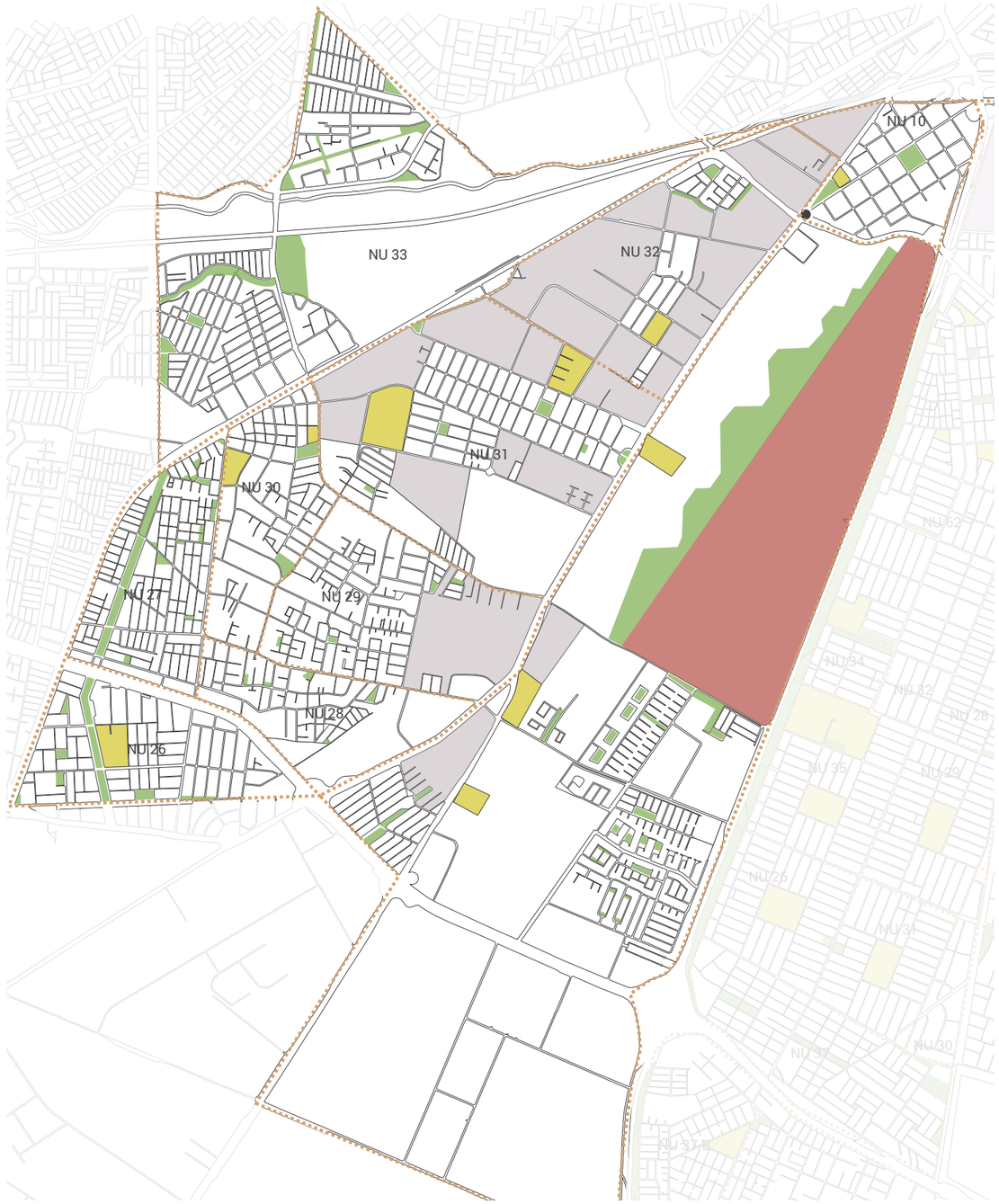
The Villa Raúl Mazzone is formed at the end of 1973, by taking land. The families of origin belonged to different sectors, however with time, the same group of origin ended up populating the sector.

Villa Los Presidentes was formed by four sectors grouping about 1400 homes approximately. The first sector corresponded to a seizure of land carried out during 1970. Its camping situation extended during the military Dictatorship until the year 1985, at which time residents were provided with sanitary booths (composed of bathroom and kitchen) that were adhered to the homes built by themselves.

Social dimension

Cerrillos is a commune mainly of low middle groups, with a significant percentage of original populations, who were forming neighborhoods during the last decades of the last century. It is a homogeneous sector with traditional neighborhoods such as Los Cerrillos, Los Presidentes or Oreste Plath and new emergent neighborhoods (recently formed around metropolitan routes) such as the case of the new communities and gated communities of Portal Oeste.

Cerrillos is a commune with a deteriorated social capital and distrust towards institutions, especially towards the municipal administration, which has also been influenced by the difficulties of functional administration of its territory. A particular aspect in this sense it



Main public facilities areas

Industrial use areas

Former airport

Neighborhood unit

Nº	Neighborhood/ Village
10	Villa Mexico, Población Zaror
27	Raúl Mazzone, Las Torres, Vargas Salcedo, Mirador 1, Mirador 2, Mirador 3, Villa Desco
28	Los tres Miradores, Villa Fantuzzi, Las Lomas, Esmeralda, Camarico, Nylon, La Reina, Los Pellines, El Mirador, Villa Santa Olga, Las Dunas
29	Indura, Los Pellines, El Mirador, Villa Covigas. La Pradera, Sol de Septiembre, San Juan, Puerto de Palos, La Odisea, Monte Carmelo, Sara del Campo, Arica, Don Orione, Villa Lo Errázuriz, Villa Carabineros, Concovil.
30	Arturo Prat, Población San Martín, Central de Leche, Villa María, Diecisiete de Octubre, Padre Vergara, San Jorge, Lo Errázuriz Alto, Puerto Montt, Norte de Maipú, Vista Linda, Las Rejas, Janequeo, Municipal Lo Errázuriz.
31	Cerro Verde, Puerto Damasco, Las Terrazas de Cerrillos, Salomón Sack, Villa Los Cerrillos, Población Aeropuerto Cerrillos (Barrio Residencial Cerrillos), Villa Gasco, Viña del Mar, Ex Chacra Santa Georgina, Villa Las Palmas
32	Loteo Las Encinas, Villa Las Encinas, Bezanilla Salinas, Merino Benitez, Sogeco, Ex Chacra El Carmen de La Aguada, Villa Suiza, Esperanza, Dagoberto Godoy.
33	Villa Las Flores, La Arboleda, Raúl Silva Henríquez, Presidentes de Chile, Parque La Aguada, Mi Esperanza, Don Cristóbal, Ex Cooperativa Cerrillos, Oreste Plath.
35	Ex Aeropuerto Los Cerrillos, Villa Santa Adela, Vista Alegre, Las Casas de Cerrillos Norte, Las Casas de Cerrillos Sur, Portal Oeste, Casa Oeste, Jardín Oeste, Villa Alegre, La Castellana.

Population

80.832 Inhabitants

4.818 (Inhabitants/Ha)

24.547 Dwelling

51%

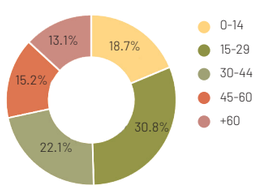
49%

Green areas

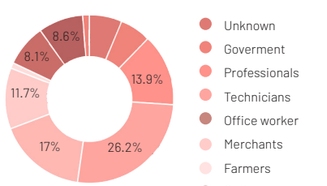
11.8 m2/inhabitant

Figure(s) 25 and 26: Map of Neighborhoods distribution. Own ellaboration based on PLADECO information. Pie charts of social composition based on www.mientorno.cl (2016 census information).

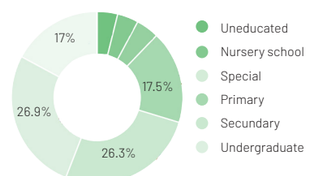
Age range



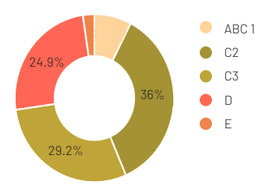
Occupation



Education level



Socio Economic Composition



is also the difficulty to connect the Municipality action with the different neighborhoods (Pladeco, 2011-2015), something that is related also to the lack of municipal infrastructure and the spatial structure of their territory.

The high spatial fragmentation and functional integration of its administrative area, together with an irregular urban growth have increased the difficulties to give direction to the territorial development of the commune. The foregoing has added to the lack of municipal resources, long-term development policies and greater support from the subsidiary State, which have helped to diminish the social organization.

Lastly, one specific problem that has arisen is the increase of informal settlements, specifically in the Cerrillos former-airport area. This problem has put pressure over the Municipality, especially regarding the real estate market interest in the area.

Economic dimension

Despite the substantive presence of industries in the area, the population of Cerrillos is mostly low qualified in terms of occupation. The majority of its workers are men, technicians, builders or local merchants. On the other hand, the female population works sporadically to support the family economy. Despite the high level of entrepreneurship of the population, this has not been consolidated through an integration with industrial activity nor has increased interest from their employers (Pladeco, 2011-2015). In this regard, it should be noted that the industrial function of the area is mainly focused on manufacture and distribution. Companies of the area are related with the market of chemicals, food, storage, and recycling, being a large part of its use the logistics activity. This last aspect also represents a challenge for integration, especially considering the automation of the processes that have been incorporated to this area during the last decade.

Given this, the great relief and economic opportunity that the commune has recently experienced the ill-fated Bicentennial Portal Project (Silva, 2015), which initially sought to constitute a new model of a residential city in the area of the former airport. However, given the difficulty of establishing public-private agreements, the project was finally stopped (See interview with SECPLA Municipal in appendix).

Taking into account the above, the main challenges of the Municipality are focused on consolidating an integration with the industrial activity to give full employment to the inhabitants of the area and consolidate the area of the former airport through housing programs, public equipment and culture.

Environmental dimension

The environmental problems of the Commune are mainly related to the presence of contaminated-derelict lands and the deterioration of the quality of the surface waters that crossed and cross the commune. The presence of derelict sites, private and public, has led to their use as rubbish dumps or microbasins, while the pre-existing hydrographic footprints have not been considered in the urbanization process. The most representative case is due to the land adjacent to the Autopista del Sol (Del Sol Highway), corresponding to a landfill, today used for the unloading of trucks, also adjacent to the Zanjón de la aguada river (gully of the aguada).

This general context characterizes a highly fragmented landscape, composed between industrial areas, low density housing areas, metropolitan roads and a serie of contaminated abandoned areas.

On the other hand, as in the case of Lo Espejo, Cerrillos has been consolidating remaining areas, such as small squares and squares. However, it does not include larger green areas effectively integrated into the urban structure. In addition, this scarcity has been reinforced by the abandonment of existing public areas, mainly given their precarious condition by the lack of maintenance and definition in terms of infrastructure. In this sense, the only green space that has managed to consolidate corresponds to the Bicentennial Park, which

originally was created under the umbrella of the Bicentennial Park City Project. However, the Park has a poor accessibility for residents of the western area of Cerrillos, who have lower quality and quantity of public green infrastructure.

Finally, although the provision of urban waste collection and water and electricity services is complete (Pladeco, 2011-2015), it presents problems similar to the case of Lo Espejo, especially for the low-income residential areas. These problems are related to the quality of the sewerage infrastructure and the formation of clandestine dump sites.

General goals of the Commune

Cerrillos can be defined as a low-middle class commune but without a unifying centrality or a functional component that articulates its industrial functions with its local functions. At the same time, it faces different challenges such as the creation of collective and identitary public spaces that can be part of its local and daily activities and thus promotes social cohesion. In this regard, main desired goals are described below.

SOCIAL CAPITAL



To encourage the associativity between local organizations, community and municipality.



To generate/promote recognizable spaces for collective encounter and integration.

ENVIRONENT AND INFRASTRUCTURE



To promote associativity and community practices along the different neighborhoods.



To provide affordable housing for vulnerable or emergent groups in the commune.



To foster the integration of local and inter municipal connections through multifunctional and green infrastructure.



To activate public spaces for recreation, cultural activity and social development.

LOCAL ECONOMY



To link the industrial and productive activity of the area to support the local economic activity through training and occupation activities.



To generate collective access to local infrastructure to boost economic activity.



To capture the local revenues under collective economic production in order to foster the sustainability of the local development and reduce the state-dependecy.

PEDRO AGUIRRE CERDA









Pictures of the area by the author

Urban History

The Commune of Pedro Aguirre Cerda (PAC) was created in 1981 by presidential decree. The main objective of its creation was to merge split parts from the municipal areas of La Cisterna and Santiago Centro. Similar to the case of Cerrillos, the formalization of the municipal area, tooks place ten years later, by the decree of 1991.

As it is an eminently urban commune and whose origin is found in the merger of three peripheral territories with residential characteristics, Pedro Aguirre Cerda is constituted in a space that presents a mainly residential urban role, with occupation in extension.

This character would define its limited and segregated levels of equipment and infrastructure at the local and regional levels.

Its origin, was part of the same process of urbanization at the national level that Lo Espejo experienced. This was the implementation of housing programs with strong state impulse that defined the working class of the Santiago of the 1940s as the target group. This is how the first housing complexes were built, made up of their traditional neighborhoods: Balmaceda, Alessandri, San Joaquín, Villa Sur, Miguel Dávila Carson, José María Caro, Lo Valledor, Fraternal Ferrocarril, Santa Adriana, among others. However, it is in the 50s and 70s that the rest of the communal territory is urbanized under a mixed structure characterized by the coexistence of planned and urbanized housing areas, and the action of popular mobilizations whose fundamental objective was to solve the housing scarcity (PLADECO, 2014-2016). In this context, emblematic populations such as La Victoria are formed, a housing sector that during the eighties represented an icon of resistance against the military dictatorship. This mixture help to understand the clear urban typological difference between the northern and southern part of the commune, clearly differentiated by Avenida Departamental.

In macro functional terms, the commune fulfills a role of providing metropolitan services. Its spatial situation (south-west sector of the provincial territory) transforms it into an access door and intercommunal transition area.

Another relevant point to consider is the zoning established by the Metropolitan regulatory plan of Santiago, which provides the commune industrial land use areas. In spite of the fact that in the northern and central area of the commune, service poles were developed under this objective, such as the Lo Valledor market, these programs did not manage to consolidate greater labor opportunities for population of the Commune. On the other hand, the southern area, from Avenida Departamental, has not been able to integrate mainly with the development of the northern area of the Commune, mainly due to the fragmentation caused by metropolitan arteries and the distance to the metropolitan center.

In short, today the commune constitutes a relatively uniform urban area of low density, with certain difficulties of connection with its near surroundings and the center of the city. The area responds to the typology of central peri bedroom commune, with certain insufficiency in the provision of local services and housing and a certain grade of disconnection from the metropolitan context.

Social dimension

Similar to the case of Lo Espejo, the social profile of PAC is strongly influenced by the merger of vulnerable territories that belonged to other communes. In this sense, the residents of PAC, date from a great trajectory of social organization as part of committees for the right to housing and worker cooperatives.

However, as mentioned in the previous chapter, social organization has declined due to the processes of cultural transformation associated with the decline of public support, state welfare and the neoliberal logics individualism. In this context, new processes have begun to emerge and to worry the municipal authorities, such as the apparent depopulation of the young population in search of housing, the shortage of housing and opportunities for social



Main Public Facilities areas

Metropolitan commerce

Neighborhood Unit

Nº	Neighborhood/ Village
62	Nueva Lo Valledor, Nueva Independencia, Lo Valledor Norte, Nueva México, Alberto Risopatron, José María Caro, Fraternal Ferroviaria, Unión y Amistad, Lo Valledor Sur.
63	El Mirador, El Carmelo, Paz y Progreso, Alessandri, Balmaceda, Histórica de Chile, Enrique Matte Sur, Magallanes, Armonía, San Joaquín Poniente, Numancia, La Feria.
64	Nueva Villa Sur, Manuel Rodriguez, Antonio Acevedo, La Victoria, Centenario, Desarrollo y progreso.
65	Villa Sur, El Esfuerzo, Miguel Dávila Carson, Santa Adriana, Villa Navidad

Population

101.174 Inhabitants

11.553.8 (Inhabitants/Ha)

29.906 Dwelling

51%

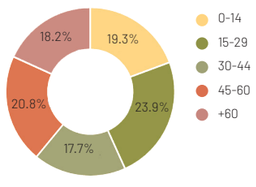
49%

Green areas

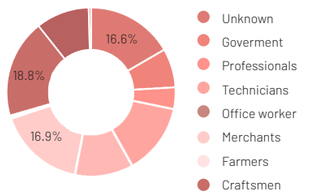
1 m2/inhabitant

Figure(s) 27 and 28: Map of Neighborhoods distribution. Own ellaboration based on PLADECO information. Pie charts of social composition based on www.mientorno.cl (2016 census information).

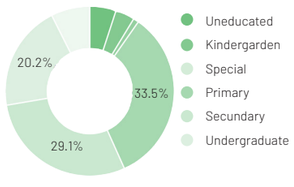
Age range



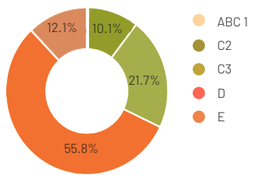
Occupation



Education level



Socio Economic Composition



and economic development within the commune (PLADECO, 2014-2016). Notwithstanding the above, although the social organization has weakened, the threat of certain processes such as the appearance of real estate projects have triggered the strengthening of organizations of residents in resistance to such initiatives. However, despite the social and identity potential of the commune together with public economic investment, the area has not been able to capitalize on this development. The lack of proper infrastructure at all the levels of the territory has been critical in this sense. In this regard, the south west area of the commune has been the most affected (NU 62), mainly due to disconnection morphological factors, which have triggered the neighborhood isolation.

Economic dimension

The economic activity of the Commune is small compared to other Communes in the southern area of Santiago. The labor participation rate is low, close to 56%, with the participation of men over women (60% - 40%) predominating (PLADECO, 2014-2016).

As in the case of the Espejo, the greater amount of economic services is due to small merchants and artisans oriented to local commercial activities. Notwithstanding the above, the largest number of workers are considered unqualified and the largest number of micro companies or local businesses do not have municipal patents, making the real cadastre of the local productive activity difficult.

A different case is the renowned area of Nucleo ochagavía, in the northern sector of the commune. In spite of the ambition to constitute the area as a multipurpose business hub but without exerting greater influence in the rest of the Commune.

Lastly, a potential difference with the Cerrillos area is the lack of larger companies or activities that can offer employment opportunities to the local workforce. This translates into constant instability at work level in the area.

Environmental dimension

In environmental terms, the Commune presents problems similar to Lo Espejo. Although the Municipality consists of a provision of basic urban services, environmental problems are mainly related to the lack of consolidation and care of public areas. The lack of spaces and collective green areas affects the accumulation of trash. In this regard, the control of public facilities and the lack of environmental urban care policies prevent the co-responsibility of care. In this way, activities such as the street market are conflicting since the waste is not handled properly and affects the resident residents. Likewise, the presence of unconsolidated spaces facilitates the formation of dump sites.

Two additional aspects, in this sense, are critical. On the one hand, the presence of metropolitan roads, which generates high levels of noise pollution and is associated with residual edge spaces, particularly in the case of the train line. Finally, the waterlogging situation is mainly related to the hyper paving of the area and problems related to the rainwater evacuation system.

Goals

The main objectives of the municipality and its community are related to enhancing local economic activity, strengthening communal capacities. In addition, the objectives should also address the provision and improvement of the housing infrastructure and public spaces. As in the case of Lo Espejo, Pedro Aguirre Cerda has an identity stamp characterized by collective effort and entrepreneurship. Aspects that can be reinforced and supported by the deployment of co-productive and collective infrastructure.

SOCIAL CAPITAL



To encourage the associativity between local organizations, community and municipality.



To promote associativity and community practices along the different neighborhoods.

ENVIRONENT AND INFRASTRUCTURE



To encourage the communitary cohesion, co-responsability and co-productive practices.



To provide affordable housing for vulnerable or emergent groups in the Commune.



To foster the integration of local and inter municipal connections through multifunctional and green infrastructure.

LOCAL ECONOMY



To support and reinforce the local economic productivity and sustainable conditions for employment according to the local capacities of the area.



To reinforce the local skills and entepreunership to booster the local economic productivity.



To support and reinforce the local economic productivity and sustainable conditions for employment according to the local capacities of the area.



To capture the local revenues under collective economic production in order to foster the sustainability of the local development and reduce the state-dependecy.

Inter municipal spatial analysis

The inter municipal area presents several spatial processes and characteristics that affect the internal social life its the communities. These issues also can be reframed as possibilities for endogenous development. The main critical points revealed are the following:

- Intercommunal spatial fragmentation:

The regional-metropolitan transport routes splinter the urban fabric and limit the accessibility and connectivity between communes. This impact constraints the inter-local networks and strengthens the dependence on other urban centers

- Confinement and sub-utilization and of public equipment areas:

In all the cases, the centralities of public functions are confined, limiting possibilities of use and appropriation by the neighborhood units. In the particular case of Cerrillos, its urban tissue makes difficult to recognize a clear urban center for the communities.

- Erosion of public and non-public abandoned areas:

The three municipal areas present deteriorated public and abandoned spaces. In the worst cases, these areas have tended to become wastelands or areas for rubbish deposit, as well as in areas occupied by informal housing and drug trafficking spaces.

- Programmatic fragmentation:

At the inter-communal level, the area is fragmented programmatically between services of metropolitan scale and local services without spatial continuity or greater mixture.

- Pressure by real estate development:

The presence of a new metro line, along with new lines projected in the medium term, has generated the increase in real estate pressure in traditional neighborhood areas of Cerrillos and PAC, generating actions of civil rejection and resistance from the Municipality. This has not been the case of Lo Espejo and Pedro Aguirre Cerda, where the conditions of both sectors are not attractive for developers still.

- Precarization of housing and public services:

The major arrival of immigrants in these areas has produced an increase in the demand for housing and services, especially related with the healthcare system. Particularly in Lo Espejo and PAC, the foregoing has also generated an unregulated rental service, which has strengthened overcrowding and the reappearance of informal settlement foci.

- Drug micro trafficking:

Traffic is present in the three communes, which has been reinforced by the decline of the appropriation of public space and its precarization. Municipalities have tried to contest this phenomenon to the promotion of cultural and sport activities.

In sum, all these issues can be referred to specific spatial characteristics in morphological terms. As I will explain though different maps (own ellaboration based on empirical mapping) in the next pages, these characteristics are related with the spatial barriers, closed borders, and underused spaces.

Legend

Components and spatial processs	Interest: State	Real estate market	Franchised Infrastructure	Regional Government	Public companies	Municipalities	Social Organizations	Neighbors	Direct scale impact
Potential Avenues				●		●	●	●	Metropolitan Inter Municipal
New Metropolitan transport service	●		●		●				Metropolitan Inter Municipal
Industries						●	●	●	Metropolitan Municipal
Atractive Land for housing densification	●	●	●	●		●		●	Metropolitan Inter Municipal
Underused land				●		●		●	Municipal
Underused green areas						●	●	●	Municipal
Closed edges						●	●	●	Inter Municipal
Street market economy						●	●	●	Municipal
Pedestrian barriers and bottlenecks						●	●	●	Municipal Inter Municipal
Closed Public cores						●	●	●	Municipal Inter Municipal
Informal housing	●			●		●	●	●	Municipal
Eviction	●			●		●	●	●	Municipal
Gated communities development	●	●		●		●	●	●	Municipal

Main urban issues

The map shows the potential and conflicting spatial areas and processes. In turn, the table above indicates the different potentials / conflicts in relation to the interest of the different interacting actors in the area. The agency and reasoning of each stakeholder operates in a scalar way, in this way, the map allows prioritizing the main critical areas to be considered within the collaborative scheme.

0.5 0 0.5 1 1.5 2 km



Legend

Dwelling

- Housing until 2 floors
- Housing over 2 floors
- Gated communities housing until 2 floors
- Gated communities housing over 2 floors

Industry and technical services

- Industry headquarters
- Logistic Warehouses
- Hardware stores
- Commercial distributors
- Mechanical workshops
- Technical Workshops

Communal public services

- Public Schools
- Municipal facilities
- Public Medical facilities
- Police headquarters
- Municipal land
- Social Centres

Local services

- Local churches
- Local restaurant
- Local groceries
- Local markets and services

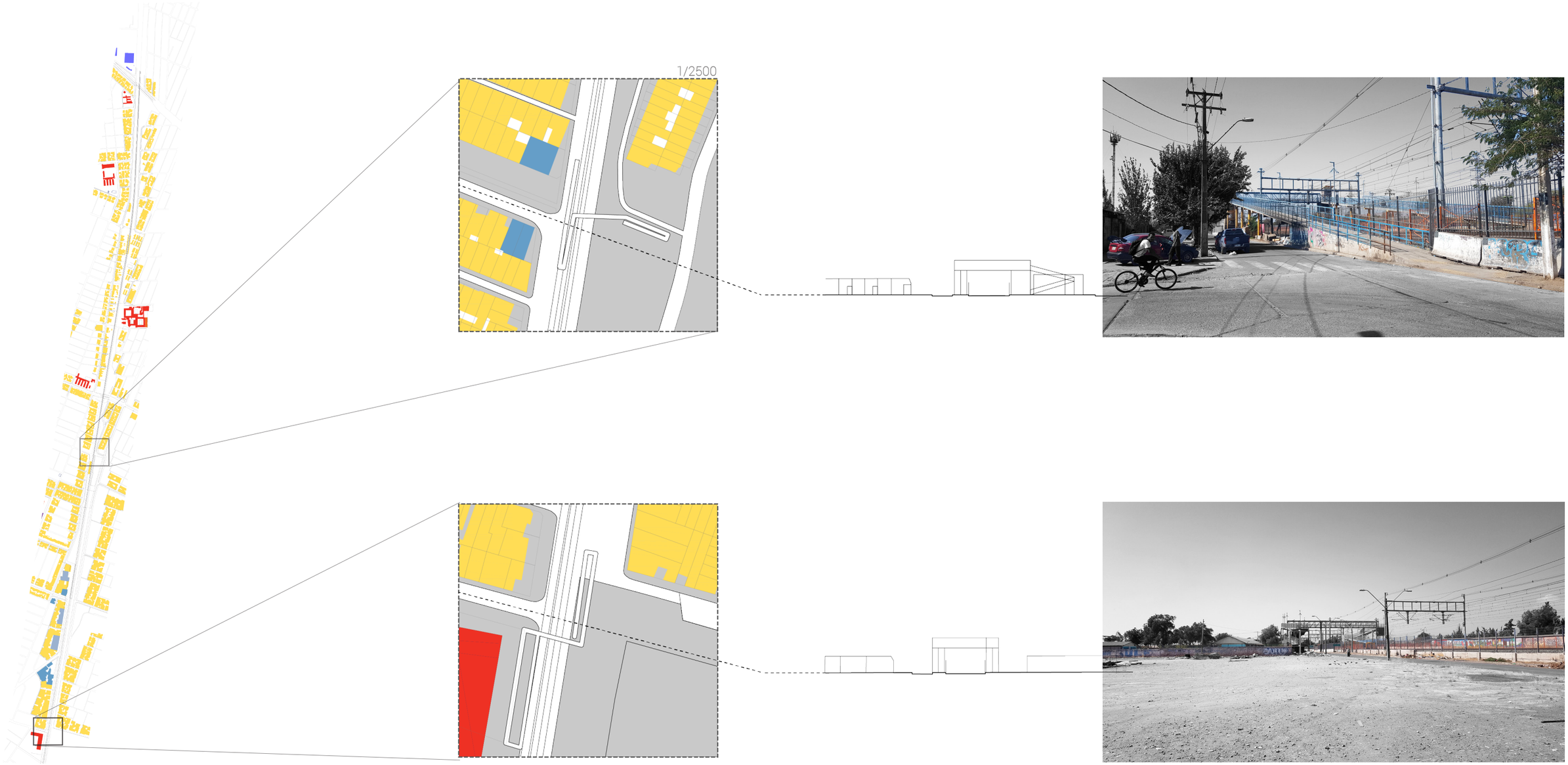
Metropolitan and urban services

- Private technical institute
- Super markets
- Shopping malls
- Car sales center
- Ex Airport Facilities
- Banks

Functions and morphological conditions

The elements and hierarchical spatial areas also present different morphological and functional conformations. In the case of Lo Espejo and Pedro Aguirre Cerda, the different neighborhoods surround services centralities, which coexist with main streets of local services of intra and inter communal destination. On the contrary, the eastern sector (airport) and the south of Cerrillos adopt a diffuse character, concentrating mainly industrial areas, metropolitan commercial services and the emergent gated communities. These charcateristics are related with specific spatial conditions: **barriers, closed borders and sub used and wasted lands.**

0.5 0 0.5 1 1.5 2 km



Barriers

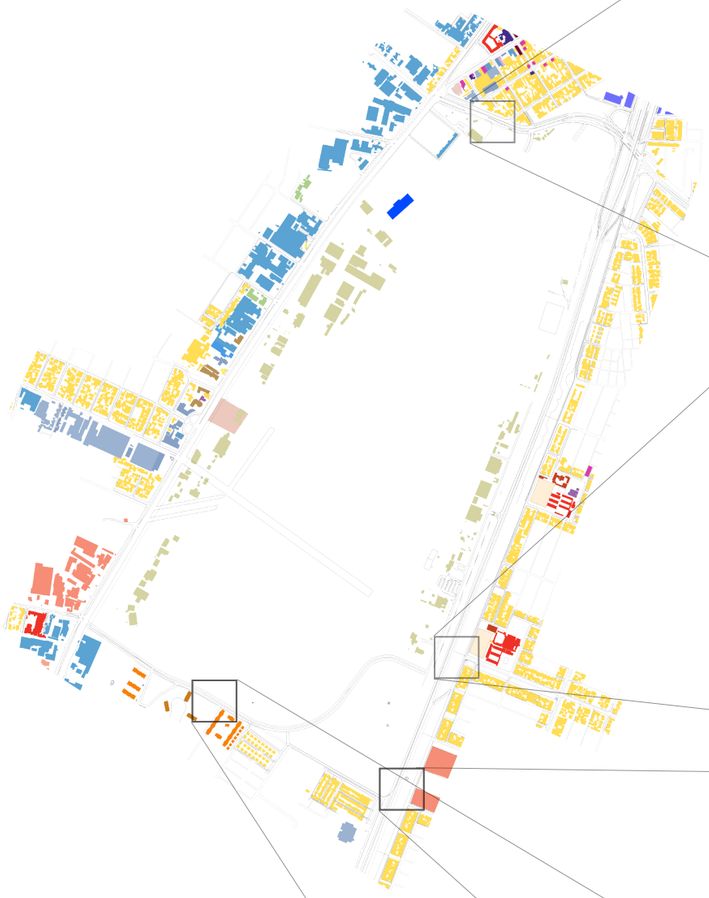
The barriers are constituted by metropolitan roads and railways. The effect of the barriers produces opaque or semi-opaque impermeable edges, whose lack of function and inappropriate interface has promoted different types of actions and practices. The adjacent derelict land has tended to become underused o wasted land, while the infrastructures of bridges have sheltered informal occupations, such as illegal parking lots, micro-garbage dumps and little informal settlements. However, other types of activities have tended to appear to counteract these effects. This is the case of micro orchards or recycling places.

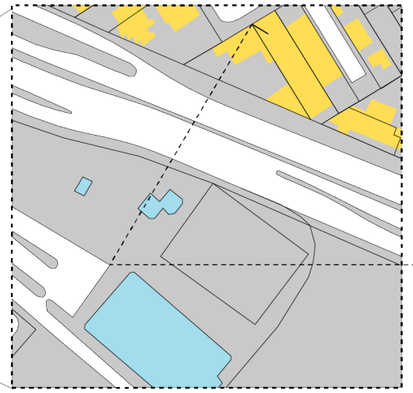




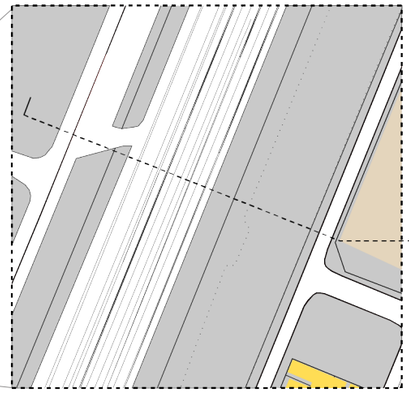
Abandoned

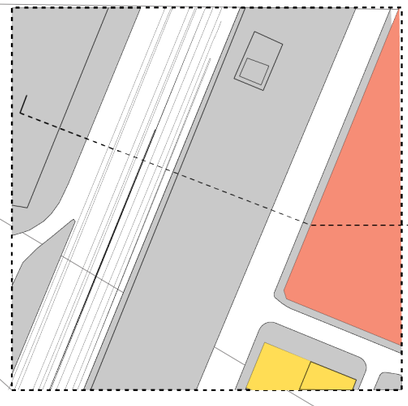
Land in the three communes, but mainly in Cerrillos, are in a state of neglect. This situation has caused a series of environmental and security problems. These areas tend to become diffuse terrains that fragment the continuity of the urban fabric and limit its connectivity and density. In turn, the formation of microbasins attracts other types of negative practices that ultimately affect the perception and public use of the areas. However, the main limitation corresponds to the municipal regulatory capacity to manage these areas and reformulate them functionally.

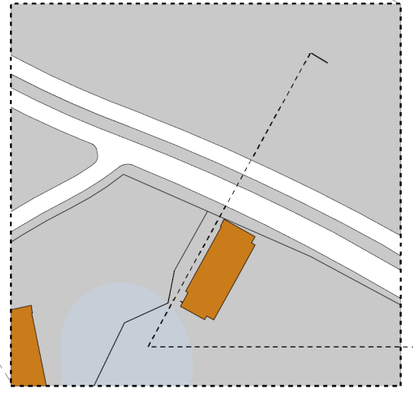


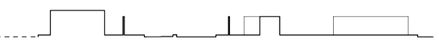


1/2500

















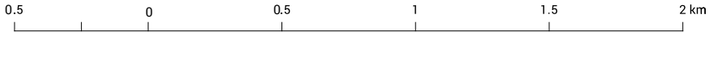


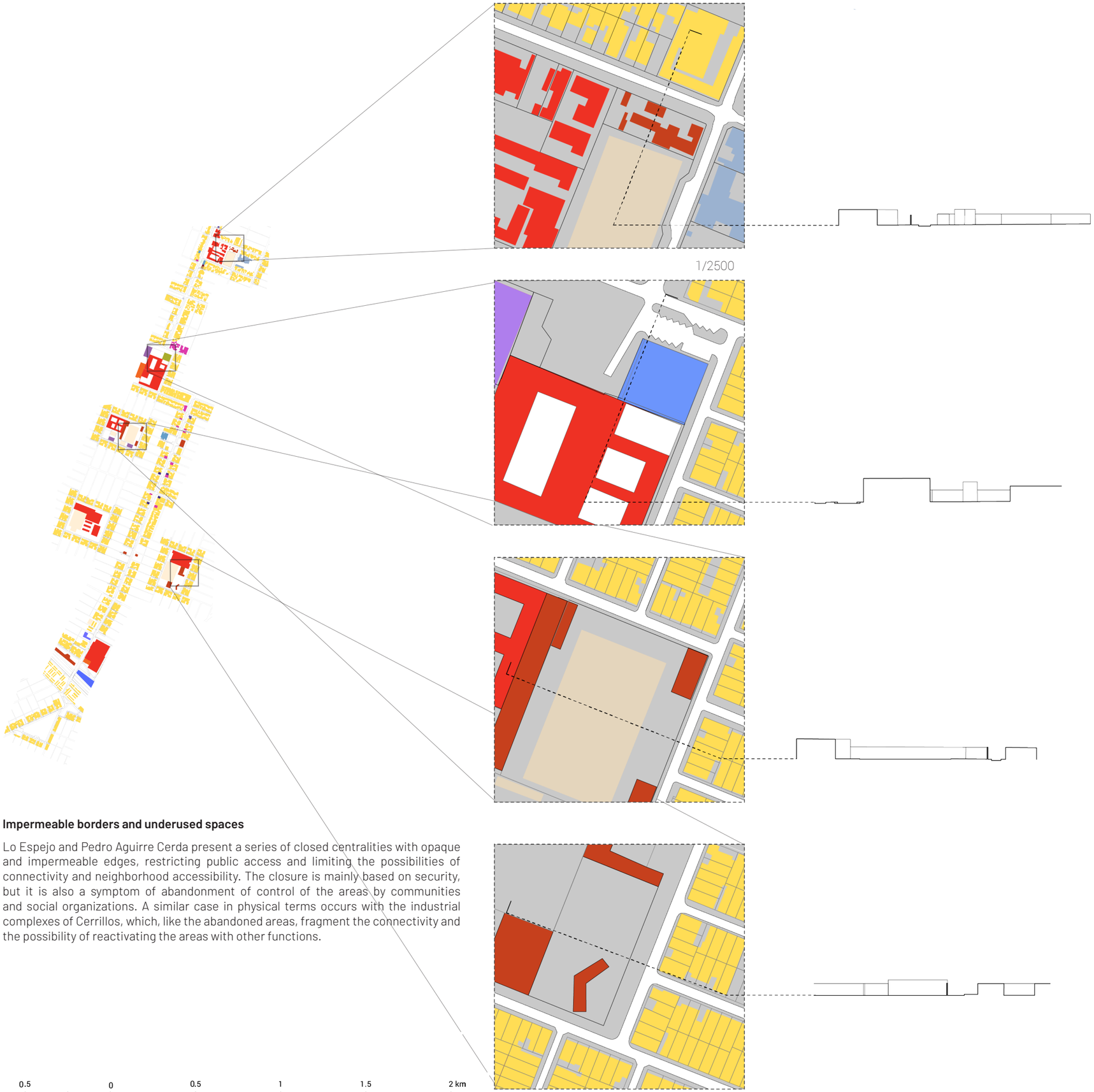




Impermeable borders and barriers

The opaque and impermeable edges, together with vehicular intercommunal traffic routes, also affect the accessibility to public areas. The example of this is the area of the Bicentennial Park whose access is limited to Cerrillos, only by a lateral access road (Camino a Melipilla). The closure culture, in turn, denies the public space on edges that do not allow another type of function or access.













Impermeable borders and underused spaces

Lo Espejo and Pedro Aguirre Cerda present a series of closed centralities with opaque and impermeable edges, restricting public access and limiting the possibilities of connectivity and neighborhood accessibility. The closure is mainly based on security, but it is also a symptom of abandonment of control of the areas by communities and social organizations. A similar case in physical terms occurs with the industrial complexes of Cerrillos, which, like the abandoned areas, fragment the connectivity and the possibility of reactivating the areas with other functions.

Conclusion and strategic actions

As observed during the analysis described above, the main spatial problems are related to functional and morphological conditions, which are strongly conditioned by limitations in governance and planning mechanisms based on land use. In this way, **the redefinition of barriers, abandoned spaces, deactivated centralities, responds not only to limitations related to the lack of resources but above all to the lack of structures that support agreements between actors, the lack of flexibility for the municipal action framework and morphological constraints.**

In this regard, three general spatial actions are proposed. These actions should be articulated with new agreements among actors based on the needs and challenges established at the inter-communal and local levels. These actions are to activate, reprogram, and connect.

Activate, refers to the strategic action of operating existing programs or infrastructures to host new functions or trigger different processes of local and inter-communal appropriation.

Reprogramming, refers to the strategic action of resignifying or redefining areas, functions, or infrastructures to give them a new meaning and use according to local, communal, and inter-communal needs.

Connect, refers to the action of opening, drilling, or traversing to allow the continuity of networks and thus improve accessibility. It corresponds to an eminently transversal action that helps to expand the accessibility between different areas.

These actions should be articulated over time through dynamics that allow their effective deployment, under different conditions of change, to achieve the general objectives set at the municipal level over time. This aspect means that there is no only way to turn on the different actions, regarding unexpected conditions (this last aspect will be explored in th next chapter).

To summarize the complementary findings of this chapter, in the following pages, a map of the intercommunal area is indicated with the potentials by scale, considering parameters of accessibility, availability of space and present program.

Three areas of analysis for design testing are chosen on the map, corresponding to the most relevant axis and the potential areas obtained from the mapping of the potential. These areas structure an inter-communal connection at the inter-municipal level, which corresponds to the continuity of Lo Errazuriz and Avenida Cardenal José María Caro avenues.

The map, in turn, superimposes the different objectives for the communes, which should be achieved in the area as a part of the local vision.

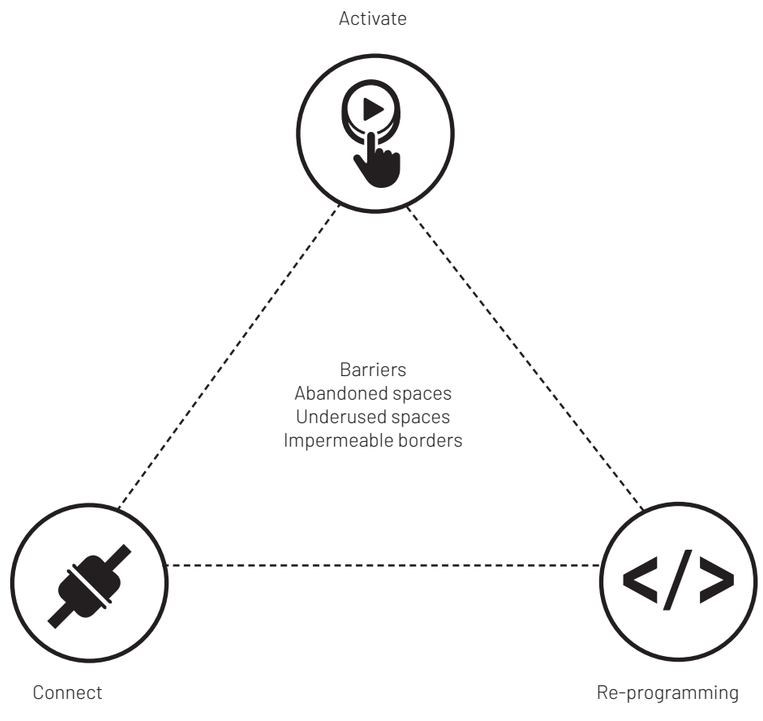


Figure 29: The dynamic of the main strategic actiones defined in order to address the main spatial issues that restrict the local and inter municipal development.



Metropolitan Potential

Strategic location

Strategic connection

Inter Comunal Potential

Strategic locations

Strategic connection

Local Potential

Strategic locations

Strategic connection

Map of potential areas, goals, and actions

The map points out the different potential areas at the inter-communal level, considering critical areas concerning available space, accessibility, and programmatic possibilities. In turn, the three areas constitute a vision of local objectives and challenges. The set of identified general actions will be applied in the next chapter through specific subactions according to the potentialities and needs of each local area.

0.5 0 0.5 1 1.5 2 km

REFERENCES

Articles / books

Aguirre, B. and Rabí, S. (2009) 'La trayectoria espacial de la Corporación de la Vivienda (CORVI) Beatriz', Revista de Diseño Urbano y Paisaje. Universidad Central.

Bahl, R. W., Linn, J. F., & Wetzel, D. L. (2013). Financing metropolitan governments in developing countries. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Lincoln Institute of Land Policy.

Baereswyl , S. (2014). 'Desafíos y perspectivas desde la ciudad comuna'. Presentación inédita. Seminario Planificación Urbana Integrada Consejo Nacional de Desarrollo Urbano.

Bresciani, L. (2016) 'Gobernanza Metropolitana para Chile'. Presentación inédita. Seminario Gobierno Regional y Universidad de Concepción.

Bryson, J. M. (2004) What to do when stakeholders matter: stakeholder identification and analysis techniques. Public management review 6(11)(2004): 21-53.

Czischke, D. (2018) 'Collaborative housing and housing providers: towards an analytical framework of multi-stakeholder collaboration in housing co-production', International Journal of Housing Policy. doi: 10.1080/19491247.2017.1331593.

De la Maza, G. (2004) 'Políticas públicas y sociedad civil en Chile: El caso de las políticas sociales (1990-2004)', Política.

Delanty, G. (2009) Community: Second edition, Community: Second Edition. doi: 10.4324/9780203877050.

De Ramón, A. (1990) La población informal. Poblamiento de la periferia de Santiago de Chile. 1920-1970. Revista EURE, 50, 5-17.

Fichter, R.; Turner, J.F.C.; Grenell, P. (1972) The meaning of autonomy. En Fichter, R.; Turner, J.F.C. Freedom to build. Nueva York: Macmillan.

Galetovic P., A., Poduje, I. and Aravena Mori, A. (2006) 'Santiago: dónde estamos y hacia dónde vamos'. Centro de Estudios Públicos. Available at: https://www.cepchile.cl/santiago-donde-estamos-y-hacia-donde-vamos/cep/2016-03-04/094228.html (Accessed: 1 December 2018).

Galilea O., S. (1988) 'Efectos del metro en la estructura urbana de Santiago.' Available at: https://repositorio.uc.cl/handle/11534/3795 (Accessed: 7 October 2018).

Jiménez, V. et al. (2018) 'Normalización del modelo neoliberal de expansión residencial más allá del límite urbano en Chile y España', Eure. doi: 10.4067/s0250-71612018000200027.

Johnson, G., Scholes, K. and Whittington, R. (2005) Exploring Corporate Strategy, Text Cases, Financial Times. doi: 10.1016/0024-6301(84)90230-9.

López, E. (2012) 'Urbanismo proempresarial y destrucción creativa: estrategia de renovación urbana en el pericentro de Santiago de Chile, 1990-2005'. Infonavit- Redalyc.

Mac-Donald, J. (1982) 25 años de vivienda social: la perspectiva del habitante. Santiago: CPU._____ (1984) El habitar progresivo. Revista CA, 38, 1-4.

Madden, D. J. (2014) 'Neighborhood as spatial project: Making the urban order on the downtown Brooklyn waterfront', International Journal of Urban and Regional Research. doi: 10.1111/1468-2427.12068.

Marden, P. (2003). The decline of politics : governance, globalization, and the public sphere. Aldershot, Hants, England ; Burlington, VT: Ashgate.

Millán, R. (2012) 'Operación sitio a cuatro décadas de su constitución. Programas y políticas de mejoramiento urbano en áreas pericentrales del Gran Santiago', in ISA Forum RC 43. Housing and Built Environment / Informal settlements: Land and housing markets, policies and formalisation.

Muñoz, J. C. and Gschwender, A. (2008) 'Transantiago: A tale of two cities', Research in Transportation Economics. doi: 10.1016/j.retrec.2008.05.010.

Muñoz, J. C., De, J. and Ortuzar, D. (2009) 'Transantiago: The Fall and Rise of a Radical Public Transport Intervention', Travel Demand Management and Road User Pricing: Success, Failure and Feasibility.

Murray-Webster, R. and Simon, P. (2006) 'Making Sense of Stakeholder Mapping', PM World Today.

Nutt, P. and Backoff, R. (1992) Strategic Management of Public and Third Sector Organizations: A Handbook for Leaders, San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Orellana, A. (2013)' Gobiernos metropolitanos para Chile: la necesidad versus la factibilidad'. Centro de Políticas Públicas PUC, 8, n° 63.

Tapia, V. (2016) 'Geografías de la contención: políticas de escala barrial en el Chile post dictadura (1990-2014)'. Tesis de doctorado en Geografía, planificación territorial y gestión ambiental (non published). Universidad de Barcelona.

Troncoso, F. L., Barría, V. T. and Chioino, P. B. (2018) '¿Nuevas territorialidades vecinales en el Chile neoliberal?', Polis (Santiago). doi: 10.4067/s0718-65682018000100055.

Vicuña del Río, M. (2013) 'El marco regulatorio en el contexto de la gestión empresarialista y la mercantilización del desarrollo urbano del Gran Santiago, Chile', Revista INVI. doi: 10.4067/s0718-83582013000200006.

Vergara, J. (2003) 'El Estado y las organizaciones sociales en Chile', Polis (online). Retrieved from: http://journals.openedition.org/polis/7178.

Reports and figures

Programa de Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo (PNUD) Chile. (2005). El poder para qué y para quién. Santiago, Chile. PNUD. http:// www.cl.undp.org/content/dam/chile/docs/desarrollohumano/ undp_cl_idh_informe2004.pdf

Sociedad Borquez y Burr Limitada (2014) Actualización PLADECO Pedro Aguirre Cerda - Diagnóstico by Municipalidad Pedro Aguirre Cerda - issuu. Available at: https://issuu.com/municipalidadpedroaguirrecerda/docs/pladeco_pac_tomo1_diagnostico (Accessed: 21 May 2019).

García, G. et al. (2013) Actualización PLADECO. Período 2013-2017. Comuna de Lo Espejo. Santiago de Chile. Available at: http://transparencia.loespejo.cl/enero2014/Pladeco/Tercer informe.pdf (Accessed: 21 May 2019).

Municipalidad de Cerrillos (2011) Actualización PLADECO Municipalidad de Cerrillos. Santiago de Chile. Available at: http://www.mcerrillos.cl/transparencia/documentos/ACTOS Y RESOLUCIONES/PLADECO/PLADECO CERRILLOS 2011-2015.pdf (Accessed: 21 May 2019).

6. TEST BY DESIGN

Overview

In the previous chapter the general analysis of stakeholders, municipal areas and spatial conditionings has been developed. As a result of this working process, the main conditionings have been defined for the stakeholders dynamic, main goals for each municipal areas, and the potentials and strategic general actions to develop the inter-municipal strategic planning.

This chapter is dedicated to the testing of the strategy through the evaluation of the 3 more relevant areas selected at the end of the previous chapter. The main objective is to illustrate how the spatial strategy can evolve over time, pointing out its different implications, possibilities and limitations.

In the first part, the directions of the Strategic Spatial Planning approach are introduced for the case of the Communes of Lo Espejo, Pedro Aguirre Cerda and Cerrillos. In addition, the concepts of spatial capital and adaptive road map are explained as methods of analysis and testing.

The second part of the chapter develops the profiles of each local area to define the specific actions of development according to the local spatial capital.

Finally, the adaptive roadmap explores the possible alternatives for strategy deployment over time.

Sections

6.1 Test by design : Introduction to the collaborative spatial planning strategy

6.2 Profile areas

6.3 Spatial capital

6.4 Adaptive roadmaps

6.5 References

Test by design

Introduction to the collaborative spatial planning strategy

As evidenced in the previous analysis, the gaps and weaknesses generated by the governance system, together with a rigid system of planning instruments based on land use, have contributed to the decline of municipal and local areas, restricting and limiting their actions and the possibilities for their communities.

In this way, the inter municipal spatial planning strategy proposed is framed in a process of recognition of the potentials of these areas, which translates into strategic actions, agreements between actors and the provision of specific resources through time by fulfilling a shared vision of the future (Albrechts, 2004;2015). This approach means a change from the traditional model of planning based on land use to a flexible model based on the particularities of specific areas.

To show the possibilities and outcomes of the collaborative planning approach, the design is developed through different scenarios based on the spatial capital of the areas.

Thus, in the following pages, three conceptual models of analysis are used to elaborate this testing process.

Spatial capital

In the first part, the three areas of inter-municipal potential are evaluated utilizing a method of analysis that determines the spatial capital of the area (Marcus, 2010). This method evaluates the intensity of urbanity, understood as the intensity of human use of a space given mainly by three factors: access or distance to density (accessibility), diversity referred to functions and constructive mass, referred to to the possibility of expanding the productive occupation of the land.

This measure also allows us to infer how the morphological structure can adapt to change (Marcus, 2010).

Along with this method, a local characterization of the areas is carried out mainly in demographic and social terms. For this purpose, the framework of social vulnerability assets of Monser (1998) is adapted and used, by focusing on aspects as the level of occupation, human capital, productive assets, and social networks.

From the complementary outcomes got through the analysis, the spatial capital maps of the three areas are obtained, indicating their different strategic spatial potentials in order to determine distinctive and discrete actions (Secchi and Vigano, 2009), which will act on the strategic spaces. These actions are defined according to the objectives for each communal area, described in the previous chapter.

Adaptive roadmaps

This previous process allows developing a prospecting of the performance of the different actions over time, which I have called adaptive roadmaps. In this way, in the second stage, the adaptive roadmaps allow the prospection of possible evolution scenarios to achieve the different objectives set. These timelines are based on an adaptive approach, based on scenarios, the adaptive tipping points method developed, and the dynamic adaptive policy pathways developed by Haasnoot. et al (2013).

Scenarios

To exemplify the degree of magnitude of the inference of resources, ideological component, power and legitimacy of the actors during the process, the scenarios formulated describe three types of agreements, defined in greater detail in the following pages. This process allows informing about how and at what extent the local communities can achieve their goals in different and changing circumstances. Therefore, these scenarios correspond to local agreements (civil predominance), private agreements (private predominance), and public agreements (public-civil predominance).

All in all, the development of adaptive routes based on scenarios, allows to understand three primary outcomes: first, to visualize theoretically step by step the implementation of strategic actions (space/policies/instruments), the necessary agreements between involved actors, and their potential interaction, disruptions, and evolution over time. Second, to understand the limitations and potentials of each scenario regarding the goals established and third, to determine possible adaptive routes in the case of irreversible disturbances along the process of development.

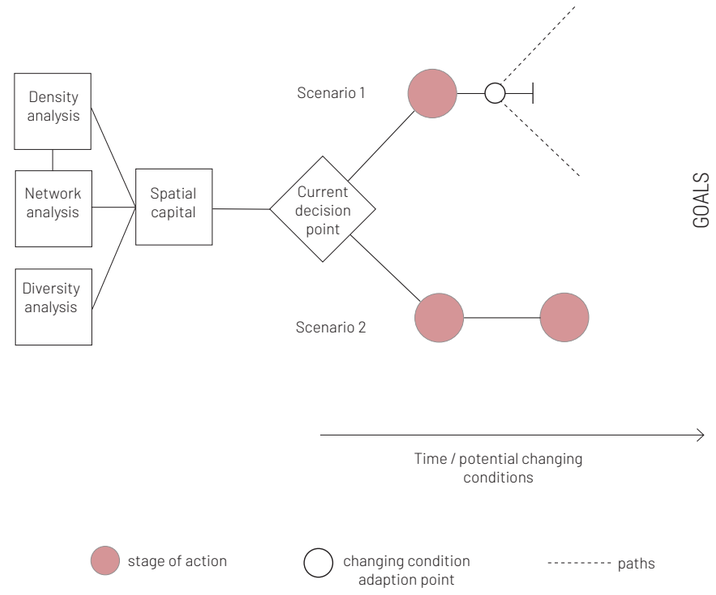


Figure 30: Complementarity of methods for the testing by design (spatial capital and adaptive roadmap).

PROFILE AREA - CERRILLOS WEST

Villa Los Presidentes de Chile
Villa Oreste Plat
Libertador Public School
Camino a Melipilla Railway
Thysenkroup Aceros
Metal mechanic Industry
Prisa Logistics Headquarters
Acuenta Supermarket
Presidente Salvador Allende avenue
Villa Ex Cooperativa Cerrillos
Evercrisp Snack Industry
Villa Aeropuerto Cerrillos
EFE Public Infrastructure Company
Los Cerrillos avenue
LPR Construction Company
Recupac Recycling
Ceramic Industry
Solentachy Warehouse
OTZI Construction Company
Villa Municipal Lo Errazuriz
Norman Voulleime Public Medical Centre
Municipal Centre
Condores Primary School
Lo Errazuriz avenue
Street Market
Stadium - Skate Park
Villa Las Terrazas
Farquimica industry
Villa Las Rejas
Villa Puerto Mont
Villa El Damasco
Salomon Sack avenue
University of Chile Experimental facilities
Cupper Cerrillos Ind.
Villa María
Villa El Puerto
Villa Vista Linda
Villa Norte de Maipu
Polytechnic School
Police Trainning School

Legend

- Neighboorhood areas
- Industrial areas
- Public faciities
- Socio functional l actors

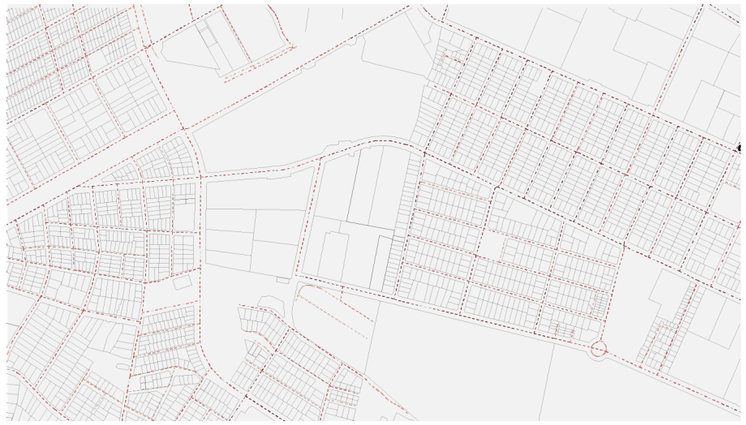
0 0.1 0.2 0.3 0.4 0.5 Km

The first area of interest corresponds to the western sector of Cerrillos, corresponding to the territorial units 30, 31 and 33, made up of more than 30 neighborhoods (Villas), by including traditional working class areas as Oreste Plath, Ex Cooperativa, Lo Errazuriz and Los Presidentes. The area presents a high level of spatial and functional fragmentation, as well as socio-economically vulnerable neighborhoods. The disconnection between the productive activity and the neighborhood activity is high and does not include a greater link, this being the main potential of this area.



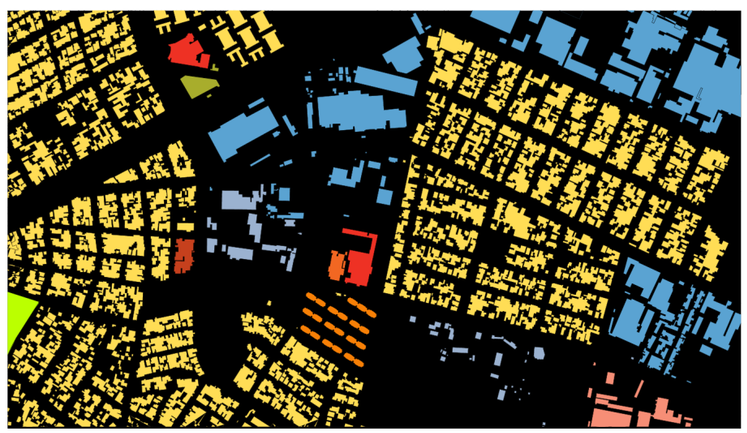
	A	B	C	D	E
Inland surface (sqm)	5.074	14.042	96.539	6.319	4.115
Floor Space index	1.53	0.84	1.45	1.08	1.02
Ground Space index	0.38	0.47	0.36	0.53	0.68
	1	2	3		
Network	0.016	0.009	0.021		

Openess and built intensity



Integration
- Low
- Medium low
- Medium
- Medium high
- High

Accessibility and street integration



Visit
- Stadium - Sport Centre
- Street Market

Work
- Productive industries
- Logistics warehouses
- Police Centre

Live
- Housing until 2 floors
- Housing over 2 floors
- Gated communities housing until 2 floors
- Supermarket
- Health facilities
- Public School
- Municipal facilities

0 0.1 0.2 0.3 0.4 0.5 Km

Urban program distribution

Fragmented openness of the area

The urban tissue of the area presents two types of blocks clearly: industrial use and housing use. Distribution and density of their buildings inside of their plots is highly irregular between these different types. The land for industrial use has plots of large areas, with closed edges and limited access to the main transport routes: Lo Errazuriz Avenue, Cerrillos Avenue, Presidente Salvador Allende and Las Americas. Another particular characteristic is the disperse distribution of buildings over the land, which is expressed in the low ground space index. This aspect can be related with opportunities for intensification of the use of space in terms of implementation of new program and possibilities of access that could improve the blocks permeability.

Similarly, the blocks corresponding to public facilities or public services present identical conditions. On the whole, the disperse distribution and the blocked edges of the industrial sites, restrict the openess of the general area, creating a disconnected tissue among the neighborhoods.

On the contrary, the blocks of housing are conformed by low rise buildings, that are much more dense and small than the industrial block tipology. In this regard, housing built density is much more intense, especially if we considered it in terms of occupation of land space.

Interrupted accessibility and network density

On the other hand if we analize the network density, the neighborhood tissue presents a fluid internal grid of local streets that offer of access and route possibilities for pedestrians and cars. However, these grids are blocked by the industrial islands, which reduces the spatial permeability and continuity and thus diminishing the possibility for encountering a social interaction among different residential sectors.

In this sense, two characteristics can be observed: on the one hand most of the islands of dwellings have almost impermeable interfaces, thus reducing the contact with the immediate public space, even in the presence of areas of sidewalks which are also generally used as informal car parking, thus reducing other possibilities of occupation and connection between private and public spaces. The creation of these borders is mainly attributable to the lack of consolidated public spaces, the perception of insecurity and the predominance of the private sphere.

The second characteristic is the impermeability of the borders of industrial areas and public services, which tend to generate insecure perimeters and scarce pedestrian use. The relation of closure towards the public between the neighborhood and industrial perimeters is combined negatively, favoring the decline of public use, sustained also by the low quality and diversity of public spaces.

Fragmented urban program

In functional terms, the sector is highly differentiated and fragmented by a cluster of metropolitan industrial and residential functions without any connection between them. As the municipality has stated, this is one of the great challenges of the Commune, which, having a marked industrial character, has not managed to be integrated programmatically into the social, spatial or economic structure at the local level. Additionally, the pattern of blocks for industrial and logistics uses have precluded other types of spatial relationships at the urban fabric level.



Several areas in Cerrillos remain abandoned and work as dump sites. This is the case of the derelict land next to the railway, Villa Oreste Plath and Del Sol Highway.

Additionally, the barriers given by the metropolitan transport infrastructure such as the railway to Melipilla road, disconnect even more the network of streets, strengthening the isolation of the neighborhoods. The possibility of new train stations, in this sense, constitutes an opportunity for integration at the surface level.



The industrial and warehouse lots of the area generate opaque and impermeable barriers that impact on the potential of use of the sidewalks, thus decreasing public activity. The opening or reuse of these areas through the incorporation of local functions would allow permeabilizing these lots, offering greater spatial functional opportunities to the area.



Towards the interior, the neighborhoods (view of El Damasco) close to the outside generating a clear territorial demarcation between the houses and the public space. The gradual change, would obey to improve the pedestrian accessibility and occupation of the public areas through functions of permanent and dynamic use that could encourage new uses at street level. Eventually, the concentration of vehicles should be located in strategic areas.

Many extensive areas remain without use and permanent occupation. The picture shows an operational area for experiments from civil engineering of University of Chile, that remains empty and derelict. Possibilities of activating new forms of appropiation and uses are linked to the possibility to acces public land and establish relations between the different actors of the area.



The industrial areas give rise to wide extensions of low density land, which intersect avenues and neighborhood fragments. These areas are highly potential to densify spatially and programmatically through local economic and social functions, as well as housing for overcrowded areas.



Main interfaces in Lo Errazuriz avenue are functional inactive and opaque, inhibiting the pedestrian use and other possibilities of occupation and circulation. The introduction of local functions at the level of the platforms and the incentive to open the areas through new multi modal inter communal transport routes would allow activating the interface, boosting urbanity in the area.



Despite the reclusion of the private areas, the occupation of the public space occurs around Salomon Sack Avenue through the free street market of Cerrillos. The fair fulfills an economic role that allows families to access products at a lower price.

The spatial analysis is complemented by a social characterization of the area, which helps to determine the spatial and social conditions and potentials at the local level.

Low qualification vs. labour opportunities
The most vulnerable neighborhoods of the area, as Los Presidentes and Orestes Plath, are composed mainly of families where only men work permanently and is constituted as the "head of household". In addition, women hold sporadic and mostly informal jobs. The main occupation corresponds to technicians, builders and merchants. The latter mainly use their vehicles to work.
As for women, most of them do not have a job qualification, supplement the family economy in minor jobs such as cleaning, service assistants and informal sales. On the other hand, industrial companies do not offer major opportunities for this type of worker, unless in sporadic and low qualified jobs. This aspect has been also reinforced by the increase in the automation in the present industries, by restricting the employment opportunities. In this sense, the alternative to enhance local activity should focus on providing access to facilities and training, along with opening the industry to other complementary uses.

Potential human capital conditions
Considering the variables of age, educational level and health, the workers of the area do not have greater opportunities to join professional activities, but of a technical nature, which could be reinforced in the same area to favor local capital. Health is an important issue in the area since many of these communities suffer from obesity in both children and adults. The sedentariness in this sense is a key factor that also restricts the public space use. In order to revert this trend is necessary to facilitate infrastructure that could enable additional public spaces that can activate these people phisycally.

Insufficient social housing and infrastructure
In terms of housing and infrastructure, most families have their own homes and basic functional urban infrastructure. In turn, 70% of families have cars esentially for work reasons. Additionally, in specific neighborhoods, for example in the neighborhood unit Nº30, there is greater demand for housing due to overcrowding and spatial dwelling limitations. The major presence of cars as an asset has also implications for the availability of public space. Alternative connections to other points through morphological changes in the spatial structure of blocks and barriers of the area could catalyze new functional dynamics in terms of urban program.

Social networks and organizations
Regarding social support networks, these are mostly carried out by social organizations. However, these do not have a political weight and suitable infrastructure that allow them to congregate and support substantive processes of change in the area. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the investment that instrumentalizes the action of these organizations is also mediated by the state, using these organizations as promoters of development before the municipalities. This erosion and the economic pragmatism of the resident families in a context of job precariousness also affects the potential for neighborhood organization. In this way, in order to counteract these processes, the actors of the area (such as transport companies and industry) play a fundamental role in activating and supporting alternative processes. The empowerment of these organizations, in turn, involves generating infrastructure conditions that allow them to operate collectively vis-à-vis the rest of the residents of the neighborhoods.



Figure 31: General social characterization of the neighborhoods units. Own ellaboration based on PLADECO of Cerrillos, www.mientorno.cl (2016 census information) and fieldtrip mapping.

PROFILE AREA - CERRILLOS EAST

Bicentennial Park

Bicentennial Park City area

Air Force Army Area

Pedro Aguirre Cerda Avenue

Lo Errazuriz avenue

Autopista General Velasquez - Central Highway

Indura Industry

José María Caro Sector D Neighborhood

Portal Parque de Cerrillos Condominium

Portal Oeste IX Condominium

Casas de Cerrillos Neighbourhood

Portal del Parque 5 Neighbourhood

Portal Oeste VIII Condominium

Portal Oeste X Condominium

Portal del Parque VII Neighbourhood

Portal Oeste VII Condominium

PC Factory Warehouse

ALAR aluminium Warehouse

Hardware Store MTS

José María Caro Sector C Neighborhood

Legend

- Neighboorhood areas
- Industrial areas
- Public faciities
- Socio functional l actors

0 0.1 0.2 0.3 0.4 0.5 Km

The area corresponds it is located to the west of the Commune and concentrates 3 main types of functions. The first function is industrial and metropolitan, mainly linked to areas of logistics, sales, wholesale services and industrial warehousing. The second function is linked to the presence of new gated communities and low-rise housing villas. Finally, the area is adjacent to the former Cerrillos airport, which still houses part of the armed forces facilities, and the bicentennial park. The area is segregated by metropolitan routes such as Avenida Pedro Aguirre Cerda and Autopista Central.



Building density

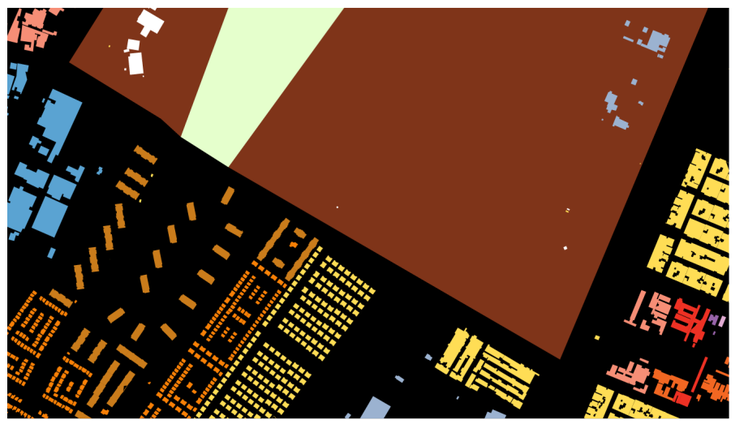
	A	B	C	D
Inland surface (sqm)	40.061	13.711	4.919	3.454
Floor Space index	2.56	1.77	0.78	1.34
Ground Space index	0.16	0.32	0.39	0.67
	1	2	3	
Network	0.011	0.017	0.002	

Openess and built intensity



Integration
- Low
- Medium low
- Medium
- Medium high
- High

Accessibility and streets integration



Visit
- Park

Work
- Productive industries
- Logistics warehouses

Live
- Housing until 2 floors
- Gated Communities until 2 floors
- Gated Communities over 4 floors
- Health facilities
- Public School
- Municipal facilities
- Police

Other
- State land

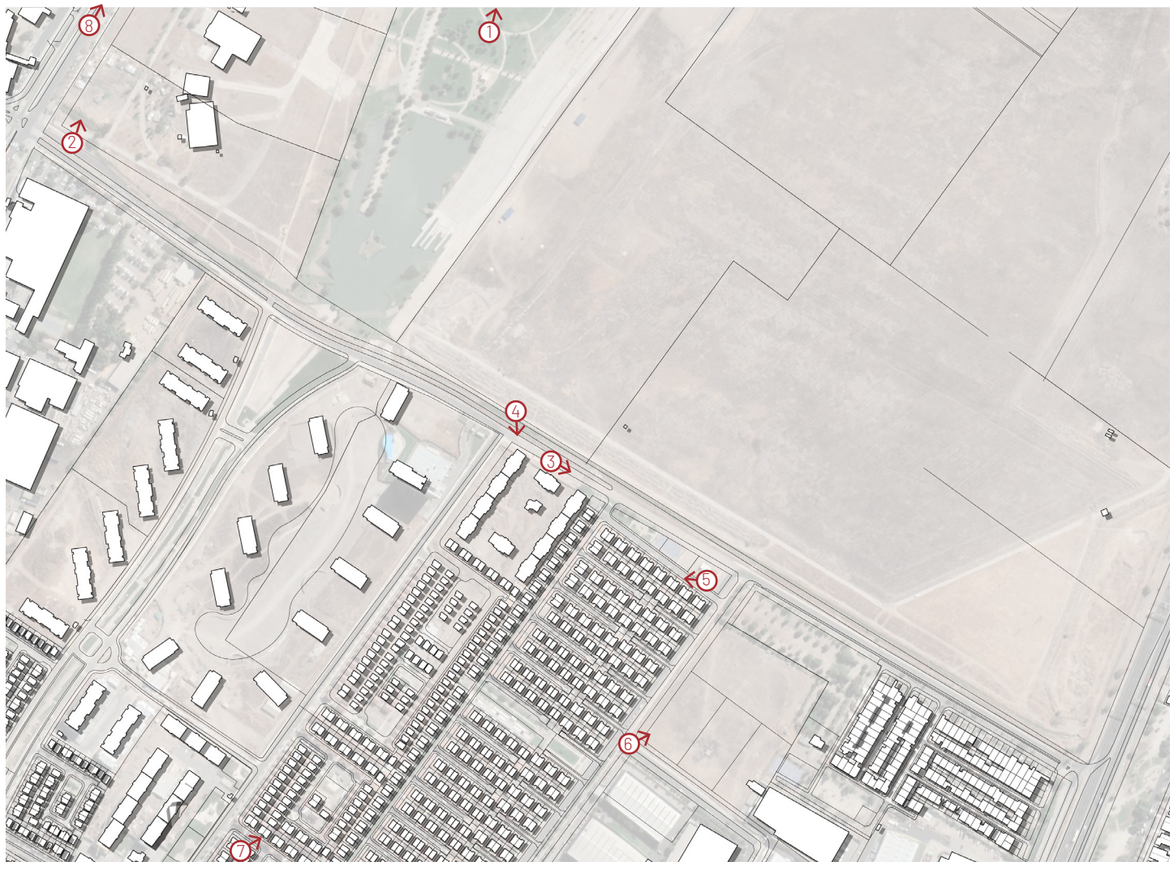
0 0.1 0.2 0.3 0.4 0.5 Km

Urban program distribution

Low density and public underused land
Built density in the area varies enormously between the public land of the former airport area and the residential blocks. Residential blocks varies also in terms of density, recognizing at least three main types of housing: high rise buildings, low rise housing and traditional housing areas.
High rise buildings have a higher FSI (A), mainly due their amount of floors (over 16 floors) while their GSI is low, leaving substantial free space closed and unused. On the other hand, the new sets of mixed and low-rise housing (B) reach a better balance between building density and land occupation, but they also constitute gated communities, limiting accessibility to their inner spaces. Similarly, blocks of new housing do not have more than two floors (C), with low building density and low land occupation. On the contrary, the blocks of traditional housing (D), closer to the highway, are much denser and have a higher land use occupation.
Complementary, the areas of industrial use and the former airport, do not have almost occupation of the land. In this regard, the case of the former-airport is extreme, regarding the surface of underused space. These conditions generate possibilities for spatial integration at communal and inter communal level.

Limited network streets and accessibility
Accessibility is highly conditioned by the structure of the street network, which in this case is insufficient to provide greater levels of pedestrian integration. The above is reinforced by the presence of several industry lands. In this way, the internal residential area is highly segregated and communicated mainly by metropolitan vehicular arteries to the rest of the City while at the intra level is connected by local vehicular arteries. A major significant integration could be achieved by connecting existing networks with a new purposed network created in the airport area, by activating additional functions and avenue Lo Errazuriz as a means of integration and central distribution.
Since the Lo Errrazuriz avenue is not connected transversally to the west and east, the artery loses distribution potential in the same Commune and towards Lo Espejo. On the contrary, the most integrated routes are perpendicular roads that are connected to the highway, being these mainly destined to the use of automobiles or public buses. Additionally, the interfaces of the different blocks favor vehicular transit over the pedestrian, mainly due to the confinement and isolation condition of each residential area.

Fragmented urban program
The functions of the area are, as in the case of Cerrillos west, highly differentiated and segregated. Nevertheless, in this area the services at the village or neighborhood level are much smaller and focused on specific points, such as nursery schools or fast food services. The above can be explained given the vehicular dynamics of the area. In addition, the accessibility and density of networks in the area, generates a low intensity of urban life, concentrated mainly in the interior of closed condominiums, their interior "public" spaces or the dwelling itself.
A major substantial diversity and functional density could be generated by integrating the airport area through Avenida Lo Errazuriz, in such a way as to generate a denser interface and network of access to services of inter-communal and metropolitan interest.





Lo Errazuriz avenue is disconnected and fragmented. Potential projection into east and west side of Cerrillos could help to connect Lo Espejo and Pedro Aguirre Cerda and Cerrillos itself. At the same time, as interface this artery could help to create a transition soft border for the potential metropolitan area at the north of the former-airport of Cerrillos.



New high rises gated communities have increased the density of the area, but holding a modern pattern of land occupation, without creating major levels of urbanity. In addition, the large extension of their lands, restrict the network density, losing interaction with their surroundings. In this sense, to create a new pattern of density could help to these areas to exteriorize the private life through the implementation of new functions and public goods.



Social organizations in these areas are declining due to the consolidation of the gated community private lifestyle. Indeed, several social centers have been destroyed and remain in an abandonment state, even considering better infrastructure conditions than in the poorest areas of the Commune.



The big Industrial areas also contribute to the fragmentation of the zone, especially through the rigidity of its use and their confinement. In addition, several industrial areas comprehend underused land, that could be used for public functions, public temporary use or for densification.



The Bicentennial park remains as an isolated green area without major accesibility due to the rigid boundaries of the former airport area. Besides the long extension of the park, the zone does not contribute majorly to the daily life of the Cerrillos citizens neither socially or environmentally. The attractiveness and good location of the area also contributes to the interest of the Municipality, the real estate sector and the MINVU.



The area south west of the formerairport has been occupied by groups of people without housing. This complicates the potential intervention in the area and is one of the great conflicts of the Commune, in relation to the Municipality. The informal settlement has tended to grow and establish itself as a small population that coexists with the new sets of closed condominiums and the Bicentennial Park. Granting housing alternatives for these sectors is key in inter-communal terms.



Car-oriented gated Communities of the area are completely disconnected from each other, encapsulating residential areas without communication or major incidence to the public space. In this way, public space is underused and have a secondary role in terms of circulation and occupation.



Borders of the west side of the former-airport area are inactive and impermeable, inhibiting the pedestrian access to the center of the Bicentennial Park. Although the interface is better designed, does not include functional attraction, and thus only serves to circulate mainly by bicycle.

The previous conditions are also related with the predominant people´s lifestyle in the area. This becomes clear if we analyze the social composition of the different present neighborhoods.

Labour
Resident families of these areas correspond mainly to a middle socio economic segment of young adults, where both the father and the mother of the family work. The main activities developed by this population correspond to professional, clerical or technical work realized outside the Commune. The above is explained given the vehicular dependence of the area mainly in relation to the metropolitan routes. Similar to the case of Cerrillos west, there is not real connection between the industrial activity in the area and the labor skills of the resident population.

Human Capital conditions
The human capital of this area is higher than in the western sector of Cerrillos. This aspect is correlated with the socio-economic level of its residents. This social segment uses the private health system for health forecasting and does not present mainly diseases. However, it is also considered a sedentary sector, with no major link to dispersion activities in the immediate public space. Activating the public space and equipping it with activities that can give copresence to other sectors of the inter-communal area is also a challenge for the former airport area.
On the other hand, the south west area of the former airport area has also been occupied as small informal settlements. This group is confined within the area and presents conditions of extreme poverty.

Insufficient social housing and infrastructure
Most residents of closed communities own their home, or are paying their mortage. A percentage close to 30% leases. The residential segment also has private vehicles, mostly used to travel to work or recreational activities. In this sense, the use of car by this sector fulfills a condition of mobilization rather than labor assets. However, the situation differs drastically with residents of informal occupations, who do not own either housing or infrastructure. In this sense, integration of these people into new potential housing complexes in the area is urgent, as well as the provision of mixed functions that may favor the integration of both groups to enhance the urbanity of the area.

Social networks and organizations
Community social networks are probably the weakest aspect of the residents of the closed areas. Many social headquarters are abandoned, specifically those located outside of closed condominiums. In this sense, the networks are established endogenously within the condominiums, without generating greater territorial interactions among the different groups in the area.
This differs from the organization established by the residents of the informal settlements, who have been strengthening their collective organizational capacity within their area. This group is one of the main concerns for the Municipality.



Figure 32: General social characterization of the neighborhoods units. Own ellaboration based on PLADECO of Cerrillos, www.mientorno.cl (2016 census information) and fieldtrip mapping.

PROFILE AREA - LO ESPEJO NORTH AND PEDRO AGUIRRE CERDA SOUTH

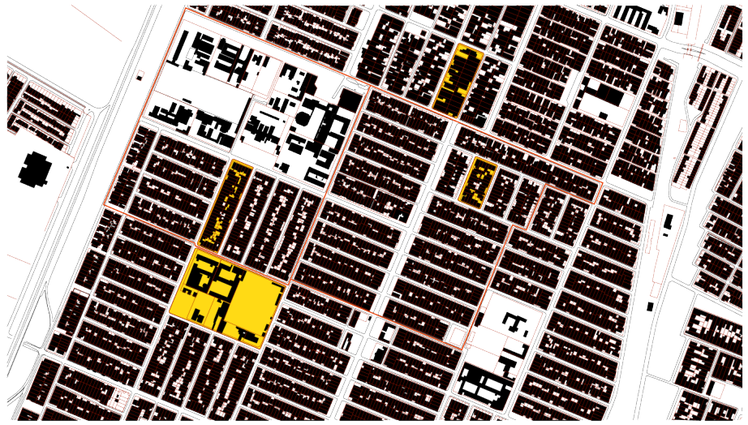


Legend

- Neighboorhood areas
- Industrial areas
- Public faciities
- Socio functional l actors

0 0.1 0.2 0.3 0.4 0.5 Km

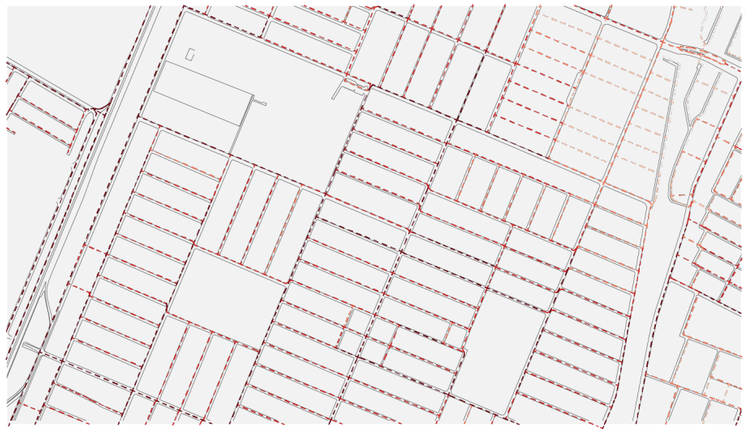
The third key area of the intercommunal axis corresponds to the northern sector of Lo Espejo, adjacent to the south area of Pedro Aguirre Cerda. This area concentrates the neighborhood units 28, 32, 34 and 35 regarding traditional neighborhoods as José María Caro, Fraternal Ferroviaria, Villa Sur and Lo Valledor Sur. The area is characterized by a strong residential functional component of low height and central services and public facilities. Both communes have an urban plot completely different from that of Cerrillos.



Building density

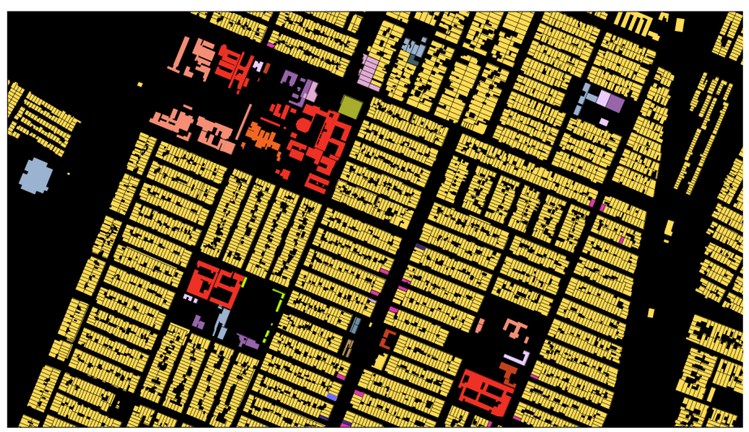
	A	B	C	D
Inland surface (sqm)	8.795	8.227	4.401	28.416
Floor Space index	1.18	1.12	0.95	0.29
Ground Space index	0.84	0.94	0.79	0.20
	1	2		
Network	0.014	0.025		

Openess and built intensity



Integration
- Low
- Medium low
- Medium
- Medium high
- High

Accessibility and borders interface



Visit
- Stadium - Sport Centre
- Street Market

Work
- Productive industries
- Logistics warehouses
- Hardware stores
- Commercial distributors
- Mechanical workshops
- Technical workshops
- Local churches
- Local restaurant
- Local groceries
- Local servic
- Police Centr

Live
- Housing until 2 floors
- Housing over 2 floors
- Supermarket
- Health facilities
- Public School
- Municipal facilities
- Social Centre
- Local Church

0 0.1 0.2 0.3 0.4 0.5 Km

Urban program distribution

Dense and populated

The rational geometric distribution of the area presents two main types of buildings designed mainly in the development period. The housing blocks are regular elongated units that hold up to 30 lots. Despite its low initial height dimension, most of these houses were extended to the front and in height to two floors. The above is demonstrated by measuring the value of GSI, which considering the surface of the block and the built area maintains values close to 1.0. This growth, in some cases, is mainly due to societal reasons, such as the growth in the number of residents due to subrenting and overcrowding. The second typology corresponds to the nuclei of public equipment or the so-called local centralities. These nuclei have a low building density as well as land occupation, opening in this sense also the possibility of complementing their areas with other types of facilities.

Potential network density and accesibility

The serial and grid layout of blocks of no more than 150 meters with widths of 35 meters, combined with public areas such as service centers and public squares, make up a more integrated network than in the previous cases and that provides a greater possibility of pedestrian encounter . However, the tightness of the centralities blocks the accessibility and continuity, as well as the barriers formed by the metropolitan roads.

In terms of accessibility, the area presents clear routes of integration, corresponding mainly to its main thoroughfares: Salvador Allende Avenue, Cardenal Raul Silva Henriquez Avenue, Cardenal Jose Maria Caro Street and Lo Ovalle Avenue.

The network of streets and interior passages allows different options of global access within the area, mainly given its surface and compact rectangular geometry shape.

However, the perimeter impermeability of the centralities together with the opaque closure of the housing blocks (fences or gates) limits the connection with the public space. This morphological condition of the dwellings responds mainly to the insecurity of the area. The same condition occurs in the nuclei of public facilities (centralities), which when closed constitute inaccessible areas that break the fluidity of the grid of streets.

Functional concentration and potentials

In terms of urban program, the area has two clear conformations. On the one hand, there are centralities that combine local services such as pulic healthcare centers, churches, community centers, sports areas, schools, police headquarters and public lands used as warehouse areas. However, as mentioned above, these areas are functionally limited in their accessibility. Additionally, most of the public land owned bt the state are in a state of abandonment due to lack of investment or maintenance.

The second structure of functions corresponds to the neighborhoods. The houses have adopted new functions mainly in the first floor around the most integrated avenues, like Cardenal Raul Silva Henriquez avenue. In this way, these more integrated streets have generated an emergent functional map mainly serving local and inter-communal services, through the presence of services mainly destined to hardware stores, mechanical workshops, technical workshops and domestic product sales.



The area of Espejo and Pedro Aguirre Cerda is fragmented by metropolitan routes for metropolitan use, making it difficult to integrate morphologically and functionally into the surrounding areas of the Communes and the Cerrillos Commune.

The commerce is configured around the centralities, being place for the entrepreneurship of the local artisans and merchants. Despite the great presence of skills and crafts in the area, the lack of adequate infrastructure, together with the lack of resources and the presence of regulatory restrictions, make it impossible to enhance these spaces.



The main self-organized functions have been concentrated along Cardenal Raul Silva Henriquez Avenue. The public spaces in between in this sense configure a potential space unused for the generation of other types of activities, beyond the use of parking propitiated by the local mechanical trade.



The main internal avenue, which connects Lo Espejo with Pedro Aguirre Cerda, has become the main street for services, local and community functions, through the formal or informal conversion of the first floors of the houses to provide services. The foregoing has invigorated the local economy but has also allowed informal vehicular occupation, deteriorating public infrastructure for other uses.



In certain areas, the barriers, in this case the railway line, have been re-appropriated through local interventions such as gardens and urban forestry. Despite the lack of funding and public support, the neighbors have been able to organize themselves to face the abandonment of public spaces.



On the other hand, many of the internal lands of the centralities are deactivated, without active functions, limiting the potential occupation of the areas by the communities. In this sense, the rigidity of the land use regulations restrict the possibility of reprogramming these areas.



The centralities have been effective in agglutinating public equipment, however, being owned by state institutions has not allowed to adapt their land uses to the needs of the Commune, restricting other programmatic possibilities. Additionally, these areas have remained closed due to security and maintenance issues, limiting their access and occupation for other activities.



The presence of semi-industrial functions such as workshops and warehouses have negatively impacted the interior areas of the Communes through vehicular occupancy and the deterioration of public infrastructure. The regeneration of these areas could improve the quality of urban life by separating economic activity.

Despite the high level of local entepreunership of both Communes, opportunities for social and economic development are limited due to the lack of skills of people and public support.

Low qualification and limited labour conditions
The families of residents of these areas work mostly in the informal sector, basic services or local commerce. Most workers do not have a higher qualification, with men being the main source of economic income. The duration of their job is highly temporary and flexible, which is why this is a group that is considered to be in permanent vulnerability. The main occupations correspond to artisans, technicians, merchants and farmers who work outside the area. The main need of the Commune in this sense is to train and create added value in the training of its residents. On the other hand, the massive incorporation of migrants has raised the need to generate labor inclusion conditions that allow them to develop in decent jobs. The centers of public equipment in this sense should fulfill a dual function: provide infrastructure for the sale or trade of local associative productions and allow training and continuous learning.

Potential human capital
The human capital of the area measured in terms of educational level, age, and health is low. The most significant number of the population of these communes receives health care and public education.
Since the conditions of public financing of these services depend on municipal resources and given the recent arrival of the migrant population in both Communes, the system has been widely surpassed.
Given this, public infrastructure and environmental conditions in the area are key to improving the quality of life and health of people, at all ages.

Insufficient Housing
Although the majority of the residents of these areas own their own homes, the migration and the low quality of the housing in some cases have meant an increase in the population and with it overcrowding. The previous has generated land seizures or illegal extensions on public land, without the ability to be regularized by the municipality. Overcrowding has also caused the deterioration of housing complexes.
Another vital asset corresponds to the private vehicle, used mainly to work. The massive presence of cars in the area has had a negative externality for the neighborhood public space. The already precarious public areas have had to give space to cars without regulation. In turn, the emergence of auto repair shops have enhanced this effect without taking charge of the impact caused.

Networks (social relations)
The support network at the community and social organizations level is strong in this area and still compromises involvement. However, the lack of neighborhood participation, substantive support, and infrastructure resources have especially worn out the neighborhood organizations. Beyond this, the public centralities, still host different spaces destined to social organization. Churches, social centers, popular schools, and cultural centers, even with their precariousness, manage to assemble social activity. In this sense, the strengthening of social support networks also involves the re-activation and regeneration of their infrastructure.

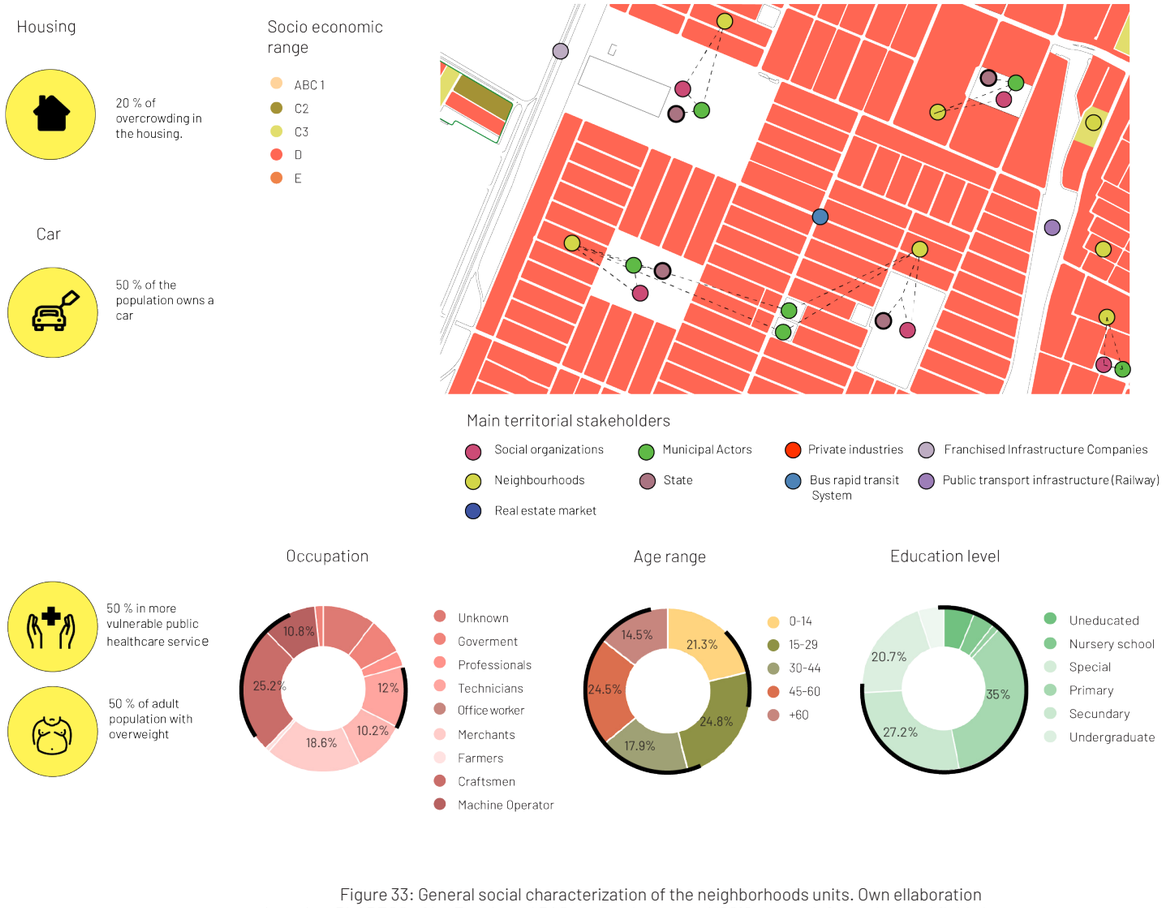


Figure 33: General social characterization of the neighborhoods units. Own ellaboration based on PLADECO of Lo Espejo and PAC, www.mientorno.cl (2016 census information) and fieldtrip mapping.

"As I have written many times, my approach to strategic planning is normative but not in a naïve way. It is backed up by experiences and practices. In some of them, it is only a very early use of the approach in other places it is already more mature. I am finishing an edited book on (ex) politicians with a background of planning. Some of their stories reflect very well the ideas I have on a radical type of strategic planning with co-production.

In a world where actors are interdependent and have a (implicit) reason to engage with each other, I consider coproduction as an engine of change that makes a difference between systems working and failing. The narrative of emancipation embedded in co-production provides the capacity of a more radical strategic planning to deliver the desired outcomes. It is dependent not only on the legal-political system itself but also on the (local) conditions underlying it in your case Latin America. These conditions affect the ability of planning systems to implement the chosen strategies. They must be rooted in an understanding of the basic processes and constraints that shape specific places.

My strategic spatial planning aims at securing political influence. This makes it certainly confrontational as it is directed at change by means of specific outputs (plans, policies, projects) framed through spaces of deliberative opportunities. I present strategic spatial planning with its normative and ethical dimension, as an ideal to be aimed at rather than something that can be perfectly achieved. It requires a change to the status quo for the benefit of more just and fair communities. With its introduction, the world of planning and planners inevitably becomes more complicated and messy. However, I am convinced it is in making planning issues and approaches messy that transformative practices can take place."

Professor Louis Albrechts (KU Leuven), in conversation with the author. June, 2019.

Spatial capital and urban intensity

Spatial capital represents the strategic spaces for the potential transformation of the area. In other words, spatial capital refers to the possibilities of transformation of the area in morphological terms. In this regard, spatial capital is defined through different components and spatial structures of the urban tissue that can act as strategic elements for the implementation of the strategic actions.

According to each area of study and testing, eight potentials have been determined:

Strategic spaces
They are areas, land, or spaces that can be endowed or redefined in use during the time to activate local transformations.

Strategic connections
They are streets, passages, or avenues that can fulfill a scalar and multi-programmatic goal role to functionally activate the local area.

Strategic community spaces
They refer to community, symbolic, and public-social use spaces, such as streets or recreation areas that could be activated or reinforce territorial appropriation practices.

Local strategic streets
They refer to streets belonging to the internal neighborhood network, which can complement or be supplemented by the dynamics that occur in strategic connections.

Strategic public infrastructure
They correspond to public infrastructure, whether state or municipal, (hospitals, educational facilities, museums, cultural centers) that can be reused reprogrammed, or re-activated over time, to accommodate new activities or functions.

Strategic community infrastructure and practices
They refer to social centers, or community public use programs (churches, venues, cultural centers) capable of strengthening the territorial identity and the local association. They are high potential spaces in symbolic terms and presence in the community.

Strategic edges
They refer to the interfaces of the blocks, facades, or transport routes. They correspond to the intermediate elements between the private and the public, which could be reactivated or re-functionalized to stimulate public use.

Strategic openings
They refer to areas or spaces that could be redefined in terms of accessibility to increase the density of networks in the area. In most cases, they correspond to private areas or barriers.

Strategic Actions

The strategic actions originate from the general actions defined in the analysis of the previous chapter. These actions correspond to a set of mechanisms that can be activated over time, depending on different scenarios or adaptation points.
These actions are not generic and act on the components recognized in the analysis of spatial capital to achieve the municipal goals.
The following pages define the spatial capital for each area, and with it, the different strategic actions that will be included in the inter-municipal collaborative strategy.

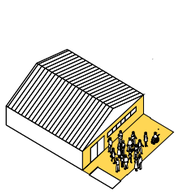


Legend

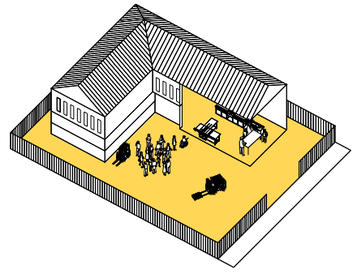
Strategic spaces	Strategic local streets	Strategic borders
Strategic connectivity	Strategic public infrastructure	Strategic opening
Strategic communitary places	Strategic communitary infrastructure	

Spatial capital for the local west area of Cerrillos
The spatial capital of the area is concentrated, especially in areas of low-density corresponding to abandoned land, for public and industrial use. Despite the fragmentation of the diverse public and community infrastructure area, it is relatively well distributed at the neighborhood level. Main actions would be related to openness and connection potentials, together with the activation of unused areas to enhance community infrastructure.

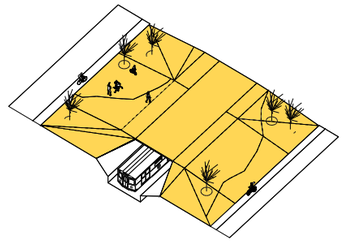
Actions
The main actions of the area refer to opening, activating and reprogramming, together with strengthening the existing connections.



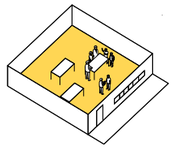
Re- activate organizations and communities through the use of communitary infrastructure.



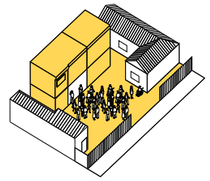
Occupate and re-use industrial facilities through training activities for economic entepreunership.



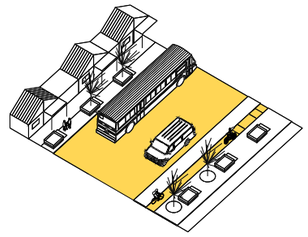
Overcome barriers with infrastructures that can foster activities as public goods as parks or public services.



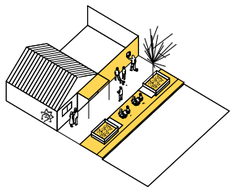
Re -activate organizations through common public funding projects, activities and training for social and economic development.



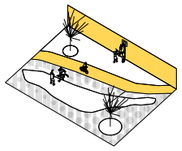
Reprogram facilities and infratructures through new functions and collective activities as workshops and markets.



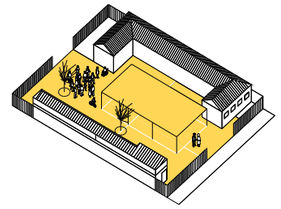
Improve transport infrastructure incorporating green corridors and mobility uses to foster inter-communal connection.



Activate interfaces and borders of blocks and impermeable facades. through local commerce, services and local practices.



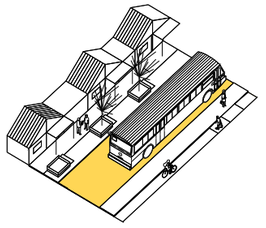
Reprogram underused areas through co-production practices as recycle points, gardens, and playgrounds.



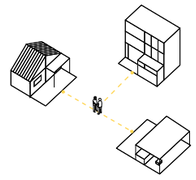
Connect and activate local networks through the openning of private and public plots and facilities to facilitate ecounter and public control.



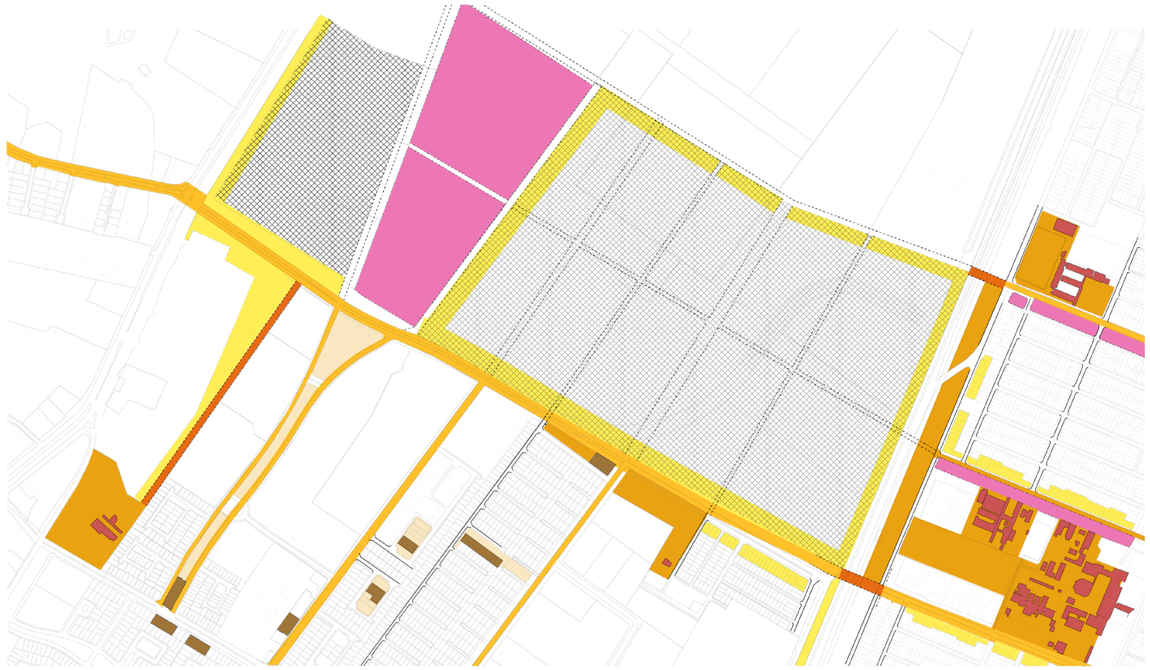
Activate public spaces in abandoned condition through communitary, economic and social activities for recreation.



Reprogram local transport system to foster local distribution among new activities.



Connect local practices and production services at intermunicipal level.

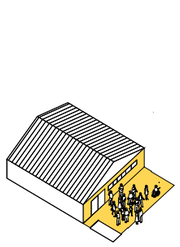


Legend

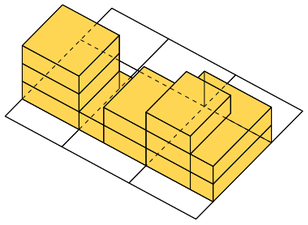
Strategic spaces		Strategic local streets		Strategic borders	
Strategic connectivity		Strategic public infrastructure		Strategic opening	
Strategic communitary places		Strategic communitary infrastructure		Strategic densification	

Spatial capital for the local east area of Cerrillos
The spatial capital of the area is concentrated in its potential connections at inter-communal and communal level altogether with the former airport area, which represents an strategic area in terms of densification at the metropolitan level. However, its relevance is strategic at an inter-municipal and local level essentially. The strategic development of this land, together with the auxiliary streets of the south of the area could also help to integrate the presents gated communities in order to foster a more inclusive interaction with the rest of the Commune**.**

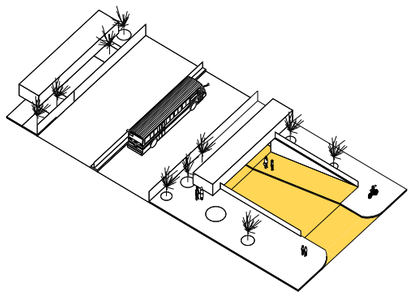
Actions
In this regard, main actions would be related to connecting and reprogram the former-airport area in order to activate a new hub for functions that could support the needs of the 3 Communes.



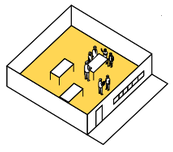
Re- activate organizations and communities through the use of communitary infrastructure.



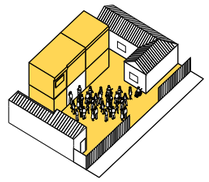
Reprogram the public land to densify with new functions that can support needs as housing, education or healthcare at inter municipal and metropolitan level.



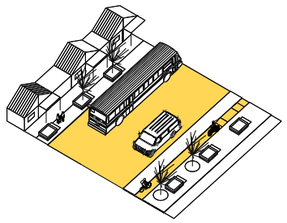
Overcome barriers with infrastructures that can foster inter municipal and metropolitan connectivity.



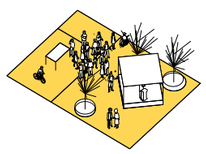
Re -activate organizations through common public funding projects, activities and training for social and economic development.



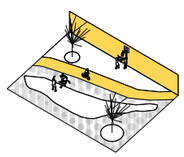
Reprogram facilities and infratructures through new functions and collective activities as workshops and markets.



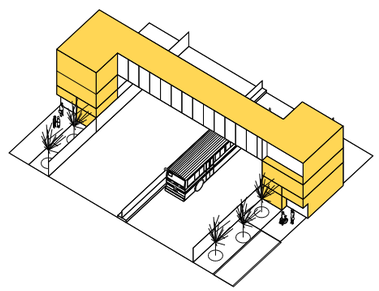
Improve transport infrastructure incorporating green corridors and mobility uses to foster inter-communal connection.



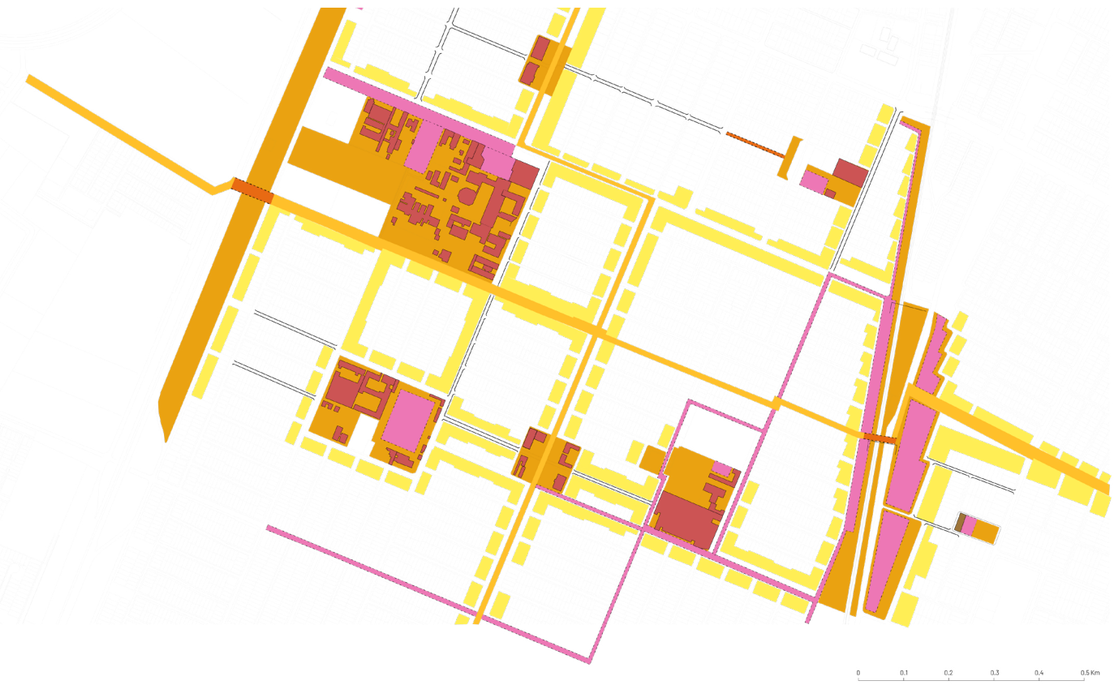
Activate public spaces in abandoned conditions through communitary, economic and social activities for recreation.



Reprogram underused areas through co-production practices as recycle points, gardens, and playgrounds.



Overcome barriers with infrastructures that can foster activities as public goods as parks or public services.



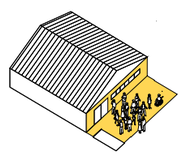
Legend

Strategic spaces	Strategic local streets	Strategic borders
Strategic connectivity	Strategic public infrastructure	Strategic openning
Strategic communitary places	Strategic communitary infrastructure	

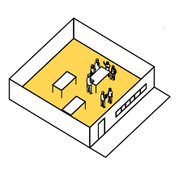
Spatial capital for Lo Espejo north - Pedro Aguirre Cerda south
The space capital of the northern area of Lo Espejo and south of Pedro Aguirre Cerda is articulated between the network created by the public and service centralities, together with the leading inter-communal edges and avenues. The possible integration of pedestrian accessibility and public functions of the area could help local development. For this, it is essential to recover the public life of these areas and promote social organization around entrepreneurial activities that help to recover the spaces positively.

Actions
The main actions seek to strengthen the cooperation of organizations and the recovery of public spaces as a platform for social and economic activity. The second wave of actions seeks to create connection and infrastructure to support this transition.

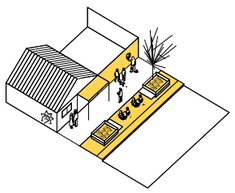




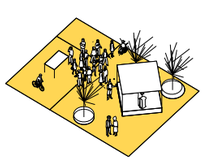
Re- activate organizations and communities through the use of communitary infrastructure.



Re -activate organizations through common public funding projects, activities and training for social and economic development.

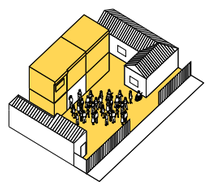


Activate interfaces and borders of blocks and impermeable facades. through local commerce, services and local practices.

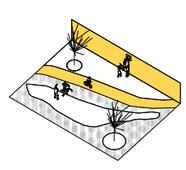


Activate public spaces in abandoned conditions through communitary, economic and social activities for recreation.

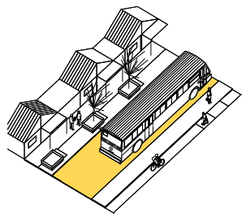




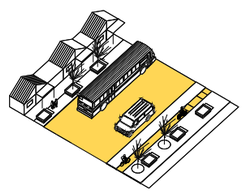
Reprogram facilities and infratructures through new functions and collective activities as workshops and markets.



Reprogram underused areas/ borders through co-production practices as recycle points, gardens, and playgrounds.

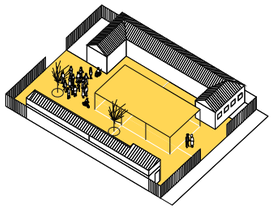


Improve transport infrastructure incorporating green corridors and mobility uses to foster inter-communal connection.

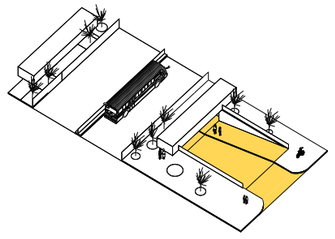


Reprogram local transport system to foster local distribution among new activities.

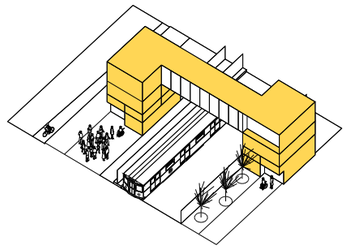




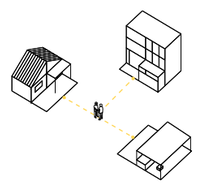
Connect and activate local networks through the openning of private and public plots and facilities to facilitate ecounter and public control.



Overcome barriers with infrastructures that can foster inter municipal and metropolitan connectivity.



Overcome barriers with infrastructures that can foster activities as public goods as parks or public services.



Connect local practices and production services at intermunicipal level.

STRATEGIC SPATIAL STRUCTURE AT INTER MUNICIPAL LEVEL



Legend

- Strategic spaces
- Strategic connectivity
- Strategic communitary places
- Strategic local streets
- Strategic public infrastructure
- Strategic communitary infrastructure
- Strategic borders
- Strategic opening

Strategic spatial structure at inter municipal level

The map shows the central axis of connection between the three municipal areas to be intervened at the inter-municipal scale. The different spatial capital structures are recognized, which will be tested through the scenarios in the adaptive roadmap.

0.5 0 0.5 1 1.5 2 km

Adaptive roadmap
The adaptive roadmap is applied to the testing of the three key areas that constitute the strategic inter-municipal and metropolitan axis.
The roadmap is constructed from the current situation, based on three scenarios applied to each area. The common aspect of the three scenarios is based on the fact that they all involve local activation through the interaction of their territorial actors. However, what varies is the type and level of integration of the market and the state. In each stage of the process, all the stakeholders involved and the actions taken are illustrated. At the same time, the adaptive roadmap consider a referential time frame of 40 years, by considering the different processes of empowerment, decision making, agreements materialization, construction bidding and building.

At the same time, the adaptive roadmap consider a referential time frame of 40 years, by considering the different processes of empowerment, decision making, agreements, construction bidding and building.

In scenario A is guided locally. This scenario is mainly based on agreements between local actors, without more significant involvement from governmental actors and the market. The subsidiary action of the state remains in this scenario. In this case, the municipality and organizations lead the process and use all their normative and economic resources to promote social and economic activity under the current planning framework. Targeted policies, subsidies, and existing normative components show how the area can evolve and to what extent. This scenario has been called civil, or of civil predominance.

In **scenario B,** the market leads the process, and the state plays an active subsidiary role. In this scenario, all the actors are considered, but asymmetry remains. The determining actions are carried out by the market and facilitated by the state, and therefore, profitability is the essential axis, and it is not questioned nor managed alternatively. This scenario represents how the current managerial urbanism could act. Therefore, this has been called private - public or of private predominance.

In **scenario C**, the State, the municipalities and local organizations are leveled and lead the process. The action of private actors is conditioned to the rest of the agreements and does not predominate as in the previous case. This scenario allows the different actors to be integrated less asymmetrically, but in turn, requires a more significant commitment on all sides. In this scenario, the central axis is the public good. In this way, this has been called public-civil or public predominance.

As it will be seen in the development of each scenario, each process shows limitations and power relations and requires different agreements between actors in each stage. In turn, scenarios can incorporate critical points and adaptation paths. In this case, mixed options may arise. However, as it will be seen in each case there are three relevant aspects: not all scenarios or adaptive pathways lead in the same way or totally to the objectives set by the municipal areas and do not contribute in the same way to metropolitan cohesion. Finally, not all of them involve the same investment in economic and social resources.

ADAPTIVE ROADMAP CERRILLOS EAST

Current situation



Scenario A

Local-led planning

Stage 1A



In the first stage, social organizations and local entrepreneur and workers are organized together with the municipality to maximize and activate public equipment to carry out workshops, community activities and to form cooperatives of employment. The municipality makes an extra effort to enable the use of local infrastructure to carry out this process, by including schools, municipal facilities and social centres.



Stage 2A



In the second phase, the municipality tries to encourage the use of public derelict land, in order to activate the public use of the area. This step seeks to establish a centrality for common and economic use. In this regard, Social cooperatives start to take administrative command of the municipal facilities. However, the inflexibility of normative land use policies restrict this operation, altogether with the limited resources of the local government. In this sense, the municipality seeks to rent or buy part of the surrounded warehouses plots while establishing employment agreements with the local industries.



Stage 3A



In the last phase, the municipality has consolidated a core of public space in the area, integrating some former facilities of warehouse plots with new local programs for local development. Besides, the local urban code has been adapted to promote economic activities and domestic services within the housing first floor of surrounding areas. However, limited municipal resources and restrictive zoning are not enough to achieve major developments. In addition, the new Meiltren train station has been built without considering major integration to the local spaces of the area. This is the tipping point of the scenario.



Stage 4A (+ C)



A possible adaptive pathway, incorporating the state as an actor, would focus efforts on the connectivity of the area through the potential implementation of a new connection with Meiltren train station. This intervention would obey a subsidiary logic and could be financed by funds obtained by the capture of surplus value from the selling contracts of the former-airport lands area. At the same time, to avoid the urban renewal by gentrification caused by the implementation of the train station, the municipality should establish regulation of the local ordinance to control this process.





Scenario B

Private-led planning

Stage 1B



In the first part of the process, local actors are organized around the reuse of existing facilities just with the local support of the municipality. Due to the prompt construction of the next train station, warehouses and other potential lands for housing development start to be attractive for real estate companies.



Stage 2B (+ A/C)



In the second part of the process, the developers have begun to buy part of the warehouse lands to build housing. In parallel, the local process of occupation of the equipment begins to be consolidated through the action and policies of the municipality.
This stage also can represent a potential adaptive pathway in case of lack of public investment from the local or governmental level. In this case, the municipality can opt for implementing LVC instruments to funding other public initiatives of infrastructure. Same possibility could occur in the case of lack of public funding from the central state.



Stage 3B



In the third phase, local development has reached its maximum endogenous level by building new facilities and taking part of the industrial area. Great part of the area starts to be renewed for housing construction purposes and the works of the train and metro station are finished. However, the local funding is not enough to continue with the development of other connectivity actions. In this regard, the inter-municipal area does not meet its objectives since this action is not enough to counteract the urban isolation.





Scenario C

Public-led planning

Stage 1C



In the first part of the process, social organizations and local entrepreneurs and workers are organized together with the municipality to maximize and activate public equipment to carry out workshops, community activities and to form cooperatives of employment. A municipal agreement is achieved. At the same time, the area starts to be activated for temporal activities to foster the public occupation. Pre existent street market is used as a catalyzer for this process of appropiation.



Stage 2C



In the second phase, the municipality takes command of partial area of old warehouses land. On the other hand, focalized policies seek to activate edges and barriers of housing buildings and streets.
Part of the land is sold for affordable housing developments and other for the creation of public spaces to create a new centrality in the area.
On the other hand, the first planning of the new railway/metro station starts to be developed by the local actors, municipality and GORE.



Stage 3C (+B)



In the third phase, agreements with industries start to be materialized to foster local training. The municipality and the cooperatives for employment start to acquire old industrial and warehouse land. At the same time, new social mixed housing starts to be developed in the area together with new public facilities for training and local economic services.
Lastly, two main infrastructural actions are taken. First, the railway and metro station are developed under the conditions of the municipality. The locals demmand to create a park in the middle to connect the fragmented neighborhoods of the area. Secondly, a new transport route is created with a green corridor to connect the area at the inter-municipal and metropolitan level.
A potential adaptive pathway from the private-scenario could occur in case of a recovery in the funding capacity of the state. The government could deal or try to recover sold land together with the municipality by negotiating through other mechanisms as TDR. However, this action should entail an extra economic effort from the public funding.



Stage 4C



In the last stage of this process, a new multi-modal station has been created. The warehouses areas and the derelict land has been renewed. A new centre managed by the municipality, social organizations and cooperatives of entrepreneurship is consolidated. The inter-municipal transport green corridor has been activated and also the interlocal transport auxiliary lines. In addition, cooperatives of the three local areas are communicated by offering new possibilities for their inhabitants. Lastly, internal connectivity is created to foster network density in the area. New streets are created together with new agreements with the industries to facilitate areas for local training and economic activity.
At the same time, with the activation of the metropolitan sub centrality a new sinergy is created within the municipal areas.. The three municipalities now have started to monitor the evolution of the local economy, including democratic processes to define the new regulations for land uses and areas of investment. In this regard, all the goals are achieved.





Legend

- Strategic spaces
- Strategic connectivity
- Strategic communitary places
- Strategic local streets
- Strategic public infrastructure
- Strategic borders
- Strategic opening
- Social organizations
- Neighbors and civil community
- Regional government (GORE)
- Rapid bus transit system
- Municipalities
- State
- Public infrastructure companies
- Franchised infrastructure companies
- Real estate market
- Industries / warehouses / manufacturing companies

0 7 14 21 30 YEARS

ADAPTIVE ROADMAP CERRILLOS WEST

Current situation



Scenario A

Local-led planning

Scenario B

Private-led planning

Scenario C

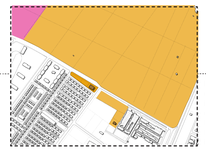
Public-led planning

Stage 1A



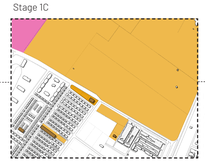
In the first stage, local led action is released. Social organizations and local communities of gated condominums are organized together with the municipality to activate public facilities (social centres) in order to activate the community and the area toward the implementation of new infrastructure in the area. The Municipality starts a process of local activation in coordination with other areas of the Commune.
Until this point of development, a possible path to foster private action is feasible, regarding the current pressure of development of the former airport area.

Stage 1B



In the first part of the process, local actors are organized around the reuse of existing facilities in the area. The former-airport land begins to be cleaned, then batch, and sold to the developers by the State, without major linkage and integration with the local actors. Cerrillos municipality acts isolated in the process without inference from the rest of the municipal areas.

Stage 1C



In the first part of the process, local actors are organized and empowered around the reuse of existing facilities. A municipal agreement is achieved. In parallel, the former-airport land starts to be cleaned and planned through the action of the state, incorporating the different inter-municipal stakeholders. Once defined the main functional and economic necessities to be fulfilled in the area, the GORE starts a process of public bidding to develop the different projects: new development area incorporates public metropolitan programs as sport center, recreational areas, Technical University, hospital and mixed housing.

Stage 2A



Stage 2B (+ A/C)



Stage 2C

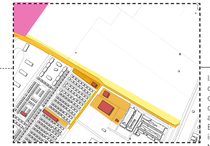


In the second phase, the municipality enables the use of public land in the area by using abandoned or derelict sites in order to implement temporary and recreational activities. This step consists mainly in fostering community empowerment in relation to the existent public space. At the same time, the municipality makes efforts to activate and expand the public use in the area, while the former airport area is negotiated.

In the second stage the developers have begun to urbanize the land to build housing, following the model already present in the south of the area. In parallel, the local process of appropiation begins to be consolidated through the action and policies of the municipality.
However, this stage could eventually represent an adaptive pathway in case of public funding scarcity. Municipalities or the GORE could negotiate with the real estate developers to ensure a certain level of public infrastructure development in the area. This action would entail compensations through TDR or tax reduction mechanisms to redirect the process.

In the second phase, the municipality enables the main infrastructure for metropolitan program. A technical university and a hospital start to be built, linking the current labor profile of the area of Cerrillos. Lo Espejo, and PAC. At the same time, the first housing development prioritizes vulnerable people for the inter-municipal areas. The process of re-allocation is supported also by social public programs from the Government. In this phase also other actors are integrated progressively. The franchised infrastructure and transport companies are involved.

Stage 3A



Stage 3B



Stage 3C



Stage 3C (+B)



In the last phase, the municipality has consolidated part of the derelict land, next to its present facilities. A new center for local activities emerges, with the purposes of having a more important presence in the zone. The area is connected to the Errazuris Avenue towards the Bicentennial park. However, the lack of substantial investment and public and private agreements restrict the possibilities to advance in further transformationas the conecction with Lo Espejo and PAC, and the development investment in the area. This is the tipping point of the scenario.

In the third stage, housing development has been completed. The state by using the existing instruments (law of contribution of public space), and mediating focalized subsidiary policies, contributes by building a new pedestrian bridge. The Municipality of Cerrillos has been able to create civic centers and other public facilities for the locals. However, the inter-municipal cross border connection is not conducted and the public program developed does not fullfill major metropolitan sub centrality. Both aspects limit the location potential of the area in metropolitan and intra-municipal terms.

In the third phase, the sub centrality starts to be consolidated and the inter-municipal community starts to see the benefits in social and economic terms. A new metropolitan connection starts to be built in Cardenal José María Caro Avenue, The GORE. The public funding for new connectivity requires the integration of LVC mechanisms, from the area used for mixed housing development.

An adaptive path can emerge in case of a shift in the attitude and the availability of economic resources of the state. In this regard, the cross border connection could be managed by making a new agreement between all the actors. However, the already consolidated housing area restrict possibilities for the development of strategic metropolitan functions, inhibiting endogenous development at inter-municipal level.

Stage 4C



In the last stage of this process, the sub centrality is almost finished. New social residential areas have been developed. The inter-municipal transport green corridor has been activated and also the interlocal transport auxiliary lines. Finally, cooperatives of the three local areas are communicated by offering new possibilities for their inhabitants, by using the central facilities in the former-airport area. The metropolitan sub centrality has been activated with metropolitan public functions as a sports center, universities, and a hospital. The three municipalities now have started to monitor the evolution of the local economy, including democratic processes to define the new regulations for land uses and areas of investment.







Legend

- Strategic spaces
- Strategic connectivity
- Strategic communitary places
- Strategic local streets
- Strategic public infrastructure
- Strategic borders
- Strategic opening
- Social organizations
- Neighbors and civil community
- Regional government (GORE)
- Rapid bus transit
- Municipalities
- State
- Public infrastructure companies
- Franchised infrastructure companies
- Real estate market

0 7 14 21 30 YEARS

ADAPTIVE ROADMAP LO ESPEJO NORTH - PEDRO AGUIRRE CERDA SOUTH

Current situation



Scenario A

Local-led planning

Scenario B

Private-led planning

Scenario C

Public-led planning

Stage 1A





In the first stage, social organizations and local producers are organized together with the municipality to maximize and activate public equipment to carry out workshops, community activities and to form cooperatives for entrepreneurs. The municipality makes an extra effort to enable the use of local infrastructure to carry out this process.

Stage 1B





In the first phase of the process, local actors are organized around the reuse of existing equipment. At the same time, the former airport land starts being cleaned, batched, and sold to the developers by the State, without any linkage and integration with the local actors. Cerrillos municipality acts isolated in the process without inference from the rest of the municipal areas.

Stage 1C





In the first phase of the process, local actors are organized and empowered around the reuse of existing equipment. A municipal agreement is achieved. In parallel, the former-airport land starts to be clean and planned through the action of the state, incorporating the different stakeholders, and conditioning the action of the market through a tender process. The new development area incorporates public metropolitan facilities and mixed housing. The state coordinates actions through the figure of the GORE.

Stage 2A





In the second phase, the municipality enables centrality to give access to a market, together with equipping the adjacent public areas. This step consists of recovering the sense of centralities as spaces for common and economic use. Financial cooperatives take command of the municipal areas. The inflexibility of normative central land use policies does not allow to extend so much this operation, which is added to the limited resources of the local government.

Stage 2B (+C)





In the second phase of the process, the developers have begun to urbanize the land to build housing in height and low height under closed condominium models. In parallel, the local process of occupation of the equipment begins to be consolidated through the action and policies of the municipality.

This stage also can represent an adaptive pathway in case of lack of public investment, a change in the model of former-airport development area could be introduced at this stage, allowing more presence of the market in the definition of the land.

Stage 2C





In the second phase, the municipality enables centrality to give access to a market, together with equipping the adjacent public areas. The public actions take relevance in the area since the new public hub starts to be developed in the next ex-airport area. A technical university and a hospital start to be built, linking the current labor profile of the area of Cerrillos, Lo Espejo, and Pedro Aguirre Cerda. The prospective presence of the newly developed area starts to make pressure in the surrounded areas. The municipal areas start to develop regulations to control land pressures. Besides, the GORE set policies of TDR to be transferred to other central areas of the city.

Stage 3A





In the last phase, the municipality has consolidated the core of the area with new local equipment for local development. Besides, local code has been adapted to promote the informal economy on the first floor of surrounded areas, together with local landscape actions to activate the public space. However, limited resources and restrictive zoning are not enough to achieve local goals. This is the tipping point of the scenario.

Stage 3B





In the third phase, local development has reached its maximum endogenous level. In this part, the state, using the existing instruments (law of contribution of public space), and mediating subsidiary, builds a new pedestrian bridge and injects resources for the construction of a center with the certain rejection of the Highway Concessionaire. However, the inter-municipal area does not meet its objectives since this action is not enough to counteract urban isolation.

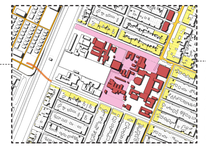
Stage 3C





In the third phase, the centrality starts to be consolidated and the inter-municipal community is expectant. A new metropolitan connection starts to be built in Cardenal José María Caro Avenue. The GORE has to deal with the pressure of Concessionaire but receives the community's support. The funding requires the integration of LVC mechanisms, from the area used for mixed housing development. New housing buildings help to accommodate vulnerable groups of the three municipal areas.

Stage 3B+C





An adaptive path can emerge in case of a shift in the attitude and economic resources of the state. In this regard, a new connection could be managed by making a new agreement between all the actors. However, the already consolidated development housing area would restrict possibilities for the development of strategic metropolitan core, inhibiting endogenous development of the three municipal areas.

Stage 4A(+C)





A possible route, incorporating the state as an actor, would focus efforts on the connectivity of the area through the potential implementation of a new connection. This intervention would obey a subsidiary logic and could be financed by funds obtained by the capture of surplus value from the lands selling of the former-airport area. However, such sort of cross border connection would not resolve the inter-communal connection and barely can counteract the negative effects of spatial segregation.

Stage 4A(+B)





In this path, the process continues without the major intervention of developers in the area. The highest concentration of the state's contribution is through the flexibilization in the land use of the area and the construction of infrastructure to consolidate the local development project. However, the inter-municipal area does not meet its objectives, since it remains isolated from the rest of the areas. In this regard, spatial segregation persist.

Stage 4C





In the last stage of this process, the public centrality has been redefined by new users. Cooperatives of entrepreneurship have the control of the area with the support of the municipality. The inter-municipal transport green corridor has been activated and also the interlocal transport auxiliary lines. Finally, cooperatives of the three local areas are communicated by offering new possibilities for their inhabitants. The metropolitan sub centrality has been activated with metropolitan public functions as a sports center, universities, and a hospital. The three municipalities now have started to monitor the evolution of the local economy, including democratic processes to define the new regulations for land uses and areas of investment. In this regard, all the goals are achieved.



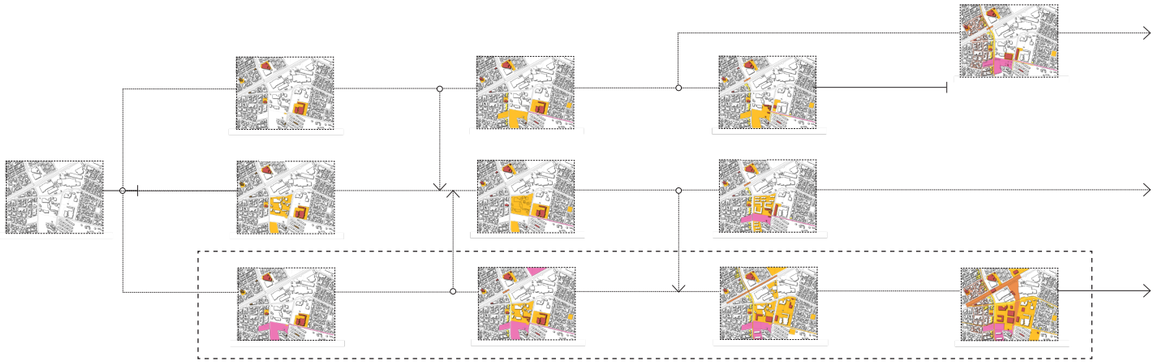




Legend

- Strategic spaces
- Strategic connectivity
- Strategic communitary places
- Strategic local streets
- Strategic public infrastructure
- Strategic borders
- Strategic opening
- Social organizations
- Neighbors and civil community
- Regional government (GORE)
- Rapid bus transit system
- Municipalities
- State
- Public infrastructure companies
- Franchised infrastructure companies
- Real estate market

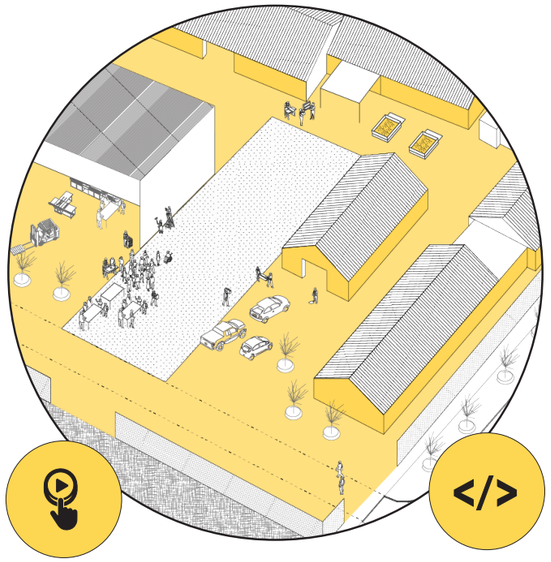
0 7 14 21 30 YEARS

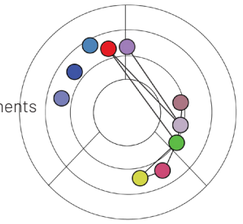


Spatial quality Cerrillos west

As shown in the adaptive roadmap, the area of Cerrillos west presents its greatest potential in the opening of industrial lots and actions that may trigger the public use of those areas together with the activation of existing public infrastructure. These actions reach their highest level of development through the horizontal agreements among the state, the industrial companies present and the local government. In the next images main actions are illustrated spatially by showing the effects of these different agreements through the entire process.

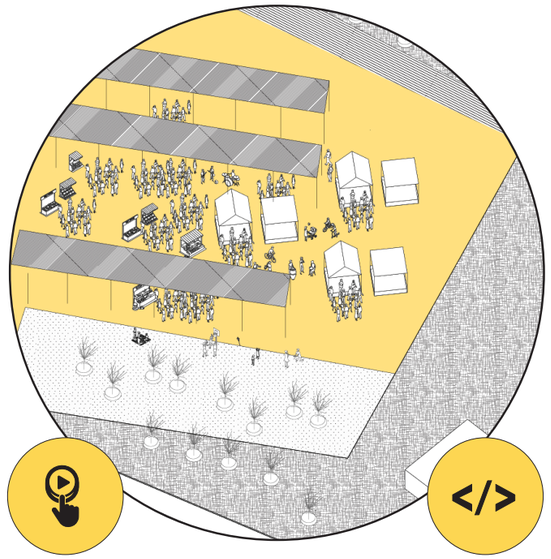


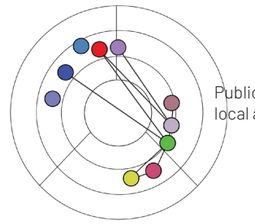




Local private and public-civil agreements

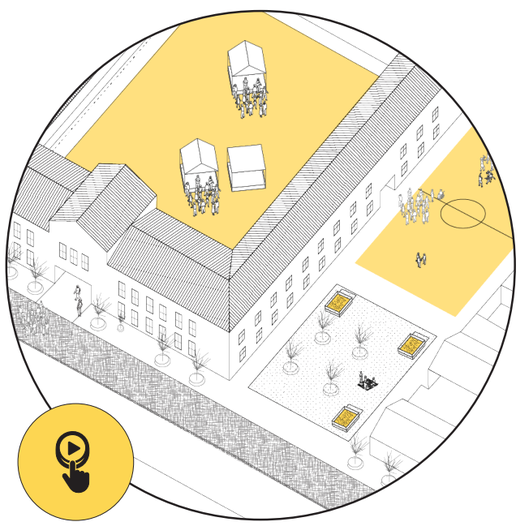
A second action would correspond to the progressive use of industrial areas in abandonment, or warehousing by the municipality and the activated organizations. The creation of alliances with the industrial sector and the training and creation of local collective enterprises in areas of technological specialization should be supported by the generation of new public infrastructure. Additionally, these areas will serve as incubators for the support generated by the Metropolitan University, located in the center of the inter municipal axis

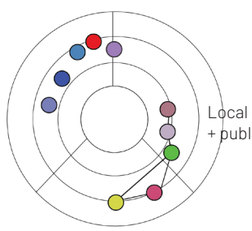




Public activation through local activities

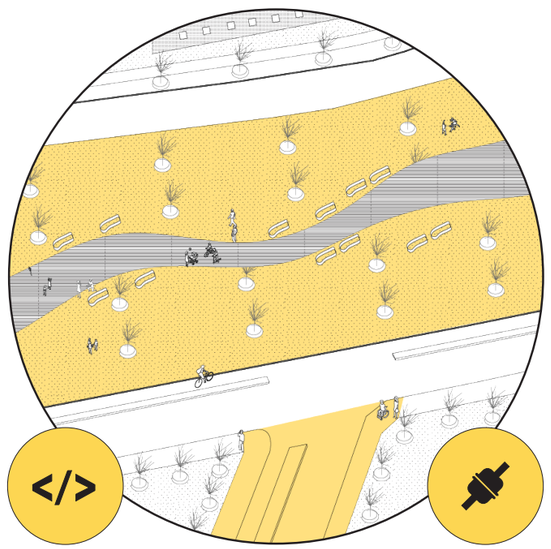
Along with the actions aimed at the occupation and activation of public and private local equipment, the abandoned public intermediate spaces must be activated through the promotion of collective activities such as celebrations, meetings or markets. In this sense, the main objective for this area of Cerrillos should be to consolidate a civic centrality able to associate different functions for the social and economic development of the neighborhoods.

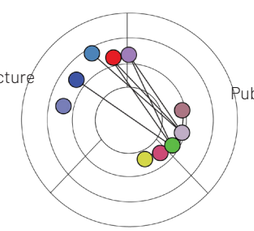




Local organization + public agreements

As a starting point in the process, the first actions should be focused on the activation of neighborhood associations and social organizations, with the support of the municipality. The generation of workshops and other types of activities should be facilitated through the use of existing public infrastructure such as schools, social centers, schools and municipal buildings. These activities should keep the community active and to foster the self-organization at the level of the area.

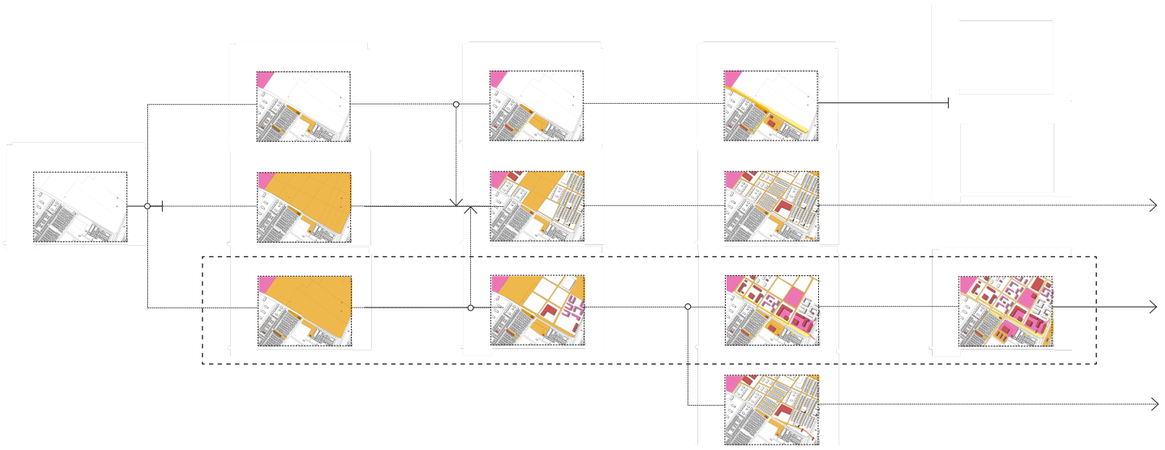




Public infrastructure

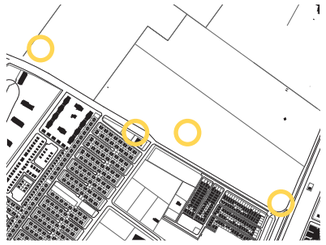
Public control

The last strategic spatial action corresponds to the provision of connectivity at inter municipal and metropolitan level through the creation of new transport routes together with a new train station in the area. The provision of this infrastructure is linked to the opening of industrial lots and the creation of public areas to facilitate the pedestrian connection of the sector.

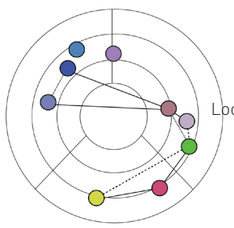


Spatial quality Cerrillos east

In the case of Cerrillos east, corresponding to the area of the former Cerrillos airport, the main actions correspond to the reprogramming and activation of existing land. These actions may differ mainly in terms of the densification and morphological definition of the lots. As seen in the adaptive roadmap, the integrated actions between the GORE and the municipalities together with the concessioned infrastructure companies are able to redefine the spatial structure of the area in a substantive way. This would eventually allow the consolidation of a metropolitan subcentrality in synergy with the programs activated at the municipal level.

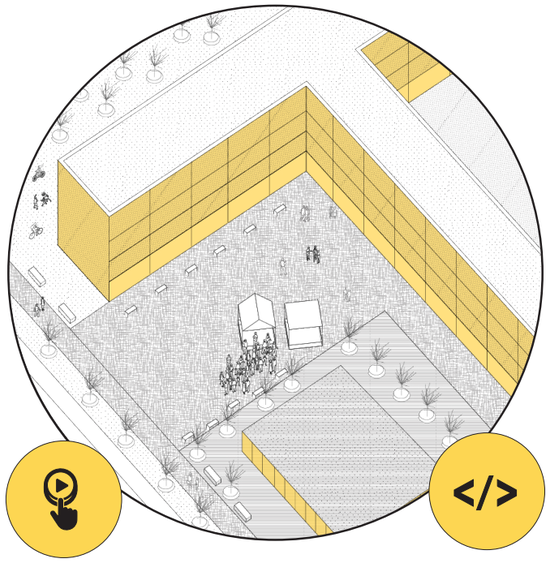


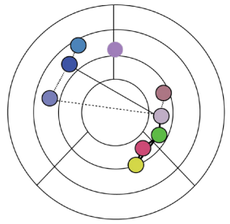




Local + public agreements

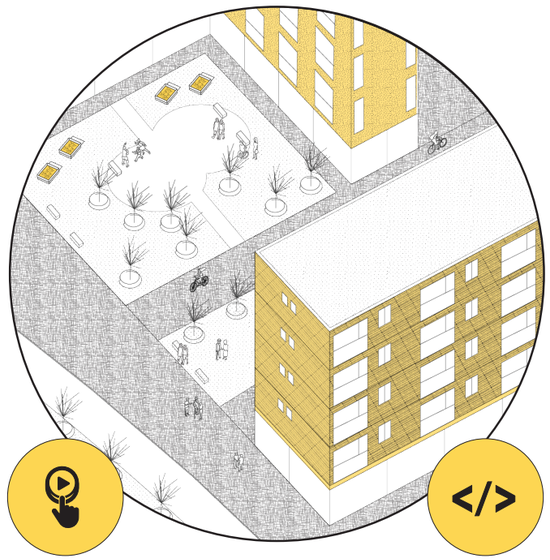
The firsta activation stage is accompanied by the use of pre-existing public areas such as the Bicentennial Park and other areas or edges that have remained abandoned or fragmented. In this sense, given the predominance of closed residential developments south of the former airport, the main actions should be focused on the activation of public areas through activities that increase the local meetings.

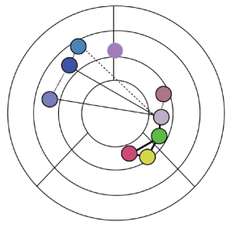




Private and Public-civil agreements

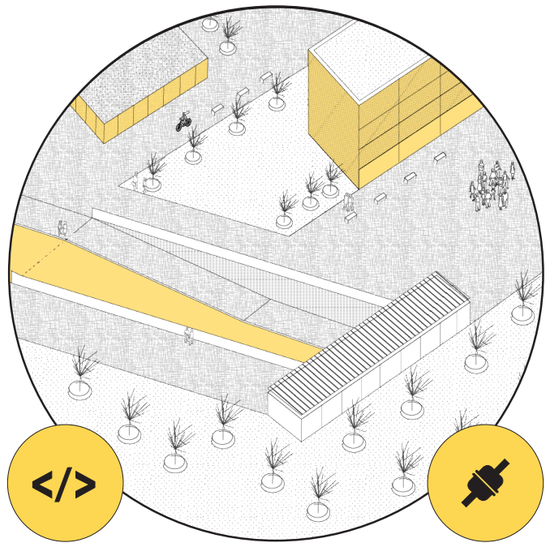
The second strategic action corresponds to the beginning of the densification process in the area. In this phase, the priority is to consolidate the first metropolitan programs facilities like Universities, sport centers, public markes and health facilities. The action seeks to consolidate the synergies with the local ecosystems of Pedro Aguirre Cerda, Lo Espejo and Cerrillos. The generation of the first programs also generates a political signal that legitimizes the work developed at the inter-municipal level. Additionally, the transversal axis that connects the three areas is activated to support the future actions.

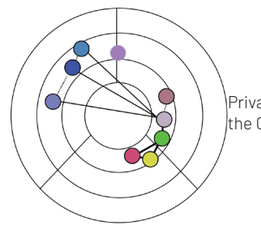




Private and Public-civil agreements

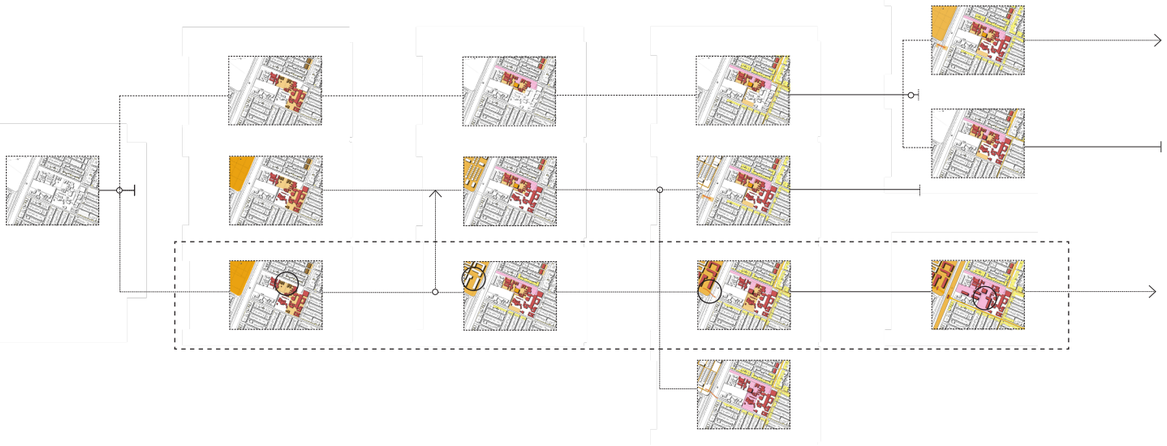
The third strategic action corresponds to the creation of housing in the area. This action is developed in parallel to the previous one in order to overcome the need for housing for the most advantaged groups or with problems of overcrowding of the three communes. Housing models are also multifunctional and have services and commerce that seeks to boost the economic and commercial activity. This process involves reaching major agreements between interested developers, the GORE and local governments. In addition, the new model of urbanization includes open and public spaces instead of private-public spaces, by privileging pedestrian use. Besides, new infrastructure for social use is created, providing infraestructure for local mobility and local activities.





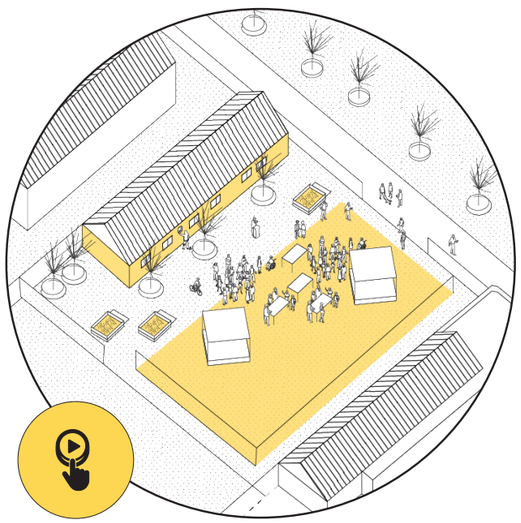
Private alignment through the GORE action

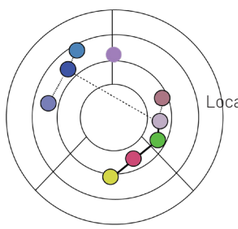
The last action corresponds to the connectivity infrastructure. Municipalities agree together with the Franchised infrastructure company and the GORE establishes a new connection in the jurisdictional border of the three Communes. This action allows to connect the Avenue Lo Errazuriz with Cardenal Jose Maria Caro avenue and to extend the Metropolitan ring connection. This is the most strategic action in terms of the potential functional sinergies at inter municipal level.



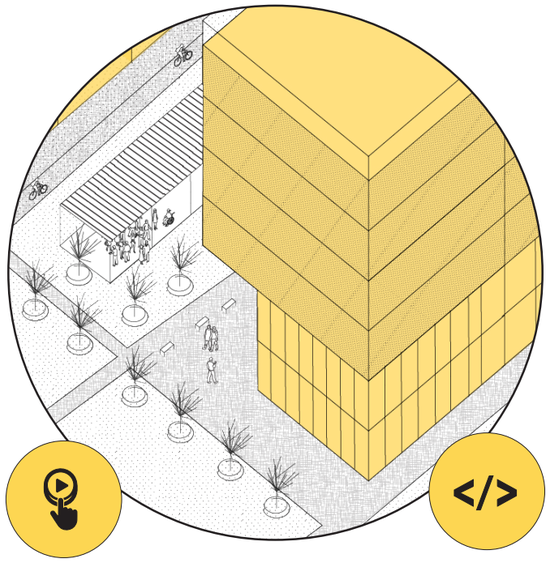
Spatial quality Lo Espejo north - Pedro Aguirre Cerda south
As it can be seen in the exploration through scenarios, the main actions leading to the fulfillment of all the local objectives are mostly associated with the evolution of the public-civil scenario. The main actions in Lo Espejo and PAC seeks to foster the morphological changes of the territory through collective agreements, which in turn strengthens the community effort and gradually allows them to empower themselves from public infrastructure. The integration of strategic actions in this sense is vital to mark collective milestones during the process.

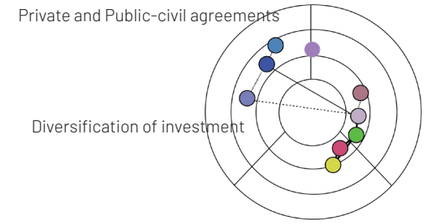




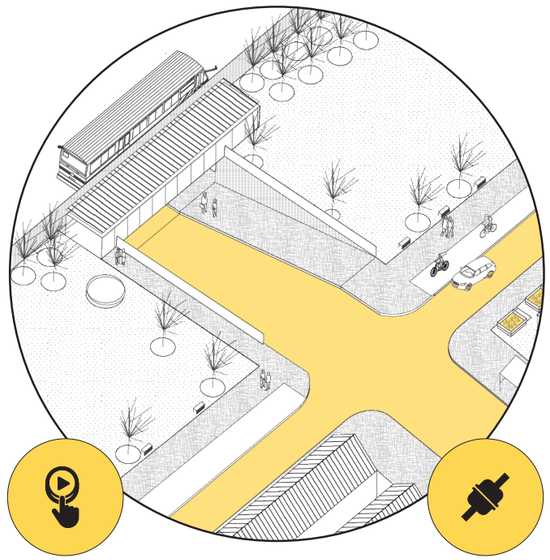


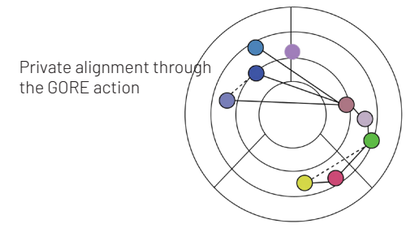
In the first part of the process, it is necessary to empower local actors (entrepreneurs, artisans, and merchants) around the reuse of existing public facilities. In this stage, the actions are focused mainly on activating facilities and put the different actors at stake (social and third sector organizations). The main effort of this stage is to convince and create a democratic process of integration. This stage also represents an explorative and transformative practice in which the different communities can participate. However, the support and commitment of the GORE are substantial to accelerate parallel actions and agreements with the private and local areas.



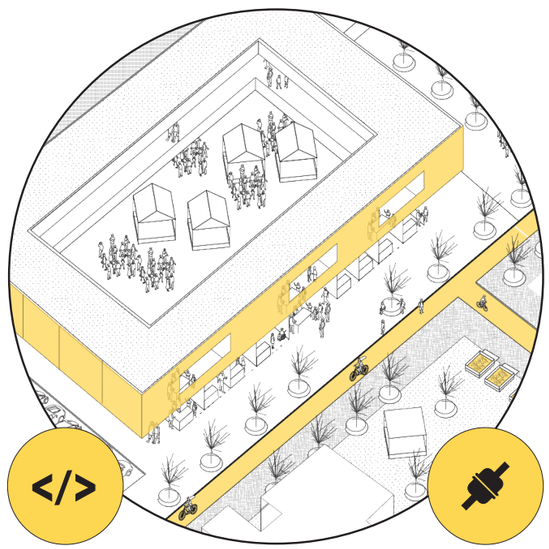


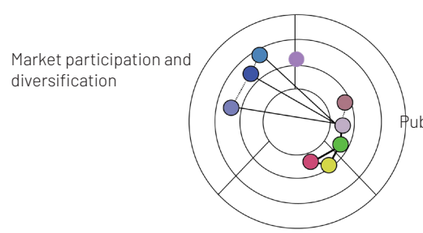
The projection and densification of the former-airport area are key. This can be done in several ways according to the prevalence of specific actors. In the public-civil scenario, the area is transformed and plotted in order to strengthen economic productivity and social development through the creation of several public goods as open squares, parks, and public facilities. The project can include a university, a hospital, and a sports center. Projects of mixed and affordable housing can also be attracted through mechanisms of transferability of development rights, regarding other central locations in the metropolitan area. A collaborative vision of this area can also encourage local activation during the process. Therefore, in this stage, the main strategies are related to the activation and the re-programming of the area through different and complementary functions.





The actions related to infrastructure are the most complex and must be reinforced by the support of the State and the local municipalities. A macro perspective of the metropolitan sub centralities is probably the most relevant attraction at the central state level and thus, must be coordinated with the local demands. Infrastructure franchised and public franchised companies must be aligned to this purpose. These strategic actions represent the morphological transformation that has to be reinforced from the activation of the spaces (temporal activities) to the infrastructure materialization (factual connection). The inter-municipal or even metropolitan cohesion is not reachable without these actions.





The last part of the process includes the creation of multi programmatic infrastructure that can serve for the local economy as markets, entrepreneurship incubators, popular training schools, recreation, and time banks. The location for these new facilities is located in the traditional centralities of Lo Espejo and PAC. The public spaces created to allow the internal connection and network accessibility of the local area. Also, new routes that allow the integration to the metropolitan scale are finally achieved through the new infrastructure of cross-border connection and the transport.

Current situation



Stage 4A (+ C)



Stage 3B



Stage 4C



Legend

- Public area of intervention
- Existing buildings
- New mixed buildings (private)
- New public buildings
- Private open space

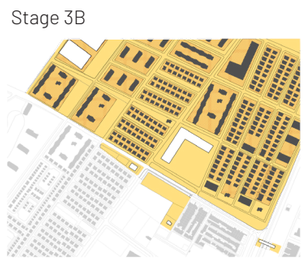
Publicness scope in Cerrillos west

As illustrated in the different results per scenario, the degree of opening of the area changes according to the morphological actions. In the case of the Cerrillos Oeste area, interventions carried out in batches, together with the provision of connection and activation infrastructure, open up more possibilities for public use and the intensity of urban life. Open industrial lots, together with the activation of abandoned spaces, facilitate occupation and help colonize the place in terms of public use.

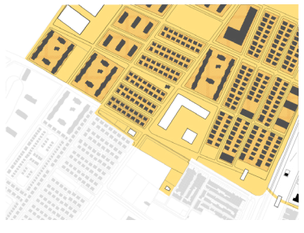
Current situation



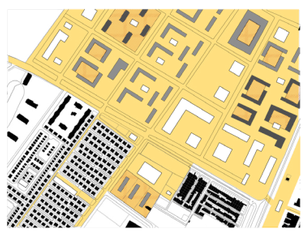
Stage 3B



Stage 3C (+B)



Stage 4C



Publicness scope in Cerrillos east

The degree of opening in Cerrillos varies greatly depending on the configuration adopted by the densification. The densification in height in larger blocks facilitates public opening and in turn generates different semi interior spaces. On the other hand, a mixed model of functions also facilitates collective use at the local and inter-municipal levels.

Current situation



Stage 4A (+C)



Stage 3B+C



Stage 4C



Publicness scope in Lo Espejo north - Pedro Aguirre Cerda south

The degree of public use in Lo Espejo and Pedro Aguirre Cerda varies depending on the opening of the centralities of the area and the incorporation of new infrastructure. The merger of lots, the breaking of opaque closures and the incorporation of mixed functions help to promote the encounter and territorial control of space.

The lower scope of agreements and transformations around the inter municipal strategy limits the synergy at the municipal level and diminishes the potential for development at the local level. The limitation in the morphological connection between the three municipal areas together with the development of a mono-functional and non-strategic program in metropolitan terms diminishes the possibilities of local inclusion and development.

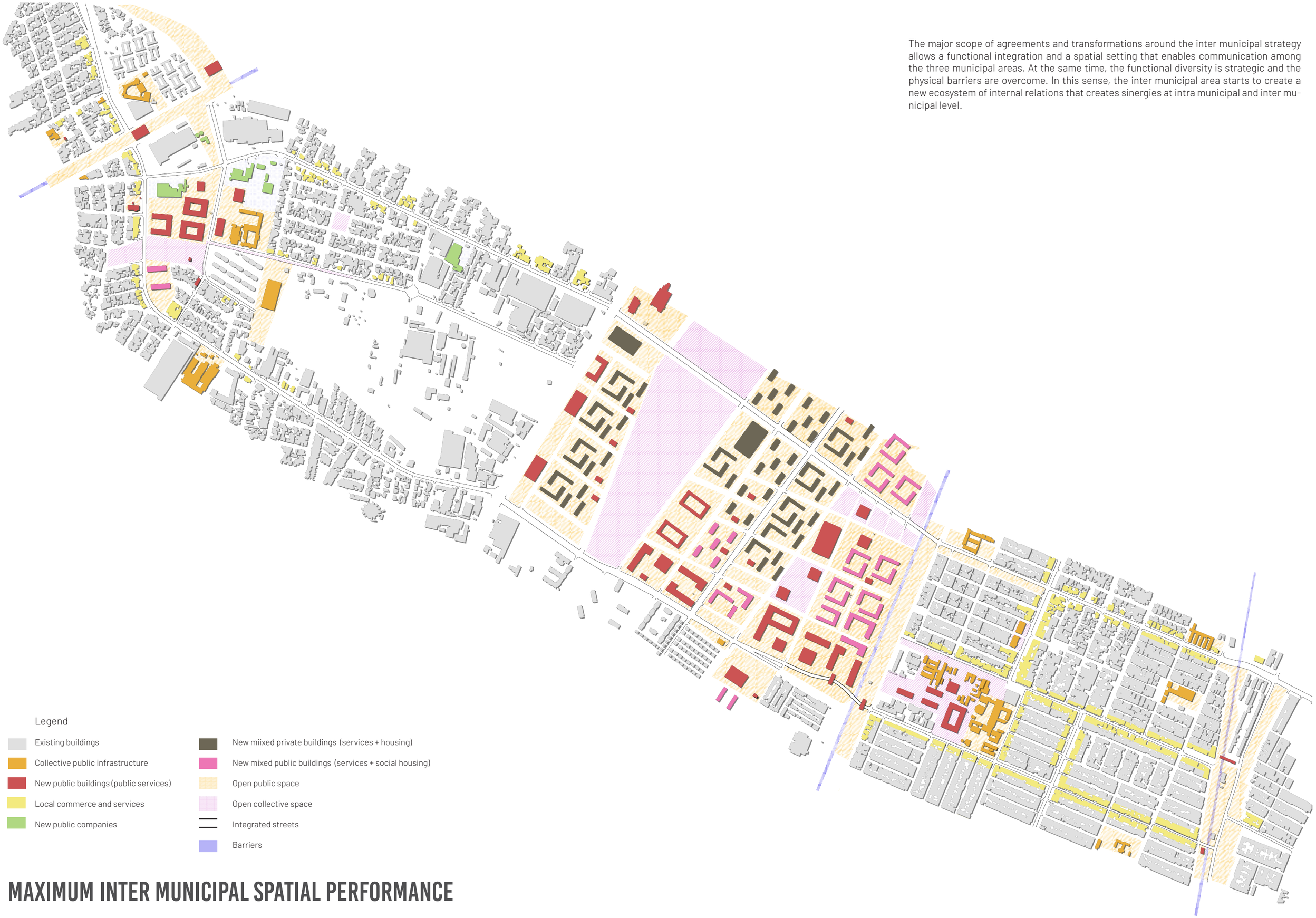


Legend

- Existing buildings
- Collective public infrastructure
- New public buildings (public services)
- Local commerce and services
- New public companies
- New miixed private buildings (services + housing)
- New mixed public buildings (services + socia housing)
- Open public space
- Open collective space
- Integrated streets
- Barriers

MINIMUM INTER MUNICIPAL SPATIAL PERFORMANCE

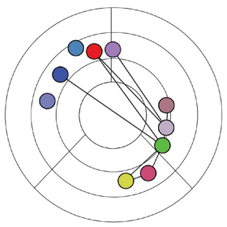
The major scope of agreements and transformations around the inter municipal strategy allows a functional integration and a spatial setting that enables communication among the three municipal areas. At the same time, the functional diversity is strategic and the physical barriers are overcome. In this sense, the inter municipal area starts to create a new ecosystem of internal relations that creates sinergies at intra municipal and inter municipal level.



Legend

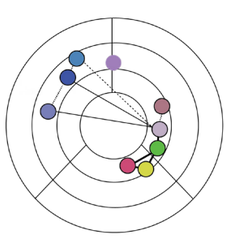
- Existing buildings
- Collective public infrastructure
- New public buildings (public services)
- Local commerce and services
- New public companies
- New miixed private buildings (services + housing)
- New mixed public buildings (services + social housing)
- Open public space
- Open collective space
- Integrated streets
- Barriers

MAXIMUM INTER MUNICIPAL SPATIAL PERFORMANCE





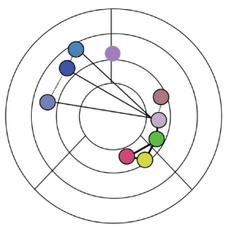
Prospective vision of the intervention in Cerrillos west area





Prospective vision of the intervention in Cerrillos east area







Prospective vision of the intervention in Pedro Aguirre Cerda-Lo Espejo

REFERENCES

Articles

Albrechts, L. (2004) 'Strategic (spatial) planning reexamined', Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design. doi: 10.1068/b3065.

Albrechts, L. (2015). Ingredients for a more radical strategic spatial planning. Environment and Planning B-Planning & Design, 42(3), 510-525. doi:10.1068/b130104p.

Haasnoot, M. et al. (2013) 'Dynamic adaptive policy pathways: A method for crafting robust decisions for a deeply uncertain world', Global Environmental Change. doi: 10.1016/j.gloenvcha.2012.12.006.–

Marcus, L. (2010) 'Spatial Capital', The Journal of Space Syntax.

Secchi, B. and Viganò, P. (2009) Antwerp, territory of a new modernity. Amsterdam: SUN.

Reports and figures

Sociedad Borquez y Burr Limitada (2014) Actualización PLADECO Pedro Aguirre Cerda - Diagnóstico by Municipalidad Pedro Aguirre Cerda - issuu. Available at: https://issuu.com/municipalidadpedroaguirrecerda/docs/pladeco_pac_tomo1_diagnostico (Accessed: 21 May 2019).

García, G. et al. (2013) Actualización PLADECO. Período 2013-2017. Comuna de Lo Espejo. Santiago de Chile. Available at: http://transparencia.loespejo.cl/enero2014/Pladeco/Tercer informe.pdf (Accessed: 21 May 2019).

Municipalidad de Cerrillos (2011) Actualización PLADECO Municipalidad de Cerrillos. Santiago de Chile. Available at: http://www.mcerrillos.cl/transparencia/documentos/ACTOS Y RESOLUCIONES/PLADECO/PLADECO CERRILLOS 2011-2015.pdf (Accessed: 21 May 2019).

.

7. CONCLUSIONS

Overview

This thesis has investigated the problems of urban segregation for the case of the metropolitan area of Santiago from the perspective of municipalities with fewer resources. As it has been analyzed, these municipalities have not been able to participate in the current dynamics of urban development led by the market.

The instrumentalization of a neoliberal logic of competition on the part of the state, together with the privatization of urban infrastructure, has generated a highly asymmetrical urban development. Additionally, a centralized, hierarchical and fragmented model of governance has hampered the effective management of the most vulnerable municipalities in terms of territorial development. Finally, the prevalence of market players as privileged development managers has monopolized the decision making regarding infrastructure production.

These concomitant factors have increased socio-spatial asymmetries, increasing the precariousness of the most vulnerable urban areas.

The exploration of these aspects at a spatial level, defined as an analysis and design approach based on the relationship between the morphological aspects, its multiscale agency and the multiple actors involved in its definition (governance), as possible determinants of endogenous development.

Subsequently, the analysis of the problem allowed the recognition of three areas of criticality municipalities as a case study in the MAS: Pedro Aguirre Cerda, Lo Espejo and Cerrillos.

The multi-scalar analysis defined to collaborative and coproductive approach for these three municipal areas, establishing strategic actions at both levels (governance and morphological structure) to comprehensively counteract the segregation process and at the same time, activate endogenous processes of economic and social activity .

Finally, the evolution of these strategic actions was tested through adaptive scenarios and routes (see chapter 6), which allowed establishing the scope of the inter-municipal approach and reporting the results and conclusions as limitations, conditions, implications and possibilities of the methodology.

This final section of the research by design process summarizes the main conclusions of the process, addressing the various research questions initially raised.

In the first part, the main research question is answered, extracting the main conclusions obtained through all the process of research by design.

Subsequently, in the second part the sub research questions are answered, indicating potentials, implications and recommendations according to the units of analysis defined in the methodological chapter.

Lately, the chapter includes reflections about the replicability/transferability of the approach used in the thesis.

Sections

7.1 Conclusions

Outcomes main research question

Outcomes sub research questions

7.2 Replicability / Transferability

7.3 Research limitations

7.4 Future research

7.5 References

Conclusions

Outcomes main research question

RQ: How and until what extent can an inter-municipal spatial planning collaboration contribute to an endogenous urban development to counteract segregated urban areas and advance toward a Metropolitan cohesion?

The main research question sought to answer how and until what extent a collaborative spatial planning strategy among Lo Espejo, Pedro Aguirre Cerda an Cerrillos can help to tackle socio-spatial segregation through an endogenous development approach. Additionally, the question sought to answer to what extent this spatial strategy could effectively contribute to metropolitan cohesion.
The testing by design developed in this thesis, has allowed to conclude that a collaborative inter-municipal spatial strategy between municipalities and local and government actors is indeed possible. However, the scope of its effectiveness at the design level depends strongly on the transformation of the morphological and functional structures of the territory and the equal inclusion of the various actors involved in these transformations. It is important to recognize, that under a market-driven model of urban development, highly influenced by neoliberal rationale, this implies also to address the question of power of local and public actors.

Determinants about morphological and functional conditions

Although an essential requirement is related to the geographic and institutional variables mentioned by Rail and Zegras (2013), morphological conditions are decisive if we intend to counteract fragmentation, spatial confinement and socio-economic isolation (Legeby, 2013). In turn, functional transformation is vital, since it can amplify or reduce the possibilities for programmatic diversification at the local and metropolitan levels. Both aspects, inter related, are key to overcome the negative effects of socio-spatial segregation. In this sense, one of the most important findings obtained during this research process is that segregation cannot be faced regarding just the accessibility towards current metropolitan centres. This is important since current focalized policies have failed to generate local development in substantive terms, mainly because precarious situations have continued to depend on others regarding employment and access to services.
This vision of the City has finally concatenated efforts to strengthen connectivity to functional zones already consolidated within the metropolitan area, without conceiving the provision of strategic functions, local accessibility or planning political capacities towards marginalized areas. In this way, the metropolitan cohesion it seems inextricably linked to the development and transformation of the local physical structures in its intermediate scales.

Decisive factors regarding land management, empowerment, autonomy and sovereignty

On the other hand, as mentioned, the foregoing involves articulating agreements between those actors that manage the diverse agendas of infrastructural development of the urban and at the same time by recognizing the weaker ones as legitimate subjects of power. In this regard the first aspect to consider is related with the empowerement process of the local municipalities and their social organizations. Therefore, the establishment of a new institutional design at governmental and local level could help to increase the accountability of the central government and the market by delivering capacities and autonomy of action to weaker actors (Sud and Yilmaz, 2013). In turn, these actions could help to avoid current practices related to the lobbying, particular interest primacy and clientelism.

In this sense, territorial legitimization of marginalized local governments must be conceived as the first objective to pursue a strategic spatial planning at inter municipal approach. In this regard, it is important to consider that this also will depend first on the capacities and bargaining power of municipalities. In this way, a key aspect that comes out through the scenarios exploration is the State's involvement in this process and the decentralization of effective capacities toward the local governments. The adaptive roadmap shows that the current influence of local governments differs according to the level of agreements and capacities established among the different actors. Thus, this aspect is decisive in regarding the fullfillment of their objectives.

This aspect is relevant since the empowerment of municipalities and social organizations over the territory inevitably will lead to political discussion about their level of autonomy, the regime of property rights and aspects related with the sovereignty of land. All these aspects have historically been controlled by the state and under the neoliberal regime they have been instrumentalized by the particular interests of the market and the partisan politics (Mitchell and Fazi, 2017).

In addition, the co-productive aspect of the strategy shows that vulnerable communal areas should be able to administer and deliberate democratically their infrastructural space beyond the current land restrictions, in order to counteract effectively exogenous processes.
In this sense, the both aspects described previously, indicate that is evident that the prospection of this sort of scenario will include frictions due to the political implications, both at a vertical level (state-municipalities-grassroots organizations) and horizontally (grassroots organizations-neighborhoods-neighborhoods). As some authors have suggested (Parenti, 2013), these expected struggles together with global exogenous factors, will inevitably demand a progressively shift in the role and agency of the state.

On the other hand, it is also expected that in a possible scenario of redistribution of power and decentralization towards the municipalities and their organizations, new processes of capital concentration and economic mobility will arise through the revaluation of land and the generation of new infrastructures. The foregoing would imply new processes of individual accumulation that can create conflicts around affairs of collective control and regulation. In this sense, the discussion about the individual property regime should be discussed widely in pursue the common good. As Iris Marion Young (1990) suggested, the social reality requires to consider the temporal dimension in order to explain the effects of cummulative individual actions and evolution of power relationships.

In this regard, although ia new figure of municipal management is necessary over the land, the hidden risk of a process like that is the turn towards a new process of neoliberal dynamics. In this sense, a future scenario of local strong governments should be systematically evaluated in order to constrain scenarios of social abuse, co-optation or domination among actors (Dean, 2018). In this regard, instruments and control strategies can be developed progressively along the implementation of the strategic actions.

Under this context, the endogenous approach to local development presents guidelines that can help the various local organizations in this transformative process, insofar they are able to instumentalise their objectives spatially through a multi-scalar approach over time. In this sense, this research helps to argue that the endogenous approach should focus first and foremost on the recognition and legitimation of the diversity of local knowledge as well as on their needs and particularities. It is in this exercise that local governments can democratically discern what instruments and capacities need to be balanced in the negotiation with other actors.
Thus, the municipal areas, can elaborate active processes to face together negative multi-scalar exogenous processes (e.g., urban financialization, real estate pressure, socially and environmentally undesireble projects).

In this sense, it is necessary to highlight that the type of collaboration nedeed involves empowering local communities by recognizing their differences but also their adversarial perspectives. Therefore, the model of collaboration should be primarily co-productive in order to avoid the primacy of particular agendas and assymetries in the decision making. It is unquestionably that such a process of transformation must be understood as a learning process not exempt of conflict.
Finally, as Albrechts illustrates (see page 206) even when this transformative process can seem hard in term of resources, the true is that, it is more dependent on a redefinition of political, legal and technical systems of working than of resources.

Outcomes sub research questions

Sub research questions specify the different aspects embedded in the main research question. In the next lines these questions are addressed, by explaining conclusions and recommendations.

About instruments

SRQ1. What are the governance and planning conditions for inter municipal planning collaboration and their implementation?

The main conditions for carrying out a co-productive inter-municipal planning process are related to the redistribution of power to local governments, effective decentralization of resources and territorial management capacities. For this, a fundamental first step would correspond to the activation and strengthening of local organizations and actors through municipal action. This process, obviously progressive, should strengthen and legitimize social organizations as co-producers of the territory and not mere users (Petrescu et al., 2016). Finally, real collaboration only can be done through the determination of common goals, and independent goals inter-linked at territorial level.

Recommendations

These conditions should be fostered through specific policies that could ensure the involvement of the different groups in the planning decision making. In this regard, current and new associations, social committes, cooperatives or committees should be encouraged. The establishment of models of participatory decision-making among civil community municipality, municipal councils and organizations in turn, could be highly beneficial and eventually culminate in a new form of municipal and inter-municipal management. In this way, the local governments could agree on local and inter-municipal objectives and adopt strategies focused on generating synergies at the intermediate-scale and local-scale level, increasing the acountability in all the levels (Feiock, 2009).

It is important to consider that this new organizational design could be politically undesirable for political parties and authorities given the redistribution of power. In this regard, a new institutional design should consider contextual characteristics, pros and cons of new arrangements regarding the different perspectives involved.

Regarding central governance, the changes should lead to the progressive autonomy of local governments in order to enable them to manage their territories effectively (Bahl et al., 2013). The figure of the GORE or other metropolitan authority, in this sense, should be fundamental for this task, either as a coordinating agent during the process or as a facilitating and supervising agent. The GORE could promote and regulate these capacities by enabling them in different aspects of normative structure, regarding the current regulator instruments or purposing others.

A second mission of the GORE, as it has been indicated in the documents of the CNDU (2018), should be to define a re-engineering in terms of the agencies and public sections involved in the definition of urban infrastructure. The GORE should be able to direct and articulate the various ministries and define common and differentiated agendas in conjunction with the emerging supra-municipal, inter-municipal or municipal associations.

In this sense, the main role of the GORE should be to achieve common articulations that allow metropolitan cohesion and local development as faces of the same coin. This obviously requires several progressive changes. That is to say, basically, political autonomy beyond the presidential period.

A redifinition of the institutional design should also advance in the spatial understanding of the territory by the various disciplines and agents involved. Finally, it is necessary to recognize policies of difference and variable geometries in terms of the territorial diversity of the metropolitan area. This is highly important since existing fragmentation at the metropolitan level cannot be confronted by standardized solutions (Feiock, 2009). In this regard, the GORE should promote common and diferentiated policies for different municipal or inter-municipal areas, by linking the action of the different ministries or the new figures that can appear.

SRQ2. What are the planning instruments/actions to foster endogenous urban development in segregated areas and how can they be implemented?

The main instruments correspond to strategic mechanisms of land management that should be managed at the local level. Secondly, instruments or normative actions should be developed differentially at the level of the GORE. Local governments should have local ordinances that allow them to discriminate and be more flexible over time between areas and lots with restrictively regulated land uses and development zones. These ordinances should be determined in agreement with the GORE or the corresponding authority, establishing proactive margins of variation and adaptability.

Recommendations

Instruments should not be understood as static mechanisms but as variable and redefinable mechanisms over time according to the needs that may emerge. This would involve contemplating which areas require development and those that require protection. In turn, those public commons, which can be consolidated, could contribute through operating taxes for infrastructure to other specific areas that require financing.

In this way, as demonstrated by the adaptive roadmaps method, the determination of land uses, sectional or specific development policies (master plans, strategic infrastructure, trigger projects) should be built based on long-term inter-municipal visions. In this regard, it is important to consider the possibility of variation and the necessity to adapt the instruments according the development evolution. Thus, once the transfer of resources, capacities and democratization of planning has been resolved, the discussion should focus mainly on when, where and why to implement the different instruments, rather than on the focalization on particular and isolated instruments.

Based on different scenarios, potential instruments could include mechanisms for capturing surplus value, or development incentives such as tax reductions, strategic subsidies (location, public infrastructure), auctions or transfer of development rights. Another package of local policies could include incentives for the administration, co-management or co-investment regarding collective infrastructure. These instruments could be implemented based on monitoring or forecasting through the process of implementation of the strategic spatial planning. In this way, the instruments acquire a dynamic character. In any case, the management of this new instruments, as the experience in countries as Brazil and Colombia shows, require considerable expertise and work on the part of public sector (Ingram and Hong, 2010)

In sum, these instruments should be seen as variable and redefinable mechanisms over time, according to the needs and democratic exercise of metropolitan and local governments.

About strategies

SRQ3. What are the spatial, functional and morphological conditions to enable integral urban development in segregated areas?

The main morphological conditions refer to the degrees of functional diversity, network density and accessibility at different scales. The inter-related interaction of these variables allows for an intensification of urbanity (Dovey, 2016) or the spatial capital (Marcus, 2007; 2010). In this regard, first recognition should be focused on understanding the current structures and their relationships with the normative regulations.

Recommendations

According to this previous understanding, actions or policies should be focused in different levels. Thus, at a first level, the segregated or confined areas must first be reconfigured through those structural morphological elements that prevent their connection with other areas, such as barriers composed of high metropolitan traffic routes (avenues, railways or highways) impermeable areas or plots of large surface area (industrial areas, land for storage, dump sites) or simply unused (abandoned spaces, vacant lots).

At a second level, these areas should be functionally re-formulated through the promotion of strategic functions in order to enable local-metropolitan economic social development and establish synergies at different scales and through different actions. Thus, the new or existing building corresponding to public or residential construction could amplify its use by adopting policies for mixed functions, commercial or local services, which allow to intensify local social and economic activity. This would stimulate the public activity and encourage the sense of appropriation.

A final level refers to the permeability and intra-municipal accessibility. The closed plots (in the case Lo Espejo-PAC) and the monofunctional areas (Cerrillos case) also affect the possibility of social encounter and therefore in the potential construction of social capital. Functional diversification and intensification of blocked plots is crucial, especially at the neighborhood scale level. In this sense, the promotion of connections and public openings are substantive to collectivize the use and control of space.

Finally, accessibility, network density and functional diversity must be considered at the multi-scalar and topological level. This implies that the impact and potential of physical transformation of the urban fabric must be understood in terms of the different local territories in synergy with the macro-metropolitan structure.

SRQ4. What are the spatial strategic interventions to enable integral urban development in segregated areas?

The spatial strategies and specific interventions must be architecture or infrastructure projects aimed mainly at reconfiguring the morphological conditions described above. This implies considering interventions that can revert or activate functional, physical and environmental dimensions, considering local needs but also their diversity, identity and character.

Recommendations

For this, it is essential to understand the potentialities in function not only of the local scale but also of the metropolitan scale. In this way, transport corridors, metropolitan public infrastructure projects and local services can generate feedback ecosystems that in turn promote local economic development and contribute to metropolitan development. An example contrary to this occurs regarding the idea of the Bicentennial Park City, focused mainly on providing housing, maintaining the dependence of municipal areas on the city center. The role of architectural projects and infrastructure works play their strategic role to the extent that they can be implemented. For example, areas for development could be tendered through public tenders or public-private partnerships based on inter-municipal and municipal programmatic demands, involving different economic actors and services.

In this sense, determining what type of program and functions to locate is essential for local communities. On the other hand, as mentioned above, local governments should have the capacity to strategically determine areas of development such as lots, segments, corridors and even influence the determination of location of infrastructure services such as transport stations or telecommunications networks.

About outcomes

SRQ5. Until what extent a model of inter municipal spatial planning can contribute to an integral urban development of vulnerable areas and to a Metropolitan cohesion?

As mentioned in the answer to the main research question, the scope of this model can lead to substantive degrees of metropolitan cohesion, notwithstanding the effectiveness of this model will depend substantively on three aspects: the capacity for morphological-functional transformation of the inter-municipal territory and its infrastructure, the empowerment capacity of local governments, including all its actors under equal conditions, and the creation of a progressive management regime for their urban land.

Recommendations

The main recommendations in this point refer to those scenarios, which reflect, major local development in accordance with the generation of a potential metropolitan sub-centrality. Achieving these results undoubtedly requires horizontal negotiation between local, metropolitan and market actors. The restructuring of governance in this sense plays a fundamental role in empowering marginalized actors in this process.

Technically this aspect implies firstly, the generation of technical and political capacities that allow the municipalities to influence the morphological and functional transformation of their administrative territories and jurisdictional boundaries.

This point should be translated into the creation of strategic instruments, beyond the current model of regulatory land use planning (Mantisalo et al.,2015). In this regard, to the case of municipal vulnerable areas, it is necessary to consider planning instruments that allow effectively counteract negative trends (Hermann and van Klaveren, 2016).

Lastly, the aspects/recommendations mentioned in the answer of the SQR1 are vital to achieve this level of arrangement.

Replicability and transferability

The approach used in this research by design has proven to be useful to inform a multiscalar analysis and design regarding metropolitan issues related with spatial segregation.

The triangulated use of methods of stakeholder analysis models, urbanity / spatial capital analysis, planning and governance analysis can be suggested to explore spatial dynamics of specific areas at intermediate and local scale. In this regard, the strategic planning approach, can be useful to determine and prioritize actions according to the findings obtained in the problem analysis. However, the extent of depth and particular nature in the analysis, definition of strategic interventions, governance re-design, planning instruments and policies are context-dependant. In this regard, just the general approach can be replicable as one possible multi-scalar method of strategic planning.

Regarding the test by design, the adaptive roadmap has demonstrated to be highly benefitial in terms of research by the design. The method allows to understand the different variations, implications, limitations and possibilities of a particular strategic approach. In this sense, a paramount aspect is its highly explorative and didactic character. At the same time, as a process of exploration can be highly adaptable and improved according other particular interests of research. Time limitations of this research thesis has also prevented a major

depth in the exploration and synthesis of the methodology. In any case, as a process of exploration, the method can represent a possible way to inform the stakeholders' decision-making process. In tis regard, reliability will depend on the type of data sources, methods of collection and economic resourses for further research.

Limitations

Research limitations

The limitations of this research can be inferred in the results of the thesis project, in terms of the reliability of certain type of information and the level of depth developed. In this regard, for the case of this thesis, they refer mainly to the next points:

Reliability of the data:

The last census carried out in the country was carried out in 2002. Subsequently, a failed census was carried out in 2012. In 2016, an abbreviated census was taken again, which mainly measured the demographic change. Notwithstanding the above, a number of governmental, academic and private institutions have continued to elaborate information, much of which it is used in this thesis. This must be considered in relation to the validity of the results. The foregoing should be recorded as proof in the case of using unofficial information from national institutions.

Range of the problem, access and representativity of information

The thesis proposes an inter municipal model for vulnerable sectors of the metropolitan area. These urban areas present a high complexity and varied composition, regarding social problems and levels of informal organization. In this regard, due to the time and resources of the thesis, the access and the debugging of a large part of the social complexity of these aspects cannot be addressed. Therefore, the research and its results should be understood conceptually, considering the generalization of some contextual aspects as it is the case of territorial representativity especially at local level.

Political aspects

It is important to consider that relevant information is mediated by public administrations, an aspect that must be taken into consideration, especially when consulting data and information that may have political and ideological interest. In this sense, this fact can also prevent access to certain types of information as was in the case of the SECPLAN of Municipality of Pedro Aguirre Cerda, who did not participate of the interviews. These facts could partially alter the conclusions or generate a general range of assumptions during the investigation. This aspect of course, should be considered.

Future research

From the present process of research, a series of reflections have arisen regarding the possibilities and potentialities of planning in highly complex socio spatial contexts as in the case of the MAS. In this regard, it is clear that there is a common need to think about the territory in a strategic, inclusive and deliberate way to address the different challenges we face at a global and local level. However, it is also evident that the political-ideological complexity that has conditioned planning persists and constrains the possibilities of establish alternatives.

In this sense, this research opens future paths to explore the possibilities of strategic planning in relation with its political agency. This entails the need to think design and planning, from transformative frameworks such as co-productive and ontological design (Escobar, 2018), from the contextual and indigenous dynamics of the localities.

In this sense, as Professor Louis Albrechts (see page 206) points out, from the knowledge of the local, its constraint and possibilities, the exploration of a co-productive practice of territorial agency could trigger transformative processes in the social, legal and political systems, contributing to spatial justice and local development. But the question that emerges is how are the conditions , components and actions that we should understand and to seek for in that respect.

Although, this position arises in a conceptual framework of western European tradition, transformative practices have already arisen in diverse places of Latin America as alternatives to the globalizing modernity hegemonic model (Escobar, 2016)

In this sense, future lines of research would seek to explore the necessary adaptive conditions that could foster spatial conditions and their possibilities of autonomous emancipation for marginalized areas.

REFERENCES

Articles/books

Bahl, R. W., Linn, J. F., & Wetzel, D. L. (2013). Financing metropolitan governments in developing countries. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Lincoln Institute of Land Policy.

Dean, R. J. (2018). Counter-Governance: Citizen Participation beyond Collaboration. Politics and Governance, 6(1), 180-188. doi:10.17645/pag.v6i1.1221

Dovey, K. (2016). Urban design thinking : a conceptual toolkit. London ; New York: Bloomsbury Academic, An imprint of Bloomsbury Publishing Plc.

Escobar, A. (2016). Autonomía y diseño : la realización de lo comunal (Primera edición en castellano. ed.). Popayán, Colombia: Editorial Universidad del Cauca.

Escobar, A. (2018). Designs for the pluriverse : radical interdependence, autonomy, and the making of worlds. In New ecologies for the twenty-first century (pp. 1 online resource).

Feiock, R. C. (2009). Metropolitan Governance and Institutional Collective Action. Urban Affairs Review, 44(3), 356-377. doi:10.1177/1078087408324000.

Herrmann, M. G. and van Klaveren, A. (2016) 'Disminución de la participación de la población en organizaciones sociales durante los últimos trece años en Chile e implicaciones para la construcción de una política de planificación urbana más participativa', Eure. doi: 10.4067/S0250-71612016000100008.

Ingram, G. K., Hong, Y.-h., & Lincoln Institute of Land Policy. (2010). Municipal revenues and land policies. Cambridge, Mass.: Lincoln Institute of Land Policy.

Legeby, A. (2013) Patterns of co-presence: Spatial configuration and social segregation, USAB.

Mantysalo, R., Kangasoja, J. K., & Kanninen, V. (2015). The paradox of strategic spatial planning: A theoretical outline with a view on Finland. Planning Theory & Practice, 16(2), 169-183. doi:10.1080/14649357.2015.1016548.

Marcus, L. (2007) 'Spatial capital and how to measure it: an outline of an analytical theory of the social performativity of urban form', Proceedings of the 6th International Space Syntax.

Marcus, L. (2010) 'Spatial Capital - A Proposal for an Extension of Space Syntax into a More General Urban Morphology', Online.

Mitchell, W. and Fazi, T. (2017) Reclaiming the state : a progressive vision of sovereignty for a post-neoliberal world.: Pluto Press.

Parenti, C. (2015). The 2013 ANTIPODE AAG Lecture The Environment Making State: Territory, Nature, and Value. Antipode, 47(4), 829-848. doi:10.1111/anti.12134.

8. REFLECTION

Overview

This section summarizes the main reflections obtained during the research by design process. The reflection includes general findings related with the issues investigated but also ethical and scientific and societal considerations.

At the same time, other aspects are elaborated, principally related with the skills, tools and knowledge acquired along the process of study.

Sections

8.1 Research reflection

8.2 Knowledge, skills and tools

8.3 Societal and scientific relevance

8.4 Ethical considerations

8.5 Studio and program criticism

8.6 References

Context of research: planning and governance in the Chilean neoliberal context

The recently approved "New Institutionality for Urban Governance (CNDU, 2016) raised by recent Chilean governments, has been the contextual milestones for my thesis proposal. Both agendas delineate a transition plan in the Chilean governance and planning model. The main goals of these new agendas are basically three: spatial equity, decentralization and multilevel governance.

Notwithstanding the foregoing, even understanding the progress that these policies mean for Chile, there has not been enough space to reflect on the implications of the current neoliberal logic in the chilean urban development model. In this regard, the rationale embedded in these documents remains still abstract and top-down and must be contrasted during the next years. Since marginalization and segregation are mainly due to spatial processes that respond to the assimetry of actors over the territory, this is highly relevant.

Throughout this study I have been able to confirm that the urban transformations that have led to the marginalization of certain municipal areas in metropolitan Santiago, are due to assembled rather than unilateral factors, difficult to attach only to individual actions or actors.

In this regard, a first finding resulted from the analysis of the governance and planning model. The static and disperse nature of regulatory frameworks and their rigid instruments based on land use have been easily bent and re-interpreted by private developers with low levels of acountability (Vicuña del Río, 2013). Additionally, the centralized and sectoral hierarchy of the state has also favored the prevalence of the market as the main actor.

On the other hand, it is also necessary to highlight that the calculating rationality generated by the neoliberal governmentality has also influenced the subjective practice of local actors (Gago, 2017). In this regard, the process of depolitization and the rise of increasingly individualized communities, has also facilitated the market primacy without mayor levels of accountability. In the same ideological line, governments action has been summarized in short term sectoral subsidiaries and focalized policies.

These reflections have helped me to conclude that the local effects of segregation must be understood, above all, as complex enssambled spatial phenomenon, highly sensitive to institutional structure of planning and power distribution.

In sum, the lack of deliberate local development spatial projects and legitimacy have favored the reproduction of segregation and precarization. Lacking collective territorial projects, the communities of Lo Espejo, Cerrillos and Pedro Aguirre Cerda have not been able to claim and determine the specific role that the local land and its infrastructures will play for their development.The detachment from the territory as a productive project has been critical in this regard.

Potential and conditioning factors for a collaborative strategic spatial planning under co-production

Regarding the exercise of test by design, it is revealed that a public, strategic, diverse and collaborative spatial planning would represent a potential way to counteract the process of spatial segregation (see conclusions in the previous chapter). However, the nature of this spatial approach should be able firstly to recognize and legitimize the local particularities and the different socio-spatial projects present in the territory (Madden, 2014). Planning should be understood as a substantial key for the redistribution of power, generation of agreements and responsibility of the actors around their political decisions (Van den Broeck, 2008). The major challenge in overcoming the negative effects of metropolization by neoliberalism for the local areas implies that local governments, their organizations and their indigenous communities have to actively participate in the planning of their territory. This, in turn, implies both a call for a different role of the state but also a common horizon and understanding of the local territory as a space for the productive and the day-to-day life.

On the other hand, the investigation helps to confirm that for dealing with urban processes, the relational morphological understanding is key. The structure of metropolitan scale must be understood from their multi-scalar condition in order to address spatial complex issues as segregation and therefore, to foster effective alternatives for economic transformation at other scales. This understanding is key to determine the elements that obscure different development actions in the spatial structure and what are clear to the transformation. This is substantial and politically relevant since the scalar reasoning obeys particular objectives, practices, institutions and actors.

Finally, as it has been explored through the design by scenarios, it is quite difficult that the neoliberal rationale, characterized by the tendency to split up and silo (Lakoff, 2008) lead to local development or metropolitan cohesion. It is in the capacity to understand complexity in multiscalar terms and by linking and establishing cooperation between politically legitimized actors at a horizontal level, where local governments will have real possibilities to claim their own development.

Knowledge, skills and tools

During the research process various approaches, tools and models were studied and applied. The multi-scalar approach went through the whole process of research and design and was useful to understand the different scales in terms of actors, issues, and morphological conditions. For this, a synchronic typomorphological analysis, together with the support of simulation tools such as place syntax (GIS), served to determine potentials and impacts in an iterative process of mapping.

Regarding the conceptual models of stakeholder analysis, the onion diagram of stakeholder power relations adapted from by Czischke Ljubetic (2008) and the characterization analysis in terms of interest, power and attitude developed by Murray-Webster and Simon (2006) helped to identify and understand concretely the broad actors under the current governance model in general terms. The approaches were useful to determine the main characteristics and roles of the different actors studied.

The application of the spatial capital analysis purposed by Marcus (2010) was useful to understand the spatial structure of the selected areas in order to reveal potentialities.

The adaptive roadmap model built from scenarios and the adaptive pathways model (Haasnoot et a.l, 2013) was able to structure visually and discursively the evolution of the strategy for the selected areas, given the possibility to evaluate alternatives, implications and limitations of each scenario.

Finally, the complementary and triangulated methodological approach, was useful to integrate the information collected from different sources, but also to contrast them. In this regard, this methodological approach allowed me to discriminate and inform qualitative findings through the research by design process.

In this regard, this set of methods are highly recommendable to carry out analysis related with morphological transformation linked to stakeholders actions.

Societal and scientific relevance

Despite the explosive economic growth of Chile between 1990-2010, the contradiction is that the Country has become one of the more unequal countries of South America regarding income and spatial distribution (OECD, 2018). The economy of the country is characterized by hierarchical capitalism that can hardly lead to healthier and distributed

development (Schneider, 2013). Also, according to the last OECD report (OECD, 2018), more than 50% of Chilean people have a vulnerable economic profile. Unequal realities have been mirrored to the territory through the process of metropolization, by affecting mainly vulnerable municipal areas. In this regard, the present research has tried to seek alternatives and possibilities at spatial level to address these issues under an integrative and adaptive model of planning. However, it is important to recognize that every structural change will demmand more activity of the civil organizations. In this regard it is important to consider limitations and potentialities according the particularities of specific cases.

In scientific terms, in Latin America there is an urgent necessity to grasp and rethink practical theories of planning from a multi-scalar and indigenous perspectives, especially regarding issues of marginalization, dispossession and segregation.

In this regard, this exercise has presented the opportunity to rethink theoretically spatial planning in terms of their possibilities to the case of Santiago. Therefore, an endogenous development frame can provide new keys for social and local economic development at a specific scale regarding morphological transformation. In Latin America, integrative applied research is starting, especially regarding Planning. In the academic world, the main discussion has remained mainly at the theoretical level, and it is still nor focused on design possibilities under uncertainty conditions. In addition, in Chile, as in most of the academic international academic cases, Geography, Economy, Sociology, Environmental and Planning studies still go by separated tracks. This setting is clearly evidenced in the current institutional engineering. Therefore, this methodological exercise could help to link theory and practice, providing possible transferable knowledge to other Latin American scholars and disciplines.

Ethical considerations

The focus of this research has been to evaluate alternatives for local development which in turn could positively impact the development of local areas. However, this would involve critically assessing the capacities and levels of activity of the communities. In this sense, the identification of critical limits regarding resources, economic context, institutional structure and socio-historical cultural diversity is crucial. On the other hand, planning will face inevitably conflict and antagonism (Pløger, 2004). In this regard, the inclusion of diverse communities and local government must be, above all, a process able to guarantee acountability and fair spaces, regarding diverse aspirations, expectations and interests. All in all, the collective effort of professionals, market, institutions and authorities it is compulsory if "we" want to achieve real development for all the spatial communities.

Studio and program criticism

Complex cities studio is a highly relevant studio and academic platform, committed with contingent territorial global issues. This is a paramount value of the studio. However, as most of the cases correspond to "Global South," it is necessary that, in general, mentors involved in learning practice with international students try to understand these realities from another epistemological lens. This is one of my main criticism of the program according to my experience as student. Since European liberal and modern rationality is based on values of universalism and equality, its lens can result normative when it faces other dynamics of social, ethnic, and cultural diversity that can not easily understand (De Santos, 2018). This is not an easy challenge for both, academics and international students, but can be faced if the academic staff is open to higher levels of intersubjectivity that can be benefitial for everyone. In this regard, there is an open door for possibilities. In this regard, I would like to emphasize that this is a general criticism about the program. However, I suggest that this aspect should be considered in the future.

REFERENCES

Articles/books

Albrechts, L. (2004) 'Strategic (spatial) planning reexamined', Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design. doi: 10.1068/b3065.

Czischke, D. (2018) 'Collaborative housing and housing providers: towards an analytical framework of multi-stakeholder collaboration in housing co-production', International Journal of Housing Policy. doi: 10.1080/19491247.2017.1331593.

Gago, V. n. (2017). Neoliberalism from below : popular pragmatics and baroque economies. Durham: Duke University Press.

Haasnoot, M. et al. (2013) 'Dynamic adaptive policy pathways: A method for crafting robust decisions for a deeply uncertain world', Global Environmental Change. doi: 10.1016/j.gloenvcha.2012.12.006.

Lakoff, G. (no date) The political mind : a cognitive scientist's guide to your brain and its politics.

Madden, D. J. (2014) 'Neighborhood as spatial project: Making the urban order on the downtown Brooklyn waterfront', International Journal of Urban and Regional Research. doi: 10.1111/1468-2427.12068.

Marcus, L. (2010) 'Spatial Capital', The Journal of Space Syntax.

Murray-Webster, R. and Simon, P. (2006) 'Making Sense of Stakeholder Mapping', PM World Today.

Pløger, J. (2004) 'Strife: Urban planning and agonism', Planning Theory. doi: 10.1177/1473095204042318.

Santos, B. d. S. (2018). The end of the cognitive empire : the coming of age of epistemologies of the South. Durham: Duke University Press.

Schneider, B. R. (2013) Hierarchical Capitalism in Latin America. Available at: www.cambridge.org (Accessed: 14 September 2018).

Stojanović, M. Mitković, P. and Mitković, M. (2014) Facta universitatis. Series architecture and civil engineering. University of Niš. doi: DOI: 10.2298/FUACE1401081S.

Van den Broeck, P. (2008). The changing position of strategic spatial planning in Flanders. A sociopolitical and instrument-based perspective. International Planning Studies, 13(3), 261–283.

Vicuña del Río, M. (2013) 'El marco regulatorio en el contexto de la gestión empresarialista y la mercantilización del desarrollo urbano del Gran Santiago, Chile', Revista INVI. doi: 10.4067/s0718-83582013000200006.

Reports

Consejo Nacional de Desarrollo Urbano and Gobierno de Chile (2018) Nueva Institucionalidad para la Gobernanza Urbana. Available at: http://cndu.gob.cl/wp-content/uploads/2018/03/3.-PROPUESTAS-PARA-UNA-NUEVA-INSTITUCIONALIDAD-PARA-LA-GOBERNANZA-URBANA.pdf (Accessed: 1 November 2018).

OECD (2018) Estudios Económicos de la OCDE: Chile 2018. Available at: www.oecd.org/eco/surveys/economic-survey-.htm (Accessed: 7 January 2019).

9. APPENDIX

Overview

This section refers to the complementary material to each chapter of the thesis. It contains a basic glossary of concepts recurrently throughout the text. The glossary serves to support the reading of the text and clarify some concepts.

Additionally, the complementary material to the methodological process is included. Transcriptions of interviews, tables and other items can be found in this section.

SECTIONS

9.1 Glossary

9.2 Theoretical paper

9.3 Interviews

9.4 Complementary analysis material

GLOSSARY

ABC1: Socio-economic classification based on gini coefficient.

CBD: Central Business district

CEDEUS: Centre for Sustainable urban development / Centro de Desarrollo urbano sustentable

CEPAL: Latin American and Caribbean Economic commission / Comision Económica para Latinoamerica y el Caribe

CESFAM: Family healthcare center / Centro de salud familiar

CIA: Central Intelligence Agency (United States)

CNDU: National Council of Urban Development / Consejo Nacional de Desarrollo urbano

CONAM: Municipalities corporation / Corporación de Municipalidades

CORMU: Public corporation of Urban renewal / Corporación de mejoramiento urbano

CORVI: Public corporation of Housing / Corporación de la Vivienda

EFE: National Railway company / Empresa de Ferrocarriles del Estado.

ER: Emergency hospital service / Servicio de emergencias hospitalarias

FDI: Foreign direct investmet

FSI: Floor space index

GDP: Gross domestic producto

GORE: Regional government / Gobierno Regional

GSI: Ground space index

ICVU: Urban quality of life index / Índice de calidad de vida urbana

INE: National Institute of Statistics / Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas

INVI: University of Chile Housing Institute / Instituto de Vivienda Universidad de Chile

IPT: Territorial planning instruments / Instrumentos de Planificación Territorial

LGUC: General Law of Urban Planning and Constructions / Ley General de Urbanismo y construcciones

LVC: Land Value capture mechanism

MAS: Santiago Metropolitan Area / Metropolitan área of Santiago

ME: Ministry of the environment / Ministerio de Medio ambiente

METRO: Metro system (subway system) / Sistema de Metro

MF: Ministry of Finance / Ministerio de Hacienda

MINSAL: Ministry of Healthcare / Ministerio de Salud

MINVU: Ministry of Housing and Urbanism / Ministerio de Vivienda y Urbanismo

MOP: Ministry of Public Works / Ministerio de Obras públicas

MTT: Ministry of Transport and telecommunications / Ministerio de transporte y telecomunicaciones

OECD: The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

OCUC: Catholic University cities observatory

OGUC: General Urban Planning and construction ordinance / Ordenanza general de urbanismo y construcciones.

PLADECO: Communal development plan / Plan de desarrollo comunal

PNDU: National Urban Development Policy / Política Nacional de desarrollo urbano

PRC: Regulatory Communal Plan / Plan regulador communal

PRDU: Regional Plans for Urban Development / Planes regionales de desarrollo urbano

PRI: Regulatory Inter-Communal Plan / Plan regulador inter-comunal

PRM: Metropolitan Regulatory Plan / Plan regulador metropolitan

SAPU: Urgent primary healthcare service / Servicio de atención primaria de urgencia

SECPLA: Municipal secretary of planning / Secretaría municipal de planificación

SENAME: National childhood service / Servicio nacional de menores

SEREMI: Ministry secretary / Secretaria ministerial

SERVIU: Housing and Urbanism Ministry secretary / Secretaria ministerial de Vivienda y urbanismo

TDR: Transferability of development rights mechanism

UNDP: United Nations development program

UF: Development unit / Unidad de fomento.

USA: United States of America

ZODUC: Zones of conditioned urban development / Zonas de Desarrollo urbano condicionado

ZUC: Conditional urban areas / Areas urbanas condicionales

ZURC: Urbanized Areas of Conditional conversion / Areas urbanizadas

Globalization: From Neoliberal Paradigm to an Endogenous Paradigm. Discussing alternatives of urban development for the case of the Metropolitan Area of Santiago (MAS).

Abstract

Globalization and Neoliberal policies strongly influenced the process of Metropolization of Santiago de Chile over the last thirty years. This deployment has brought about critical levels of social and environmental segregation in the MAS.

These issues have become an underlying concern for the last Chilean governments. Indeed, in order to respond to these challenges, a more integrated governance based on a metropolitan government has been proposed. However, this proposal has not been absent from criticism, especially towards the current market-driven urban development.

In parallel, during the last three decades, other alternative models of endogenous development emerged. Paradoxically, they were not completely taken into account from the aspect of urban planning and governance. Also, these approaches have been discussed by prominent authors such as David Harvey or Doreen Massey. However, recently these ideas have recovered relevance as a result of the increasing inequality and environmental issues, especially in countries of the so-called "global south."

The paper discusses these different arguments over the case of Santiago as a critical scenario. I firmly state that there are not "black or white" approaches to tackle the crisis of urban development in the context of globalization and neoliberalism. In this sense, these approaches can shed lights on a more integrative way of planning if we understand it as a path for a paradigm transition.

Keywords: Neoliberalism, Globalization, Metropolization, Social segregation, Governance, Endogenous development, Urban development.

Sections

0.0 Abstract

1.0 Introduction

2.0 Metropolization and Urban development of Santiago de Chile: the construction of inequality

3.0 The challenge and limitations to rethink planning and governance

4.0 The emergence of endogenous development

5.0 Criticisms

6.0 Conclusions

7.0 References

Introduction

During the last four decades, globalization of financial markets has redefined the institutional role of the nation-states, placing the global and local scale in a new tension. For Latin-American territories, globalization has meant a process of regional metropolization of prominent urban areas, which interacted with local dynamics and historical preexistent conditions, especially spatial inequalities (de Mattos, 2014, p.13). For the case of the Metropolitan Area of Santiago (MAS), this process was triggered by Neoliberal policies introduced during the Dictatorship period (1973-1989) which continued during the Democratic period (1990 – now) (Araujo, 2017, p.2). Along the time, this process led to an uneven territorial development characterized by a spatial fragmentation and socio-economic segregation of the most vulnerable areas (Dockemdorff et al., 2000, p. 174).

To counteract these issues, the Chilean Government has decided to improve its governance instruments. Although this proposal found consensus in its need, it has been widely criticized from different perspectives and positions. The main criticism refers to the implicit neoliberal logic in the current urban development model.

Overall, the discussion has not been "black or white," but it has been fruitless to move from the level of debate to the real redefinition of policies and planning instruments. All in all, there is an ample consensus on the need to rethink the planning and governance system.

Under this context, I will raise and discuss other theories that have remained absent from this discussion. I refer to models based on an endogenous development approach, as "the development at human scale" (Max-Neef et al., 1986) and "bio-regionalism" (Boisier, 1994; 1996; 1997; 1999; 2014). These models criticize Globalization and emphasize a regional-local perspective. However, although they have represented an effort to think about alternatives, they also have received criticism. The debate has involved prominent authors as David Harvey (1989; 2017) and Doreen Massey (1986;1991). The main criticism has been related to the feasibility of this approach under neoliberal regimes.

Therefore, in this paper, I will discuss these arguments placing the MAS as a base case for reflection. Firstly, I will briefly explain the impact of Globalization and Neoliberal policies in the process of Metropolization in Santiago. Then, I will introduce the endogenous perspectives in the discussion. Later I will discuss the most relevant criticisms in order to provide insights. Lastly, I will conclude the main remarks about these alternatives in relation to the literature reviewed.

Metropolization and urban development: the construction of inequtiy

In the Latin American context, Chile is recognized as one of the first countries that opened its markets to the global economy (de Mattos, 2002). According to de Mattos (2002, p. 32), during this period, Chile adopted a macroeconomic strategy characterized by two critical aspects: a) the deregulation of several strategic markets and, b) the adoption of a principle of State subsidiarity, mainly oriented to reinforce a service economy. These linked actions generated a restructuring of the labor market together with large territorial dispersion of productive activities and population.

The above was accompanied by a re-territorialization of new productive networks, whose nodal points of exchange at the national level were constituted in the metropolitan region. Under this process, the MAS experienced a relevant transition from an inchoate matrix of industrial activities to one focused primarily on global and metropolitan services. This whole process was eased by drastic changes in the national governance (de Mattos, 2010). Thus, the MAS was quickly consolidated as the central node of national economic activity, by gathering "the headquarters of financial institutions, multiregional extractive enterprises and multinational companies" (Garreton, 2017, p. 40). The impact of these transformations influenced the socio-spatial structure and the environmental conditions of the metropolitan area radically (Dockemdorff et al., 2000, p.173-174). The historical spatial inequality, the eradication of camps carried out during the dictatorship, and the market-driven urban development defined a territory characterized by its fragmentation and social inequity. As an aggravating circumstance, this process was reinforced by an uneven investment and inadequate governance (Garreton, 2017, p.42). As a result, the MAS shows today a highly socially differentiated structure characterized by different profiles of income, education, and health.

Challenges and limitations of rethinking governance

The critical situation of inequality in vulnerable areas has given rise to new social conflicts (Rodriguez et al., 2014). In this regard, the Chilean government has expressed the need to move towards an urban development policy (2014) and an integrated governance proposal (2017) in order to achieve a more integral urban development. To this respect, its main proposal is a model of good governance led by a regional governor (Valenzuela and Toledo, 2017).

However, beyond its normative nature, the dominant aspect of this type of policy in Latin-America has been market-oriented governance, quite influenced by the neoliberal logic of deregulated market of land. (Zurbriggen, 2014). Therefore, the proposal has created a broad debate about the essential nature of urban development. To this respect, several criticisms have been related to the Chilean institutional culture, regarding issues of centralization, bureaucracy, coordination, and asymmetries of capacities.

In this context, two paramount ideological positions dominate the urban discussion. On the one hand, a liberal position aligned with the current model of governance, based on the managerial logic guided by the market. Under this perspective, doable solutions to solve the metropolitan disparity are based on a logic of trickle-down through real estate developments or infrastructure provision. By following this logic, the poorest or low-income urban areas will gradually be renewed, depending on their flexibility to capture investment from real estate or developers (Lopez, 2012, p. 105-108).

On the other hand, the second position argues the need to start by questioning the neoliberal urban model itself, demanding major and centralized public responsibility in the field. This position is related to the idea of the right to the city in line by the critical geographer David Harvey (2008), the rise of the New left and post-neoliberal perspectives (Zurbriggen, 2014, p. 348). This position has claimed against the effects of the laissez-faire urban development and for new social dynamics related to the production of the City.

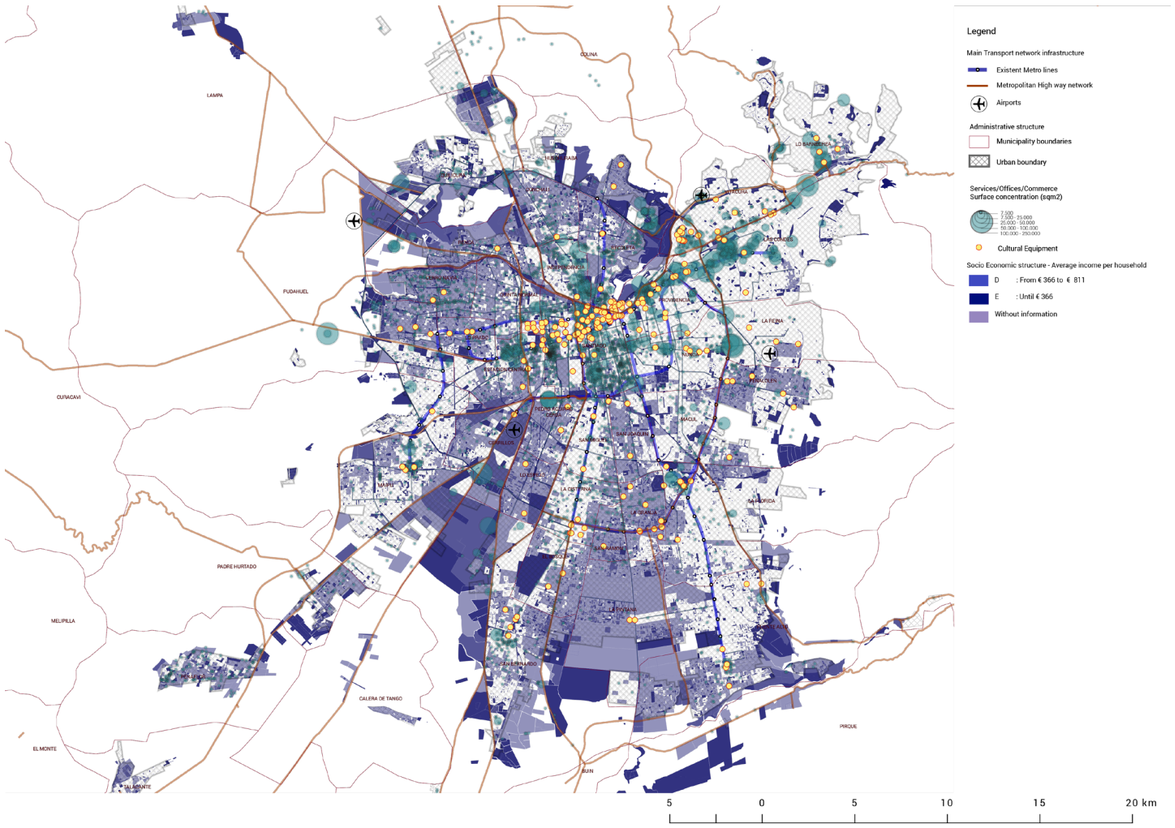


Figure 1: Map of low-income distribution (in dark blue). Own elaboration based on data from the Institute of national statistics (Census, 2002). Green and yellow dots represent the concentration of metropolitan services

All in all, the debate has been incapable of visualizing specific alternatives, especially from the critics to the model. Conversely, to this respect the first position has been privileged by the status quo, that has remained unquestionable by the governance policies of the last twenty-eight years.

On the contrary, both visions have not considered comprehensibly endogenous variables, understood as potential spaces of collective creation and production. In this regard, the liberal vision of urban development based on service provision has prevailed. Therefore, taking into account global issues and national reality, it is compulsory that new alternatives should be considered.

In sum, the result of the current urban issues in the MAS could also be the outcome of the difficulty to visualize and communicate alternatives.

Simultaneously, during the same decades, specific development alternatives were proposed from an endogenous perspective. Recently, they have reemerged as possible answers within this stage of stagnation.

In the next section, I will elaborate and discuss some of these alternatives to building a third point of inquiry.

The emergence of endogenous development

The endogenous development approach (Garofoli, 1993; Cuadrado-Roura, 1995; Storper, 2000; 2009; Vásquez-Barquero, 2000; 2007; 2015; 2016; Boisier, 1997; 2005) assumes a criticism of the concept of development, focusing on how globalization reappraises the territory and puts a strain on its productive capacity vis-à-vis the global market. Endogenous approaches were built during the last four decades, acquiring especial relevance in the Global South which it continues proliferating until today (Carr, 2004, p. 11-12). Sergio Boisier (2005) argues that this criticism is built not as a rejection of the globalization but as a critical approach in its current interactions with regions and communities. Vasquez-Barquero (2007, p. 198), states that the endogenous development is also an interpretation that gathers different local answers towards the challenges that globalization poses.

In this regard, this approach faces two critical aspects. The first one is related to the redefinition of regional territories according to the value granted by the world economy and the process of competition among them.

The second one refers to the very process of regional metropolization: the dependence of spatial economic clusters. A result of neoliberal policies and urban fragmentation is that even when these clusters of economic agglomeration influence urban growth, they do not automatically generate spillover effects to the surrounding areas (Chhair and Newman, 2014, p. 1). Consequently, both processes lead to a complex scenario, in which the regions become more dependent on exogenous variables and where only some areas absorb the development.

The approach

The literature on endogenous development has been varied since it has meant efforts from different perspectives, disciplines, and locations to define alternatives for development. In this sense, the approach recognizes different theories and policies, which would include models of autonomous development, P2P, urban commons, cooperatives, co-production, participatory democracy, solidarity, and social economies. All of them focused on self-centered development. As a whole, different visions and multidimensional perspectives converge innovatively. Garofoli (1993), defines endogenous development as:

> *"the capacity to transform the social and economic system; the capacity to react to outside challenges; the promotion of social learning, and the ability to introduce specific forms of social regulation at the local level which favour the points above (...). Endogenous development is, in other words, the ability to innovate at a local level". (p. 29)*

Therefore, Endogenous development can be seen as process of growth and structural change that uses the existing potential in the territory at different scales (Vazquez-Barquero, 2000, p.1). It is multidimensional and not merely economic. Under this lens, local communities and private organizations dialogue and manage the actions of investment and control that trigger the structural change (Vivas et al., 2000, p.18). Here, the primary assumption is that localities (districts, federations, municipalities) inherently possess capital: resources (human, economic, institutional and cultural capacities) and economies of scale that have not been exploited.

Nevertheless, this is not an abstract approach; it must contain goal-oriented politics. As Vasquez-Barquero (2007) recognizes, there are several actions nedeed to foster as the local development as the formation of interconnected clusters of economic activity, the dissemination, and socialization of knowledge and innovation, the construction of urban equipment and infrastructures and the development of strategic governance.

Boisier (2005, p. 52) points out that endogenous development comprises four interacting levels or dimensions.

Firstly, the political one, which refers to the identification of local decision-making capacities on different development mechanisms. This dimension also determines the design and use of those instruments that lead to the form of development chosen. The preceding would necessarily entail political agreements that favor decentralization. However, this decentralization should empower communities effectively by granting nonexistent or necessary capacities (Boisier, 1998, p. 5).

The second aspect refers to the appropriation and local reinvestment of the surpluses created or captured locally. This means, within the municipal territory. This dimension is critical to diversify the local economy and at the same time give it a permanent basis for long-term sustainability. At the economic level, endogenizing local growth means in practice to reconcile the long-term strategic objectives of the local area with the long-term strategies of non-local capital present in the area.

The third dimension refers to the technological and scientific process, as a natural capacity of the socio-ecological system, to generate drivers or embrace technologies that favor change. This process would result critical to lead to an adaptive competence.

The fourth dimension refers to culture, with the recognition of those elements that generate territorial identity, those elements that generate territorial identity, a key aspect for collective commitment and fulfillment.

Finally, it is relevant to remark that endogenous development is first and foremost a cognitive and a creative process, in which formal and informal institutions play a crucial role in the construction of knowledge and social capital.

In conclusion, the worldview of endogenous development seeks to position itself in the globalizing process, adapting itself multidimensionally in function of the local, recognizing it as an active system and not merely as a dependent actor.

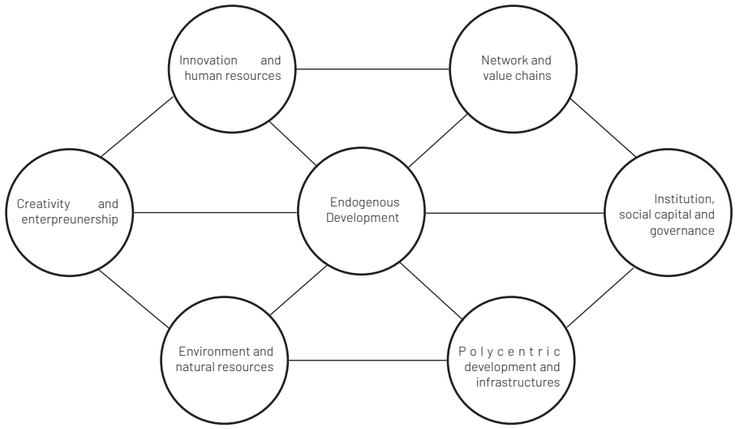


Figure 2: Endogenous development conceptual framework according to Vásquez Barquero (2014).

Converging perspectives of endogenous development: Bioregionalism and development at human scale (HSD).

Several alternative design visions have framed the vision of endogenous development. In this paper, I will emphasize two of them within the framework of endogeneity. In my perspective, they can give a comprehensive vision about territorial complexity regarding the current issues that the MAS faces at different scales. I refer to bioregionalism and human-scale development (HSD).

Bio-regionalism stems from an integrated environmental, economic and social vision of the territory, whose scale of action is defined mainly through regional ecological conditions over other types of jurisdictions (Dedekorkut-Howes, 2014, p.2). It is focused on regional ecosystem dynamics as a source of local development.

The first ecological regional perspectives date from the works of Patrick Geddes (1915), MacKaye (1940) and Lewis Mumford (1938). The development of these theories evolved during the last century and incorporated different emphases and alternatives. However, they never were applied wholly.

In the Chilean case, for instance, the first metropolitan plan for the Great Santiago in 1960 already considered a Regional-ecological vision (Parrochia and Pavez, 2016). However, although the concept could not materialize due to historical and political circumstances, it was able to predict part of the metropolitan transformations (Galetovic and Poduje, 2006, p. 239).

Recently, these visions have regained importance due to the deepening of regional challenges (Wheeler, 2002, p. 268) and a better understanding of the influence of globalization and neoliberalism.

However, Bio-regionalism is not a normative concept. It considers different interpretations. While from the world of planning, it means models or frameworks of territorial development, bioregionalism has also been constituted as a socio-ecological movement.

Dedekorkut-Howes (2014, p. 5-6) quotes Callahan (1993) to defining bio-regionalism as:

"an innovative and unifying planning model designed to maintain the integrity and intrinsic value of ecosystems while promoting sustainable development." (p. 3)

Bioregions are:

"unique bio-geographical areas sharing cultural, economic and historical characteristics, distinguished by interdependent and interconnected ecological resources, which influence a region's economic development, cultural history, land use patterns, environmental quality, and ecological carrying capacity and integrity."

Thus, Bioregionalism also demands a more comprehensive vision of the territory in its different scales and consequently a change in the vision of planners and designers. Recently, Church (2017), has raised this approach for urban areas. According to her vision, this could be carried out through:

"a model of incremental change towards sustainable urban development and retrofit intended to introduce elements of bioregionalism into existing cities." (p. 4)out through:

Her model integrates three overarching realms: the democratic process, the public discourse, and the physical environment of the city; as well as three factors that influence incremental change to urban bioregionalism: municipal policies, neighborhood-oriented stewardship, and individual actions. The focus here would be on the need to articulate endogenous development at the urban level, where there is greater feasibility of interaction between ecosystems and communities, and where local institutions can play a more visible role.

The second model that I would like to discuss follows the development approach on a human scale (Max-Neef et al.,1986). During the 90s, the idea of development on a human scale (DHS) was introduced as a transformative transdisciplinary approach. Its primary objective was to think about a practice focused on the biopsychosocial needs of people. According to Max-Neef (1986):

"Development is about people and not about objects." (p. 16)

Thus:

"Attaining the transformation of an object-person into a subject-person in the process of development is, among other things, a problem of scale. There is no possibility for the active participation of people in gigantic systems which are hierarchically organized and where decisions flow from the top down to the bottom." (p. 8)

The approach redefined the traditional pyramid of Maslow (1943), oriented to material satisfactions. In this regard, it stems from a materialistic model of reality to one that distinguishes between needs and satisfactors.

As follows, the approach disputes the idea that needs can tend to be infinite and that they vary in each culture and environment, as well as in each historical period. According to Max-Neef (1986, p.16-17) human needs should be categorized more appropriately between existential categories (being, having, doing) and axiological (subsistence, protection, affection, understanding, participation, leisure, creation, identity, freedom). In this regard, an important point to note is that there is no one-to one correspondence between needs and satisfactors. A satisfactor could simultaneously contribute to the satisfaction of diverse needs.

Conversely, a need may require various satisfiers to be satisfied. These correlations are not fixed, they can vary according to the time, place and circumstances. Thus, fundamental human needs are few, delimited and classifiable.

The fundamental human needs would be the same in all cultures and all historical periods. What changes through time and cultures would be the way or means used to satisfy needs. According to that reasoning, each economic, social and political system adopts different

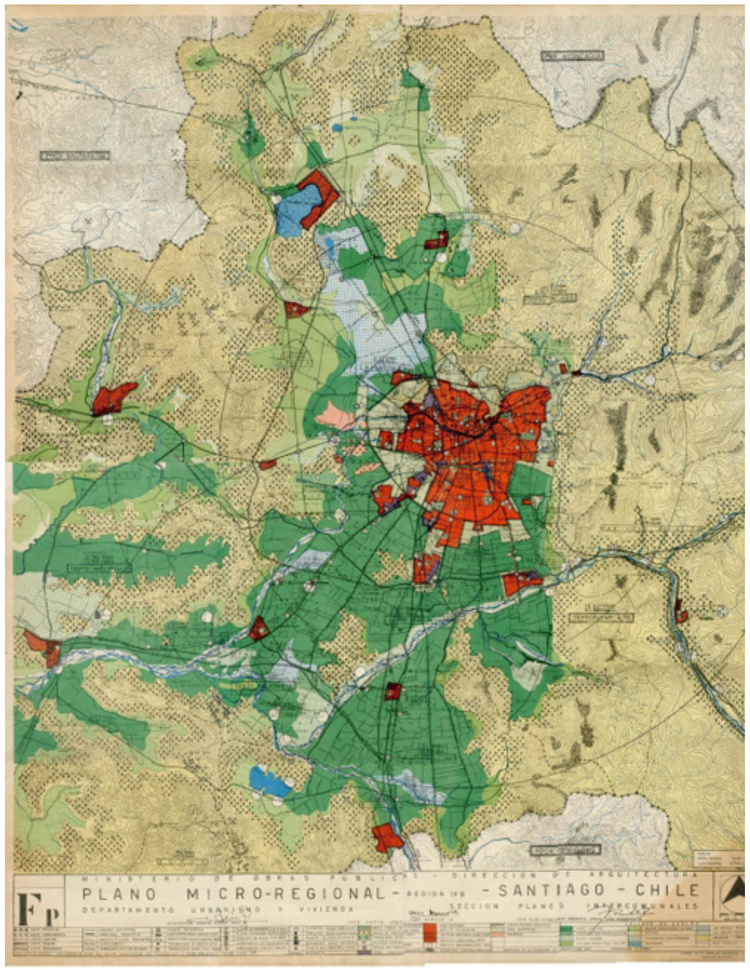


Figure 3: Micro-Regional Plan for Santiago de Chile in 1960, Parrochia and Pavez, (2016). The plan shows the Regional vision for Santiago.

styles for the satisfaction of the same fundamental human needs. In each system, these are satisfied (or not) through the generation (or non-generation) of different types of satisfiers. Finally, one of the aspects that defines a culture is its choice of satisfiers.

In this regard, the cultural change would be a consequence - among other things - of abandoning traditional satisfiers to replace them with new and different ones.

All in all, both models entail clear implications for the design of the built environment.

Criticisms

Despite the great interest that these approaches have gained globally, the debate has been intense. The discussion has been related to the real feasibility of local models of development in the context of global neoliberalism. Another point of criticism refers to the methodological field, especially for the geography discipline (for summaries, Jones and Woods, 2013). Lastly, the third point of criticism has been related to the cultural challenges that these approaches entail, Church (2017, p. 4).

Consequently, the debate has been primarily a political discussion about possibilities, paradigms, and methodological implications.

Incidentally, my interest is to stress specific arguments of some authors towards points of convergence that can lead to relevant insights for the potential implementation of the models mentioned above.

The Discussion

The discussion on localism or local development has mainly occurred in the field of the critical geography.

The criticism has come from prominent scholars, as is the case of David Harvey (1989; 2017) and the support from other distinguished authors as Doreen Massey (1984;1991), and Simon Springer (2014).

The discussion started with Doreen Massey and the publication of her book "Spatial Divisions of Labour: Social Structures and the Geography of Production" in 1984. Massey recognized earlier the importance of the local studies regarding ruling spaces of social organization in the middle of the restructuring process under Neoliberal Thatcherism. She observed that the debate around the global and the local was necessary, due to the decline in industrial activity and the retreat of public policies that were affecting several areas in London.

the decline in industrial activity and the retreat of public policies that were affecting several areas in London. However, this discussion was slowly relegated around the debate of postmodernism, which at that time was imposed as a universalist reading of globalization processes (Barnett, 2017).

It is within this first theoretical debate that Harvey (1989) intervened critically against localist studies. As he says:

> *"All the fetishisms of locality, place or social grouping, while denying that kind of metatheory which can grasp the political-economic processes (money flows, international divisions of labor, financial markets, and the like) that are becoming ever more universalizing in their depth, intensity, reach and power over daily life (...) the most serious dilemma of all: the fact that space can be conquered only through the production of space ". (p. 117)*

Harvey saw localism initially as a fetish that denied the existence of exogenous capital forces that universalized everyday life. In this respect, Massey's (1984) argument stems from a different view based precisely in the necessity to go beyond this perception:

> *"The increasing focus on the analysis of particular regions, on the notion of spatial*

	Ecosystem management	Bioregionalism	New Regionalism	Growth management
Goal	Maintain ecological integrity and satisfying human needs	Maintain the integrity and intrinsic value of ecosystems while promoting sustainable development	Address problems created by growth and fragmentation of postmodern metropolitan regions	Improve the quality of life through controlling, guiding, or mitigating effects of growth
Approach to management	Systems, Interdisciplinary	Systems, Interdisciplinary	Holistic, integrated, interdisciplinary	Could be intergovernmental
Knowledge base	Technical	Technical, Experiential	Qualitative and quantitative data	Not specified-standard planning data
Information required on	More research and data on ecosystems	In depth understanding of a region's geography and resources	Systematica research into the regional landscape's physical patterns, sociology, and political and economic structure	Not specified-standard information for planning purposes
Focus on management	Ecosystems	Communities	Socioeconomic and political structures	Urban form and development patterns
Scale	Multiple	Single	Multiple: State, Regional, local, neighborhood, site	Multiple: State, Regional, local, neighborhood,
Nature of management boundaries	Variable based on scale	Defined bioregions	Fuzzy, open boundaries based on the regional issue being addressed	Should be expanded as the region grows
Criteria defining a region	Ecological	Physical (ecological) and environmental (cultural) characteristics	Cultural identity	No definitive criteria as application can be local
Decision making	Interagency collaboration across existing political boundaries	Localized, participatory democracy	Interagency collaboration across existing political boundaries	Interagency collaboration across existing political boundaries
Change required	Organizational and institutional structure	Institutional, administrative boundaries, lifestyle and values, planner's daily activities and language	Goals and programs of current regional planning agencies, staffing of agencies and training of planners	Efficient administration
Role of humans	Humans embedded in nature.	An equal member in the regional ecosystem	Human focused	Huma focused

Figure 4: Comparative framework among different approaches according Dedekorkut-Howes (2014).

Needs according to existential characteristics / Needs according to axiological characteristics	BEING personal or collective attributes	HAVING institutions, norms, tools	DOING personal or collective actions	INTERACTING spaces or atmospheres
Subsistence	1 / Physical health, mental health, equilibrium, sense of humour, adaptability	2 / Food, shelter, work	3 / Feed, procreate, rest, work	4/ Living, environment, social setting
Protection	5 / Care, adaptability, autonomy, equilibrium, solidarity	6 / Insurance systems, savings, social security, health systems, rights, family , work	7 / Co-operate, prevent, plan, take care of, cure, help	8 / Living space, social environment, dwelling
Affection	9 / Self-esteem, solidarity, respect, tolerance, generosity, receptiveness, passion, determination, sensuality, sense of humour	10 / Friendships, partners, family, partnership, relationships witn nature	11 / Make love, caress, express emotions, share, take care of, cultivate, appreciate	12 / Privacy, intimacy, home, spaces of togetherness
Understanding	13 / Critical conscience, receptiveness, curiosity, atonishment, discipline, intuition, rationality	14 / Literature, teachers, method, educational and communitaction policies	15 / Investigate, study, educate, experiment, analyse, meditate, interpretate	16/ Settings of formative interaction, schools, universities, academies groups, communities, family
Participation	17 / Adaptability, receptiveness, solidarity, willingness, determination, dedication, respect, passion, sense of humour	18 / Rights, responsibilities, duties, privileges, work	19 / Become affiliated, cooperate, propose, share, dissent, obey, interact, agree on, express opinions	20 / Settings of participative interaction, parties, associations, churches, communities, neighborhoods, family
Idleness	21 / Curiosity, receptiveness, imagination, recklessness, sense of humour, lack of worry, tranquility, sensuality	22 / Games, spectacles, clubs, parties, peace of mind	23 / Day-dream, brood, dream recall old times, give way to fantasies, remember, relax, have fun, play	24 / Privacy, intimacy, spaces of closeness, free time, surroundings, landscapes
Creation	25 / Passion, determination, intuition, imagination, boldness, rationality, autonomy, inventiveness, curiosity	26/ Abilities, skills, method, work	27 / Work, invent, build, design, compose, interpret	28 / Productive and feedback settings, workshops, cultural groups, audiences, spaces for expression, temporal freedom
Identity	29 / Sense of belonging, consistency, differentiation, self-esteem, assertiveness	30 / Symbols, language, religions, habits, customs, reference groups, roles, groups, sexulity, values norms, historic memory, work	31 / Commit oneself, integrate oneself, confront, decide on, get to know oneself, recognize oneself, recognize oneself, actialize oneself, grow	32 / Social rythms, every day settings, setting which one belongs to, maturation stages
Freedom	33 / Autonomy, self-esteem, determination, passion, assertiveness, open mindedness, boldness, rebeliousness, tolerance	34 / Equal rights	35 / Dissent, choose, be differebt from, run risks, develop awareness, commit oneself, disobey, meditate	36 / Temporal /special plasticity

Figure 5: Matrix of needs and satisfiers according to Max-Neef (1986).

synthesis, on the relationship between general processes at the national level and specific local outcomes, and on the analysis of places in the wider context of a national spatial division of labor will give these studies a rigorous theoretical underpinning ". (p. 271)

However, Harvey underestimated the local scale as natural space in which social relations are deployed, something that he would recognize later. The problem with this position was its determinism. Social phenomenon varies in different spaces and its effects, because the places, the localities, have different characteristics (Duncan and Savage, 1989, p.179). Thus, exogenous processes can have effects considered generic, which does not imply that the response of the most vulnerable localities is generic.

Lastly, Harvey raised a relevant point referred to the capacities of local movements and communities against the processes of dispossession:

"Such opposition movements become part of the very fragmentation that mobile capitalism and flexible accumulation can feed on. "Regional resistances," the struggle for local autonomy, the organization linked to the place, can be excellent bases for political action, but they cannot bear the burden of radical historical change alone. "(p. 303)

In this sense, Massey (1991) agreed that the fact of commanding these processes in a critical, comprehensive way, but for her, this did not determine that the capital always wins. Furthermore, fragmentation would also imply identification and unity for demanded rights against the spatial injustice. In this regard, from my view, it is important to highlight at this point one aspect related to the problematic abstraction of this discussion. It is a matter of fact; the processes of accumulation do not occur in an abstract space. Spaces are also land and properties, that is the crystallization of space. Territories are always relational properties (Blomley, 2016, p. 605).

Twenty-four years later, the discussion would reappear, this time in the hands of Simon Springer(2014)and Harvey(2017), by confronting arguments from Post-Marxist and anarchist perspectives. This time, the ideological conversation would focus on the possibilities of the local space as an arena of emancipatory and political practice. Flexibility in Harvey's thoughts will appear, with more clarity.

In a claim from an anarchist perspective of geography, Springer postulated that for the civil disputing, the control of the local territorial organization should occur now:

"As a political philosophy, anarchism fully appreciates the processual nature of space, where the politics of waiting—for the revolution, for the withering away of the state, for the stages of history to pass—are all rejected in favor of the realism that comes with acknowledging that every day is the only moment and space in which we have any tangible control over our lives". (p. 262)

As follows, for him, it was imperative to explore new horizontal ways of cooperation and networking among localities:

"It is high time that we collectively look again at what we think we know about anarchism to begin exploring the horizontality, rhizomic organization, and decentralization of power that anarchism offers so that we might therein acquire a greater appreciation for what is already happening all around us (…) The geographies of direct action, mutual aid, and prefigurative politics demand our attention precisely because we stare them in the face on a daily basis, but scarcely recognize them for what they are." (p. 265)

For Springer, in short, the local is conceived as the space of everyday life and from where the practice is exercised. However, beyond the idealization, Springer does not state practical arguments. His approach refers to a defense of the local as a social organization.

In contrast, for Harvey, the main criticism towards localists comes from its inability to enable inter-scalar or politically tactical strategies. His point is that the protest movements should advocate for controlling the power and not evade it or accept it as a receptor. That would imply an active relationship with larger political infrastructures and hierarchical institutions:

"If, as seems to be the case, the world cannot be changed without taking power then what is the point of a movement that refuses to build and take that power? Secondly, there is an inability to stretch the vision of political activism from local to far broader geographical scales at which the planning of major infrastructures and the management of environmental conditions and long distance trade relations becomes a collective responsibility for millions of people. Who will manage the transport and communications network is the question." (p. 242)

Finally, Harvey voices, perhaps the most important criticism towards endogenous perspectives. A certain contextual impossibility of a dialectic between centralization and decentralization:

"This dialectic between decentralization and centralization is one of the most important contradictions within capital (see my Seventeen Contradictions and the End of Capitalism), and I wish all those, like Springer, who advocate decentralization as if it is an unalloyed good would look more closely at its consequences and contradictions. As I argued (…) decentralization and autonomy are primary vehicles for producing greater inequality and centralization of power". (p. 244)

Notwithstanding the above, Harvey finally acknowledges that he is not against the possibility of the local organization at a horizontal level. By using the example of the commons (Ostrom, 1990) he sheds light on a new argument about the need to interlink regional and local institutions in the analysis:

" 'Just to be clear', I wrote, 'I am not saying horizontality is bad—indeed I think it an excellent objective—but that we should acknowledge its limits as a hegemonic organizational principle, and be prepared to go far beyond it when necessary' (2013a: 70). In the case of the management of the commons, for example, it is difficult if not impossible (as Elinor Ostrom's work had demonstrated) to take consensual horizontality to much larger scales such as the metropolitan region, the bioregion, and certainly not the globe (as in the case of global warming). At those scales, it was impossible to proceed without setting up 'confederal' or 'nested' (which means inevitably hierarchical in my view but then this too may just be semantics) structures of decision-making that entailed serious adjustments in organized thinking as well as forms of institutionalized governance." (p. 248)

Finally, to reflect on this discussion, I would like to highlight four aspects.Firstly, there is a consensus that the local scale is a critical area of action for cities. Thus, a first question that remains open is how to define the local as a field of spatial practice and under what criteria. Secondly, the previous point would be related to the scalar understanding of the organizational, something that should be - idyllically - in synergy with the definition of multilevel governance. However, the risk shown in the Latin-American experience, in general, has been the co-optation of this mode of governance in favor of actors with a higher power of influence (Zurbriggen, 2014, p. 356-357). Therefore, the establishment of criteria and specific nature of development objectives is critical.

mode of governance in favor of actors with a higher power of influence (Zurbriggen, 2014, p. 356-357). Therefore, the establishment of criteria and specific nature of development objectives is critical.

The third has to do with the relationship hierarchy-horizontality. The local has to engage in a synergy with the global. However, we are talking about a synergy rather than a unidirectional relationship. The latter supports Harvey in the sense that, central political power is necessary as an articulator of structural, institutional change.

On the other hand, governance adopts a critical and narrative role in its epistemological sense and is probably the most critical point.

Finally, like the European case, it is predictable that the jurisdictional areas as municipalities and districts with common problems will tend to join forces to overcome problems much more related to the right to live and govern themselves in a worthy or different city (Barber, 2017, p. 40).

Conclusions

In this paper, I have introduced approaches regarding the endogenous development perspective, from a critical review of the metropolization process in Santiago. The objective has not been to impose a dogmatic vision, but to argue that the current moment represents and demands new perspectives.

In this context, Bioregionalism or the DHS represents ways to start to rethink planning and governance at different scales. In order to materialize these points, I would like to highlight some reflections from the diagnosis of the case of Santiago and the study of these approaches:

First, Territories are unavoidably embedded in a global-local logic; thus, globalization must be faced critically.

Second, Decentralization from central government is necessary, but as an alliance. It must be disengaged from the neoliberal logic. Critical governance must be thought regarding diversity of different communities. This can lead to new re-scaling of action.

In this regard, Municipalities are active actors, not mere managers of land use. They can/must co-produce the built environment actively. Likewise, human development must be the real goal to activate the territory in a different mode.

Third, it is necessary to study the drivers that cause the asymmetries. The property, management and the value of the land will be crucial to avoid contradictions.

Fourth, Development is not monocultural and must be thought accordingly to each locality. Development is a strategy.

Fifth, it is fundamental to recognize the different interests, levels of influence and actors at stake to avoid transgressions.

Sixth, it is necessary to recognize the values and cultural ways of territorial organizations, understand potentialities and limitations.

Moreover, the ongoing process of neoliberalization will demand creativity and new ways of involvement and practice. A novel way of thinking in terms of adaptive and synergetic systems.

Finally, many of these points highlight ethical and political dilemmas. In that sense, it is necessary to recognize the different interest behind the different stakeholders, especially when are involved in disadvantaged communities.

References

Albrechts, L. (2013) 'Reframing strategic spatial planning by using a coproduction perspective', Planning Theory. doi: 10.1177/1473095212452722.

Araujo, K. (2017) 'Sujeto y neoliberalismo en Chile: Rechazos y apegos', Nuevo Mundo Mundos Nuevos (URL: http://journals.openedition.org/nuevomundo/70649).

Barber, B. (2017) 'Cool Cities: Urban Sovereignty and the Fix for Global Warming'. Yale University Press: New Haven, CT, USA; London, UK.

Barnett, C. (2017). Swindon Studies: Social Science in Simpleton. Retrieved from https://poptheory.org/2017/03/02/social-science-in-simpleton/.

Blomley, N. (2016) 'The territory of property', Progress in Human Geography. doi: 10.1177/0309132515596380.

Boisier, S. (1994). 'Post-modernismo territorial y globalización: regiones pivotales y regiones virtuales', Ciudad y Territorio. Estudios Territoriales, 2 (102), p. 597-608.

Boisier, S. (1996). 'Modernidad y Territorio', Santiago de Chile: Cuadernos del ILPES, 42.

Boisier, S. (1997). 'El vuelo de una cometa. Una metáfora para una teoría del Desarrollo territorial', Revista de Estudios Regionales, 48, p. 41-79.

Boisier, S. and Boisier, S. (1998) 'Teorias y metaforas sobre desarrollo territorial', Revista Austral de Ciencias Sociales. doi: 10.1242/jcs.03506.

Boisier, S. (1999). 'El desarrollo territorial a partir de la construcción de capital sinergético' Estudios Sociales, 99, p. 273-298.

Boisier, S. (2005) 'Hay espacio para el desarrollo local en la globalización', Revista de la Cepal No. 86. doi: http://repositorio.cepal.org/bitstream/handle/11362/11068/086047062_es.pdf;jsessionid=15A208144E97C99954A3ADCD55AECAFD?sequence=1.

Boisier, S (2014). 'Bioregionalismo: una ventana hacia el desarrollo territorial endógeno y sustentable', Terra: revista de desarrollo local. doi: https://doi.org/10.7203/terra.1.4589

Callahan, K. (1993) 'Bioregionalism: Wiser planning for the environment', Land Use Law & Zoning Digest. doi: 10.1080/00947598.1993.10395811.

Carr, M. (2004). 'Bioregionalism and Civil Society: Democratic Challenges to Corporate Globalism'. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004.

Consejo Nacional de Desarrollo Urbano (2017) Propuestas para una Nueva Institucionalidad para la Gobernanza Urbana. Santiago de Chile. Available at: http://cndu.gob.cl/wp-content/uploads/2018/03/3.-PROPUESTAS-PARA-UNA-NUEVA-INSTITUCIONALIDAD-PARA-LA-GOBERNANZA-URBANA.pdf (Accessed: 7 October 2018).

Chhair, S. and Newman, C. (2014) 'Clustering, competition, and spillover effects: Evidence from Cambodia', WIDER Working Papers. doi: 10.2105/AJPH.2007.128991.

Church, S. P. (2014) 'Exploring Urban Bioregionalism: a synthesis of literature on urban nature and sustainable patterns of urban living', S.A.P.I.EN.S.

Cuadrado Roura, J. R. (1995) 'Planteamientos y teorías dominantes sobre el crecimiento reginoal en Europa en las cuatro úlitmas décadas', Eure.

Dedekorkut-Howes, A. (2014) 'Bioregional planning and growth management' In book: Australian Environmental Planning: Challenges and Future Prospects.Publisher: Routledge.

De Mattos, C. (2002) 'Santiago de Chile de cara a la Globalización: ¿otra ciudad?', Revista de Sociologia e Política. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.5380/rsp.v19i0.

De Mattos, C. (2010) 'Globalización y metamorfosis metropolitana en América Latina. De la ciudad a lo urbano generalizado', Revista de Geografia Norte Grande. doi: 10.4067/S0718-34022010000300005.

De Mattos, C. (2014) 'Gobernanza neoliberal financiarizacion y metamorfosis urbana en el siglo XXI'. Available at: https://flacso.edu.ec/cite/de-mattos-c_2014_gobernanza-neoliberal-financiarizacion-y-metamorfosis-urbana-en-el-siglo-xxi/ (Accessed: 1 November 2018).

Dockemdorff, E., Rodríguez, A. and Winchester, L. (2001) 'Santiago de Chile: Metropolización, globalización, desigualdad', Eure. doi: 10.4067/S0250-71612001008000006.

Duncan, S. and Savage, M. (1989) 'Space, Scale and Locality', Antipode. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-8330.1989.tb00188.x.

Galetovic P., A., Poduje, I. and Aravena Mori, A. (2006) 'Santiago: dónde estamos y hacia dónde vamos'. Centro de Estudios Públicos. Available at: https://www.cepchile.cl/santiago-donde-estamos-y-hacia-donde-vamos/cep/2016-03-04/094228.html (Accessed: 1 December 2018).

Garofoli, G. (1993) 'Economic development, organization of production and territory', Revue d'économie industrielle. doi: 10.3406/rei.1993.1475.

Garreton, M. (2017) 'City profile: Actually existing neoliberalism in Greater Santiago', Cities. doi: 10.1016/j.cities.2017.02.005.

Geddes, P. (1915) 'Cities in evolution: An introduction to the town planing movement and to the study of civics, Land Economics'. doi: 10.2307/3159745.

Giménez, P. and Ugarte, J. R. (2014) Política Nacional de Desarrollo Urbano: Ciudades Sustentables y Calidad de Vida Hacia una Nueva Política Urbana para Chile. Santiago de Chile. Available at: http://cndu.gob.cl/wp-content/uploads/2014/10/L4-Politica-Nacional-Urbana.pdf (Accessed: 1 October 2018).

Harvey, D. (1989) 'The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change'. Oxford: Blackwell.

Harvey, D. (2008) 'The Right to the City', New Left Review. doi: 10.1080/13604819608713449.

Harvey, D. (2017) '"Listen, Anarchist!" A personal response to Simon Springer's "Why a radical geography must be anarchist"', Dialogues in Human Geography. doi: 10.1177/2043820617732876.

Jones, M. and Woods, M. (2013) 'New Localities', Regional Studies. doi: 10.1080/00343404.2012.709612.

López, E. (2012) 'Urbanismo proempresarial y destrucción creativa: estrategia de renovación urbana en el pericentro de Santiago de Chile, 1990-2005'. Infonavit- Redalyc.

Mackaye, B. (1940) 'Regional Planning and Ecology', Ecological Monographs. doi: 10.2307/1948509.

Maslow, A. (1943) 'Maslow 's Need Hierarchy Theory: Applications and Criticisms', Maslow's Need Hierarchy Theory: Applications and Criticisms. doi: ISSN 2248-9878.

Massey, D. (1991) 'The political place of locality studies', in Space, Place & Gender. doi: 10.1068/a230267.

Massey, D. (1984). 'The Spatial Division of Labour: Social Structures and the Geography of Production'. Oxford: Macmillan.

Max-Neef, M., Elizalde, A. and Openhayn, M. (1986) 'Desarrollo a escala humana. Opciones para el futuro', CEPAUR, Fundación Dag Hammarskjold. doi: 10.1080/10584600802686105.

Mumford, L. (1938) 'The Culture of Cities', Metropolis Center and Symbol of Our Times. doi: 10.1017/CBO9781107415324.004.

National Institute of Statistics (2017). Available online: http://www.ine.cl/.

Ostrom, E. (1990) Ostrom, Elinor (1990). Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Parrochia, J. y Pavez, M. (2016). Los primeros planes intercomunales metropolitanos de Chile. Disponible en http://www.libros.uchile.cl/581.

Rodríguez, A. et al. (2014) 'Visible and invisible violence and inequality in neoliberal Santiago', Environment and Urbanization. doi: 10.1177/0956247814542723.

Springer, S. (2014) 'Why a radical geography must be anarchist', Dialogues in Human Geography. doi: 10.1177/2043820614540851.

Storper, M. (2000) 'The Regional World: Territorial Development in a Global Economy', Economic Geography. doi: 10.2307/144543.

Storper, M. (2009). 'Local economic development. Some cities develop more than others: specialization, human capital and institutions'. CAF Working paper, 2009/08, Caracas: CAF. Retrieved from http://scioteca.caf.com/handle/123456789/201.

Valenzuela, E. and Toledo, C. (2017) 'Pugna por gobernanza urbano-metropolitana en Chile: resistencia de agencias y reforma intergubernamental con poder regional', Revista Urbano, 20(35), pp. 18–31. doi: 10.22320/07813607.2017.20.35.02.

Vázquez Barquero, A. (2000) 'Desarrollo económico local y descentralización: Aproximación a un marco conceptual', Revista de la Comisión Económica para América Latina y el Caribe (CEPAL). doi: 10.1017/CBO9781107415324.004.

Vázquez-Barquero, A. (2007) 'Desarrollo endógeno. Teorías y políticas de desarrollo territorial', Investigaciones Regionales. doi: 10.1080/09654313.2012.716246.

Vázquez Barquero, A. (2015) 'Endogenous development in the Tropics: The relevance of Instutions', International Forestry Review 17. doi: 10.1505/146554815814668972

Vázquez-Barquero, A. and Rodríguez-Cohard, J. C. (2016) 'Endogenous development and institutions: Challenges for local development initiatives', Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy. doi: 10.1177/0263774X15624924.

Vivas, A., Rodríguez, M. C. and Ferrer, E. M. De (2010) 'Desarrollo endógeno. Opción para el rearme humanizado del sistema productivo latinoamericano', Contaduria y administracion. Redalyc. doi: 10.4067/S0034-98872000000100001.

Wheeler, S. M. (2002) 'The new regionalism: Key characteristics of an emerging movement', Journal of the American Planning Association. doi: 10.1080/01944360208976272.

Zurbriggen, C. (2014). Governance a Latin America perspective. Policy and Society, 33(4), 345-360. doi:10.1016/j.polsoc.2014.10.004

INTERVIEWS

OVERVIEW

In this section the interviews conducted as part of the stakeholder study and the field work are presented. The interviews were conducted with actors corresponding to the public, social and urban research applied to the case study. These interviews were of a semi-structured nature as described in the methodology chapter.

The interviewees in relation to mechanisms of urban land management, governance and public planning were:

Ernesto Lopez Morales, Architect, PhD in Urban Planning, University College of London, academic and researcher at the University of Chile. His work has mainly addressed issues of gentrification, income gap and capital gain capture mechanisms.

Luis Eduardo Brescianni, Architect, Master in Urban Design from Harvard University. Former President of the National Council of Urban Development. His work has mainly addressed issues of governance, public land policies and planning models.

Rodrigo Martin Quijada, Architect, Postgraduate in Transport from the University of Tokyo. His work has mainly addressed issues of urban transport and capture of capital gains.

Alfredo Rodriguez, Architect and Urbanist from the University of Chile. South Corporation Consultant. His work has addressed issues of social segregation and metropolization.

Eduardo Zenteno, Architect, Master in Collective Housing, Polytechnic University of Madrid and Swiss Federal Institute of Technology. Head of the Real Estate Development Department of the Ministry of Housing and Urban Development.

Louis Albrechts, Urban planner, KU Leuven Professor. His work has been focused in strategic spatial planning methods and theories with a co-productive shift.

The interviewees related to municipal administration and community planning were:

Remigio Peña Pirul, Financial Accountant, Secretary of Planning Municipality of Lo Espejo.

Hernán Ortega, Engineer, Secretary of Planning Municipality of Cerrillos.

The interviewees from neighborhood social organizations in the Communes of Pedro Aguirre Cerda, Cerrillos and Lo Espejo were:

Neighborhood Board Oreste Plath, Cerrillos:

Mrs. Ada Contreras, Mrs. Paola Zuñiga, Mrs. Gislaine Zaneto and Mrs. Alejandra Valenzuela

Neighborhood Board Lo Valledor Sur, Pedro Aguirre Cerda:

Mrs. Ivonne Vicencio, Mrs. Emilia Silva, Mrs. Marisol Vicencio, Mrs. Gina Moraga and Mr. Mario Aguilera.

Neighborhood Board José María Caro, Lo Espejo:

Mrs. Bernardita Marambio, Mrs. Lidia Muñoz, Mrs. María Angelica Berrios, Mr. Guillermo Lazo, Mrs. Sylvia Lazo, Mr. Antonio Quintana.

SECTIONS

1. Alfredo Rodriguez Interview
2. Ernesto Lopez Interview
3. Rodrigo Martin interview
4. Luis Eduardo Brescianni interview
5. Eduardo Zenteno interview
6. Remigio Peña Pirul Interview
7. Hernán Ortega interview
8. Oreste Plath Neighborhood board interview
9. Lo Valledor Sur Neighborhood board interview
10. José María Caro Neighborhood board interview

Interview to Alfredo Rodriguez

DM:

Alfredo, in my thesis I propose a spatial strategic planning at a collaborative level between the municipalities of Lo Espejo, Cerrillos and Pedro Aguirre Cerda. I propose this in the framework of the new policy of governance and urban development. In this regard I would like to ask you: what do you think are the main limitations and potentialities? How do you see this?

AR:

What draws my attention is how you imagine the development of this thesis, I cannot imagine how, because I do not believe in this, currently this is impossible, so I wonder in what context. I mean, have you talked to the mayors? Have you talked to the councilors? The political people.

DM:

No, it has been difficult, and I have preferred to talk with the professionals. I have not entered the political area, I have seen it more from the technical point of view, and I have also contacted the organizations, which have also given me a perspective from the local experience. The political ideological area I have contemplated in the analysis, but I did not want to get involved completely in that because I am more interested in the elaboration of the model and from there to see where the political ideological constraints in relation to this are anchored. Obviously, the argument that has emerged immediately and that I know from my professional experience, is that if there is no political consensus it is difficult to find a way out.

AR:

I see it, outside, you arrive here, and you are dealing with very different communes, very different. And in between they have no connection, and in addition to being different in ideological terms, is that they are inefficient.

DM:

Why do you think they are inefficient?

AR:

Look, I know Lo Espejo, so you can get an idea, I do not know the current mayor, but they spent about 10 years without doing any project. That is, with a precarious team, and on the other hand because I believe that the Municipality has had a depoliticized action. So, your idea seems good to me, the idea is interesting but the landing ...

DM:

I understand, what I propose is something that would happen because one of the things that I start in the analysis of the problem is the lack of financing of the municipalities, the current model of governance, very fragmented. Then with the PNDU that somehow comes to raise two axes: the metropolitan authority and integrated governance. The latter has two components, on the one hand, the decentralization of resources to the municipalities and on the other hand the integration of these ministerial units, which would form or help a supramunicipal vision, which would help to constellate what I am proposing here. The academic exercise that I propose is framed in this scenario and seeks to take an exploratory step forward that seeks to do intercommunal strategic planning, with control and using some mechanisms of land management. Because, this process has already started to happen, the pressure has begun in terms of densification, just because of the deployment of subway line 6.

AR:

I agree, but why should they change? There was an old article in a seminar in Bolivia, on decentralization, then what you see there is power. Why is the government going to delegate power, will it lose attributions and why will the metropolitan authority give it powers? This is a matter of power, and that is different. Then and there is no one, no political movement that is pushing this. In the last municipal elections, the city was the topic discussed the least by the mayors. The issue is not present in the political agenda. So, I think that this idea is interesting to show what it could be. Second, there is a discussion now regarding the New Urban Policy. Something was trying to see this issue of recovery of capital land value, there was an article, on which to focus everything on the point of land value captures. In the end, the only thing that was achieved was the transparency law, so you know how the market operates. And that only translated into a 10% tax. But I see the panorama more and more closed, and effectively with the metro lines and values have risen. And some clearer legislation, that is not there. But if this inference passes the 8,000 UF, then I do not see it. Although I think it is interesting to raise it, but the case that you take is too concrete. You should determine what to change in each of the Municipalities.

DM:

That is precisely a dimension, the idea is also to see what the conditioning factors of this change would be, of a new model, what would be its limitations, what could favor it or not, etc. That is also part of the results of the thesis research.

AR:

Of course, but I believe that in your case you are leaving out fundamental actors who are the mayors. The role played in the case of Santiago the Housing SEREMI ...

DM:

Yes, I am focusing more on a technical dimension considering this political tension. But I get the impression that you see this as unfeasible if you do not consider the game of powers that are in relation with?

AR:

No, I mean, this is outside the current framework, but that does not invalidate it. Because when you take it in three communes, you take it to the current frame. I believe that a collaborative administration between municipalities is extremely useful and necessary, but it is not given because it has not been proposed much, in addition. Since you have to insist, and insist ...

DM:

But that's the job of an urbanist ...

AR:

But I do not see clearly, when you fall into three places so scattered, and so different.

DM:

I arrive at those places according to an analysis and certain potentialities, not randomly. Adjacency conditions are met, there are morphological and functional conditions. All three are communes that need resources and are fragmented by routes and certain activities and because the three remain relatively within the ring of Americo Vespucio. And, mainly, the three present marginalized populations, which is something that is becoming even more complex due to the arrival of a new population of migrants. And they also have in common the airport area, which could be a strategic area for the development of the three communes.

AR:

But why would the Municipality of Cerrillos accept this increase in land value capture, to benefit two other communes?

DM:

First because that could generate, as a benefit for the commune ...

AR:

Because **there is currently no solidarity between the communes, the only thing that exists is the municipal common fund. That is, this is a competitive model, and in general the logic that has been is "my community is better than yours, come and invest here."**

DM:

Well, the reason per se, and it is what has been demonstrated is that it does not serve much to benefit a single commune, and cannot solve the structural problems without a transversal action ...

AR:

I agree. But for me, that's not enough reason for the mayor. Because he is going to be elected and chosen by the people there.

DM:

Of course, but there is another issue, because collaboration could be a condition of support from the State. If so, the municipalities would be in need of collaboration, and that would be a change of paradigm. Because, indeed, and as I put it in the analysis, these communes are trying to survive as they can, then as they are within this logic of competition they see the next door as an enemy. However, if a figure is integrated as the metropolitan authority could then generate or condition this collaboration in order to have benefits that they, under the current model, will not be able to achieve on their own, I think it could work or at least help for a larger discussion. This, I pose in a hypothetical field, and that I have clear.

AR:

Sure, look, this is Cerrillos Airport. Here the Autopista Norte Sur passes, and since the 90s, here is Pedro Aguirre Cerda and Cerrillos, it has been impossible to extend these roads. Even some have said that this would remove land value to the area of Cerrillos. So, the problem of segregation has been under discussion for years, and Cerrillos' Bicentennial Project has been carried out thinking that it will not be related to the communes to the east because if it has connection there, it will be devalued.

DM:

But that is an assumption, because there can be hundreds of ways of developing this area.

AR:

Sure, but you are leaving aside the ideological matrix of current urbanism in Chile.

DM:

Yes, but I know that ...

AR:

Yes, but it is not clear how you are going to change it. Because urbanism is one thing, but what we have now expresses another level, expresses profit. Then, of course, it is true that some things that are changing ...

DM:

But deep down, what I propose are scenarios, an alternative. I think that could allow me to do some reverse engineering, in order to determine what are the rigid conditions of the current model, which are those that do not let this model be viable or happen.

AR:

I agree. So far, I agree.

DM:

Of course, that is part of the exercise, because deep down what I try to pose are possibilities that clash with the current model, but if that is not envisioned, we could not discuss what is necessary to change, or reformulate if we want really to build a different city model.

AR:

Now, but **to build a different City model, people have to think differently. It's not planning, that does not change people.**

DM:

But then do you think that the people who live in these communes think differently?

AR:

No, no, I think there is a lot of drugs, there are problems. In Lo Espejo there is only one café, there is only one bank.

DM:

But what do you think they are ...?

AR:

What happens is that I do not believe in urban planning, I do not believe in architects, let's start from there ...

DM:

But that's fine, that makes the discussion more transparent then. But why do not you believe in planning? What is your main argument?

AR:

Because **I believe that it is a political issue in which there is no support or support from anyone, then what one says is pure ideology. Now, I think it is useful to show it, but I believe that in general we are devoid of strength and instruments to operate in the City ... It is that I see reality so far, because, yes, the recovery of land value is true, but at the moment, the only way that the poor have is property, so they will not get on the subject of surplus value.**

DM:

Yes, but the capture of surplus value is just an instrument, an instrument that could solve other types of intervention financing, in municipal services or change them in a certain way.

AR:

Yes, I have a very negative view of the municipalities ...

DM:

Yes, I have worked in a municipality, I have that experience, and in the lowest link, in the territory. And I do not have an idyllic vision either, but I think part of the role of us, is to try to visualize alternatives ...

AR:

Yes, if I believe that the part of this collaborative urbanism, I absolutely agree, that is, the case is the worst. Because, for example, this would be interesting, with the mayor of Valparaíso, with Jadue, with Duran, there. It is possible there.

DM:

Yes, I understand. In those municipalities, a different political framework is being given.

AR:

Sure, because with the ideas you pose would open their heads, because they are people who are in such a thing. But the mayor Claudina Ñuñez in PAC, fell asleep in the second period, they did not re-elect her. Because it also looks at the origin of the communes, because it is in the Communes that were formed in the year, or began to function around the year 92, of which they were remnants of the Regulatory Plan. In the case of Recoleta, Mayor Jadue stopped the real estate invasion. But in these communes, I do not know, I do not know.

DM:

Well, but from what I have talked with the SECPLAN of those municipalities, there are several coincidences and there is a lot of will and recognition that they do not want to follow the development model the Estación Central has followed. Therefore, I understand the point that there must be a political framework of agreement, or certain shared political visions among the mayors.

AR:

Because in the Commune of Pedro Aguirre Cerda **I have gone to several meetings with the councilors, and also all the residents of the area are organized against this real estate development and forced the mayor to begin the study of a new regulatory Plan, because he was not giving an account of it.** And they have presented two projects, with two towers of thirty floors, then I find that for Jadue and for Duran this would be very useful, but here I see it as a waste of time in thinking this.

DM:

Of course, but deep down, my exercise responds to these communes through a process of analysis and criticality ...

AR:

Yes, yes, but that is the center of my questioning. Because when the Quiero mi Barrio project started they took away all the sense, when they began to think which neighborhoods were the most vulnerable, because we have to focus on them. **I believe that we must focus on vulnerable neighborhoods but also have the potential for change.**

DM:

Yes, but I understand that here is the potential for change, what happens is that it has not yet happened, and that potential is going to occur in some way, regardless of the way it is given, because it is an ongoing process. This exercise could be useful for other communes, but I raise it here, and anyway I do not think it's a waste of time ...

AR:

Yes, I'm just exaggerating ...

DM:

No, of course, because it will develop a study of aspects that can form a conceptual model, with generic aspects that remain. We know that in urban planning formulas are not completely replicable, but there are certain structures or frameworks that can be used for other areas. But I understand, your point.

AR:

But already in this area where the Metro arrived, here in Pedro Aguirre Cerda, we have been working with some organizations and they have raised the price of things brutally, that is, the effect and this fact. There was a very good article, at the time that Ivan Poduje worked at the Institute of Urban Studies, and he did a study on the Commune of Chacabuco and that article transformed it into virtual urbanization. It was when some of those plots of pleasure became urban, this happened in the 90s. They went from 10 to 120 people per hectare. So, Poduje calculated how many new homes they were, if they were 70,000 or 140,000, but we know that the business of the land is a business that they have to sell quickly, because that will take about 30 years. So, he concluded, saying, well the truth is that we are late because the business has already been done. And those companies invested in other sectors. So my point and **my drama with the dilemma of the City is that we are always late. We are studying this phenomena backwards. We arrived late, so I think that there is a certain urgency of ours anyway.**

DM:

Well, we do not have figures that allow us to anticipate ...

AR:

Look at an interview they did with Mayor Jadue where they asked him how a communist municipality can be done when we are absolutely limited? And he replied, look, there are lots of things we can do, it is clear that we are not going to change everything, but there is much that can be done. So, I think your case would be more useful in that commune.

DM:

It is a valid observation, but this is already raised as the case. But I understand the observation. But summarizing, if I understand you well, one of the points that you make is that there should be a kind of joint political vision ...

AR:

No, not necessarily, that's just part of the conversation. **I think that on the one hand the**

case is very interesting, and then come these three communes, but I do not imagine how here because I think it is also interesting to see what the limitations are. If I have to unite, this and I have to reconcile the municipal councils based on this, what are the legal, practical, political, associative limitations that exist? That would be what you said, how to show the limitations. But in turn, that means a very large concretion of the operational form of the municipalities. And that is very interesting.

DM:

Of course, I am seeing a series of limitations of different character, there are technical limitations, which have to do with the capacities that municipalities have in order to define and manage land uses by themselves. The types of land they have, which are clearly defined from the instruments of the central level, the technical capacities they have, in relation to the type and quality of professional staff that work there, are architects, engineers, social workers, etc. And that is directly related to the economic capacities of the municipalities. Therefore, something that is elucidated is that municipal financing has to be greater by the State, specifically to support that area. I get the impression that there are two outputs, one output that is very interesting would be to generate a technical department that works and combines the criteria, to download some central capacity, which would have to support and link the teams of the three municipalities. It would be like a technical assistance figure. That scheme would have to work in the field, of the powers, within a open table in which the mayors, the councilors and the regional governor take part. And at that open table perhaps, the regional governor would have to establish alliances with certain groups of companies or developers subject to bidding, who would like to participate in this model. I get the impression from the conversations I've had so far, that the figure of this authority or governor is central, as someone who is going to have to go in to deal with and balance these different powers. Because that figure is central, mainly because, as you said, the municipalities weigh according to the amount of economic income they have. The case of Lo Espejo for example in the negotiation of the high speed train line to Rancagua is a clear example. Therefore, the role of the person who protects the process, which would represent a role of the different state, which is not the one that has had so far, is extremely important, in terms of political management and the technical feasibility that this could have. I could disaggregate this, and it would be an interesting exercise to do.

AR:

Of course, the train line, for example, was a huge possibility that there was a great avenue there.

DM:

Yes, in fact, they thought about burying it, but according to what I read in the studies, apparently, they could not because of financing issues.

AR:

Yes, although that is not true, because Vespucio is simultaneously burying and this is one of the great intercommunal divisions.

DM:

Of course, in terms of strategic planning, what I am proposing is to prioritize the area of the former Cerrillos airport as a sub-centrality In parallel, give the public lands that are in these internal nuclei, of each commune, for municipal tuition and development of local economies.

AR:

Of course, they are old CORVI populations, which left those spaces for equipment.

DM:

Yes, it is very similar to that initial idea, but the idea is to activate these areas and from here, start generating poles of development and local productivity. And transform the area of the former airport into an interurban center for the three communes, considering a mixed model of social and private housing, together with metropolitan functions such as a university and a hospital. Programs that could generate an internal dynamic that could also meet the needs of these areas. The income of this area, in terms of capture of surplus value, would have to be proportional. Within the framework of a decentralization of redistributive financing by the State, which today concentrates its investment on fragmented interventions from the different ministries and ministerial subunits.

What I try to say, is that this development process we have will continue to concentrate the major functions and capital in these areas, while these areas with low-rise neighborhood units, which are cut by large infrastructure will continue to deteriorate and not necessarily depopulating. The paradox is that according to the analysis I have made of the potential for integration of streets and pedestrian encounters, it is super high in these areas. Therefore, there is greater potential to develop social capital.

AR:

Yes, you have developed a lot.

DM.

Of course, now I'm in this development process, that's why I'm very interested in your vision and the interviews and meetings I've done. Maybe you have expressed your vision about it.

AR:

I mean, I see an area that is really shattered by the great metropolitan roads. That is to say, I remember an infinite number of meetings on the subject of the train where it was proposed to connect one area with the other. Even in a memory, it was possible to consider a path that crossed, and it was thought to set up a police station on each side. The idea was that people would go through a police station.

DM:

Of course, to ensure control and surveillance of those crossings.

AR:

Sure, I think it's because of the fear that underlies each other.

DM:

Of course, the strategic planning that is proposed should also incorporate certain types of dynamics that have to be given and that have to be confronted. That is part of what I have to move forward now.

AR:

And then see, what are the reasons why you have to go over, to develop it.

DM:

Yes, I think it is important to identify the limitations and the stumbling blocks, the walls, whether practical and political, that block this.

AR:

Yes, something I had to do, for example, in the negotiation with the railway line. At that time, we were developing PLADECO. I was talking with the Architect of the Construction Management and in a minute, I told him, one of the first things that must be considered is to bury the line. And he told me, at that time, no, that's very expensive. Then it was not in his imagination.

DM:

Yes, I see that quite clearly, to put it concretely. There is a model of thought of the territory that is conditioned to the resources with which they count, and not only happens at the professional level, also at the neighborhood level, there is little imagination that they can have given the amount of restrictions with which they are face daily. And there I am raising a little the idea that endogenous development is possible, if the territory is viewed from a more productive logic but implies a change of view.

AR:

Sure, in fact, after a big thing was organized, to discuss this, and there was a young architect, representing the municipality, and he went to the meetings and the people from the railroad company, once asked him in a way super condescending way: where did you study? In a discriminatory way.

DM:

In addition, there is a problem of arrogance.

AR:

Yes, a disdain, but facilitating these connections could be, but for some reason this has not developed. And the other thing to finish, is that there are things that one cannot believe. For example, the current policies of social integration. What is that? It is bringing together the poor, in homes that reach up to 2000 units of development, with poor people arriving as the 1400 units of development. For example, in the commune of El Bosque, there was a camp that they eradicated, in one part they built a social housing building and the people who remained from the camp were moved there. And now, there is a division between supposed owners and people from the camp. And that, it's microscopic, it's just a difference of 600 units of development. Because they have tried to do it, but it does not work.

DM:

To start finishing this conversation we've had. You said something quite strong that is that you do not believe in planning. That position is it because it's hard to see it as something likely? Or is it because you feel there are forces that prevent a different implementation? And if so, what are those actors?

AR:

Look, **I think the real estate business is brutal, it's getting more and more brutal. I believe in that sense, is that a mistake that has been made in housing policies in recent years is to surrender to the Chilean Chamber of construction. Second, we must recognize the strength they have. And in that sense, understanding that the possibility of doing an urban planning here is going to be a negotiated urban planning, in the good term.**

DM:

Transactional, dialogue ...

AR:

Exactly, but what happens now is that part is surrendering. And the relationship of the Chilean Chamber of Construction and the Ministry has always been extremely fluent. So, is it possible to do things? Yes, I think so, Mayor Sharp is showing that it is possible, Mayor Jadue and Mayor Durán are demonstrating this. But there are not many more. Even the former mayor Claudina Nuñez has shown, that if you walk from Pedro Aguirre Cerda to Lo Espejo you realize when you are already in one part and not in the other, there are better streets and parks, if you can improve, but as you say , **the territory is only seen as a business and is not a way in which it can be a resource to live better, nor as an economic source of the municipalities. Some of these, the only thing that remains for example to Lo Espejo, is space as a resource. And thinking about that can be a bit sophisticated, but it's true.**

So, I do not know, my other comment is that, with what you pose, I did not see the concept yet, to do something together. That is, that is one of the bases, is to understand that we have to do things together. For example, if you see what the regulatory planes look like now, you see a plane where there is nothing next to it. So, this is what you are proposing, that is, look, here there is something next, because you cannot cut the territory of the city. Then I think that there is to argue it with force.

DM:

Yes, I raise that in the analysis. In fact, it is something that is emerging recently, although mainly in Europe, according to which scales have been redefined, and new concepts such as cross-border planning have emerged to think planning beyond jurisdictional areas. You have to see cases such as countries like Luxembourg that are the size of a national commune, such as Valparaíso, for example, or other cities that are working together, specifically to face challenges related to metropolitan fragmentation, which in my opinion is one of the phenomena that have affected this type of communes in Santiago. The other concept that is also relevant is that of cities of borrowed size, which has to do with the fact that there are areas of the city, which are developed and can function through a spilling effect towards communes or adjacent areas, helping these develop. And those are concepts that I am using, trying to build a solid argument in that sense and confronting it with the reality of the concrete governance we currently have in Santiago. I think that would allow me to take this leap and visualize what it is possible to envision effectively, recognizing the aspects and actors with which we are going to deal. But it's something I say, and maybe I should be more emphatic about that.

I should be more emphatic about that.

AR:

Yes, and I believe, although I do not know how, although things go together, not to break your head so much in governance, although yes, it is necessary. But in turn, determine what business you're breaking, which clientelism would be affected. You have to think that in some municipalities the only thing invested in the money at the end of the year is a family food basket, which ensures the votes of the neighbors.

DM:

Yes, in any case, this raises a paradigm shift, and that evidently has repercussions in all the dimensions in which these communes are imbibed, assistentialism, clientelism, subsidiarity, so in some way I think it is necessary to decipher which ones It's those conflicts and changes. I think that would correspond to a final chapter of this thesis, that of reflection. Because this is an exercise in testing by design, therefore, I will go back to this.

AR:

It's a good job, and great. How long have you been in this?

DM:

I did this in three months, I have about five months left. But hey, I appreciate your time.

AR:

Very well, I thank you for this conversation. It has been very interesting.

Interview to Ernesto Lopez

DM:

In my thesis I am investigating how the process of urban development can be controlled under a collaborative model of governance between municipalities supported by the central government. The bet is to say that there are alternatives to governance, which are based on collaboration, through the capture of surplus value, being redistributed in priority areas of development. What vision do you have about it?

EL:

I think it's very good, but I would like to emphasize that there are two levels in terms of the capture of surplus value, one that has to do with regulating what is done, and another with charging what must be paid to the State for development. It is not just about charging for more development, because that would maintain, encourage the construction in height with 40, 60 floors in the next 10 years. That on average 8 floors have been rising per decade. There are works like those of Edward Glaeser that speak of the marginal costs; an important part that he did in his work was to measure marginal costs as delimiters of the height of the building. These marginal costs have been reduced, and that is why they have been raising the height. In any case, that definition of height, of built mass and density is different from the income that the real estate companies have to pay to the State for construction rights or for the location advantages that public infrastructures generate. It is important to understand this, because sometimes it is misunderstood, and some people argue that what city planners say is that they get the surplus value or rent of land 2, or real estate income, as I call it, to all the profit extraction that generates a developer, which legitimately does not correspond. **It is not the value of the building that should be charged for surplus value, carried at a price, but that we speak of another value that emerges only by the exploitation of the land, of the location, not the value of the building**. And some people claim that we are justifying the destruction of the city, justifying the neoliberal chaos of construction, and no, because the capture of surplus value is not made to regulate the urban form, and the regulation of the urban form goes in another lane that is also necessary, that has to do with heritage, with quality of life, and with balance, with mobility, with no saturation, with densification, with cones of shadows, with beauty, sustainability, etc. In that sense, I am more focused on the side of political economy and the role that belongs to the State, at the municipal and inter-municipal level.

DM:

Deepening a bit more in the mechanisms of capture of surplus value What are the limitations that you see in these mechanisms in terms of implementation? Especially in a Chilean context of high centralization and fragmentation in terms of governance.

EL:

I think now, first, is to demonstrate the existence of capital gains and counteract the overweight they have at the level of information media, those people who argue that, for example, transfers from private to private are much more important than public to private. This is a mainly ideological issue. And that also must be disputed on the ideological level, but with scientific evidence. Many people linked to the construction sector and the real estate industry, who are not the same, argue that the transfer is not so much and consider several ideas that are repeated and that have no empirical support. For example, an important idea is that Realtors earn just enough for a normal profitability, pulling down, and that is very critical to establish, because the simple analysis of the price variations of construction published by the Chilean Chamber of Construction It is distorted. The values that they present in time are in pesos, and not in UF, that's why they appear to be so exaggerated. For this and other reasons as well, the information on the real estate prices of the purchase of land by the real estate sector, that there is a lot of darkness about it, although less and less, leads us to think that it is an endeavor, that It is difficult to obtain profit, which at a social level is increasingly questioned. The issue is that it is not well known, there is still a gray area and a dispute that is on a very ideological plane regarding the real estate profits, particularly from the largest companies. In this sense we must study the real estate profits and how much is the transfer of the public sector to developers. There is not much what there is, there are only a couple of studies, there is the study that Ivan Poduje carried out with the TRANSA company, there is the study that we did with Claudia Sanhueza, and a couple of more studies. There is little information about what those amounts are. Actually, I think you have to invent a calculation methodology, since there are different data sources and each national context is different.

The second difficulty has to do with a theoretical precision. I would say that there is a bias, of supposing that almost automatically, urban surplus value is going to be absorbed by the landowner, which I would say works for a context like New York and London where there are millionaire owners, with a lot of bargaining power, but in Chile it is not really that much, it has a lot to do with the capacities and scale of production that certain agents have. If you have a piece of land, no matter how big it is, but you have no chance to exploit that land at its maximum level allowed by law, say, big, tall buildings, you cannot build a building, the profit margin you would get is ridiculous. There it is assumed that the owner of the land charges a high price. We are doing a study with a thesis, and the charge should be three or four times higher, than what is charged per floor on average, I am talking on average between Santiago, Antofagasta, Iquique, because we are seeing several cities. If they charge around 40 units of development (UF) per square meter, it should be 160 UF just to have a marginal floor price to the normal profits that the real estate companies are supposed to have. Imputing a 15% return after a year of operation, that is, if the real estate company invests 100, earns 115. That is what they say they are getting profitable, that assuming a normal land incidence, so they can give them those numbers , given the established construction costs, and the price of land that resulted was three, four times higher, than what we knew had been paid there. In that sense, there is a difference in relation to when I did my PhD thesis in 2009. Now if there is land price data what is an advance. Now there are companies that do a constant cadaster of properties that are being incorporated into real estate conservators. One knows perfectly who bought what, when and where. This allows you to detect purchases over 60,000,000 pesos, whether banks, insurance companies, or real estate, and understand that the real estate industry is consuming and how much. So, to summarize, I would say that the challenges are mainly ideological and assumptions such as real estate owners earn little, that the owner of the land by default is always going to benefit from the proximity to Metro, and those are things that need to be discussed based on empirical research and that's what we're about.

DM:

In this line, if I understand well, the technical decision to determine if a tax is applied to the real estate or the owner of the land, in this case would depend on knowing precisely how this land is being used. I ask this because in the case of Colombia, the approach is more focused on adding the tax to the sale price, that is, to the owner. Not to Real Estate ...

EL:

Yes. What happens is that, in Colombia, the owner is charged before. It is necessary to emphasize if, that there are several models in Colombia is not only one. In that sense, Colombia takes 50 years ahead of Chile in that regard. Of course, in Colombia taxes are called contribution for improvement. In the end, the owner there handles more information, or the investor also pays when a public work is going to be done near a private business.

DM:

That seems interesting to me, and I would like to link it with local planning, today we could say that there is a layer where real estate companies operate that has nothing to do with the administrative limits or jurisdictional areas of the municipalities, but with the specific location of certain projects like Metro or certain attractive works for the market. In this line, should the municipalities also have other means of land management, if they want to counteract the current form of urban development that is occurring? How do you see this, linked to the action of the government or to the link with private actors?

EL:

It is complicated because, in general, vulnerable municipalities do not have the technical capabilities or instruments that facilitate this. An urban advisor can be very good, but it does not permeate if it is only him and an assistant, or with a secretary only; that is, a technician without technical or political capacity or support.

DM:

I ask you because if we take this in the context of the new urban development policy, of this idea of integrated or multilevel governance, you know that in certain municipalities there is a huge level of deficiencies, therefore, there should be a decentralization not only of resources but also technical resources ...

EL:

Yes, which does not mean that the central idea, if we go to the solution, maybe not so much by the municipality, or perhaps the power is given to some municipalities to have different land governance systems and others. As a kind of subsidiary state 2.0, instead of continuing with the fantasy that it will subsidize households in order to become market agents, it can subsidize the municipalities, so that they become instances of more efficient local governments. But in that sense, it would not have to come to support the state to rich communities in matters of management and planning, because they do not need it, regardless of the mayor they choose, in most cases. So there what has been thought, and it was very interesting what happened last year, especially in relation to the presidential election, was thinking of this supra-municipal or state agency, as a kind of CORMU 2.0. We simulated it in the master's degree in urbanism at the University of Chile last year, and it came out quite well, we assume powers of the private sector, but to a public agency. Not an agency that wants to have a profitability of 30 to 40%, but a minimum profitability to keep working.

So, we absorbed land prices that were not 10 UF, but could reach up to 15 and that opened the map to us, without a floor bag or anything, going aggressively to buy land. I say an idea, which may sound ugly, but it is understood that the State assumes capabilities that the private sector has, particularly the aggression that the private sector has. The real estate industry that is private in Chile, totally, has some attributes that are highly efficient, but others that do not. The inefficiency of the real estate industry in Chile lies in increasingly smaller units, increasingly crowded and increasingly expensive, generating a series of externalities such as saturations, vertical ghettos, etc. That is an inefficiency. As much as the real estate sector blames the public sector for the failure of the regulatory plans, which is also true. But in general, if one analyzes this from an industrial perspective, it is an inefficient industry. Now, it has some "efficiencies", and its greatest efficiency is its ability to consume soil and achieve very high soil. It's fast, they can do it, they do it constantly and it does not cost them, there are other cities where it is very difficult to buy land, for example, in New York. In Argentina, it is very difficult too, it is almost all protected. In contrast, in Santiago there is a quantity of available land with super lax regulations, therefore, those management capacities that the private sector has to transfer to the public sector. That would be the idea, and that's what we simulated with our supra municipal public agency, buying land. And the interesting thing was to calculate where those prices were, calculate how far this agency could be paid for land and the truth that can be done. Projects were developed with a lot of density and low height, in Recoleta, in San Joaquín, in Cerro Navia that will have a new Metro line, with a margin of rent, of property. Because of course, it is often said that the State has to have bags of land and I believe that is true, and in that sense the Chilean State should rearm itself from a bag of land.

And what is unfortunately doing the Ministry of national goods, is the opposite, is getting rid of tax assets, transferring land to real estate, with this idea that the Ministry came up with, the new project of Social Urban Integration, which has just been approved in parliament idea of legislating this law, which will impose up to 40% of the supreme decree 19, which is this subsidy of social integration, and with that the real estate will be able to build the same, but with more height, because the DS 19, would grant them more constructability, besides that the State will give the land free to companies. Because, they are rewarded with more constructability for integrating social housing. So, practically, it is no longer difficult for them to make projects incorporating social housing, the same thing happens to them. They will even earn a little more money, they will build more, and they will continue to exploit the high-density land, and they will have the same profit as always. Then, based on a pretended social integration, the operation of the real estate market is not touched. You do not touch an apex, you just add a patch, like the supreme decree 19.

DM:

In that same line, when one analyzes real estate construction in Santiago, in general it is a very mono-functional construction, which has no other character, in programmatic terms, more complex ...

EL:

I would say that it is just entering, like multi-programmatic buildings ...

DM:

I have heard opinions that are asked because necessarily in a neoliberal context, the gentrification for these new buildings is negative, if it is effectively promoting urban renewal, even without further planning. However, there are other models that also suggest that, incorporating greater complexity of the building and in a strategic way, a better morphological and / or functional quality can be generated, including hosting local development programs and / or allocating existing housing. Do you think that this is something that could be proposed as an alternative?

EL: Yes, but it does not ensure that it is not gentrified. For example, this building that wants to be developed in Plaza Egaña, in Ñuñoa, has generated a lot of rejection and is stopped and it is not known until when it will be stopped. The neighbors have stopped that project and have even called it a vertical ghetto, which is even stupid, since each apartment costs more than 4000 UF. They are very small houses, of high density, but it seems that now the millennial generation does not care to live in small spaces, and that is a form of elitization. And in that sense, you must go to Gramsci and the hegemonic construction of the way we live, very consistent with the neoliberal project of seducing you, living in small spaces can also be something cool. But going to what I agree with your question, I do not know, I think that what you propose is better for the City in the sense of urban diversity, but if you look at it in a political and class sense, which is what it interests me, I believe that the city is even more elitized. It would be good to see popular projects, I'll return the question to you How is it done so that the DS 19, with the delivery of tax land to real estate companies so that they continue to be enriched and have a percentage of social housing in their projects, include a mixed character , that has commerce, activities, etc.?

DM:

Yes, I suggest this to you, because I see that this role, to define the strategic multi-program alternatives, must be elaborated or must be elaborated in function of the local governments, who have the notions of the real needs that exist. That is why my idea starts from a logic of endogenous development, which can determine strategically how and how it develops, in such a way as to balance development at the inter-municipal level.

EL:

Of course, like the Providencia case, Providencia does that. Distribute the investment but if you go to the other side, you cross Pio Nono Street towards the Recoleta Commune and there is the muddy one.

DM:

Exactly, but they have been able to do so because they have the resources and the concentration of financial activities and services, and that historically have had more economic and technical capacity. One can see that there is a certain model there. So, going back to my previous question, I would like to know if you think that, from a critical decentralization of capacities from the state, planning could count on the necessary instruments to control this process in a more strategic way?

EL:

Yes anyway. If there are good cities in the World.

DM:

I say this because I see a debate in this sense and I see that there is a concentration of development towards the market in cities that historically have worked relatively well, however, in the Chilean case we are in the other pole ...

EL:

In that sense, the case of Santiago is clearer, because there cannot be a more neoliberal city in Latin America than Santiago.

DM:

That's why I ask you, because for me this is about finding and implementing the instruments, but also about the design.

EL:

But also because of the policies, and that is why it is important to also enter into the sensitivity of the political project that we have regarding cities. How much social diversity? For what purposes? How much is the government willing to understand the effects of gentrification from this generic perspective? How much are you willing to accept and counteract urban segregation through your policies? And of course, I believe that it is necessary and indispensable to take this discussion to a level that does not exist, a non-existent political debate that is the Metropolitan Region and in Chile. But we are still far away, just in Santiago is being taken seriously politically, the fact of having true urban planning skills. Imagine in the rest of the regions, or in the case of Iquique or Antofagasta. The case of Iquique for example is interesting in terms of segregation, because Iquique has a real estate market that elitizes the city even more, and how is that possible if it has higher rates of poor international immigration than Santiago. Because it has the area of Alto Hospicio, where the poor who are displaced by real estate development end up settled, and this is how this dual city model is exacerbated. And of course, in the end inside a bus, you take 40 minutes to get from Alto Hospicio to Iquique. It is approachable, it is not so segregated. It is a noma collapsed every morning and afternoon. But what I'm going to do is that in Iquique nobody is thinking of governing both metropolises with a comprehensive look, lack of culture, lack of information, lack of a little trouble to take the problems seriously.

DM:

One of the things that one can recognize is that there are different projects. For example, the real estate market is mainly due to a global project where financial funds or assets that come in many cases from abroad are moved, a worldwide phenomenon. And there are also local projects, such as the demand for fair housing, public spaces, infrastructure, or space justice. Do you identify these projects in a specific way? Is there a need to make this transparent? I ask this because there is a very interesting debate in terms of planning due to the influence of the theory of political agonism, which basically recognizes different projects, appeals for different ways of life and recognizes which are the points that differentiate us, and which are different. the points we are willing to compromise. Do you identify that these positions exist and that they are clear?

EL:

No, but you can move forward, and I think it is also essential to get the idea that all real estate is perverse. No, you talk to the managers of these companies and most of them are industrial engineers, brilliant but their only goal is to make money. And the truth is that I think they are quite efficient, what happens is that the product they deliver is bad and it makes us all ill as a society. **But I think you can talk; you can regulate, and you can find certain consensus or spaces for dialogue. I have confidence.** It is true that I have said that there is a concentration of power and that there is a real estate oligopoly. What happens is that you analyze a neighborhood and there are not many real estate companies operating, in general you see a large real estate company or a couple at least, but there are also medium-sized and small construction companies that might be interested in a normal profit margin, and work for example for another type of principal, other than real estate, or banking or investment funds. And there I think it is fundamental that the State enters as a participant actor, and the state cannot do it for constitutional issues in Chile, because its role is subsidiary. Then, if a CORMU appears, the next day the 20 lawyers of the Chilean Chamber of Construction appear, claiming unconstitutionality. But it is very easy in Chile for the state to have a majority in the boards or corporations. The Metro is an example, the State has a majority, and its president is appointed by the President of the Republic. If there existed a corporation like the Metro with a majority participation of state companies, with the participation of private companies, that would build housing a little more at cost, it would produce an earthquake in the construction sector because a new major client would appear. A bit like what happens with public infrastructure works, especially interurban, where the principal is the State and bidding and construction companies arrive. I wonder why real estate cannot exist as well. **There is a missing middle, which is a concept of the world bank, which is taken from another context. There is an area where the market does not work well, because the market works well when it builds high-standard housing and works badly when it segregates low-standard housing. But every time less peripheral segregated housing is built, more and more are built in central areas**

vertically and there is a medium and low economic sector that is not having an adequate response.

DM:

That is what explains that there is a series of municipal areas in decline in this matter and the migration of families from low middle income to other central districts.

EL:

Yes, although I believe that the Metro is dissolving the socio-economic structure of the city, I believe that this concentric model with a wedge of wealth, with an intermediate ring of middle class, will be replaced, by a functional and segregation structure senior and diversified economic partner, and that has to do with the Metro. With the complexity that the Metro is adding in terms of the valuation of certain areas, it is going to be that those that are close to the Metro belong to a socio-economic condition, and those that are furthest away are further away are lower in the social scale. There are still interstitial areas left by Metro without intervention, and there is concentrating more poverty, waterlogging, older age population, more spatial confinement in terms of mobility and in contrast in areas close to the Metro, this opposite effect occurs. They elitize many of them, the answers appear from the citizens, they organize, they stop projects and they demand a different city, as the case of San Miguel, Recoleta or Ñuñoa. In fact, now the real estate sector in Chile is complaining as they want more legal certainty, because the General Comptroller of the Republic is effectively accepting all the claims against real estate projects that were approved by municipalities in irregular conditions. So, in that sense Chantal Mouffe applies, but I believe that there are a lot of construction companies in Chile that would be willing to work in a different model. In the end, the construction chain is not the one that has the highest profitability, it is on the side of investment, it is not the owner of the land that is generating the most profitability, it is the investor and the developer, they are the big ones winners of this model and in some way subjugate and control the other actors. The happy construction sector could be subject to a different spatial construction model.

DM:

Going to the last question, the way in which Chilean cities continue to think, obey a perspective, which basically does not include or substantively enhance local development. Although one can see changes, such as what is happening very incipient in the case of the commune of Recoleta. That is an opposite example, where certain activities and local functions are being promoted in function of a vision. In general, if one analyzes the documents of the new agenda of urban development, this more endogenous vision is absent, the look of the current urban development does not seem to be connected with the productive virtues of the local territory. Do you think that, in order to generate more cohesive metropolitan and regional structures, part of the solution has to do with each of the local governments being able to enhance their own entrepreneurship, production and own services capacities?

EL:

I think so, the mayor of Recoleta is doing it and apparently the one from Las Condes also wants to do it.

DM:

I ask it because one can see today that under this current development model there is a constant intra-migration in the city, product of the various transformations that are taking place. In a certain way the local is disintegrating, Is there a value there to rethink the planning?

EL: In any case, what happens is that where you have more interesting, more indigenous, traditional, historical ways of life, you have poor people, differentiated municipalities with low or denied technical capacities. Without romanticizing much either. But Jadue is doing it too, but with a capacity for enormous leadership. So, if it's going to depend on that, I prefer not. He is doing something interesting according to his political nose. But one cannot depend on the mayor on duty to know if he is going to live or not in the commune. Sustainable policies are needed over time, so what is the sustainability of this model that you are raising in your question? Do not forget that Pinochet tried to do something like this, with the municipalization of certain functions such as education and health. And that generated a very marked differentiation given the economic nature of the different Municipalities. So, I do not know what the answer is. **I believe that the Municipalities should have possibilities to manage resources and generate their own resources, and not only plan but to industrialize the provision of quality of life that they owe to their inhabitants. Yes, I think so, bring public policy towards that, I do not know, I think the State and what the regulations should be, which are not services of the nature of health and education, but are perhaps productively more complex services , as those imposed by the territory, which is basically a here and now occupied on the ground, I believe that the municipality currently cannot, that is, manage itself, but not regulate.** I believe that it is necessary to remove regulatory powers from the municipality and take them to a supra-municipal level. And let's not talk about the sectoriality of the state, it is necessary to take powers away from the Ministry of Public Works, Housing, SERVIU, transport, telecommunications and take them to this level. And speaking in terms of regulation clearly.

In terms of management, industrialization and improvement of the system of public goods or public interest, such as parks, roads, trails, houses, essential, yes, I see a more mixed model, not purely municipal, but if with a lot of municipal incidence. This is one thing that Miguel Lawner has always said, the CORMU was not just a state agency, the CORMU was an agency that coordinated with the municipalities. Without municipalities, nothing was done. It tends to erase part of the history, always the municipality has to be and must have a management device, and there I think I could see something a bit virtuous. At the state level, a greater management capacity, for example, allocating resources instead of subsidies, direct management and as software that is activated, at the municipal level, when combined with this super supra-communal structure and operates.

DM:

Because also something that happens there is that all the infrastructures that are planned, that are absolutely sectorially fragmented, in general, are not done either thinking about which the best synergy is, or the best overlap, depending on local needs. In that sense, it would be interesting to see, what are the powers of these political and administrative units, and how they could be coupled during the time under certain strategic criteria.

EL: That is an investigation that must be done and make transparent those powers and capacities that the public sector has, now I do not have much experience in the public sector. I have done some evaluations, but one realizes that the complexity of moving a comma in a law, and especially when one talks about units or directions, are people accustomed to doing the same job as always. **That is to recompose the structure of the state, it is such a complicated and expensive task, that there as almost one cannot be wrong. But you have to make the effort. The issue is that on the one hand we must consider that neither the municipalities nor the ministries want to lose power, which is political power at the end, and on the other that implies a reengineering of the modus operandi they have in those institutions.** But the important thing is that in the academia we are also to visualize scenarios, although they sound utopian nowadays. And in that sense, who was going to imagine that Joaquin Lavin was going to build social housing projects in the Atenas roundabout. Nobody could imagine that.

DM: Yes, we work with the future in that sense ... Well, not to use anymore of your time, thank you very much for your good disposition.

EL: You're welcome, it was a good interview, I hope it was useful for you.

Interview to Rodrigo Martin

DM:

Rodrigo, my thesis investigates at some extent, the potential of land value capture mechanisms, to promote local development through a collaborative spatial planning strategy among vulnerable areas. You have studied the effects of real estate investment in terms of land variation, especially associated with the implementation of Metro. What do you think are the main challenges and limitations in the incorporation of these views and mechanisms considering the current model of governance and planning?

RM:

I could answer it from the point of view of Metro, specifically. I discussed this topic with the Metro Director and the former Minister, Paola Tapia, and they already had proposals to capture land value associated with Metro infrastructure. I think the problem of Chile and Santiago is that everything that has to do with legal mechanisms of capital gains associated with infrastructure, will always be distant from what is the communal management. **The Municipality has very little to say in terms of what is being done in terms of infrastructure, whether highways, Metro, are decisions that come from other scales. It is very difficult for them to have a certain negotiating capacity**. Just to give you an example. We are advising the Municipality of La Reina regarding the Vespucio Oriente Highway (AVO2) and its mitigations were eliminated from the budget in concession stages, and they were left with a huge distance between what was the Municipality and the Concessionaires, especially Public Works Concessions. So you can see that those decisions were taken in a complete different scale.

I think that one of the main conflicts to manage this or to have a legal strategy regarding certain captures of surplus value associated with Metro, for example, is that those who have the closest arrival to the population, or to the commune, those who know what is happening, like the **municipalities, do not have the capacity to manage or make decisions from the macro scale. In the design of public works, decisions are made from the outside or top-down, generally focused on their own narrow goal, not seeing any collateral effect that the Metro has, nor externalities in terms of value or density**. They are more concerned about the general strategy of the project and we do not have a solution for that in a normative or legal scale here in Santiago at this moment, **there is no way to generate municipal collaboration or even even in terms of collaboration,** I would say communication capacity between a Ministry and a Municipality is super low. There is still a negotiation that occurs even when a mayor of the government party has to generate a tremendous effort in terms of management to make modifications to an infrastructure project on a macro scale, so that it can have some positive impact in the Commune. There are still huge distances, we have an organic management structure of the City that is still very fragmented. That is the main difficulty that I see.

DM:

This is interesting because what we might conclude from what you say is that there is a lack of institutional maturity, perhaps, of an institutional structure that does not facilitate this multi-scalarity agency in terms of planning.

RM:

Yes, but what would be institutional maturity in the Santiago scale? If one says maturity, it would mean that there is a thought of City as a whole, for example. The problem of that is that it clashes with the political and economic decisions that the City has, the City is thought from the Communes, and the communes are political parties that postulate a mayor, we already have a polarization there that has become increasingly distant. **We have a huge political polarization and that is transferred to the Communes that also have a specific political vision, then there are political enemies within the City. There are people who are not willing to negotiate with the independent political adversary who have communal problems.** An example of this is Peñalolén and La Reina, who are neighbors and who have the presence of AVO2, and have relatively similar technical visions. You have political distances so great that they will not be able to reach an agreement unless they affect Peñalolén and all the communes that they are around and modify the AVO Project. In that sense we have a growing political distance that has increased in recent times. I believe that maturity would require a more technical vision of the City that does not exist, which at this moment is not. And, besides, not only that, the GORE has many intentions and wants to have a vision of a city scale, but it does not have an assigned budget that allows it to make decisions or assign projects. The GORE is a figure, that theoretically now with the elections by vote of the regional Governors, that could generate figures of greater political capacities, in any case, does not have a budget that allows them to make those decisions. The regional government cannot allocate budgets to anything, basically everything is managed at the municipal level, it is the municipalities that manage their budget. There is a municipal common fund that passes outside the GORE, which is super weird. If we had an equity in the economic distribution of the different municipalities it would have to be by a superior entity. And that entity is really like a horizontal negotiation between them, and the GORE goes beyond that, it has no capacity to manage that issue. So, **we still do not have an institutional maturity in that sense. We are in a city that is far from having a global vision and that all these small differences or large political differences prevent major strategic decisions from arising.**

DM:

And how in that sense is a specific application of these instruments envisioned? If there seem to be so many political asymmetries, some people could say that, in this scenario it would be better or more viable for urban renewal to be generated by this kind of gentrification guided by the market ...

RM:

Yes, but for instance, if you compare the land value in Santiago and Regions, Santiago is around three times more and why. As that is explained in macroeconomic terms, it does not make much sense. Except that it is a bubble, and that it is a bubble that is produced by an excessive liberalization of the value of the land and that the investments that have been made here have generated a huge speculation. Then we have a fictitious situation of the value of the ground. Santiago is very expensive, really expensive. And that concentration of value in certain areas of the City, in my opinion is fictitious, simply by letting the market operate completely free based on the investments made by the state such as the Metro and the Highways.

DM:

But it is also true that Santiago is the metropolitan region and concentrates a majority of services and global functions that do not exist in other regions and that would explain that concentration of land value in certain communes. So, taking that into consideration as well, it makes sense to think about how to distribute the value within the City using these instruments. But my question in this respect is, if there is such a large fragmentation at the institutional level, that it has had an impact on the form of development of the city. What for you is the sense of considering this type of instruments?

RM:

I believe that the meaning has to do when we separate the productive and the economic aspects of Housing. That's where it becomes a problem. Because of course, if one sees the economic model of Santiago and the concentration of productive activities, ok, we operate with market laws, we have a significant concentration of not only industrial but also fictitious production, of everything that is called speculative business value who are here That is an element, but if you cross it with 7,000,000 inhabitants where there are groups of people with fierce needs, poverty, serving this concentration of wealth but who have to live in this same city, there is a much worse inequality than in regions. There is a recent study of the Catholic University that has to do with the freedom to decide where to live in Santiago. They made an analysis comparing income level and land value and how Santiago skyrocketed in value of land and income level did not, what it does is that the decision of where to live in Santiago is becoming less free. People do not live where they want to live but where they can. That phenomenon can generate enormous inequality, in terms of access to services, access to transportation, travel times, quality of life, etc. All that is getting worse. So, of course, I understand that we have a concentration of the country's productivity, and that affects the costly, but that's fine for industry or economic activities, but not necessarily for social housing

DM:

Yes, I am taking it for granted that this is a global trend, that these large metropolitan cities concentrate this type of agglomeration and in general, this process we are talking about tends to be generated. The particularities of the Chilean case obviously have to do with the excessive liberalization of land and the little control that the governance and planning model offers, but my question refers more precisely to the fact that, if this happens especially in marginalized communes that do not have the capacities or technical, neither economic nor legal operability control to be able to manage their own land ... What happens there?

RM:

Yes, look, I would tell you that clearly in Santiago there is a polarization and there are poor communities and you know where they are and there is an analysis of the consequences of their location in terms of quality of life, investment, and infrastructure associated with it, that basically all he has done so far is exacerbate that polarization and make it worse and worse. But a phenomenon that is more complicated happens, **when infrastructure is installed, normally what one would expect is that this infrastructure and the surplus value that it generates will provoke some mechanism of balance and what it does is the opposite, what it does is gentrify and remove all the residents who lived there** ...

DM:

That is the phenomenon of eviction ...

RM:

Yes, and for example what happens now with the arrival of the subway to Huechuraba or Independencia, or Cerrillos, increases the value of the land and what happens is that as there is a management that is centralized, where there is also information that does not It is horizontal, but it is super biased and it is manipulated by people before being made known to the general public, there is speculation about the land, it is bought cheap before this information is going to be public about these projects, and finally the people who lived there, he moved and they went somewhere else. So the hope that one could have is that the investment of the infrastructure that the City has could generate equity, in the end it produces the opposite. It produces inequality, produces displacement, produces gentrification and also grotesque things happen, that until now everyone agrees that this phenomenon exists, that there is a generation of surplus value that has to be controlled or at least managed.

DM:

This is interesting because you say that there is effectively no control, these are centralized decisions taken within certain ministries, to distribute these Metro lines in the territory, however, the effect is exerted on local areas, i.e. all externalities negatives are absorbed locally. However, the Municipalities have no way of controlling this, in that sense how or who should have the role then to control this?

RM:

I have a hypothesis about this, that we worked with Juan Honold, which was to make an intermediate legal instrument. I believe that, in Chile, to be frank, it is an opinion, **we can create creative market instruments, but the problem is that there is basic corruption, which is corruption in terms of elitism and access to privileged information, which that happens in Chile and makes the real estate market have a field to do what they want. I think that what works best is legality. And in that sense what we had been betting for many years was to generate an instrument that was between the PRMS and the PRC, between the Metropolitan Regulatory Plan of Santiago and the Communal Regulatory Plan and it was Intercommunal, which already exists as an instrument.** So that is, we want a Metropolitan Regulatory Plan associated with Infrastructure, which was basically a section that runs through the infrastructure, crossing the Communes because it is on a PRC and that defines density criteria, social housing location, giving control over that. It was an Inter Communal Regulatory Plan associated with Infrastructure. That together with Juan Honold, national prize urban planning prize, we talked together, but **we went to a real estate company to talk about how they were operating, and we realized that the problem is access to prior information**. When you want to generate even a regulatory plan here in Chile, speculation begins to occur before you do it and even more so in an inter-Communal regulatory plan associated with infrastructure, which would be the legal instrument here in Chile. Let's say legally functional and operate with restrictive regulations, we could generate an intermediate instrument of infrastructure development at intermediate level. That could allow some control over the densities.

DM:

When you refer to an intermediate level, one could understand it as actions that are defined from the central level, articulated with actions taken at the communal level ....

RM:

Well, the intercommunal, is an instrument that is decided and managed at the urban level, not at the communal level.

DM:

But currently, the intercommunal regulatory plan is not developed jointly with the Municipalities, for example, but by the Ministry of Housing and Urban Development.

RM:

Sure, but this is something else, we proposed a section of the PRMS.

DM:

But as it should be or should be in that sense.

RM:

At the ministerial level, I think that now they have called it the Ministry of the City ...

DM:

Of city and territory.

RM:

Yes, it changed its name. Of course, at that scale, it would have to exist. It would have to be from there an inter-communal decision and that this would have a translation to each one of the communes that is affecting and there will be generated a negotiation process.

DM:

So, that proposal would be framed in a slightly more top-down vision in terms of planning.

RM:

Yes, it's that to be honest that's what I think works, but I'm talking from the opinion. I believe that, in Chile, **more horizontal processes and management using the market as an instrument will always be elitized by the Chilean reality, and in the end, I do not know if real effects will be achieved in social terms.**

DM:

This point is interesting, because one of the things proposed by the New National Urban Development Policy is related to this multi-level governance model that could be translated into a more integrated management of the different actors, considering centralized actions. However, that you raise is centralized, but not incorporating mostly the Municipalities in the process.

RM:

I think it reaches the Municipalities. What happens is that I say it from a view, in which we are talking about a City in which there is no centrality to be honest. I believe that **there are entities that function sectorially and act on the city, but there is no central entity or centrality that thinks the city as a whole.**

DM:

Yes, but on the basis that there is this Proposal that aims to defragment this division of sectoral entities. In that scenario ...

RM:

Yes, t**he first thing is to overcome the sectorial scenario, you cannot think of the City independently from transport, public works, etc. It has to be an integrated vision. But there has to be an entity superior to the municipality, that's the subject.**

DM:

If we start from the base, which is what the Ministry of City and territory, which is the integration of all plans, policies and projects, and this figure that you pose as an intermediate.

You see it as an instrument designed in such a way as to give homogeneous or rather differentiated answers, in relation to the different needs of the Communes.

RM:

What I think is that the first thing is that it should be associated with infrastructure. There could be many versions of this instrument associated with different things, but I am thinking specifically associated with public transport infrastructure such as metro or highways. There may be other elements, which have to do with economic activity or Transantiago or buses, there are a lot of things that could be thought from the intercommunal vision. When we speak, I am specifically thinking of one that has to do with Metro, that kind of intercommunal section of infrastructure metro, but I think we should think of a sequence of others. But deep down I would say that this is the vehicle of multisectoral integration because if we do not have only a declaration of good intentions. I would tell you that the distance we have here between the Ministry of City and Territory and the Ministry of Public Works is enormous because they are seeing absolutely different things. You are seeing things separately.

DM:

But what the policy raises, as I understand it, is a gradual integration of these ministries or entities.

RM:

But it is a declaration of good intentions because they are super different interests. They are absolutely different. Some are focused on social housing and others on road infrastructure, then they are things that do not talk, although they may have a common intention, but they are different specialties, they are logical of a different vision. I believe that it is only a good intention, but it is difficult to achieve real integration. I believe that the vehicle for this integration to take place is this kind of planning instrument, which is a concrete issue, which says, ok we have a Metro line, as we understand it, that will happen with this in the City, not only at the of infrastructure, but generates as an urban space.

DM:

Now, that's interesting because, going to the next question, I start from the idea that this can provide a basis for different proposals in the future ...

RM:

Do you know who is the new member of the national council for urban development (CNDU)?

DM:

Sergio Baeriswyl ...

RM:

And Ivan Poduje. The CNDU is becoming a political tool and is also much more related to the positions of the current government.

DM:

Yes, I understand the point of what it means in the Chilean political context, which is also highly ideological. But understanding your logic well, we should bet on more partial instruments and depending on specific integrations and that would be a vehicle. Now, how does that work when, in general, the professionals who work are from different specialties and are accustomed to this culture of fragmentation?

RM:

I think that because it could have worked. I believe that a sectional plan is much better known, in terms of urban planning. It is understood what it is about, what scale we are talking about, what it has to have, and that even as an instrument it exists. So, if we

spoke of an intercommunal sectional instrument, it has a legal support and relatively open knowledge. The issue is that they are not planning, from a vision that already exists, at a metropolitan scale and at a communal scale, but rather the effect that a specific infrastructure has in relation to these two scales. That's why it seems sensible to me, and it seems to me that the content of an infrastructure section is closer to the Chilean reality.

DM:

Moving on to the next question, although the mechanisms of capturing of land value as many say, could counteract urban inequality, in terms of the provision of public goods or other developments. However, there is no discussion about the building types proposed by real estate market, that not recognize the particularities of the neighborhoods or areas where they are inserted. There is a kind of homogenization, which is what is happening for example in Estación Central. Taking into account the inclusion of these mechanisms of capture of land value capture, to what extent an incentive to change in these typologies towards mixed models, could help to avoid these processes of eviction.

RM:

Look, I'd say there are two ways that happens. If you see Estación Central, it is an absolutely market model, in which an attractive floor value was seen due to the absence of regulations, together with a direct proximity to Metro line 1 with good connectivity, then operated the market, and what it did was to make apartments between 30 and 40 square meters in buildings of 20 to 30 floors.

Another model is one where the state assumes a role, and there are initiatives such as those of Mayor Daniel Jadue, which are the apartments that are being built for rent by the people of the commune itself. Another interesting topic is what is being done in SERVIU, which are master plans for social housing, with mixed elements, housing with new design, which are very interesting. The problem of the market is that what you are always looking for is efficiency, economic profitability and profit maximization, and you are going to look for a reproducible product and make it perform. How do you make the market understand that the mixture can be useful for the city and not as good business as repeating a housing model to infinity? I think it's very difficult if you let the market operate freely.

DM:

Should there be incentive policies?

RM:

To generate mixture, I believe that not only incentives, I believe that even an active base legality on the part of the State. Because the incentive of mixed use, if one raises it to improve the quality of life or to generate sub-centralities here in Chile, has never happened. The sub centralities are a myth, one looks at the PRMS and the sub centralities, they are a kind of ghosts, they do not exist, they are an upside down city, they are super polar so generating a mixture of uses to revitalize some sector is something that from the market is very difficult It happens here in Chile and that it requires a much stronger action from the State to make it happen.

DM:

That is a mainly public issue.

RM:

Yes, fundamentally.

DM:

It is interesting because one could infer that they are aspects that could be complemented, because on the one hand there must be these instruments, incentives, but also recognition that the market can act in a different way ...

RM:

Yes, I would say that the market has to be controlled, and the instrument what it has to produce is a market direction. To the market if we leave it alone, it will always prioritize and maximize the particular benefit. Santiago is an example of that, in Santiago for example you have no generation of neighborhoods that are autonomous. If you go to San Miguel for example, San Miguel, the Llano now has a huge densification of repeated apartment buildings, which are operating almost like taking the juice out of the Llano as a public space, taking it as a benefit, so they have a park that each day is more deteriorated and around a gigantic density of buildings. There they are destroying and destroying old houses, and building plots of buildings, very saturated.

DM:

Who should determine the protection of these neighborhoods, the state or the municipalities?

RM:

The problem of the Municipality is that the municipality needs income and densification will always be good. As in Estacion Central. But if there is no city strategy, they are free to do what they want too.

DM:

And that city strategy in terms of distribution of resources, should be from the state ...

RM:

I think so.

DM:

Should the State provide more resources to the Municipalities?

RM:

I believe that the State should make more decisions about policies or strategies, or about city development projects.

DM:

Because now what happens with the Municipalities is that they also do not have enough resources to protect their neighborhoods, in the end they end up competing ...

RM:

Yes, Santiago and San Miguel I think would be interesting cases to see how much income they had because of the increase in density, because those Communes are poor communes, not the poorest, but because of their location they had the potential to become denser. And that densification was very useful for the generation of income. Then of course, it is the only path that is offered to them. If you leave a Commune, that does not have any support at all, that politically is not related to the communes that surround it, and there is no government that tells them anything, the only way is the market. So what do they finally do: densify. Densify, we have more activity, we have more people, we have more patents, we have more roles, we have more building permits, in the end we have more economic activity, but that is the path of every man for himself. Save yourself.

DM:

But for that reason, my question is, if what is currently being sought, for example, is to generate a different distribution from the State's resources to the municipalities, considering that currently fiscal spending is completely centralized at the level of the central government, close to 75% . Public money is still concentrated by the state and it defines what is intervened, where it is intervened and what is done. In that sense, should there be a differentiated distribution of capabilities?

RM:

I think that before distributing resources, there should be a development project. You cannot allocate money to a Commune only because it is poor.

That's the first thing, we do not have an Urban Development Plan for Santiago, which defines areas of future growth, sub-central areas, areas for locating activities that reduce the amount of travel ...

DM:

Strategic spatial planning instruments ...

RM:

Of course, **we do not have, so what we do is try to equate resources a bit and have a municipal common fund that tries to match a couple of things, but even so Lo Barnechea, Vitacura and Las Condes, get 200 million dollars for do a tram, because they have them.**

DM:

In that sense, if the Strategic Planning understood it as a capacity of the Government to be able to guide a different form of development, using these types of instruments, it could be a way to balance urban growth ...

RM:

Absolutely, but they gave up that a long time ago. A long time ago, having a policy of strategic planning was given up and secondly theinstruments that had an active management by the state. Those two things were abandoned long ago. I think the discussion is already in place, people are aware and, above all, investments in Metro infrastructure have been very useful, because it has generated awareness in the inhabitants of this city of what that implies in terms of land value. People are very sure now that their property is double or triple if a subway station is built nearby and they are living there. Line 7, line 8, are awakening people. **But you have to be careful that it transforms into a personal benefit and people say ok, my house went up in price, I sell it and it's over. We understand that those investments are city incomes and that they can have much more useful results in public terms.**

DM:

The last question, in general when one sees the territory, continues to be approached from a functional economic perspective that does not necessarily include variables of local development. In general, we are getting used to the fact that the form of renewal or development is that offered by the market. Do you think that if these figures existed that we have talked about, the most vulnerable areas could generate local activation strategies?

RM:

What do you think would be the local development objectives of a very deteriorated municipality? What do you think are the issues that are within that?

DM:

I think it would be first, the quality of life, considering public goods, infrastructure, but above all in strategic terms, generate local employment opportunities.

RM:

Yes, I believe that, **if there were instruments like these, if there was a strategic planning of the City, the logical thing would be to generate sub-centralities, that had a certain autonomy, that had developments by area, so as to have the capacity to self-sustain themselves.**

DM:

Yes, I raise it mainly based on two things that have intensified this year. On the one hand, the increase of informal street sales in the Providencia Commune, which basically are people coming from these peripheral districts to sell their products. They come to sell their products to these communes that concentrate more development, but at the same time they are expelled by the municipal authorities. On the other hand, considering that the last report of the OECD indicates that Chile has a large mass of the population that is economically vulnerable, close to 52%, this mainly given the dependence on foreign economy trade and the lack of qualification of the hand of national work ...

RM:

Yes, of course, if what is always said about Chile is that although it is a country that economically has good macroeconomic indicators, there is an enormous fragility for people who are on the verge of being super good or being in misery. In that sense, **I see it as complicated, because it is not only a lack in the strategic vision of the City, but also because we also have a kind of political economic elite in Chile that needs a long process of maturity to allow horizontal development**. I think, maybe I'm very negative about this ...

DM:

There is a sort of oligopoly ...

RM:

And that I think is the basis of the problem and well there is a lot of data about that truth. And in the end the wealth is concentrated equally, there is a concentration of networks and work in general. And that is still super polar, there is a vision of the country between employers and employees, which is still quite strong and that makes us have these consequences in the city. In that sense, I believe that this is basically a somewhat political struggle. **The strategic planning of City requires first assume that citizens have the right to horizontality. That is the first thing that should be assumed, and that is what must be achieved in the City of Santiago, and it is difficult to achieve, because it implies that we all have the same rights.**

DM:

How do you see what Mayor Daniel Jadue has done in Recoleta?

RM:

I think Jadue has only one problem and that is that he belongs to the Communist Party. And that's like having a loser's flag given what Communism means in Chile today. But I think he has done a super good job, is an example in that sense ...

DM:

I ask it in the context of this conversation, beyond the ideological.

RM:

Yes, I believe that he has created an extraordinary instrument, with the popular university, in fact, the University of Santiago created an agreement to support it.

DM:

What goes in the line of endogenously developing these areas ...

RM:

The development of municipal social housing, popular libraries, popular pharmacies. In fact, he has been one of the few mayors that has had a glimpse of a reaction to the real estate market, withdrew building permits and gave permission to demolish the last floors that belonged to the San Sebastian University. That also means having a vision that is politically opposed to the centrality and the vision of "save yourself who can" and "densify to earn more money" ...

DM:

And it demonstrates a more proactive attitude from the municipal level at the level of territorial management.

RM:

Yeah sure. I was at the Valentín Letelier School where I had just started with its open class program, which basically consists of leaving the schools open in the afternoons and on weekends for students to go on recreational activities.

DM:

Well, thank you Rodrigo for your time and your participation in this interview.

RM:

You're welcome, it's been a good conversation.

Interview to Luis Eduardo Bresciani

DM:

Luis Eduardo, you have played an important role in the work of the CNDU, especially in terms of governance and planning. In this sense, I am interested in your vision by working with the different actors, identifying where it is necessary for you to make adjustments or changes, especially regarding the fragmented and hierarchical institutional Chilean context. In my thesis I am exploring a collaborative spatial planning model between municipalities, setting up mechanisms in which they can interact with their communities. This is not the current scenario where the municipalities have very few possibilities in terms of planning. In that sense, what are the challenges you see, in structural terms, and how do you see an inter-municipal planning approach in the framework that the PNDU is proposing?

LB:

Effectively, there is a diagnosis in which the levels of fragmentation of urban public policies, added to the levels of state centralism, today it is insufficient. In general, centralism and sectoralism were quite efficient to implement urban politics. For example, if one compares other models abroad, developing countries or more developed countries realize that centralist models had some meaning. Because they allowed being more efficient in spending, and guarantee a certain level of social equity in public distribution over the territory. At the same time, they guaranted consistent national public policies.

However, it is evident that, if we want to have more possibilities of development within the coming decades, particularly in the social, economic and environmental development agenda, the fragmentation of public policies and centralism it is inefficient. These facts has been supported by all the studies that the OECD has about it and what it has pointed out in terms of economic development.

The basic question is, thinking that a transition process must be built, is that the risks of a rapid decentralization, of breaking completely with the efficiency of centralism and moving to a decentralization process, are the risks of losing all the benefits of the efficiency of the Chilean state, which in general, in relation to the rest of the countries of Latin America, have at least been successful in sectoral policies.

Therefore, we must start this process of inalienable decentralization that allows preparing the country for the next 20 years. **We have to consider the management of combined comprehensive public policies to combine greater democratization of decision making, and also to give a certain leadership and capacity for innovation to the communities themselves**. **Thus, these are the keys of the next 20 years, cities, communities and territories with their own agendas, that break with this sectorial fragmentation.**

The question how do we move to the challenge of decentralization? Or What is the best model? Thinking that probably this process is going to take decades and it can establish that all national policies are concentrated in the State, but everything that is planning, territorial management and development, is completely transferred to the municipalities or the regions.

I think there are certain ideas that are between conviction and a certain realism. Clearly, we have a high territorial diversity. We have very different communities, in terms of population, economic resources and human resources. And we also have a high number of municipalities. If we had 355 identical municipalities, it would probably be easier, but we have Municipalities with higher volumes of resources such as Las Condes and at the same time Municipalities such as Maipú and Puente Alto, and even other municipalities with fewer resources that depend completely on the Central State. In this sense, if the government traspass more attributions, they simply could not work and it would have to have a strong subsidiary action.

Then, thinking about that level of diversity, the ideal future scheme of decentralization should be flexible. This means that there is not a single decentralization scheme, there are different forms of decentralized territorial governance, which can be equally efficient and successful. We are talking about schemes that go from the supra-municipal scheme to the most extreme case that are strong municipalities. And of course, in the metropolitan region given the territorial and urban dynamics, probably the model that one would expect is that of a strong metropolitan region, with a metropolitan governor, because the entire region has a strong urban dynamic. However, but that is probably not the scheme for the other regions.

On the other hand, to coordinate 54 Municipalities in the case of the metropolitan region, is unfeasible. The transaction costs, coordination or asymmetries between municipalities make it unfeasible. Therefore, one requires a supra-municipal model, but there are other schemes that could be different.

So the truth is that the optimal point of view for a country like ours should have variable geometries, it should have different schemes. In this sense, not all regions should have the same powers transferred from the national government, which is the debate today: how much to transfer. Not everything should be in the hands of the regional governor, in some cases it could be the mayors and in others in models of municipal associativity. Everything will depend on the asymmetries between municipalities and their installed capacities.

From that point of view, this seems to be the first step. Step two is that all regions should have a scheme in which the ministries transfer all their powers of an urban and territorial nature and that are not of national impact. Of course, certain projects of the Ministry of Public Works that are strategic and national in nature cannot be decentralized. But one should think that everything that is not strategic at national level could be transferable. So, the question of step two, is who to transfer. And in that sense, I believe that a future scheme plan should think of legal spaces for municipal cooperation, in spaces for forms of governance different from that of the regional governor, with all the powers over the mayors.

But the model requires certain conditions because it could not work everywhere, only works well when the number of actors or stakeholders is limited, to coordinate well and also where there is a certain balance between municipalities. To give you an example, following the line of municipal cooperation, a year ago, discussing the issue of metropolitan areas in relation to the law of decentralization, we discussed with some municipalities, if they were available for a different model to the governor regional. They said that they would like to govern their transportation, infrastructure and housing systems, and not have an authority over them because in the end they must account to their communities and also because many of those decisions fall within the Communes and intercommunity relations are rather weak.

But when we asked them for cooperation at the inter-municipal level, certain apprehensions are generated given their differences. So, the question that arises is what the correct form of governance is when there are asymmetries, and then more pragmatic points of view begin to appear, such as demanding that there be a third actor. And in that regard there is a dilemma, that if there is a empowered supra-municipal authority, but there is a collective body, such as regional councils and municipal councils, how to avoid that once the governors are elected, mayors become only advisory.

For example, last year we worked on a commission for the land use planning policy. And in that case the intermunicipal model appeared super strong not for the metropolitan areas but for the associations of smaller municipalities. These municipalities could create alliances between intermediate areas and have a kind of consortium, as has happened with some home waste management services, for example. So, when we look at the diversity of territorial realities, you can realize that there may be different intermunicipal governance geometries and that probably the most key question is not so focused on the role of the regional governor but on what role the mayors and the municipalities.

When this was discussed in the Council, the discussion had a clear emphasis on the Region as part of the agenda of the government, because at that time there was strong pressure to leave this change in the regional system approved. But you know that it should have gone hand in hand with the debate on the role of municipalities. There is awareness that the regional debate had to go hand in hand with the municipal debate and inter-municipal cooperation mechanisms. In fact, last year a reform was made to the land market law, which provided the possibility that municipalities can make a preliminary independentIntercommunal Regulatory Plan. It is a sort of of innovation.

But we could hope that this same faculty was incorporated into the organic law of the municipalities, the mechanisms that facilitate, not only the major ones, the intermunicipal cooperation spaces or the associativity but also the power to transfer the competencies that are now installed in the ministries. For example, to request the competences transferred to a regional authority can also be delegated by a consortium or association of municipalities. And in this sense, I think there is a feeling that nobody has yet verbalized that there is no decentralization unique model in Chile. Therefore, in the first stage, it makes sense to create just one model of power transferability to the regions. In that way, the regional goverment could assume gradually and supplementary local issues, and then eventually new intermunicipal government schemes will appear that nowadays do not exist.

DM:

Eduardo you have touched several topics with this first answer. I have seen some cases in Europe in which you can recognize an increasingly strategic and adaptive planning around common problems. And this makes sense in terms of territorial asymmetries. For example, if you compare municipalities as El Bosque or Lo Espejo with municipalities such as Vitacura or Las Condes, you can realize that these differences are enormous, at such a level that some municipalities are not able to capture investment. There is not even attractiveness forreal estate market because some municipal areas do not have infrastructure either. How do you see this? How did you perceive it during your work in the CNDU?

EB:

That's a good point because that discussion addresses another debate. Because of course we can say, we have a higher territorial diversity so let's look for alternative governance schemes based on that. Which would raise a second question. Which is the best scheme to generate equity? We should consider equity between regions and equity between municipalities. Therefore, we could start on the side of compensations, balance in financing and taxes, which is a way of balancing the system. And then we entered in the discussion about the municipal common fund law. In that case my opinion has always been that territorial taxes should be part of the City as a whole, to finish with something that happens today: There are Communes that have higher budgets while others have not the same resources, being part of the same urban area.

This happens in just few parts of the world, and it is a distortion caused by the administrative fragmentation of the metropolitan area of Santiago. But that also raises another discussion, which has to do with the current territorial division. Is it feasible the number of regions we have?

Because we could also conclude that these are no longer regions because a region is an area in which there is a certain territorial unit in terms of natural resources, productive activity, etc. And in that sense the question would be if Chile needs another macro regionalization scheme. It has been raised by some people under the idea of Macro Regions that are planned at the central level, and that the next governmental scale are no longer regions but cities and their functional areas. The regions are not all viable, perhaps the Ñuble region is not viable. But one could also ask the other question are the Communes viable? Now, of course, proposing mergers of communes today is politically unfeasible, but one could discuss other forms of organization. For example, you are in the Netherlands now and many European countries in the decade of the 60s and the 70s went through this same debate, they had many communes and of different size then they had to create new scales and units of sums of communes to be able to administer the territory in a better way.

In the case of the metropolitan region that you are studying, probably the approach you are holding may be a solution. In political terms, of course, merging is an unfeasible path if we consider eliminating mayors. The French scheme did not eliminate the mayors, they invented new districts, supra-municipal entities. Perhaps we could arrive at a similar scheme that effectively transfer powers to the municipalities or to associations of municipalities for Santiago.

But anyway, in the case of the Metropolitan region there are things that are impossible to manage at inter municipal level because of the scale.There are scales that are metropolitan, that exceed the sum of the municipalities. But there are issues that do not have to be passed on to the metropolitan government necessarily. On the contrary, they could be managed in a commune association in order to address these inequality problems.

I think there is anintermediate scale between topics that are metropolitan and issues that are communal. It could be that communes were associated in a sort of supra commune. But the problem is political, by moving from a a current model based on resources competition to one based on cooperation.

DM:

There are recent cases in Portugal and in Luxembourg in which there has effectively been a figure that brings together these interactions between different municipalities associated with specific projects, such as transport or environmental issues. They are emergent experiences and that they happen in Communes that fulfill certain common geographical conditions, borders and another type of similar spatial conditions ...

EB:

Of course, for example, it never came out in that debate, but it would have been very interesting to think about the case of the de-municipalization of education, which would have ended up in an intermediate scheme. Because in fact, there are types of public policies that are difficult to manage at the metropolitan scale. In this sense, the intermediate scale could be successful. Now, it would require an important political will.

DM:

Yes, and that is related to the next question I want to ask you. I have had several interviews, and all the interviewees have highlighted different points. Some have departed from political conditions as the first barrier that exists, with the ideological aspect, and the influence of the market. In that sense I would like to ask you, taking the case of what happened with communes as Estación Central, when one raises multi-level governance frameworks, for example, the market is seen more than as an adversary as another actor, which can also share interests and obtain certain revenues within a framework of regulated planning. How do you see this relationship between different actors within the logic of clientelism that has existed between the State and the municipalities? How do you visualize that?

EB:

Yes, there I see two different things, one is the relationship between the state and the local level essentially and the private sector, where effectively the power asymmetries are gigantic and that is clear, the reason is not only the amount of resources or the size , also has to do with the competencies with which the municipalities are disposed. Even Communes such as Las Condes, which has one of the highest incomes per capita, have problems managing real estate development. But the issue of asymmetry I think is very critical and the only way to solve it is with human resources. You must invest in human resources, but when you have atomized that structure you finally manage scarce human resources.

You have seen it in your experience, most of the smaller municipalities or with less economic resources do not have professional plants, they have to deal with problems with very little capacity and when they sit at the table with the private sector, they do not have information, data, nor power.The mayors are terrified to get very rigid and strict because they slow down development and therefore this is a problem of income, and that generates a degree of permissiveness and development. When you have few resources there is no fear of anything coming. And I think that was what happened in Estación Central. The problem is that the cycle was very fast, and they did not have the capacity to react or anticipate the process and the regulation arrived late. That is solved with human resources and effectively when you do not have as many public resources in a country like ours, **the only way to obtain major human resources is by increasing the size and critical mass of the municipalities**. Therefore, the intermunicipal association for issues of territorial governance and urban planning and infrastructure management could be magnificent. In fact, I'm not sure, but in the Municipalities Act I think there is a law that allows joint teams, but under the same municipal management. **But in the area of the private sector, the issue has to do with the asymmetries of professional teams, it is not an asymmetry of economic resources, it is asymmetry of information, planning capabilities, monitoring capacity and formulating plans and time to be able to guide the development. For me, that is the key with the private sector, breaking the technical and information asymmetries and that requires size because small municipalities will never be able to do it.**

And in the urban field, the private sector, in terms of resources is closer to the Ministries. **The ministries do have negotiation capacity, they have much more symmetry of power when they discuss as equals with the private sector, they handle information, they have good professional teams, and thus can easily object positions. The problem is that many of the issues that you raise about urban development depend on the municipalities. Much of the economic development depends on the regulatory plans. The urban is more regulated by the municipalities, and there they are in a clear inequality.** Now in relation to the relationship with the central State, there is also grades of inequality, but the reasons are different. They are not only of asymmetry, which, if there are, because if you do not have the capacity to design plans, you depend on others to help you. **The main issue is that a large part of the economic resources in terms of public investment are still concentrated in the national government.** Until two years ago, about 70% of public spending on Cities was within the budget law of the Ministries. Then there are the regions with 20% and then the municipalities with 10% . If you compare that funding with other OECD countries there is a brutal difference. And there what appears is clientelism. Indeed, the central government, by concentrating ¾ parts of the resources, has a certain way of guaranteeing that the resources are distributed in a balanced way in the country, which gives it a strong control. **Finally, what the mayors do is to request funding and projects from the ministries permanently. And that generates a kind of dependence of what the SEREMIS or SERVIU say because they depend many times on their projects or investments.**

Anyway, my impression and my opinion is that this is also reinforced by the political system, since part of the parliamentary election logic also depends on its capacity to obtain benefits for their local communities. So, in that sense, **centralism reinforces this behavior because they have greater access to the ministries and the President given his legislative role. So, this makes the discussion about decentralization produces tensions in the political and power structure.** However, this also has an advantage, and that, under the current model, members of congress still fulfill a regional commitment because their function is subject to the the participation of territorial matters versus the experience of other countries where parliamentarians they do not fulfill so much a local and territorial role. Then, different models generate different relationships with political authorities. For example, in the United States it is easier to become president being a Governor than a congress member or minister. And in Europe it is a bit similar. **Leaderships always depend to a certain extent on who accomplishes more capacities to solve territorial issues. I would say that the circle of clientelism affects this discussion.**

DM:

To already raise the last questions. You participated in the elaboration of the contribution policy to the public space that basically allows you to transfer resources in the form of value for the development of local public infrastructure. In this sense, considering the context of this gradual change in the form of governance, How do you see the implementation of this type of instruments under this context? Where do you see stumbling blocks or more potential if we think especially in the possibilities of Municipalities or local governments with fewer resources?

EB:

Yes, I would say that there are two debates that have pushed the discussion of the instruments that you are raising. One is decentralization, because when one decentralizes responsibilities what comes is with what resources they finance those responsibilities. You do not want powers, but resources, and the resource system is limited, and there comes the discussion of where we can get the resources. **And when you cannot get resources from the tax system then you have to think of other ways and capture certain income related with the development, as in the case of direct or indirect capital gain capture mechanisms or requirements to the private sector.** And the second point is that, **when the territory is governed, more refined instruments are required than those we have had until now, which are only regulated by regulations.** That basically is the logic of restrictive norms and control over the development. For example, **the Regulatory Plans are tremendously efficient for ordering territories that are in development processes, but they do not work in areas where you there is no investment. You can make a magnificent regulatory but if you do not have building permits or if you do not have real estate development that Regulatory Plan will not ve effective, because in that Commune you do not require regulation, you require to attract investment and infrastructure and to achieve better quality of urban life standars. Therefore we need other instruments of public investment or private investment.**

The law of contribution to public space basically belongs to a classic battery that looks for different ways to increase financing for urban development by regulating at the same time, which serves to invest in improving the city, not to control and therefore

that has advantages and limitations. The main limitation is that it works quite well in places where there is development, but it has little effect in places where there is infrastructure deficit and where there are no requirements for new building permits. And on the contrary, it can generate a distortion, which was something that I raised in Congress, in the Communes that have better public goods, infrastructure, more activity of the real estate development and more income support associated to the land value. Then in the end a can be a social regression, that the richer you are, the more contributions you receive and the poorer the less you receive. Luckily that was largely corrected with a norm that says part of the contribution should go to the funds for intercommunal plans. Then the regional authority will have the possibility of redistributing a part (40%), but it is still instrument, which is not enough to finance all the urban demmands. But it has at least an advantage and is that it opened a door for other types of instruments, which are not regulatory but rather urban management, where what one does is order urban development through the generation of signals such as through mitigations.

That basically has to do with there are development rights, but also obligations as every developer must to have with the ciry. So that generated a gap to further expand the toolbox of instruments governing urban development through social costs of development and that regulates funding according to the existent needs. But it is the first part, as you well say, the long list of so-called instruments of capture of surplus value is quite broad but this topic does not have to be limited to the taxes. So what **I see in this is that a major opportunity in understanding that urban planning not only involves the regulation of land use, but also in land management and infrastructure. And that requires market signals and that means that the market internalizes the costs of their decisions and generate profits that are shared and are not 100% transferred to owners but allow processes to generate territorial equity.** Although**, we also know that all these alternartive instruments are palliative, the tax system will always be better, because it is the most equitable and easy to collect.** All these mechanisms were created in the most developed countries 40 years agodue to the political impossibility of raising taxes.

As unpopular emphasized that ultimately what arises is that which develops pay for what he does, and that responsibility is transferred and not the neighbor. But finally we all know that this is a rather tax debate that has to do with as one achieves the benefits achieved by the city really raise enough taxes eventually to finance the very development of the city and to enable the State to be able to distribute this development in the most vulnerable areas.

The problem with this law is that, although it will distribute 40%, you still have 60% remaining in the Commune. So, if you ask me, the interesting thing about those laws that opened a opportunity to new types of planning instruments that allow regulating and generating signals, but many more instruments are still required, such as land management, adjustment, etc. Because the battery is wider, **the problem is that when you raise this at the level of the political world, this is a very technical debate and it is difficult to visualize the impact of these norms. Because to understand it you have to know how the system operates and to have references of where it happened in other places in order to understand certain logics.** For example, today most Chileans know that if the price of gas increases, the Transantiago ticket will go up or, for example, when inflation is high, the interest rates changes. But in the urban matters they still do not make those associations. So I believe that this law will allow us to experiment in that sense. However, **we still do not have much experience to demonstrate that these mechanisms generate equity and that the real estate market is adjusted and therefore generates higher quality instruments.**

DM:

To finish, you have just touched on a central theme in the discussion and that is the land use planning model that we have. We have instruments such as the zones of conditioned development, which are still normative and land use planning based. However, we do not have strategic spatial planning figures that allow us to mobilize resources in certain areas and counteract trends. This model has to do with a very different understanding of the territory, far different from the Cartesian and rational planning understanding that is still very present in Chile. In that sense, from your experience. How do you see the potential of introduction of this type of planning models?

EB:

I believe that the political world still believes that with the instruments we have we can solve all the urban problems, which is basically the direct action of the state and the regulatory plans. There is not a consensus on this line, so it is more difficult to move forward. Although, there is more consensus, for example on issues of capital gains and financing . But this issue is still waiting to be discussed because there is no clear conviction. However, at the technical level there is consensus. **The PNDU and the CNDU have reiterated that understanding urban planning by regulatory plans is not only a conceptual error, but also in terms public policy. The regulation plans are basically plans for the regulation of building permits, not of a more integrated city development.** I would say that they are almost architectural instruments, to define how a plot or a building is approved. **It is super effective in development contexts, where the standard has the ability to order architecture. And in that sense, it is 100% physical and constructive, but it is not urban integrated planning, because it does not guide development, it does not change trends, it does not project in the long term, etc. In fact, it does not even try to curb trends.** The vast majority of plans, except in areas of upper and upper middle class that are now trying to stop projects, which is also a mistake, in general what they do is fundamentally to regularize what is happening.

Then there is a consensus on the part of the PNDU, that what is required is an integrated urban planning model. **We need that cities have a battery of instruments that allow to regulate and plan the land uses, the infrastructure, transport, environmental issues, heritage and housing with a binding nature and therefore allow to synchronize projects over time and change trends.** And that is basically a consensus, but it is in the queue of political priorities. And there is the greatest value of the public space law of contribution, where its greatest innovation is not the silver that can be captured by real estate, but it creates the infrastructure investment plan and therefore creates for the first time in Chile, a binding plan as the regulatory plan, approved by a municipality or by a region, which makes a link between infrastructure and public space planning. And therefore it is a tremendous progress in planning. It recovers the possibility of integrating land use and investment planning as it was before 1973.

Then the law of contribution has the advantage that, by introducing a communal and inter-communal infrastructure plan, in this case mobility and public space works, approved and binding, for the municipality, the region and the state. And that makes for the first time a municipality thinks in an integral way investment in infrastructure and regulatory plan effects. Now, it is the minimum, the next jump is that they can also plan transportation, equipment, location, land management and public housing.

Although today municipalities do not have much clarity about how much they will receive, they are motivated by the idea of having an approved binding infrastructure plan, legitimized in the community and also with other State agencies. Because with that they can prevent other authorities from changing investment priorities. But this requires learning, because local governments have never thought about infrastructure, just about land use regulations. When you think about regulations it's easier because you just fix rules and let the time pass to show you if you were effective or not. But after a while you realize that the norm was not appropriate and had unexpected effects. **But since you do not have resources, you left the regulatory plan to be obsolet. In that regard, there is not dynamic planning, in which you can monitor it.**

The investment plan does not work like this, because it forces you to think of planning as a continuous and strategic process, which is what your priority is with the community. And in that sense, the plan is going to introduce a change in the municipality that is to think about continuous planning processes, which will require more human resources. So today, with these new instruments that force you to think in a strategic and integrated way, and with the major availability and access of public and territorial information, it is likely that we will have a learning process during the next 10 to 15 years. That is similar to the process that many municipalities had, which in the 90s did not even had Regulatory Plans. They just wanted to discuss paving, equipment and housing, until they saw that the private projects were coming and realized they needed regulatory plans. I think that a similar process will occur with this.

DM:

Thank you very much for your time Eduardo.

EB:

You're welcome, the important thing is that this helps and is written so you can move forward in this line.

Interview to Eduardo Zenteno

DM:

Eduardo, in my proposal I propose collaborative planning among municipalities of scarce resources. You have developed and led a series of social housing master plans within the Ministry of Housing to decentralize housing production to more strategic areas. How has this experience been and what was the State's position regarding this?

EZ:

Yes, the truth is that the State avoids developing throughout the technical component and usually tries to outsource this type of processes.

Concerning your question, we effectively created the strategy of the master plans within the Metropolitan SERVIU with a new team within the Real Estate Management Department with eight professionals and today is a team of a high level of professional performance. We have carried out a large number of projects, designed on a large number of urban hectares and that has been very considerable learning. And we have gone from less to more because the scope of making a master plan was initiated in the logic of defining housing areas and ended with a model of what we studied in detail the housing densities required to achieve a quality project. We reviewed many European models, mainly Dutch, about understanding what the densities that were working and how the housing complexes were structured were. We also review local projects of good quality and results and hire their densities and organizations. And from there we started to define density models.

It should be noted that almost all of these lands acquired for this strategy did not have a housing standard and had other land uses. Therefore, our task was twofold, to change the land use and to make the master plan in the background defining the minimum standards. So, we had to start doing the projects with that degree of precision. And also in those projects, the idea was not only to have houses, so we also defined equipment, green areas at a larger scale.

Most of these projects are currently in execution. It was a long task, but we know that it works and works well. We believe that it is a model that can be optimized.

It is usual in these cases that when there is a degree of innovation in new projects, it is necessary to go a certain way, opening an original path in the machinery of the State to fulfill the objective. As an example, in the beginning, within the Ministry itself, there was a lot of mistrust when we started working on this strategy. They thought that it would not work, that we would not be successful. After seeing the results, the model began to be used nationally. I was reading the synthesis that you sent me, and there are many things there that intersect with what we have seen in the real scale, day and day and all the difficulties that the state structure presents for these developments.

Regarding the Municipalities, there are cases in which they do not like this figure because they visualize an interference in the planning of their territory; therefore it is vital to work with the municipalities from the beginning and make them participants of the proposal. In addition to this, the communities are now very anxious to obtain land for their homes, which translates into a lot of pressure. An important aspect is that we work with many areas in a state of neglect and abandonment, many of them micro dumps, and several owned by private companies that had them waiting for some regulatory change that could favor them in their surplus value. Then, another result of this strategy was to recover lands that harmed the territory and that from one day to the next began to have parks, green areas, bike lanes and projects with a good standard, with adequate densities. So, we understand your approach very well, and it is an issue that is well known by professionals in the ministry. From what I saw, besides, you researched the article that I wrote about this experience.

DM:

Yes, of course, I studied a little what you proposed. Based on that, regarding the implementation, I imagine that at the time it must have been challenging to convince within the State. In this sense, what limitations do you see and what do you continue to see, if we think that this model could integrate other state actors, Ministries, SEREMI, etc.?

EZ:

Yes look, I think there are several limitations. First, there is a limitation represented by the Market. This model, for example, was also known to the Chilean Chamber of Construction, and even they produced a report, which once we received it, we realized that what we had done was much more potent than we thought. What we were doing came to the private, and they reacted immediately. They studied it, they reviewed it in detail, and the conclusions, in my view were very definite, because they recognized our model was correct, that took the social housing to areas where it never I could have carried it in another way.

What they realized was that the State had advantages that they did not have. For example, the State can buy land at a lower value, which favored the social housing equation, which they cannot do; therefore, it is unfavorable to them.

But if you see the big picture, concerning the urban aspects, they are very positive in their analysis. Anyway, there is a look from the real estate sector that is very critical, because they feel that we came to mess up their environment.

On the other hand, there are the Municipalities, many of them were very reticent. Not all, but some put us in the process quite a few objections, especially with the housing committees and also with the municipal approvals.

Finally, each of these steps involves convincing many people; we had to give many presentations to convince several stakeholders. In that sense, it was tough work, but today we know how it works.

It is necessary to visualize that we are addressing territorial needs based on urban planning that is outdated. This task is a responsibility mainly of the Housing and Urbanism SEREMI. You have to consider that we have a regulatory Plan that is from the year 1994 and that many difficulties that the municipalities have to do with that their own Communal Regulatory Plans are not updated. There are still communes that do not have communal Communal Regulatory Plans. Then there is a technical gap concerning the needs we have today and that for services and municipalities are still pending. So, working with those conditions is not easy, because to take a step you have to build that floor first and to build that floor you have to ask permission from many institutions.

And finally, politically because there is a lot of interest in this. The Master Plans are of interest to many politicians, mayors, councilors, and parties every time the elections come. But that is part of how this works, and the truth is that for us the important thing is that the Projects develop well technically and contribute to the quality of life of people.

DM:

It is interesting because there are specific issues that depend more on the engineering of the state apparatus, which has to do with the logic of territorial functioning that each agency has within the state and that. If you had to give it a magnitude, in your opinion, what generates the most difficulties, the political interests or is this kind of lack of multisectoral project among the state institutions?

EZ:

I believe that the second point anyway because the political is one more ingredient, which obviously can unsettle certain things. But what is essential is that everyone is happy when a new project is built, but regarding the engineering of the state, that is the most difficult. For example, when we initially proposed this to Intendant Claudio Orrego for the case of Las Torres in Peñalolén, he asked us to integrate the JUNJI, the MOP, and the MINVU. But when you start talking with all those actors, in the end, you realize that for them that is not a priority, because they have other objectives. Then you stay preaching alone, and you cannot establish the synergies that you would expect. I believe that here each sector of the State looks at its issues and goals and moves in that direction. And the coordination in that sense between services is complex and challenging.

DM:

That is, there are limitations for a strategic project.

EZ:

Of course, that is why we talked about the idea of a Mayor who could give coherence to all sectors of the state in territorial terms.

DM:

Taking that point, how do you think it would be for you, who have worked at the central level of the state, the mechanisms to support this change? What do you think would be essential?

EZ:

First of all, we should have a clear and common agenda. Because today that agenda is sectorial. Each Ministry, each service, has its own agenda. And this navigation chart should be regional. Each Region should draw its regulatory plan by the interests or needs that are of each sector. And with that clear letter, we would have to see where we are going to work, for example, addressing an entire area with the different sectors of the state intervening in coordination and recovering those capital gains from the State. That is, we make an investment of the country, but we understand that it is the State that is generating projects in that same line of investment. The market has to participate because it is part of the model, but it is the state that should lead the process, from my point of view. I think that agenda or navigation chart would have to think well how it is modeled. Because for me, a good PR from each region should give us those guidelines, because it is not about reinventing the wheel either. **That should be what provides us with a goal and tells us in what area we are going to work in stages, where housing, health, infrastructure, education goes to consolidate the city in larger areas with greater integration. I would say that this requires a different worldview of the State.** And that's where we get into the political issue, because we have 4-year presidential periods, and each administration wants to get political revenues. So, I always raise, that there are issues that are for four years but there are others that are for ten or twenty, and it is important to draw them like that. I would say that those guidelines are not there.

DM:

I understand. In that sense, how do you see the relationship of the State in terms of land management? You had to change land use destinations, in that sense do you think that the state should have pockets of land to develop housing or services?

EZ:

I think so. I do not think I should have total control, because that is impossible, but I should establish the rules of this real estate game. I have been generating public land resources for all the purposes that are needed if in the background there is a more critical objective here that is for the City to develop well with quality projects that effectively reach the community. Now, the private does not enter into that dynamic because it produces a plan, obtains its profitability and goes out. And the future of the project if it goes well fantastic and if not, already did the business. Then the State has responsibility for that in the future and should have more relevant participation in that line.

I know that the State, deep down, could not acquire all the land, but establish alliances. I take as a reference to the French model where all the actors participate, so there is a mechanism that allows everyone to be involved. Now our institutional structures are still very rigid and are thought of in other logics. As an anecdote, Minister Sabal, before finishing her administration, thought of a similar model and proposed that in the Parque Bicentenario City the model be applied, a kind of public-private partnership. We spent several months evaluating this, and the truth is that the legal and administrative difficulties are so high that there is no way to unlock them.

There are simple things like who finances the society, who manages or whether the land can be sold or not. **The truth is that it is a very complex and arduous job and nowadays with the structure that we have, it does not have a simple resolution, and that would imply establishing modifications in part of the state administration structure. And that should be a challenge today, how we can develop these alliances.**

Nowadays it's like trying to pound a screw down with a hammer. So this is something fundamental, having that base the State could be much more flexible, establish alliances, establish more direct relationships to achieve other objectives, and that is what we lack.

DM:

How do you see in the current figure this relationship between the State and the real estate market? Do you think there could be a different alliance? Do you see it possible?

EZ:

With the model we have, I see it very difficult. The only thing that one can do is establish specific plans and then merely tender. But that is a very poor model in the end. I believe that this relationship should be broader and more robust. The State could be discharged from a series of difficulties that for the private sector are easier to deal with. Look, to give you an example, the MOP model of concessions. Today is being criticized because the magnitude of profits that the companies that were awarded the construction and operation of the highways have had and were much higher than expected. Also, they were supposed to have a return on income much later. However, without this model that was a law, today we would not have motorways and with all the criticisms that we can have. It was an innovative model, with problems, but it achieved an objective that was to build highways where the State did not spend money. It is a good model that even now we are exploring it for Housing Projects. To give the land to the private, to build it, to administer the houses for rent and after 20 years when it has obtained the returns it expected, return the properties to the State. But that is a model that I see very powerful that can be modernized, an equation that must be studied.

DM: Do you see that there is a need to continue developing housing from the state, but looking for new mechanisms?

EZ:

Yes, because there is enough distortion on the subject. I have an opinion, although many people in the ministry do not share it. I think there was a distortion with the issue of social housing. I have seen that phenomenon during these 12 years. I tell you, the people we assisted in 2007 were vulnerable families. The people we work for in 2019, if one applies a more stringent socio-economic evaluation, the vast majority are not vulnerable families, they are medium socio-economic groups. And in that sense, it is supposed that the State should support the most vulnerable people and give some support to the middle groups to have a starting point. And **nowadays what happens is that we have many middle-class families that joined the group of low-income families to obtain more benefits. So nowadays we are working to develop projects that finally are not those families that are vulnerable. In that line, I think that the State has to continue working on this modality, but modifying and updating itself to the realities of today.** That is to say; I believe that housing for rent is a good element. I saw it a lot in Germany, in England, in the Netherlands and it is an interesting model. Still, in southern Europe, it is smaller. But I believe that this is a model that allows relieving the need for urgent housing. Not all the people can be owners, and we must see the model in which in the background they are given a housing solution without being owners. And then when people advance in financial possibilities, they can opt for a home of their own. For example, nowadays it is a lot of time that the beneficiaries of the Projects are 18-year-olds, of course, they are with a partner, they have a baby, and that is the primary audience. If you think of it as a State, that family nucleus that is being formed still requires a kind of growth, development and financial capacity to be able to save. But this thing that I say is not popular, but it is a reality. And in that sense, I believe that the State should really, look with a filter in such a way to determine that people should be subject to savings and lease, and in 5 to 6 years can move to buy a home. And I believe that the State has to continue advancing in that line, but focusing well on what its target audience is.

DM:

Do you see that the State generically faces the metropolitan reality? Because we know that there are precarious areas, are being crowded, receiving immigrants, and yet we have others that are being consolidated by an emerging middle class, and one sees that the State's policies are somewhat standardized. Do you think that the State should assume greater precision and differentiation in that sense?

EZ:

Yes, I would say that to the extent that the response of State aid to the different groups becomes more adequate, and diversifies it in some way, it makes that aid more efficient. For example, the issue of housing is all in the bag of housing subsidy, but if you look in detail, there are older adults, young families, singles, couples who are divorced, people who have no place to sleep and that happens. So I think so, I guess those flexibilities are necessary. Now I know that the State is slow in this and it costs them to modify these variables. To alter a decree for the State is super complicated, and when it comes to thinking about diversifying its products, the complexity is even greater. But I believe that all this points to that and it should be in that line. I did my master's degree in housing, and I saw those variables in other countries. And the other is the mixture, today we build only houses, and that is not very efficient. Because the programmatic mix, which uses different layers, and which one sees more clearly in Europe, is an intelligent way to rationalize the use of land because we can not infinitely grow in extension. That same floor where we can have facilities on the first floors we can have housing on the upper floors as well. And in that sense, we have very rigid instruments, which do not allow these logics to be incorporated.

Then we have to diversify, and I believe that there is to modernize the look of the City because for example today social housing in the center of the city is almost impossible to build because the costs of land are unaffordable. But if you had a mixed project where you can incorporate the commercial program on the first floors, parking, and with housing above, everything would be different. We would talk about a program that allows all that to work; it's great because then you can reach the center not only with a social housing building. With this model, you could get better use of the land, to densify where it is required, and you could attract that investment that was almost impossible to the center of Santiago.

So that kind of perspective I think we're far from specifying it. But when I have the opportunity to go to seminars and describe this experience, I always try to raise these alternatives or questions that allow these policies to evolve in the future.

DM:

So, basically, from your perspective, should these interventions be focused on specific areas, but at the same time diversified in the program and use? Because that possible view of the State would make much more efficient use of the land, but at the same time it allows you to put other actors at stake, which could benefit together, for example, in this case, when we talk about more vulnerable municipalities. What have you seen there?

EZ:

Yes, definitely, **I think that always a new perspective can be uncomfortable at first. Because there is a structure already installed in the public service, where people tell you why we are going to change this model if we already know how it works. There you find yourself at first rejection, but somehow sometimes there are some chiefs and other authorities who have a broader perspective, and they listen to you and tell you, well, let's see.** But they know deep down that if something like this is going forward, it is very difficult for them to develop it within the period in which they have to be head of the department. So, I think they are interested in those ideas, but they also know their time limit. In that sense, four years is not enough. To give you an example, this administration has basically kept the programs that were there, has made some adjustments, and is fine but has not developed new programs. They are evaluating them, but at this point, it is too late because to drawing a bill or a decree you get more than two years then you cannot get it out. So that time factor is gravitating for the authorities that are in the public administration. The technical apparatus, in general, is managed in the public departments, and I believe that there should be more continuity, regardless of whether the authorities change. In that sense, this should be traced from a more technical matrix that can maintain itself in time. A continuity of the guidelines, which are transversal, and that remains independent of the current authorities, would be fundamental. And that we should contribute ourselves, the ministry can perfectly establish guidelines in terms of housing, green areas, and infrastructure. That perspective is not there.

The other relevant point is that those who know most how this process works are the workers who have been in the state the longest. Then you know the times, and you know that you need a way to develop, and in that way, you add your eyes, partners, collaborators, and they are not things that are going to be solved in the short term. And there are several clashes. Some authorities think that things can develop quickly as in a private company, but the state works differently, you have to go through a series of stages and involve opinions, convince and that takes time. I remember that this idea of the master plans we developed in the first government of President Sebastian Piñera, then when the next government of Michelle Bachelet arrived, we did not have a Director of the service. The Minister learned what we were doing and asked me to present it to her. We presented our proposal to her at least seven times until she was convinced. We

bought the land, a new director took the office, validated the process and then in this Government (Sebastian Piñera II) we continued to develop, but we had to present the strategy again to new authorities. So this is an example of that, it is not easy, and one encounters many difficulties along the way.

DM:

And in that sense, as you see this new figure of metropolitan authority that should agglutinate and basically under a guiding gaze that should have a certain autonomy in front of the presidential political regime. How do you see it?

EZ:

As a model, I find it interesting, and I think it is the sense that the administration of a large city, metropolitan area or region had. The public investment must have a particular order, a certain coherence with the different organisms that are intervening in the territory. Therefore, if it were to consolidate something like that would be very powerful. Now, this is like the good idea, versus the practice. This is going to take a good time; each ministry manages its niche and will not want to let go; it has its priorities. I believe that if this becomes operative, it will be a right amount of years. I think that more than ten years for something like this to take shape so that the objectives can be aligned, for now, each ministry manages its plot and tries to meet the requirements it has... But well, we will have to wait for the necessary time.

DM:

Hey, but to top it off, taking this model as something achievable, do you think that solutions can go through greater levels of collaboration between the State and the municipalities? Because the eyes of the municipalities are very different towards the State and different from the State towards the municipalities. In general, the cities do not have many capacities, and on the other hand, the State tends to overcome. How do you see that, in a projected scenario, according to your experience?

EZ:

Look, I think that the municipalities have enough technical difficulties to be able to attend what they have to do, I do not know, since updating their Regulatory Plan, which is something fundamental. And it's something that many municipalities do not have. So in that line, there is a municipal technical difficulty, and that is mainly due to lack of resources. Because the municipalities that have more economic resources have more professional and technical resources and those that have less have the less technical capacity, and lower quality professionals. Then, of course, to be able to incorporate the municipalities, they would have to have at least more resources installed. And I think that is fundamental. **Each municipality could have a professional technical endowment to address their tasks and, on the other hand, the relationship with the state, yes, I believe that there the State has to provide certain conditions of clarity and soundness in its guidelines so that in the municipality can continue and specify them.** And in that sense, I return to the point of the PRM and the PRC, because deep down we have an outdated PRM and communes without PRC, they make us have conditions that are out of date. So there, even if you have an excellent technical team, you can do very little if the terms of the PRM are already out of date. There the role of the State is first to have the PRM updated and resolved with a new look and vision of the City, and that the municipalities have a technically great team to develop their plans taking those guidelines and from there we talk about everything that comes forward.

I think that the alliances between the bordering communes, which you pose, is powerful but nowadays it is impractical if you do not have that solid base. With that, I believe that the guidelines can be established. For example, I saw a graph that you developed between Pedro Aguirre Cerda, Lo Espejo and Cerrillos and of course, there are some routes and crosses that we were also reviewing as a service. **What happens in practice is that each municipality has its demands and sometimes they are not consistent with the neighboring municipality and there you realize that from the small area, you must have a different understanding since the urban adviser has these clarities for purposes of understanding the requirements of the metropolitan scale.** The regulatory plan is the one that should give those clarities and traceability so that this is not handled by land speculation. For example, I think a reasonable model is the following: just as there is a session of equipment or roads in the regulatory plans, there should be sessions for everyday uses, from social housing, clinics, schools, anyway. And so the state would not have to be buying those lands, it would be part of a session, and thus you would have the possibility of developing projects of a social nature without having to purchase anything. Things like those that are simple, are part of the ordinances, of the Regulatory Plans and from then on, we can make all the changes that we want. But without having that foundation is like found in the sand. That's why I always reiterate in each talk the need to update the Metropolitan Regulatory Plan. Another example, what you propose in terms of connectivities, should have the PRMS resolved by itself, should be there and each municipality could consolidate their projects in that framework. I believe that the current model is not wrong, but it is without technical support so that it can be updated more quickly and with continuity. So I think that there you can use instruments that are already there, but they are old.

DM:

Well Eduardo, thank you very much for your time. The truth is that you have clarified several aspects.

EZ:

You're welcome. I'm delighted. I hope the information has been useful.

Interview to Remigio Peña Pirul

DM:

Remigio, my thesis proposes a collaborative spatial planning model among the municipalities of Cerrillos, Pedro Aguirre Cerda and Lo Espejo compared to the current model that is mainly guided by the market. This in order to reverse the processes of marginalization of their communities together with promoting an integral urban development at intermunicipal and metropolitan level. I investigate how a capital gain capture model could help this process taking the former Cerrillos airport as a strategic area. In that sense I am interested in knowing what your vision in this regard with?

RP:

Perfect. Look, to give you an idea, I'll give you a numerical view of this topic, so you can see how it is. Because the issue of resources is not a cliché issue, so you can see how infrastructure initiatives are being affected based on our budget versus the financing we receive from the government. I came here to SECPLA from a more economic and numerical perspective. The problems we had when I arrived, it was mainly pending surrenders, so no one gave us projects, and that was my first job, sorting resources. Today we have a portfolio of projects close to 30 billion, already executed we have about 17 billion. Personally, so that people can congregate, you need to provide infrastructure in that sense. I am not a big fan when it comes to collection of money, I think that has value, but in that sense, I think it is more necessary to have the opportunity to train people, so that they can generate their own income. In a way that they can benefit from that.

DM:

That I wanted to ask you, more fully in other questions. What I am proposing is a more endogenous development because what it raises is that the municipalities, should encourage the installation of skills and capabilities in the people who inhabit the territory ...

RP:

Do not be so subsidiary.

DM:

Of course, how do you see that here in the commune? Whereas here most of the people who live are more dedicated to an informal economy or are not so qualified in relation to the rest of the communes. How do you see that?

RP:

I see the added value of this commune, if we take it to the 80's, it is what we experienced as children, is that this Commune has no wooden buildings, here is all built in masonry. So, here, the art of good building is very strong for us.

DM:

As a co-production ...

RP:

Exactly. For example, if you analyze the effects of the recent earthquake, for our commune the effects almost null. Mainly we suffer externalities due to problems that happened in other communes, where people could not go to work. Therefore, this art of good construction generates many contractors and a lot of informality. And that is a seal, it is an identity that is here. Unfortunately, there is an idea from the central government or from a certain group of people, who believe that the planning secretaries are the units that can determine if a mayor is reelected or not, in terms of its management. **Unfortunately, today it is not the quality or supply of infrastructure that determines whether a mayor did it right or did it wrong, that has more to do with local government policies. Unfortunately, these policies are still stuck in the idea of social development and investment fund, which rather than pursuing entrepreneurship, pursues a subsidiary logic.** So, of course the government policies have been perceived as very good in terms of housing supply, but if we go to the Valenzuela plain population, misnamed "Chinatown", I cannot understand how policies have been generated for local government considering such a minimum area of physical space for housing and bad living for certain types of people. So, in the end it turns out that these people were happier living in a camp than in these homes that the government supplies them with. Then the ghettos begin to be generated there, and there they begin to grow and the delinquency, the drug trafficking, the prostitution appear. And that brings about an oversupply and an increase in the services of these communes, there are more diseases, therefore, more clinics are needed. **The issue of immigrants, for example, raised the demand for municipal health and that is not perceived because the per capita calculation is calculated from September to September. Then the migrants who arrived in December are not perceived as a burden for the commune, and you know that whoever steps on national territory has at least free health in the public service.** So now sexually transmitted and venereal diseases are emerging, which is making me increase the cost of maintenance. This brings about another problem. The municipal budget of the Commune of Lo Espejo has risen in recent years between 12,000 million and 17,000 million per year, where 70% belongs to the municipal common fund, then what we generate as a commune is nothing. So what happens, if we restrict ourselves and begin to formalize the collectors of the fair, the people who sell bread that is sold, who sell hotdogs, etc., and I make them pay a permit, so that the municipal revenues are greater and in order to create new workshops or sustainable training courses, we cannot. Because government policies today are not focused on quaity but on users. For example, if I have 8,000 users in FONASA, they pay me 8,000. And the budget cuts are from September to September. The same thing happens in the educational system. If the child enrolls and attends, the corresponding funding is received. The problem is that the policy of contracting statutes for professionals and health technicians, come from the Allende period, and is good but very rigid. As before 1980, these policies were carried out by the ministries, they had the capacity to finance and redistribute more, so the system could be maintained. But nowadays, when they become part of the municipal management services, many mayors of Communes such as Providencia or Las Condes are happy, because they can afford it. But not us.

To give a more concrete example, with the case of Los colegios. In 1991, when the Commune de la Cisterna was created, which previously belonged to La Cisterna Commune, there were 15 educational establishments with an enrollment of 13,000 students, and an associated cost of teaching staff to maintain these students. However, nowadays we take charge of those 15 establishments and the cost of that faculty, but we have 4,000 students and we received financing for that amount. So, we have to keep the professionals, but with a drop in enrollment attendance, because the students decide to enroll in other communes with better alternatives.

Now, you can say, the municipality has 17,000 million but I with that amount of money I have to cover an amount of 20% of health and education services, only to pay salaries, because if they are not paid we are punished for abandoning the duties of the mayor. And here is where I leave the municipal budget, about 1,400 million pesos per year, in transferring education, to maintain a perverse system if we consider how to manage the income related to the payment of remunerations. Before we had teachers, who taught 40 students, now they teach 8 and I have to keep paying. But the income only arrives for 8 students and Who pays that difference? The town. That is why SECPLA becomes strategic in terms of budget management because we have to deal with these problems.

DM:

If I understand well, the precariousness of the commune makes people not have the ability to pay for their formalization in terms of permits or rights for commercial activity, and on the other hand migrate to other communes in terms of access to services, work and / or housing when they can ...

RP:

Exactly, and that's why they call us the bedroom communes. And I was angry in that sense, but when I saw that personally, I said clearly, when you finish studying, you say, I'm going to start working for the Commune, but you cannot, because you have to go and look for opportunities outside, you just go back to sleep. So, to develop your question, I divide what a local government can do, and what the central government can do in terms of its policies, which is a lot.

DM:

I mean, there is a huge need to generate local income, from the local government, but for this a more strategic decentralization of resources is needed.

RP:

Exactly, everything goes through the diversification of financing. Everything is translated into financing. I want to say that as a government I could have education and health maintained properly, not only by the people who attend but by a quality of assistance, regardless of those who use the public system, because everyone who is here in one way or another is going to use it In effect, they do not necessarily have to be attached to be taken care of. The same goes for the education system. It should be structured like the common fund. Today the common fund is several radios, several indices, that allow me to pass these funds to these systems. And this allows me to help finance the deficit of these systems without being a factor in the calculation of the common fund. So, if today I had an additional 2,000 million pesos, I could create more local policies and professional and technical training so that neighbors can acquire skills in their area and the hand of legalizing certain local and economic activities, to have more taxes. Then from there some way or another one could count on higher income. And this would be financed in a better way, if I only had 500 million pesos more for the health system, that could be improved considerably, and I know that it is possible. With 1000 million pesos, the same could be done with educational establishments, such as local politics. However, someone from the central government, you could say, they have sent us a series of programs and funding, but the problem is that they send it tied as a government policy. In my accounts I have many resources in preferential school grant funds, but the government forces me to spend it in a specific line, not in another, and I where I need it is to pay the deficit of professionals in the plant and contract**. Our most critical financing needs are others, not what the Government imposes on me. That is why it is very important that today those who assume public office at the central level have been mayors as far as possible.**

That is why we are critical of the programs that come from the government, because if today you do not add to the neighbors, the projects are not sustainable over time. From the least, since they are going to park their car in the path, above the projects we are developing. And one of the problems we have now, too, is that these government programs that developed these homes are far removed from the effects of access to family consumption mortage. **This model of economy means that nowadays someone goes with their identity card to the Shopping Mall Plaza Oeste and even with a minimum income they give you a car even when you fall into debt for years. The problem is that to that person the government policies give a house in the commune to that person of 35 m2 and without space to park that car. So today the issue of financing is very strong.** I grew up in Lo Espejo and I can tell you that today there is no link between the economic cultural model and how people think about housing. For people it is very easy to have a car today, 2, 3 cars are bought, then the collapse of this metropolitan area is why, because there is no coherence between government policies and what the economic model promotes.

DM:

There is a divorce ...

RP:

Obviously, in fact, if you go to the front town, there are more cars than families, more TV wiring and antennas than space to install them. **Then there is no integration of public policies and what the market promotes and thus there is no sustainability.** So, when I invest here in public areas in parking lots, people tell me, but how are you going to invest in parking lots, and I explain that it is the only way to take care of the squares. Because today I have street markets everywhere, and the "coleros" (people who sell in markets without any type of authorization at the end of the weekend market) arrive by car. In fact, in neighborhood unit 26, when I was in the program, I want my neighborhood, we warned them not to put concrete in the platform.

DM:

Remigio, something that strikes me is that you recognize that these subsidiary policies are also not capable of generating a sustainable income, in terms of management and maintenance. That leads me to think that the territory, the soil with which they count, is much more important to you, that is, what they can do with it has a lot of value ...

RP:

Yes, I understand you, I believe a lot in the planning instruments, whether PLADECO, Regulatory Plan, and others that we are developing. **However, everything in the end translates into something budgetary and everything in the end is how the Projects are sustainable over time, in terms of people and infrastructure**. Here we realized that with a small input that we had, we could hire a workshop that taught them to make mosaics to people. We did that in the neighborhood unit 26. Then they learned to make a mosaic, but only to decorate a square or put a sign on the street. So, when we did this the second time, we were a little more ingenious and made and decorated pots. So, then, they could sell them at the market. So there the workshop transcended and was sustainable. Because what happens now is that government programs give the infrastructure to neighbors, for example, a furnace, then they make their bread at first, but then, they get bored and decide to sell the oven. And so all those that are given to them, they end up selling them because they realize that they get three times as much work as they use the machine, and end up selling it. And with that, government policy fails.

DM:

Do you think there should be a kind of local commitment in that sense? In relation to the supply of certain resources to the community.

RP:

What happens is that I'm going to that. If in this commune I pass this on a loan, and I tell you, you have to take care of and respect this document because it is important and if you would incur a fault, you will not do it. Because here is very rooted in the identity of the villager's rebellion, the one who opposed the government, the policies. Then many of them will sell or not respect what is formally delivered to them. I think today is better, than when working on budgets and programs, the central government should approach the mayors and municipalities to see what is really needed. In our case, for example, young people from primary education are integrated into secondary education. There we have two options, one is for these young people to train them and give them skills from first to fourth grade, so that they can continue working or studying, or prepare them in a better high school so that they give a good proof of university selection and they can be professionals. So, this is what we need to discuss between the mayor's office and the government so that the government's policies are efficient. Because the Government today is prioritizing 5 or 6 communes, El Bosque, for example, has a budget of 35,000 million, versus the half that Lo Espejo has. So, the policies are very different even though we are in the same peripheral area. For example, La Cisterna is next to Lo Espejo, but only because of the presence of Gran Avenida e they have a much higher income from commercial permits.

DM:

And for the subway ...

RP:

Sure, for the surplus value. Then not all the Communes have the same possibilities to grow. **The Espejo is also a very fragmented commune. They compare us a lot with the Commune of Pedro Aguirre Cerda, but they have more income, because they have The Metro, they have Lo Valledor, the commercial patents, they have a strong income, because they were born being Communes, instead the Espejo started being the Backyard of the Commune. So, this has always been a subsidiary Commune, a bedroom commune, we do not have a business park, we have a cemetery, which is private, a MERSAN, which is private, fishing terminal, private, and the rest are only schools and establishments.** In fact, the industrial cords raised by Salvador Allende remained on the other side of General Velásquez, in Cerrillos. Cerrillos, in fact, has a potential super different from Lo Espejo, starting with a shopping mall. So nowadays, **what we do in Lo Espejo is to manage poverty. Try to be as efficient as possible. We are dedicated to paying health, paying the least amount of medication, we pay a little of what corresponds to the educational system**. And there we have a theme, people ask why the Commune of El Bosque or Pedro Aguirre Cerda have more projects than Lo Espejo, and I answer, it's for the budget. Because regrettably, the restrictive policies that municipalities have in terms of hiring personnel, say, that, of your own income, your total expenditure cannot be more than 42% of your own income, and of that 42% you cannot have more than 20% in contracts, and 10% in fees. If the plants come from the year 1991 working in this municipality, how can I get a new architect, with your vision, or with the quality of professionals working in the central government. I cannot offer salaries that are attractive and competitive with the market. And there you understand why some Communes have more and better professionals, because their income is double or triple or more than ours, and since these are percentage values, they have the economic capacity and legal margin to hire professionals. As this Commune is a subsidiary, I need more people to assist in the direction of community development, that there are professionals in SECPLA to prepare infrastructure projects.

In this Commune **I have the urban adviser alone, without any support, because I prefer to have an architect that elaborates projects that I give a support to him. And there I can take the issue of the quality and value of the land. This, I am very responsible to tell you, the study done by the Catholic University with the Chilean Chamber of Construction sets us in an index as last, and now we advance something, we are about eighty. And it seems to me that this is a very perverse way of standardizing, because what they do is raise the value of land in the large communes, to the detriment of these poorer communes.** And that advertising theme is so strong, especially with social networks, that it appears in the newspaper and burst us as a Commune. Then all the effort that you did as a Commune, as a local government, finally vanishes because you appear last in an index that is made by the Chilean Chamber of Construction and the Catholic University. Therefore, all the work you do as a government goes to the garbage can.

DM:

They stigmatize and marginalize ...

RP:

Of course, **they are comparing us with Providencia, which has 10 times our municipal budget. In fact, they are not even going to fight projects, because they have the budgetary capacity of themselves to make benches, fix their sports circuits, make bike lanes, urban works more integrated with sports**. On the other hand, that is impossible here, having 60 million pesos to make a court is impossible in their standard. Imagine that we need a technical drawer, to do the survey, to accompany me in dangerous sectors, hopefully a territorial worker, a designer, and hopefully an engineer in construction, not even a civil engineer, to quantify me the works. Then, another government system, which is also perverse, assesses not the need but the technicalities of the project. And there they reject me, one month, two months, three months, then a project that was quick and easy, for only 60 million pesos at the end it ends up taking a year or two years. And the organizations that asked the mayor, as a municipality, for the commune, in the end you finish after two years giving them to them. And that's where in one way or another the surplus value of the land goes down, because nobody wants to come to live in these communes nowadays. What we are aiming as a new regulatory plan, is that professional people, do not leave and stay. We are thinking that in Lo Espejo town we could create some departments or in the MERSAN area, where also some private ones have an interest in investing.

DM:

I also wanted to ask you, how do you see that, from your critical perspective, the interaction between private, state and local government? Do you think there is potential there as long as it is more strategic and transparent? Because in Communes as Providencia or Las Condes they evidently have already had experiences given their conditions.

RP:

Yes, look **at the beginning, personally I realized that in these Communes it was not essential to work with the private, but it is becoming necessary to work with them**. More than the Mersan, I mention the subject Metro. Today if we, as a commune of Lo Espejo, do not sit with the people of Mall Plaza Oeste, from the cemetery, it is impossible to have a Metro station for Lo Espejo. And that's when it starts to have relevance and to be profitable for Mall Plaza, for the Cemetery, and for us in the social issue. And that is where the need to have strategic alliances begins because we would be more important. Above all, today the current Government has a stronger strategic alliance with the private sector. **And I do not believe that it is a sin to work with the private sector, nor do I believe in very restrictive policies, although they are important given the acts of corruption that have occurred, which are of one kind or another. But these laws also scare the public official and he tends to do nothing. Therefore, I see it as the State, through its private companies, whether Codelco or metro, or other corporations, look at corporate responsibility is not only for an economic issue but above all social**.

And then I turn to the issue of welfare or subsidiarity, it is necessary to create more quality of life, versus delivering products to people. In other words, nowadays, with our connectivity we are 10 minutes away from La Moneda Palace, and if you see we are a super fragmented community, we have Americo Vespucio, Ferrocarril, La Panamericana and Avenida General Velasquez.

DM: They are confined.

RM:

Of course, in fact, according to the last census we have the highest population density in Chile. Then in the end people just live here to sleep that to create more economic activity. The economic activity is the one that finally takes you out of poverty.

DM:

That, I wanted to ask you, if you could count on more public land to generate other types of activities, obviously with an economic backing, an institutional support, from the central government, do you think it would help them generate greater development and productivity at the local level?

RP:

100%

DM:

Because I am impressed by the amount of space you have here ...

RP:

100%, because I do not know where that policy comes from. In these communes we have land of owners of health system, as integrates, for example, cloths of IND, SERVIU, JUNJI, and that have always been abandoned, in fact, have been an extra cost for the municipality in terms of maintenance. Many have become micro-waste.

DM:

Then they have transferred the responsibility of maintenance, but not the management capacity ...

RP:

Of course, they tell you, we can transfer it to you on loan. For example, the case of the IND, they make the transfer, but that comes for 50 years and the loan comes with the policies defined by them.

DM:

Sure, they do not have a freedom.

RP:

Not a margin of action.

DM:

And in the end, they are tied to that function because perhaps in that same soil they could assign other uses.

RP:

Obviously, **we could create other service areas, a snail like the 18th. Our civic axis, for example, wants to try to give activity and identity to the avenue, and in fact to formalize the coleros to create a kind of Persa Bio Bio . Giving identity to our community, in fact, we have the largest street market in Chile in linear meters. But, yes,land is one of the big problems we have because today SERVIU wants to add more population density. Today we are promoting the sport, because we have high obesity rates and that translates into diseases and cost. So, we are giving hard to the sport. There are pieces of land, for example, of SERVIU, which I could occupy, but SERVIU orders me to be assigned to housing, except if they are smaller, 500 m2. But as I told you, for that I have to do an extraordinary effort in terms of resources, present a project, almost with specialties so they can say yes, after a year or two years.** And for just me to apply for a government initiative, because the government says yes, but the land is SERVIU, you cannot do anything. You explain that we are processing the loan, but then when the loan arrives it says that it can only be used for housing projects.

DM: That is, the functions are always defined by the central level.

RP:

Exact. Likewise, I would say that the policy of former President Bachelet, of JUNJI, was very good. Today to generate congregation you have to have infrastructure, but to generate better education and culture you have to start from the bases, which in this sense are children. I would say that they, the JUNJI, financed and occupied their lands very well, and built their infrastructure very well, more in accordance with local needs. In fact, they gave the opportunity to single mothers, or young mothers can develop work or training. And that generated a change for the Commune. I believe that there, that model worked, the JUNJI model. I do not know who created that model, but that's what we appeal to.

DM:

So, this model works to the extent that the infrastructure provides a service but in turn is productive and generates human capital.

RP:

In any case, **if today I do not have the capacity for our projects to create a productive concept, I am failing as a local government. We are criticized because we have many soccer fields. What is the big problem we have today? Drug addiction and based on drug addiction I have dump sites. Many people wonder how. And it's easy to explain, because the drug addict comes to another neighbor and offers to take out the trash for money to buy drugs.** Then later, the drug addict goes and throws the rubble in the first place he finds. All my microbasins are not household waste, they are mattresses, beds, furniture, night tables, washing machines, refrigerators and household items. Then many neighbors pay the drug addicts to avoid calling the municipality and pay for them to remove that material to authorized dumps. And that has to do with the courts. Because for example, today, girls are being mothers here, from 15 to 18 years old. And many of them are engaged in prostitution. In some cases, their partners are drug addicts. So, our courts give us an opportunity to get the kids out of that. We have famous athletes, to help us with that. We decided to do all our soccer workshops, early in the morning, then forced, to have the father or mother go and take the child. And many of them do parties all night with drugs, but we force them to accompany their children, then they stopped behaving that way. With that we have helped these people get out of drugs, because the child, rather than having a capital as an athlete, is somehow forcing his parents to be awake early in the morning. Then the children insist to the parents that they take them to the field and that forces the parents to sleep and do not takes drugs during the night. Then you start generating a super positive cycle. We told the children that if they did not come with their parents they could not participate. It is true that there have been shootings at times, or conflicts, but as we know the people of the neighborhood, we can contain that.

DM:

So, you appeal to create a dynamic more than anything.

RP:

Exactly, we have it, because we know what we are aiming for. The government tells us, do other types of projects, create water parks, pools. And we tell them, we know our children, if we put water games, they can have an accident and sue the municipality. So that's why we have the position that our projects are lasting over time. **And that's why, as you well name it, we need projects that are productive and more profitable over time in terms of people's training. Unfortunately, our context, makes us leave aside, to do more projects that are productive development for families, because in the end what we can apply to is infrastructure, we cannot apply to projects that address psychosocial needs.** Those who, if they are launching those projects, very accurately, are the Ministry of Security. This allows you to enter the communities and populations, with funds to hire professionals to give workshops to target these groups.

DM:

I mean, if I understand well, you need infrastructure projects but that you are accompanied by a strategy that includes dynamics that can help people to rehabilitate themselves or reintegrate into the working world in a sustainable way. And that speaks to the need for a much more integrated and complex multisectoriality.

RP:

Exactly, of being a family. Today because religious congregations are so powerful, because they help people in that sense. It would be useful for us to have a rehabilitation center here, but nowadays a rehabilitation center costs a lot. Minimum 500,000 pesos to maintain a person monthly in one of those centers. And that gives you more value, imagine a University.

DM:

Moving on to another point, what areas do you want to prioritize as future interventions?

RP:

We aspire to create a project of the civic axis, in order to create these economic microclimates. In fact, we have prioritized and worked very hard on investment initiatives, and that has not been reflected so much in the community's content.

DM:

Of course, your focus has been another, more strategic and less subsidiary.

RP:

Sure, and that's when the subsidiary initiatives collide with our concept, which is another, closer to what you propose. In fact, the mayor is influenced by the logic of Salvador Allende. And although we may have the need to integrate more technologies, we do not leave that focus. That's why I tell you, in the year 80 and 81 when services become part of our management, it breaks with that idea of Salvador Allende that had to do with the central government had to take charge of certain things. And the result of those policies for us was disastrous, that's why we are bad in health and in education. That is why we are returning to the previous paradigm, which is what corresponds.

For example, there is a minor issue, which is important. Because today milk is free for children, that is a Salvador Allende policy that lasts. Now of course, there will be neighbors who sell milk, but they are policies that last over time and never die. And that's what I'm going for, they do not give you a house, they do not give you a product, they give you something different so you can develop. It is like the role played by CORVI. They gave you a sanitary center and a room, but a few square meters of land that were appropriate for living and developing. And if we go further, they were not even semi-detached houses. That is why we come across a little in how to be more sustainable if they have welfare social housing. We have also learned along the way. I have made mistakes when doing projects, for example, places, very quickly because of taking advantage of financing funds. But in the end once, built they have not taken care of them because I have gone to carry the identity. I went through the anxiety of being young.

DM:

Of course, it is necessary to work with the bases.

RP:

Of course, in fact, some time ago unintentionally, in a neighborhood project, there was a stone in the middle of the job, and we took it out. Then we had 10 neighbors here complaining because the stone was emblematic for them because it had to do with the foundation of the neighborhood. So those are the mistakes that we must learn from.

DM:

Do you think that, if there was the possibility of moving forward in a different development and planning model, and this supra-municipal strategy of coordinating municipalities was involved, in order to respond to certain problems, do you think this would work? How do you think I would see it? the local government from its public workers?

RP:

I could answer more from the personal than as an institution. Today, unfortunately, politics is very strong and marks the territories. I think that today it is more about who pushes more or pushes less. To give you an example, in the case of EFE mitigations, here the strongest communes were El Bosque and Pedro Aguirre Cerda, they got things faster than our commune at the worktable. And being that the strongest impact of the work was going to be in Lo Espejo.

DM:

What do you attribute that to?

RP:

To a political issue mainly. Political affinities. So, if the municipalities are very personalized by mayors and their parties, it is better that the state be a guarantor of the process.

DM:

So, the state should protect that process.

RP:

100%, today you cannot leave the local governments so that resources can be distributed, because that would not work for a political issue. The municipality only must deliver the needs to the state and the state must be responsible for distributing those resources, accordingly, based on a greater planning. I tell you in terms of this experience that I tell you, for example, you lived it, working with the Concessionaire. In that case, the Commune of La Cisterna had more relevance. At that time maybe we did not go to a meeting, because we were worried about attending to other things. To give you an idea, we do not have municipal vehicles to go to the field.

DM:

My question goes more in that direction, a bit to delve into this. You say that the State should politically protect these processes of strategic local development, but on the other hand there is no issue of resources from the State. I imagine that in any case you need professional and technical resources. That is, there are several points to attend.

RP:

Exactly, for example, as we discussed earlier, there can be no percentage limitations of professional hiring with a single standard for all municipalities.

DM:

I understand that you only receive income for circulation, building and common fund permits.

RP:

Of course, in the common fund, commercial permits are 100% for us. Unlike Comunas as Providencia, which is regulated, they receive 50% for them and 50% goes for the Common Fund. We have 100%, which in the end is irrelevant because we have a low amount. We live mainly from the common fund. For example, of the circulation permit of a vehicle of 100,000 pesos, 37.5% is of municipal benefit, and the difference, 62.5%, is from the common fund. If we as a municipality, we are now able to raise 400 million in March, only 37.5%, 150 million, are for the municipality. The rest I pay to the government. Of those 150 million, I start to discount, because the circulation permits depend on where the vehicles were initially registered. Unless they are transferred. Then of those 50 million easily belong to other communes. Then you have 100 million left. We pay in extra hours of work, easily, 50 million pesos more. That is, with luck, of this process we have 50 million pesos left. This is where I stop in that the mayors have to fight this, because in the end it all translates into numbers. So what they should fight, for example, is that the common fund is 100% for the municipalities. And that it's worth it. So, I would already have at least 350 million to create places, to hire professionals and for what is considered convenient. So, I doubt that mayors feel they can do this and reach agreements and be heard, rather than asking for investment initiatives in projects for each municipality. Because the one that pushes more is the one that is going to have.

DM:

There is also another theme, you have a huge clarity of the problems of the Commune. My approach is that these needs, which we speak, also have to do with a spatial issue given its high fragmentation. And that takes away an enormous potential of urban development that has to do with connections, integration and accessibility. So, on the one hand, the State has these generic policies, which apply indistinctly anywhere, and for you they are insubstantial in the way they are designed. And there, as with a tutelary, supramunicipal model that accompanies and protects this collaboration, perhaps better results could be achieved.

RP:

Look at this government in some way you have tried, you have come to work in some way with us. I cannot say no, they have come to ask us how we are doing. In fact, the mayor began meetings with us, where every two or three months we meet with all the undersecretaries, or undersecretary of health, and take these communes, Lo Espejo, El Bosque, San Ramón, La Granja, and they give you a time to express what your problems and needs are. We were in a town hall in the Estación Central district. And the truth is that several problems were solved, and I think that is a good measure. That the bases are heard, and it is so simple that our mayor goes down and talks with the mayors. But I cannot give financing if you do not have projects.

DM:

And for that they need more professionals.

RP:

Of course, in fact, we, like Lo Espejo, are not very appreciated by the national investment system. Because we do not apply for regional development funds, because they take a lot of resources and time. We applied to the law 33, which have to do with changes and replacements. And there comes the discussion, I create bigger paths, or I create an identity to the path. If I want to change this commune to gray, or maintain the materiality and put a color, I get much more expensive, than do linear meters in sidewalk. Then we chose to make linear meters. The paths here in Lo Espejo had not been renewed since the 60s. And they were created by the neighbors who arrived at that time, so they also have an identity. So, arriving and changing a path for these people is not so easy. The SERVIU can say that they are a national good for public use, and that no one can oppose that, but the local government has to do that management if we want to renovate sidewalks. So there we have to make decisions, of the investment initiative or land, if we occupy them in another way. There are projects of beautification of the government that contemplate intervening where there are local commercial activities, where there are car repairs, car wash, scrap sales, in this commune we have the highest amount of car wash. Then you realize that government policies do not contemplate the local economic reality and that is the concept that they follow.

DM:

Or they do not even recognize the activity as such, thinking that maybe they could centralize those activities on the ground they already have.

RP:

Then we cannot go with the prohibitive policies and charge them all, because I would have to demand that they have accounting. And if they have accounting, they have to have hired personnel and give them at least the minimum salary, but they do not have the capacity to pay for that, and if they sell hot dogs the Ministry of Healthcare, they have to pay taxes, then I have to supervise them, they have that pay permits.

DM:

So, you have to recognize the informality ...

RP:

Yes, **because we cannot come with restrictive policies towards the community in that sense. We cannot. The government has not done so badly either, for example, it has left us some lands exempt from paying taxes. But they also tell us, for so many exempt properties that you have, you get a bonus. So, obviously, we do not pay contributions, but we have a higher expense, then that policy works, and you can do those things.** And that's perfect, and it's been a policy for 4 years. So, to compensate, you should not be afraid of it. These communes have to be compensated, because all the physical effort of the great constructions and the workers of these communes, are taken by other communes.

DM:

And you concentrate that productivity here, along with that income ...

RP:

Yes, and capture it. And that is the compensation that we need to have today, that these people can work and recreate on weekends quietly here in the parks of the Commune. We have developed parks with SERVIU, but they take too much time. Imagine that to move a path I need a civil engineer, like I'm going to pay a civil engineer, and then perform all the bureaucracy in SERVIU. In addition, these engineers have to be certified, we cannot hire anyone. That's why in the end what we do is pre-engineering studies, we apply to projects, we win them, to make big trails, but when the company wins the project, they carry out the engineering project because we do not have the professionals. Then in the end, the overhead costs are bulked up so that the company can do that.

DM:

So, there, they also lose part of what they could invest in construction.

RP:

Of course, and the government, they say, you should apply to the national funds for regional development, and I tell them that we are not going to apply because it is much faster to apply for replenishments. Now I have parks that we are going to apply for, but in the end, they translate into professionals, which, as I told you, with the restrictive hiring policies, we cannot hire. Because everything is proportional, and we cannot be standardized in the same way as Providencia, because they are less subsidiary, therefore, they do not need so many professionals to attend the municipalities. Imagine if we thought about maintaining our green areas, or removing household waste, we would have to hire all those professionals and not give us. So, in one way or another we always have to externalize.

DM:

Taking that point, currently you have to tender those services. With another model, do you think you could manage these services using local labor to employ the people of the commune?

RP:

Yes, look, we have done it, thanks that we have been very methodical at the time of applying and rendering, in such a way to always have a flow of projects of different magnitude, between 5 and 800 million in sidewalks and fields. Within the bidding rules of the construction works in the Commune we have demanded that at least 60% of the workforce must be local. And the ITO, once the Project is awarded, has to verify that to make the first payment status. Because we also assign score in the weighting of the tender. Then we force them to comply with that.

DM:

And what are the most important projects that you manage for the Commune?

RP:

Today we have several, we have advanced a lot in that sense. Everything that is SUBDERE, PMU, security, which are 50-60 million pesos projects, have been super good and fast. This Commune has 30 seats, and has nuclei, the metro train station, then has increased a little the capital gains. We have tried to create public spaces, because it is the only way for people to stay here. But it is seasonal, they are maintained for a period. If you are lucky, I have recreational areas because with the population density it is impossible to create more houses, maybe improve them ...

DM:

Why do you say that? What is impossible because of density? What do you mean?

RP:

Because in relation to population density, what we would aim for, is to improve certain conditions in the land we have. That is, if you look at the cemetery grounds, they are enormous ...

DM:

But they need to densify in a certain way ...

RP:

Of course, **imagine the number of migrants who arrived, and not all wanted to register. So, to create human capital that lasts over time is difficult, we have only created many employment opportunities with the projects we have had. And that's where I get out of hand, big government projects. Because when SERVIU comes, how it develops, tenders and executes them, they bring labor from another side. And I give you the case of the participatory pavements, because it does not let you put the quota of the neighbors, but if it forces us to pay for the engineering study, then in the end it limits the streets that I can apply for. Because the budget is so precarious that, if we post 100 million dollars per year, which is a large amount, for participatory pavements we generate a financial deficit. And the financial deficits finally punish the mayors for abandoning their duties.** Then you have to be very attentive to all movements because you cannot go crazy and start applying to any project. For example, the previous mayor had a project for a heated pool, knowing that we did not have a multi-court or synthetic grass court. And in the end, we had to dismiss it, because the maintenance cost of a heated pool is very high, we cannot maintain it.

DM:

In other words, for you the definition of the projects is absolutely conditioned to the needs and limitations that they have.

RP:

Absolutely, we do not want to have white elephants, so that after they do not turn into micro dumps and pockets of crime or drug addiction.

DM:

Hey, but what are the most critical projects or areas they have? According to your definition.

RP:

The most critical areas that we have today have to do with neighborhoods that were generated to accommodate the need for other communes, such as the Valenzuela Llanos, LosLebreles, Las Palmeras, Las Dunas. The objective is to create infrastructure projects that generate a higher quality of life for them, because what we are looking for is for them to be happy, that is what we are looking for. Because the ghettos that have formed there do not allow me to do something different. And that's where I need to get there with comprehensive projects that allow me to take them out of this world of crime or drugs. There must be something parallel, an option. It is difficult to compete against that, because there are people who generate 150 thousand pesos a day doing illegal things, versus who go to work for 500 thousand pesos a month to a factory or in a warehouse, in the suburbs, near the airport or Quinta Normal

DM:

In other words, the opportunities must be generated here.

RP:

Yes, the only way for this to change is to generate industrial cords that existed before. That's why Cerrillos, and the way to Melipilla, worked to a certain extent, because that view was very local but also responded at the macro level. And when this commune was created, the industrial parks were left out.

DM:

Well, Remigio, thank you very much for your time.

RM:

Thanks to you for the interview.

Interview to Hernán Ortega

DM:

Héctor, my thesis proposes a collaborative spatial planning model among the municipalities of Cerrillos, Pedro Aguirre Cerda and Lo Espejo. This in order to reverse the processes of marginalization of their communities along with promoting a comprehensive urban development at intermunicipal and metropolitan level. What is your vision in this regard?

HO:

Look, **in these matters I am left with the hypothesis that there are integral interventions, integral neighborhoods, multisectorial interventions in these pockets of poverty that have been generated as a result of this indiscriminate urban projection that we have had and that works mainly from the real estate economy.** I mean, here there are no urban or political or social criteria that define the development of cities. I think that as you have realized in Europe when things are more planned and there are more social motivations, in countries like Holland, where you are studying precisely, people are considered of when the City is built. **Ultimately, those who make the city are those who do business, the last thing they think about is the people who live there, they think about profitability of the business they are going to do.** So, for years I have been working as a manager in these projects of marginality, I worked in Franklin neighborhood, in Santiago with Carolina Toha, Bajos de mena, Parinacota and El Castillo, the latter within the framework of highly complex neighborhoods in the government of Michelle Bachelet. That is my experience and from there I have a vision about the development of Chilean Cities without being an architect, but as an engineer in business management.

Now, in Cerrillos, if we analyze the Commune, I believe that it is a micro laboratory of what you describe in your thesis. There, they have concentrated all the errors and defects, which is based as you say on the metropolitan, regional and interregional roadways, which pass through these Communes that you point out and which are exit points from Santiago, and that in a moment they were its limits. So of course, Cerrillos has 8 sectors that have been defined not by social urban anthropology but by their wounds, which are Route 68, the Zanjón de la Aguada, the railroad, the road to Melipilla and General Velásquez. Then there are all these characteristics that you recognize, and the challenge we have at this moment is what to do, and apparently the mayor, before we arrived and it is not what we say, people did not criticize him. He has a great social vocation and is very loved by the Commune, but it is also a small Commune, confined and he is not a person who goes out a lot, he lives in Cerrillos and has almost no ties outside. Then Cerrillos is configured as a town within the Metropolitan Region and did not have an urban development policy.

So, we have now applied to the PLADECO that we are going to start in March and we also applied to the regulatory plan that we will also start in March. But we have as central axis of the development, the installation of the Bicentennial Park that is in the former airport area and that should begin a new stage in the growth. Now, that growth will depend, there were agreements in the government of Michelle Bachelet and with the Regional Government, a kind of Society had been created to administer those Projects, where there was a co-participation, of the MINVU, of the SERVIU, of the Intendance and the Mayor of Cerrillos, and it was assumed that the development plans were going to be consulted and approved there, and that even a kind of management was going to be named for the adjudication and management of the lands, but finally this new Government annulled that. And now we are being pressured to change the heights, in the Bicentennial Park and in Buzeta.

We consider that the former airport of Cerrillos (Bicentennial Park) is a rough diamond where we could generate integration, we have an immense territorial extension, more than 50 hectares and we could plan a small city there, correcting all the errors that had been committed in the previous development plans. It is a huge extension that is only 10 minutes from the center of the country's capital, which has a huge connectivity, therefore, the idea was to transform the disadvantages into advantages, along with generating a sort of identity for Cerrillos. **That is why we concluded that integration was key to this development project, because in a minute a development in this area was thought to be done, 10 years ago, when the airport was closed. But that initiative was to make a sort of elite neighborhood, a satellite within Santiago, a kind of little Vitacura, but without further integration. In the end, that was stopped.**

So we said, well, this new initiative could be different and be an example of integration. However, from then until now, the only thing we have achieved for the area is to ensure that some projects allocate up to 30% of vulnerable homes, and the rest will be market housing, but there is little concern also for the investment in infrastructure. In fact, the municipality of Cerrillos has no own building and that we have an approved project, which is not more expensive than in other municipalities, but we have not obtained funding to settle there in that center of town and start there to install infrastructure that can respond to almost 80,000 people who should live there within the next 10 years. There are 17,000 homes that should be built there. So, today what we have is that the ordering and agreement effort that had started to break down, because what we had planned was to build buildings of between 9 to 10 floors that did not generate large traffic congestion, as happened in the Commune of Estación Central, with very high heights and insufficient connectivities. Because we have good connectivity, but in general the area is saturated, not that we have much capacity. Therefore, we must build a new plot, to connect with the outputs that must be generated for all that agglomeration that will arrive. But for now**, we do not have financing from SERVIU to generate all those connectivities, only the internal urbanization of the area, and they are already pushing us so that the buildings do not have 9 to 10 floors, but 17 to 18 floors because the real estate companies are pressing for making their business more profitable.**

DM:

And who makes that pressure directly? SERVIU?

HO:

I think there are two situations. There is a management of the Park, which has passed various governments assuming the policies of each, without respecting agreements. This management acts as a real estate agent and comes to lobby in favour from Business Projects, so that we give authorization to increase the floors. That is one thing. The other issue, which also has to do with what you propose in your thesis, is that the development has been generated in relation to the expansion of the metro lines. Then the subway, not only solves the passenger transfers, but also determines where the investment is made, therefore, what unknown is that it determines the location of the subway. That is, if studies are made in relation to the existing real demand or if studies are made in relation to the profit that could be obtained. For example, in the case of La Pintana, I do not see as much social will from those who administer the system to provide metro. I believe that what they saw is that there are a series of floors there that can be urbanized where important real estate investments can be made.

So in Cerrillos we have the bicentennial park area on the one hand and the Buzeta neighborhood sector, which is where the metro arrived. This sector that is Buzeta, which corresponds to a heritage and historical neighborhood has begun to be a victim of real estate pressure. Then the real estate companies, who could not finish their projects in the Estación Central Commune, are the same ones that are pressing here. And they are beginning to buy from the neighbors, paying exorbitant prices for the local reality, to be able to build properties that allow them to overcome the problem of tangent limitations that the Intercommunal Regulatory Plan of Santiago, which governs the area, may have. In this way, they merge the land and expand, in order to increase the construction in height. In fact, they are paying for land of 1000 meters to 300,000,000 pesos in old homes, by plot.

DM:

Which is not so much for the profit that you will get ...

HO:

Sure, but for the residents, which can be a couple of neighbors pensioned, is a millionaire. And some sites, closer to the metro station, have reached 400,000,000 pesos. These are the values that are being managed. And we are very concerned because there are no elements that allow the Municipalities to control that, the Regulatory Plans are backward instruments, we have to fight for that. For example, today could be very unpopular, but we will have to face it, make a public consultation in this sector and explain to the neighbors that they are going to build high-rise buildings. Since there are many of them who want to continue living there, in fact, there is a group of young people, led by architects, with whom we have formed a committee to declare the area under patrimonial protection and defend it. This year we are going to work on that. And in this way instead of demolishing this area, direct the investment toward urban regeneration. But hey, here we have received blueprints of up to 25 floors. For this reason we began to develop an amendment from the Planning Secretariat, to modify the PRMS levels as we move forward in the development of the Cerrillos Regulatory Plan**. If we manage to stop these processes, between 10 and 12 months, we could perhaps half of the development of the Regulatory Plan, request the freezing of building permits with a height of more than 10 floors, which is what we have considered for the area. We consider that that should be what commands for the rest and that the heights and densities should be similar.**

But hey, that's the situation, and how to deal with it has to do with these comprehensive interventions. From my experience I think that planning has to go back to the territory, and not just submit to the market. It's going to be difficult, but both perspectives must exist.

And this absence is noticeable in the urban debate. There are other young urban planners who are showing up. But there is still no weight in terms of opinion to defend this other vision. You have to put together a body.

DM:

In fact, that wanted to ask you, since you have a broader view from the public management. As you know, I am proposing a collaborative strategy of intermunicipal urban development, but this model I am proposing based on the capture of capital gains produced by Metro. And in that sense I am proposing that the airport area could be a capture area for the development of metropolitan activities, such as a subcentrality, incorporating social housing and services for the three municipalities. Under this model, I am assuming that the state also plays an important role as guardian but also decentralizing resources and legal capacities towards municipalities. My thesis is that this could generate financing to connect and overcome the territorial fragmentation existing between the three Communes, together with strategic projects for the internal development of each Commune. In other words, it is a system or subcentrality, the one I am proposing.

From my perspective, this development would have to tend towards integration, but also tend to control. In the background there is a strategic nature, in which the municipalities participate in the election of where to intervene and when, according to a common intermunicipal road map backed by the State. This obviously has to be accompanied by suitable instruments. As you say, today the Municipalities do not have instruments to manage their own land or manage their territory. However, here there is a possibility given the area of the former airport. Along with this, the municipalities should also have more technical resources, in the case of Espejo, for example, they only havea limited professional capacity. Then there is also a theme in relation to how municipalities are professionalized and can collaborate together. That is basically what I am proposing and testing, because one of the objectives of my thesis is to verify the limitations and potentialities of this. In this sense, what I would like to ask you is what are the specific limitations that you have in terms of planning for Cerrillos? In political terms, for example.

HO:

Well, **I think there are quite objective limitations that have to do with the lack of regulation or attributions of the municipalities to be able to freely define their vocation, identity and development plan. We can plan, but we depend on the Central State for investment. Who prioritizes is the state, we can have many ideas, but in the end the State will prioritize according to the interests of the market. That is a very objective condition**. We could overcome the issue of the capacities to generate projects, in fact, our SECPLA is not as small as that of the other communes, we have an urban adviser, we just hired Aldo Ramacciotti as an advisor, who was the housing SEREMI so that helps us in this process. He is a good person to put together this interlocution more than equal with the central State, we must create a story of what we want to do, with a proposal that comes from Cerrillos and that may involve other Communes. Those are objectively the limitations that we have and we have to see how we manage with that, we do not have access to the media. Here are other architects who write in the newspapers to justify the other theories of the center, of centralized planning and from above. **So, we do have limitations, the rules do not favor us, they do not protect us and they can destroy us. And then we have limitations that are subjective like the policies. That is, what is the vision that the State has of the role of municipalities, in short, the great dilemma is whether the mayor is to be an administrator of the Commune or is an administrator of the territory? And that is, in my opinion, the great dilemma. There are many mayors who are interested in administering the Commune, working with the community, raising social projects, in short, but do not manage the territory. Either because some of them gave up on that or because they underestimated the importance that this should have in terms of a vision beyond the commune or Country.**

So those are the objective and subjective conditions, and the other thing is that this model of competition that we have, between mayors, between neighbors, makes it difficult to reach an agreement in terms of who leads this. In the end, this electoral system that we have today is voted more for the people who figures than for the ideas. That makes it very difficult to arrange for others and make agreements, for someone to surrender to another. In fact, they have failed, the associations of the municipalities already practically do not work, there are only two or three that continue. It is difficult to build common visions because they all relate to the State, so many seek to take a slice out of the State, but not to share a supramunicipal or subregional vision, so that is difficult. So, I can give you an example of this, which is the neighborhood of La Chimba. The Communes of Santiago, Recoleta and Independencia, have been trying for almost 20 years to agree on how to renovate the area, but there is no integrating view, the bridges are cut, the bridge that was opened during mayor Ravinet's period had been close, because it was full of street vendors, then a large supply plaza was not created where people could move and occupy that space, in the end it is still a mess and chaos. Then, **when the investments arrive, it is when there is more investment. In projects like these, such as the one you propose, to resolve this issue, for example, to resolve this connectivity on Avenida Errazuriz, which would be designed to connect Cerrillos, Lo Espejo and Pedro Aguirre Cerda, has no priority. However, in the Commune of Vitacura, in the last few years, since the installation of the Costanera Center Building and other buildings in the Kennedy roundabout, the state has invested billions just to allowing their residents circulate faster. But they have no other benefit for the rest of the City, only for those who live there. Then those amounts of money are not reflected in investments in our communes, so we are not a priority because until now we have not been a priority for real estate ...**

DM:

Until now...

HO:

Exactly, now we could be. So what could happen, what could make us meet, is that now that there is a new metro line that is announced, that would come by the edge of Vespucio and that it would come to join Plaza de Maipú. That would be another. And there is the famous Melitren, who would come by Cerrillos. And it is assumed that these Projects in the next five years would have to be developed. So, we have common triggers in the area, such as the Bicentennial Park, the Metro that could be projected to Maipú and Melitren. I mean, in terms of connectivity there are still investments, which would make these areas become attractive. Now, as we agree, so that this investment is made in function of this sub-centrality that you define, that is difficult because we deal with the norm and deal with this psychological division. The central power plays with these alliances, a municipality gives one thing and another another. If you ask me what is this for me, this is the ideal to build a city. **If we were to make this the heart of a new sub-center of the metropolitan region, we would be building a fabulous city here in this area. But as long as here we opened the spaces for new activities and spaces. It was announced a couple of months ago, here the construction of a Hospital, the new San Borja Hospital, we would have a hospital.** We do not have a projected University, but we project this park as the new space of culture for the western area of the great Santiago. Here we have a couple of museums installed, one of the Museums is the Quinta Normal that is thought to move here, a cultural center, the Metropolitan Park. In the last government I managed to sign an agreement so that we could provide cultural activities in the Park, but this Government has blocked this agreement. It is also not interested in doing family activities in the Park, he is interested in managing it in another way, planning to concession it to FISA, to activate the international fair in one of the areas and to recapitalize the private sector again. So, those are the objective conditions, if you look, we are always between what could be initiatives, and what have become frustrations for some mayors. Then, in reality, we are not able to raise a common project now.

DM:

So, the problem is that the model turns out to be highly centralized in that sense. The paradox is that as we know since the 80s, with the decentralization of health services, education and waste management to the municipalities, these municipalities have to take care of that without major resources or technical capabilities ...

HO:

That is, we are in charge of managing poverty, through social programs. So, we have to manage this and we face the social bag of crime, the micro-trafficking of drugs, and in that we get along, in managing this kind of balance and control, of social control, with subsidies and all that.

DM:

What instruments do you see or mechanism to enable a different process like the one I propose? From your experience ...

HO:

I believe that the strengthening of the regional government. The figure of regional governor, this figure allows to install a regional or metropolitan vision of the territory, which can then, from collecting the reality of all these communes that make up the metropolitan region. Have a metropolitan development macro-project that could establish some forms of balance in development and that could allow to respond to problems of accessibility, connectivity and habitability that would impede the reproduction of pockets of poverty and that would constitute a planned decentralization of services and accessibility to citizenship. That could only be generated with a regional authority that could plan the territory.

DM:

If we were to assume that this regional authority existed, how should that relationship between the municipalities and that authority be? What I imagine, is that this authority, should also agglutinate actions that historically have been fragmented as those made by the Ministry of Public Works, the Ministry of Transport, the Ministry of Housing, etc. In that sense, I think that you should also have the capacity to manage this new model ...

HO:

Yes. I lived in Canada for eight years, and the initiatives in Europe and North America are initiatives of the region. In Spain and Madrid, it is not the commune that is projecting this, what they do is that it is with the participation of the Communes, the Communes if they think, if they present their options, but ultimately they would understand that the administration of their territories they could recover from the strengthening of their identities, that each one find the identity within their coexistence. What is happening in Europe with the subregions, in cities such as Bilbao, old industrial cities that sought a reconversion, a vocation, from Barcelona forward, but which are in a global context. That is to say, what is the destiny of Cerrillos, let's discuss, and from above we can say, let's support this initiative and we can add that to our neighborhood position, because we are going to be inserted and we will defend our logic and neighborhood culture. identity and strengthen it. We can define those roles and strengthen them with a common table, because we would start with a plan, which necessarily would have to be discussed. Today the regional government does not talk to anyone, it's just a silver bag where the communes apply to projects. The SERVIU does the projects on its own, the Housing Ministry makes projects on its own and the GORE helps to survive the municipalities within that pack.

DM:

I mean, in this sense, the GORE should combine and manage the criteria to define an integral vision of the territory, either to generate sub-centralities where required. And from that the Municipalities would be critically coupled with that vision, but taking charge of interventions or more specific, more local processes.

HO:

Of course, to collect the benefits of metropolitan planning to strengthen certain sectors of their own communes that are left behind. If the metropolitan government worries about how thick we can deal with the smallest. Because, for example, these processes,

such as the Metropolitan Park, are transitional stages where we move forward, and for the first time, a kind of society where the central government, the municipality and the municipality are located, to try to make this a project with integral vision. However, then comes a government that favors the market more and says NO, this question does not. Then a metropolitan government is not enough, but also a vision that combines the human development of the City with the urban development of the City. So, there we will be thinking that when we develop or prioritize something, we will always have causes and effects and that we will be able to manage it from a more local, local regional government.

DM:

In other words, there should be a kind of dialectic between the regional government and the municipalities in a constant process of evaluating that development.

HO:

Sure, it's closer. Now, we are talking about the metropolitan region, which in particular is complex, because it is bigger, but imagine what Valparaíso could be with a regional government of those powers or the Gran Concepción that is another sub-center, and other regions. Now, this is more difficult to handle, Santiago is already a monster, in terms of making a great metropolitan government that will administer half of the country's budget and capabilities. In other words, half of Chile's population lives here and will therefore have half of the nation's budget, which is why there are many people who oppose generating these governments today and perhaps, they say, we should divide them between Santiago Poniente and Santiago Oriente. There are doubts and what are the powers of the governors. But ultimately, we must give the administration of the territory to an Authority closer to the region and be able to visualize more clearly which are the municipalities with the greatest weaknesses and where the needs of sub-centers are.

DM:

According to this conversation we have had, today we see a certain asymmetry in terms of the power relationship that different actors have, for example, there is the Municipality, as you say, trying to manage poverty, marginality, on the other part, there is the State, which seems to be more focused on generating urban renewal next to the real estate market, at any cost, and the real estate companies that can put enormous pressure because they have the capital. In this context, and within this logic of the metropolitan government, what guarantees should you have to balance this constellation among the different actors?

HO:

I think it is creating, common areas that facilitate interaction between the different neighboring Communes. I make a great division within the metropolitan region, according to my experience, in relation to what is inside Américo Vespucio's ring and what is outside the ring. They are two realities that already give for different plans. Towards the center of the ring we have all the services, outwards we do not have universities, we do not have hospitals. If you turn the ring, you realize that we do not have hospitals outside and the only one we have outside is the Sotero del Río that is collapsing. The rest, they are all inside. You do not have Universities, you have offices or institutes, you do not have health, services, then that is a reality. So, that already tells you what you have to prioritize, not only that the Metro arrives, but to generate a real decentralization of accessibility, which means having education, health and culture in these sectors where you do not have that. So the comprehensive plans we made have to do with that. As we invested in 140,000 people living outside the ring, disconnected, as we had schools, housing, schools and services. Prioritizing in this way, the problems of poverty, the problems of overcrowding, violence, urban regeneration, making better interventions to improve the quality of life in these areas. But this is a different perspective that has to do with improving the quality of life in these areas. This is not a good business for real estate yet, for them no, this is for social housing, which can be located in the areas of cheaper land, where we can build it, next to the dump. This is how it is built, if you look at Bajos de Mena, it is built next to a landfill.

DM:

This leads me to another question, as you well said, some municipalities are trying to defend themselves from the aggressiveness of the real estate market, that in Cerrillos at least, because in these other Communes that does not exist, there is neither space nor interest to do so, but if you could have instruments or form ...

HO:

We are willing to be part of a Plan of the Metropolitan Region, that is a different decision. In what sense, we have what others do not have and that the State does not want to accept or visualize, I do not know if because of a question of power, administration, money, I really do not know. But the government does not give himself to that vision. The demand for social housing in the RM could be resolved between La Pintana or Cerrillos, through neighborhoods of integration, not to generate pockets of poverty, which correspond to the inner ring, a more comprehensive vision where we have greater accessibility to services, but not we have social integration. So, we say that here we can have a laboratory, we have an extension of land where neighbors from other communes can be welcomed. For example, I worked in the area known as La Legua, and when I was there, I realized that the solution for the Legua goes through the urban regeneration of the Legua emergency neighborhood, as long as we did not intervene the Legua emergency, we cannot defeat the traffic and crime, in that sense you have to demolish and do it again. An integral vision allows you to link the psychology of behavior, habitability and everything related. In Canada worked in social reintegration with young drug addicts and spent five years studying psychology, and this is what happens with the rat experiment, that if you put them together in a confined environment, they reproduce and then end up destroying themselves until they disappear, given the overcrowding, the lack of coexistence, the appropriation of square meter and intolerance. So here we could have a different behavior, incorporating social integration, at 30%, however you want, but allowing us to conduct it. And in that sense, welcome the neighbors of other communes that come to this place, because they would be areas of integration. If you do not change the environment, people will not change, if we offer them a different environment, people will change, they will soften their behavior, they will only adapt because human beings are animals. If we invest in that psychology linked to urbanism, we could say that this could be that. And this is our dream. We could make many 9-story buildings, but let's also make a university, keep these green areas, the visibility of the integrated public space, not having public spaces in the last area that we have left of the project, where it is less profitable, in patches, but plan this.

I think that this could work, could be configured in a sub-center, but they do not leave us, so while they say, we take the metro to La Pintana, to generate an explosion in the value of the land, I asked to an Urbanist, hey, but we have the subway there, and we have all this land, and why is not it invested here? Why is not this area attractive? I do not know why, because we are not considered a priority. Why do we have many accidents? Why invest here and include structuring roads to get people out of Cerrillos, Lo Espejo and Pedro Aguirre Cerda is very expensive? What really prevents this? Why? Why does La Pintana have better access and connectivity than us? Do you have more space, have fewer accidents, fewer obstacles to overcome in this area? I do not know what the reason is.

DM:

And what was the answer?

HO:

They do not have it. No, they say, but Hernán, is that it is completely logical, but I do not know why they do not prioritize themselves politically. Then I said "ask the minister", because if I were a minister or regional governor, I would say here I have the solution for a large housing demand and I also have the possibility of developing in an area that I am going to administer an area of integration with accessibility, for interconnect these communes, correcting the mistakes that have been made. That is, they had a heart and did not have to depend on other areas.

Now, what is the other obstacle of structural decentralization? It is technology. Many years ago I remember that my father, we lived in the Gran Avenida, he came to the Banco Estado in Bandera, there he had his savings book. The new branches of the banks were opened, but people did not trust them, for example, he kept going to the same bank, because people were not convinced that the branch of the bank that was in San Miguel was as good as the one that was in the middle. And nowadays people are doing everything online, then the State saves with that. It says, so I build so much if I can do everything around here, the face contact interests him less and less, if I could avoid it I would avoid it, especially from a cost analysis. Because as everything is economy today, the state is saying, so I have so many officials if I can pass on the responsibility to the individual and so we pass the responsibility to the people of everything. I have to take care of everything, then the state increasingly invests less in me, I have internet to process everything. So, they say, well, why are we going to make a center here, if all this we can do elsewhere? Then we are at a crossroads of a Country model that has no defined where it wants to go. We are a book open to market management. Here you will do what the market determines, there is no planning. Then it will be difficult for us to fulfill this dream.

DM:

However, in these Communes, at least Lo Espejo and Pedro Aguirre Cerda, people move more to do paperwork, in fact, they value this concept of the "Small Municipality" very much, where the services are concentrated and there in a certain way there is as another cultural narrative, different from the hyper technology that we have adopted the rest of the communes, especially the richest ones, where given the model of building at height there is no greater social contact. So, in that sense there is another experience, in fact, some neighbors told me "we are defending a lifestyle", so how do you see that? Because one could question the metropolitan development or how it is understood today, for example, with the zones of conditioned development, which in the end are closed communities subsidized by highways. What is happening a bit to the south of the area of the formet airport area, then in that sense do you think it could be an alternative model?

HO:

But that's why I tell you, **when we think about development, we do not think about people, because people would love to maintain their neighborhood life and have access to modernity or services. And that does not mean giving up one thing for the other. What is happening now in Barrio Buzeta? There we have neighborhood people who are happy having the butcher shop on the corner, having their market every week, having access to the municipality, for them, and everyone in this commune the Municipality is important because that's where the subsidy is. But beware, it is not an apology to tradition or clientelism either. But the real estate companies are not interested in the conservation of these neighborhoods**, so these social movements of conservation arise like Barrio Yungay, neighborhood Matta sur, Beauchef-Rondizzoni, for that reason we want to encourage the conservation group of Buzeta of heritage neighborhood, to involve the local society in defense of their quality of life, because deep down is quality of life. If you go to Cerrillos and visit these areas you realize that they are beautiful, there is tranquility, their homes were part of the development plans of the 60s, where the industries invested 5% to build the workers' area, with Good streets and good places, that is, we look at these housing complexes and there are 400 square meters of land that are no longer there. But as we defend this without progress sacrificing it, because progress has to kill us, then if we can combine these two visions, no one is interested, that is, if it interests us as a Municipality, but what we thought could be possible, The State is telling us no, here we have to have 17-story buildings. We have taken projects that we have rejected, that did not consider community facilities, there was no playground or social headquarters. Then we gave it back, and we told them we want all the projects that are done in this commune to have a community space for the people, for their activities. But also that there is a space for recreation, the ideal is that every 300 meters. There is a green space for the community. Then, the company went to SERVIU and they were told that in order to do what the Municipality of Cerrillos wanted it was necessary to increase the projects to 17 floors, not 9 floors as they originally came. Then they charge us that immediately, and they're telling us that if we want that standard, then we have to put up with them to increase the density. That immediately transforms the conditions of the area and its quality of life and that is why we are going to pay a high price.

DM:

Hernán, as if to finish what do you think are the most critical areas of Cerrillos? I have toured the area this week, the three villas for example, and I have noticed that there are several empty spaces and also many industrial areas. There are emerging pockets of informality and also dumps sites, in this sense, what do you see as more critical?

HO:

Cerrillos has a tremendous capacity for social organization, there are 18 housing committees, and Cerrillos' real demand for housing is 1,500 people. I mean, we do not have a huge demand, and people are organized, but we do not have land. And the lands of this area, are of the SERVIU, they are without a clear use, they have always been dump sites, there is the Park the Errazuriz, but there is no transformation of the rest. We were with the mayor in the sector of the ditch of the aguada to install a clean point and nobody knows who those lands belong to. They are from companies, there is one that belongs to the COPEC, the Metro bought one to build its garage area, and it generated a huge problem that we are living with the neighbors, because those are empty lands, and the trucks enter there to throw debris and they do not maintain any control. The residents who reside there and who had a quiet life before today have been affected by the arrival of this metro area. The impact for them has been horrible. For the trucks, because their accesses have not been closed, because cars actually enter at night and commit crimes. There have been rapes, then, there is a problem of serious abandonment there. That would be the first focus.

As a way to bring the municipality closer, I have been working on creating a sort of municipal delegation. Closer to these areas, the Oreste Plath, Cardinal Silva Henríquez and the presidents, the three areas. So we want to create a sort of municipal office closer, but always talking from the containment, to increase the presence inside and prevent further progressing problems that are being generated there as micro-trafficking, neighborhood conflict, anyway.

We do not have an impact on communications, we discussed a new Project with Route 68, so we have asked for more bridges to connect these spaces, but we do not depend on ourselves, we depend on the Concessionaires. So in social terms to summarize, our priority is given in that sector. And the objective there is to build greater institutional presence, infrastructure and accessibility. We have some things there, but we have to strengthen. Then the other priority is the area of the Former Airport, the balanced growth that is generated in the Bicentennial Park and defend Buzeta. That from the point of view of urban development. From the point of view of local identity, we are forming a corporation to promote local economic development, we want to achieve the grouping and coordination of an important part of the companies that are in Cerrillos. We are a Commune that has many companies in the territory and there has never been a greater interaction with the Companies. There are companies initiatives to help in domestic issues towards neighborhood residents, but there is no plan either. So we are creating this corporation to generate a dialogue with them, since we all live in the same commune. So, they have already proposed to us some things that for us could be solutions and that also coincide with the position of the mayor. So, what we want to aspire, in this sense, is to be able to say in the future that Cerrillos will have full employment. We could respond to the need of employment of Cerrillos with all this amount of companies, if we manage to form instances of collaboration. And we have been making progress in that, even they have lent us their facilities to train people, they have helped us to determine what level of demand they need for labor, so that we can solve it through our social development offices. Therefore, that is the social issue.

And then thinking about the area of the former airport, that this is a center of integration, but with an important cultural accent for the metropolitan region, in that sense we aspire to create a cultural corporation, around the Eduardo Parra Building, and we have finished to obtain the legal personality permit for the corporation. The objective is also to create a cultural pole for the neighborhoods. But, ultimately, those are the three themes, social, urban and economic.

Now, we also continue to recover equipment and public spaces. We have finally obtained the approval of the Polideportivo Project, which will solve the problems that are on the edge of Vespucio, between the municipal gym and the highway.

DM:

That, I wanted to ask you, what other projects do you visualize for the future?

HO:

That is one, they are 2,600 million, formerly the project was a sports center, but in the background is a large area of sports recreation, a large park that goes to the edge of Vespucio. Then those days today are empty lands, micro dumps, which today are going to be transformed into a large recreational park. Now if Cerrillos, if we add the Bicentennial Park, we would be the commune, along with Vitacura, with more square meters of green areas per inhabitant. We are in the fourth place in the Metropolitan Region, we are in fourth place in terms of surface area of green areas. What constitutes an advantage and a difficulty. Now that I am in the planning secretariat, I understand it better, because the problem is the maintenance of all this. Because there the State also says let's make more Parks, but in the end the Parks are maintained by the municipalities. The grass, the cuts of trees, the illumination, the security, in the end are in the hands of the municipalities. Not all of us have in that sense, the chance to have more green areas. Now, we have plenty of green areas and I have had to tell the mayor, let's not offer more because maintenance costs start suffocating us.

In summary, our priorities are, first, to create a regulatory plan, to create instruments that allow us to defend ourselves, to start planning and that is why we are working hard this year.

DM:

And how about the relationship of the municipality with social organizations?

HO:

The mayor has an excellent relationship with the Community, what we have to strengthen is the relationship of the community with the municipality. That is why we are in a program to strengthen municipal management, because what happens in many communes is that the relationship is personalized in the mayor. And what happens when they are not relects, you do not know. But it is a global phenomenon, because today people are voting for people, not for their ideas or projects. So, in that context, it is difficult to build a city, it is difficult to confront problems. That is why I say that to achieve development and balance the only way is to create these regional authorities.

DM:

I mean, to you, that would be the first step ...

HO:

Sure, it's about creating a capstone between the state and the market. Because the municipalities are very weak separate, then the market eats them. Then a regional unit could strengthen us.

DM:

So, if we wanted to develop this specific part, we would have to think about having the presence of this metropolitan authority ...

HO:

And there, together, say, the municipalities have a sub-center and we want to be considered as such.

DM:

So, in that sense, this authority would have to help balance the weights of the different actors ...

HO:

Exactly, if you made the investment by number of inhabitants, then we could say that what Cerrillos does not have if the neighbors have it, in demographic terms. If you say, we will invest for so many, and the investment will be balanced. That is to say, we are going to invest so much money for the inhabitants of the Metropolitan Region. Because the State could invest more in this, because the rich Communes have resources to solve their problems. Vitacura and las Condes concentrate all the social headquarters of this country, and their contributions in relation to ours are stratospheric. Then the State or the regional government should be concerned about the investments in these communes. That's why it's annoying to invest so much in the Kennedy roundabout. I was very critical of that project because I was working at the time in Bajos de Mena, but we did not have access to the press. Because in Kennedy we needed 7,000 million pesos to connect Bajos de Mena with Puente Alto, to build a bridge over the southern access and we could not obtain it. However, 50,000,000 million were invested in Kennedy to connect with whom I wonder? Not people but cars.

DM:

There is a global project that submerges the local. As to close, putting this in perspective towards the future, within the framework of contemplating this

metropolitan authority, and under this case that we see here. What would be the limitations that the municipality would have in face of this process in terms of capacities?

HO:

There is no doubt that it will strengthen the technical capacity to be able to engage on an equal footing with the State or the regional government. That is, you have to strengthen this. But there we also have the problem of poverty at the municipal level, the salary does not give you more. The municipal revenues of the poor communes are lower than those of the rich communes and sometimes have more inhabitants. We have the same number of inhabitants of Vitacura, but what we have in terms of money is not the same. So having municipal plants with well-paid professionals is a luxury. Then we have to do the math, we hire an architect and we have to start discussing how much we can pay him or her, how much we need him or her. Then suddenly some mayors say, why do need more architects? what we need more territorial assistants who are going to talk to the people, worry about the vote, of social clientelism. That is why the first thing is to strengthen that technical infrastructure, or to make it possible that if this were propitiated as an integration project, that we could have a common technical assistance area to deal with a wider territory and that we could work together. There are two ways in which we could solve it, have a common plan or strengthen our technical capabilities with greater resources.

DM:

Of course, because one of the observations I have heard is that these municipalities have so few resources that they cannot professionalize their municipal activity either. Then it would not only be a necessary change in governance in terms of the institutional organic, but above all a critical decentralization of resources or of this kind of technical assistance that should support this change.

HO:

Of course, because the experience of integral plans has been that. **During my experience, what we have done in each of the projects, is to conceive multidisciplinary teams exclusively to generate a change in a given territory, be it a commune or an intercommunal area, but from a territory that you will intervene. Then you define, diagnose, define what you are going to do, the execution proposal and the professional team that you require.** This is not about hiring anyone. We knew what we needed, a technical area with professional architects and engineers with experience in urban development, planning, a social area to guarantee the management with the organizations and then engineers for the administration, execution and management of the projects.

DM:

Working transversally with the municipalities ...

HO:

Of course, and that is a team that worked in coordination with the municipalities for the effects of the application of the regulations, and with the SERVIU in the case of social housing investment. I mean, I worked at Alto Hospicio as the manager of that project. In fact, when I went to the high complexity neighborhoods, the mayor told me, if you do not give the attributions you will be able to do little. So, in the territorial planning it is necessary to generate managements or areas responsible for the execution of these projects and that are especially technical, they do not have to be contaminated with the political issue. For example, you have a social vision, that is why you are doing this, otherwise you would be in another. But only that is important. I am not a candidate, I am a socially committed official to have a more just development. In fact, Borja, the strategic planner from Barcelona, who came to Chile, developed a theory of strategic planning for a given territory, and that is still valid. **The non-planning is to leave everything in the hands of the market, planning is our defense and we have to recover it in some way. In this sense we should get together, we have to link to the Universities, when we have met with them to sign agreements, I say, open to the university this, not only think about the practice or what you want to do, but how we put this infrastructure of knowledge at the service of the community, because what is missing is generating ideas, projects, presentable things.**

DM:

Yes of course, at least I am more interested in the potential processes that are detonated than the static look, I propose the territory is something productive, and unfortunately, we do not understand it well because in the end these are bedrooms communes, unable to produce greater value for their communities ...

HO:

Yes, anyway, and deteriorate over time.

DM:

And there is a possibility with the Universities.

HO:

Of course, I had, an experience teaching at the Faculty of Architecture of the Catholic University, I was invited to do workshops for two years with architecture students, to take charge of the management, not just the design and management. Not only the design of the City, not only to think about the City, but also from the execution, that each time we did something we thought who lived there, for whom we are doing it, and in what way we can make it possible. That was interesting, because it was interactive. I believe that these connections with the training of professionals are necessary, so that new professionals can develop this vision.

DM:

Of course, in that sense the architectural thought is not the same as the urban one, that is something that at least in Holland is quite defined.

HO:

Of course, an experience that I have since my participation in the integral plans is that I would never entrust the execution of a project to an Architect, because it is not necessarily his mission.

DM:

That's why I asked you about your vision about the professional role in the municipalities.

HO:

Of course, it is that, if it is not so connected to reality, each one has a different vision. In general, they do not communicate with each other, and that hinders the discussion and debate and each one keeps his own truth. And that does not generate collective thinking, because those of us involved in this are in agreement. The challenge is how we get this out and reveal it. Because deep down, if you manage to control this, you will be able to influence the quality of life and also environmental issues because nowadays they are beyond your control. Because here everything is a business, if you manage to recover urban planning you would have a huge advance.

DM:

Exact. Well Hernán, thank you very much for this conversation.

HO:

You're welcome, I hope you it helps you, and we meet again to see the results.

Oreste Plath Neighborhood board interview

Ada Contreras

Paola Zuñiga

Gislaine Zaneto

Alejandra Valenzuela

DM:

You feel that here, in the commune, you can meet the needs that you have in terms of job opportunities, employment, cultural activities, social encounter with other people, education. They feel that they can find that kind of thing in the commune. How do they see their reality in that sense?

Ada:

Well, here there are, for example, there are few high schools, and they are not very well cataloged, they do not have a good reputation. In terms of the field, work, there are plenty of industries, but there are not as many opportunities for people.

Paola:

No, there is no work, for example, there are things, but in the municipality. For example, I went to look for work at the municipality, and in the end, I got a job on a large avenue. I go through everything to get there. I get up at 5.20 in the morning to go to work.

DM:

How many people do you think are in a similar situation?

Ada:

Here, I believe most.

Paola:

Yes, most.

DM:

And how long do they take to get to work?

Paola

I take at least 40 minutes and sometimes more. If I do not take the micro at 6, I get stuck in a traffic jam on the way to Melipilla. Because I have to take two buses.

DM:

And in what sense do you feel that your needs are more satisfied? Because it is clear that in terms of work you may have to mobilize more, but in terms of buying your things for daily life, perhaps it is different.

Ada:

Yes, here for example we can buy things here because there is a supermarket next door. In that yes, we also have primary schools.

DM:

In the case of children, there is provision for establishments ...

Gislaine:

Yes, in fact, there is even a nursery school in the area. But for teenagers we have a deficit in the commune.

DM:

And is there a difference between opportunities for women and for men?

Gislaine:

Yes, here Cerrillos is more focused on men, because there is almost only steel industry, etc. The only companies that are here where more women can work is Evercrisp, Frutiventa, Prisa and Ballerina. But the rest, for example, Somela is for men. Two-in-one company do not hire women, only men.

DM:

And the jobs that they have are with a contract or rather informal?

Alejandra:

For example, I worked for 7 years in the company Evercrisp, and the contracts were for 8 months, 6 months, and then they would throw me out for a month and then call me again.

DM:

Then it was a contract, but not stable.

Gislaine:

It was a term contract.

Ada:

Because they leave you 1 month out so we do not have the right to claim.

Gislaine:

you don't have the right to vacation.

Ada:

She, for example, works in the supermarket Acuenta, and it has been 2 years.

DM:

That is with a contract.

Alejandra:

Yes, I have an indefinite contract, they pay me everything, also vacations.

DM:

Perfect, I'm going to ask you some questions about your spaces. If you take into account the daily activities that you carry out, what would be the main areas that you use, for example, what streets, what stops, if you identify a center.

Everyone:

Lo Errazuriz avenue.

Ada:

I believe that everyone here believes that it is Lo Errazuriz, because it is on its way to Melipilla until 5 de Abril avenue, it is the only part that we can take transport. Yes, because nothing comes in inside.

DM:

And collective taxi service?

Everyone:

Nothing here.

Gislaine:

Even radiotaxis do not leave you here because the neighborhood is bad.

Ada:

Uber, with that one moves more.

DM:

So, Uber is a way to move inside ...

Everyone:

Yes, that does work.

DM:

And which for you for example is the center of the commune?

Ada:

I find that there is no center here in the Commune.

Gislaine:

Maipú, for everything you have to go to Maipú.

DM:

Why do you think that everything must go to Maipú? What does it offer?

Gislaine:

Let's say that, if one wants to pay for water, electricity, there you can, if one wants to buy, there are stores. And as one does not have only one kid, if one wants to buy wholesale in Estación Central. But here in Cerrillos there is something like that, no.

Ada:

So, here is a mall, the Plaza Oeste, but it's on the other side.

Gislaine:

The same, is far away for us.

DM:

It is not easy to access the end ...

Gislaine:

No, let's say the same belongs to Cerrillos Mall Plaza West, but it is difficult to reach ...

Ada:

What I find that the Cerrillos has little transport, because the micro bus, as far as it leaves us from here is in Estación Central. We do not have any more.

DM:

And do you always have to change buses there to get anywhere?

Everyone:

Yes.

DM:

And now with the arrival of the metro, is the same thing happening?

Ada:

It's the same, because, well, now they place a bus, which is supposed to be a short route, L25, which leaves us right there in the subway, which is there in Camino a Melipilla.

Paola:

And from there to here, the bus leaves us at Lo Errazuriz.

DM:

When was that route been open??

Ada:

1 month ago.

Gislaine:

About 1 month.

DM:

Because they just opened those new routes ...

Ada:

Yes, just to have more options. Because to us that the subway in Cerrillos works for us, you see? from Lo Errazuriz avenue there is nothing that leaves us there. You had to walk to the road to Melipilla, which is just as well, or take a bus, get off at Lo Errazuriz, just take one for the metro station. I'm not kidding.

DM:

And how much are they willing to walk from the house to the bus stop?

Ada:

It is more or less near, there is one around here.

DM:

But more or less how much seems comfortable? Half an hour, fifteen minutes?

Ada:

I think it depends, for example, me, I walk super slow ...

DM:

I would like to ask you what would happen, if you were offered to work in the area of the former - Cerrillos airport. Would you consider it far or near?

Ada:

No, close, because if you get up early you can even get there by walking.

Everyone:

Near.

Ada:

For people who have limited resources.

Gislaine:

You could even go by bicycle; you would not spend on transport.

DM:

And what are the spaces where you socialize? For example, where they do activities with the community. Between you...

Gislaine:

We, here.

Ada:

It's because these only blocks. As well as what you see here, here are 36 departments. I am the president of this apartment complex, and any meeting we do here just outside.

DM:

Here, in these interior spaces, and do the meetings take place between the different buildings and activities as a whole?

Gislaine:

The truth is that almost never, very rarely. When I was the in the "quiero mi barrio" project, they did the Spring Festival.

DM:

And there, as practically all the Oreste joined, the condominiums and all because there were competitions, then we competed with others. And each one had its color, for the Spring festival.

DM:

Do you think they need a space that includes all these ...

Ada:

In other words, there are two social headquarters here, but they do not lend themselves to any activity.

Paola:

That is missing, each headquarters for each block.

Ada:

So, here there are for example two beautiful squares, a square that is in "Las Casas" but these people cannot go there. Because that is the square of "Las Casas".

DM:

That I wanted to ask you, in that sense, what do you perceive as the limits of your neighborhood? If I had to explain where your neighborhood ends ...

Ada:

Is that it is quite tiny, where it comes out, I have Lo Errazuriz, if you go right here you go to the Errazuriz, for the other street, you go to Lo Errazuriz, you do not go anywhere else.

DM:

So, Lo Errazuriz, is your point of reference.

Gislaine:

Yes.

Ada:

Yes, for everybody.

DM:

And what are the main jobs in which the people who live here work? Technical services...

Paola:

I work cleaning toilets.

Gislaine:

Me in sewing.

Ada:

She works as a cashier, do not ask me what I work for because I do not work.

Paola:

She is a housewife.

Ada:

Well, I worked several years in shifts, but that's why I now have problems in my back, because I have been standing for a long time.

DM:

I am going to ask you a question that has to do with how you perceive yourself as a group. Do you feel integrated to the great Santiago?

Ada:

I believe that the great Santiago does not.

DM:

You mentioned Maipú, Estación Central. Is that like your city? As to what you are willing to move ...

Ada:

I think they are the only commutes we do for purchases. Whether it's Plaza Maipú or Estación Central, there is no other option for us.

Paola:

There is not.

DM:

And when are there big shows like in downtown Santiago?

Everyone:

Nope.

Ada:

The truth is that, I know that someone goes from here from the Oresthes, not there. No one.

DM:

You could say that you as a Commune or the Oresthes, have an identity?

Gislaine:

No, I think we have virtually no identity.

Ada:

I find that the Oresthes Plath is very abandoned even by the Municipality. Look, I'm going to tell you something. Last week all the sewage facilities here were flooded. The streets, the ones we have inside the condominiums, in the courtyards. The disgusting water came out because it is wastewater. On Monday at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, this began. We called the municipality, the territorial team that are supposed to be in charge of the condominium. I sent them pictures, and do you think someone showed up? I had to notify the intendancy, on Facebook. By twitter, to SMAPA; by twitter to "Piñera" (Sebastian Piñera is the current President of Chile), we sent messages everywhere.

The next day, at 8 o'clock in the morning, there was a big party here, and the Mayor saying, "I did it", and he did not even contribute. If we with our son had not raised hell on Facebook and on Twitter with SMAPA, with "Piñera" (Sebastian Piñera is the current president of Chile), the mayor, would not have done anything. But then they come saying, thanks to the management of our mayor and what did the mayor do for us? He did nothing. If we had not left the broom with my son, sending photos to half the world, that was the muddy here in the Oresthes, we would still be like that. So, I think that the municipality to us as a area has us super has left us abandoned.

DM:

In that line, of what they were saying, you feel that the people who live here have a commitment to live here. That, in spite of all the difficulties they may have, they want to continue living here.

Ada:

I do, I love my neighboorhood, I want to continue living here. Hopefully the neighborhood will be fixed, yes.

DM:

But do you feel that perception is widespread?

Ada:

Mostly yes, there are many who want to leave...

Gislaine:

The thing is that there are many people here that since their childhood, years, coming from the camp, inside.

Ada:

We here, with most of our neighbors here, have been together for more than 30 years.

DM:

In that line, if people were offered, for example, between, improve the neighborhood or have a home elsewhere, would you prefer to stay here or move to another commune such as Maipú or neighboring community?

Ada:

Here I believe that most people would stay.

Paola:

I think some would leave.

Ada:

Here, for example, when the program "Quiero mi barrio" (I love my neighborhood), they made many changes in the Oresthes.

Gislaine:

Yes, many changes.

Ada:

They made many changes because this was worse, we were more isolated. But when the program came; the guys who worked here made the people work together a lot. The same made plenty of repairs, the seats were more beautiful.

Now, in Lo Errazuriz, what you see, where the water container was, all that, we did it with the program. We are very grateful for that.

DM:

Do you consider that they have public spaces where they can meet other people? Or it is more than anything the spaces inside the condominiums.

Ada:

I mean, the plaza is the only space, to do events and everything.

DM:

I mean, the square is still an important place for you ...

Everyone:

Yes.

DM:

So, one could summarize then, there are spaces of the neighborhood scale, such as the squares or the passages that are inside the condominium and then there is Lo Errazuriz, which is the road that connects everyone.

Ada:

I say yes, that's it. That is the main street that we have.

DM:

And what are the values that you see of you? As neighbors ...

Ada:

I at least try to do everything possible to fix my condominium. And I'm going to keep fighting, my project is to put security cameras in the building, fix all the doors and badges and I'm not going to rest until I get what I want for the building, see it paved, see it fixed. And I will continue fighting, as well as fight a whole year to win this project, and it came out. I also had a lot of support from SERVIU, I have to admit that they helped me a lot. I'm very grateful for that.

DM:

But then they recognize themselves as entrepreneurs, and they are willing to take forward the common space they share.

Ada:

Yes, of course.

Everyone:

Yes.

DM:

Now I would like to ask you some questions about a "what would happen". The idea is to imagine that we have resources and we can dream a little. So, you can tell me if you agree or disagree with what I am going to propose to you ... If you could, for example, incorporate into the commune, services, or job opportunities, or functions that would help you, which would be the most important?

Ada:

I believe that the office we are going to have, which is one of the priorities that is being achieved here in Cerrillos. And I have 1 year, no more than that.

Gislaine:

Yes, but infrastructure is not as important, but doctors, because we do not get anything out if we have this great office if we do not have specialists. It will be the same.

DM:

They mentioned to me to have a better transport system that connects them ... For example, if they had a bike path system that connects them, do you think it would be used?

Everyone:

Yes.

DM:

If there is a place that provides bicycles, administered by the municipality or the community, do you think it would be used?

Everyone:

Yes.

DM:

The same with a local bus system?

Everyone:

Yes.

DM:

And do you consider that the smaller buses do have an adequate size for this area? Or do they fill up?

Ada:

No, the buses here are full.

Everyone:

They are always full.

Ada:

You come here at 11 o'clock at night and they do not work here any more. The people here who get sick, have to get vehicles with the neighbors because here at that time almost no vehicles pass by Lo Errazuriz. Likewise, the passing buses, like those that arrive at Estación Central, pass through sides that are not safe...

DM:

I want to ask you a question, you have this huge space here, if you could do a project there, what do you think is necessary? Thinking about the development of all the neighbors.

Gislaine:

I would like a field, because the kids use that as a field, but it is only mud, just stone. For example, I have a 17-year-old son and he loves soccer, for him to play there every day. But it's still uncomfortable for them, because they have to be removing stones and debris before playing ...

Ada:

In addition, that space for the only thing that serves is a green area, it does not work for anything else.

Alejandra:

Sure, because it's only a filler.

Gislaine:

It is pure filler. It would have to be like a park, putting games ...

Paola:

A park, to remove that dump, so much garbage in there.

Gislaine:

Games for children.

DM:

But they see it as a space more oriented to recreation, sports, etc.

Gislaine:

Sport, because for example you cannot put a police station there because over time it will sink, it will give way because it is pure filler. For the only thing that would serve is for green areas, something that looks beautiful, something that attracts attention, that makes you want to go there. Because now, you go out here and practically the only thing you see is trash, booths, drugged people ...

Paola:

Because everything with garbage now, and they are making pure booths ...

Gislaine:

The "volaitos" (drug addicts), those on the street.

Ada:

Only drug addicts.

DM:

And if you, for example, I want to raise an idea, a university, for example, a technical university ...

Everyone:

Yes, that would be good.

DM:

Because when I refer to your needs, I mean everything, not just the recreational, doctor's offices, health, education?

Gislaine:

The thing is, the office is near, we have it close, because walking from here to there it takes an hour.

Ada:

But that's what I told him, here we do not have secondary schools, which really help young people.

DM:

And when these young people leave middle school here, do they study technical careers, or do they start working directly? They go to university.

Ada:

Most of the children here only reach the 12th grade, because they have no other option.

Paola:

12th grade.

DM:

But if they had a choice, would they enter a technical university?

Everyone:

Yes, we think so, yes.

Alejandra:

That is necessary.

Ada:

For example, I hope that they (their children) go to the university. For example, my daughter has good grades and I hope she continues with college.

DM:

Let's suppose, that somehow the problem of the filling is solved, and there is a housing project there. What would you think that there would be houses there?

Ada:

I know it will not happen, because that land has no solution. Because I have lived here for 30 years and that's impossible, that land has gas down. Because it's pure garbage, it has gas underground.

DM:

I mean, that has to be completely recovered.

Neighbor 1:

Yes, with green areas. Only green areas. Imagine that I was here when they filled that land. I lived here 38 years ago. And this area was created because they expropriated us, before the highway was created, we lived there. And they expropriated us to build the highway and then they created this site 19 years ago. And that wasteland was a huge hole, and they were years filling that, with rubbish and debris.

Paola:

And that's why people take advantage and keep littering.

DM:

It became a public dump.

Ada:

But this did not happen to us before, it started happening to us four years ago.

DM:

And why do you think this is happening?

Ada:

I believe it was an "arrangement" of the mayor with another person that I personally know. Because we were 16 years with another mayor, I do not say that he came to fix our problems because it would be a lie. But neither did we fill with dirt. And when this new mayor left, who was known to the person who filled us in, all of that was filled. You know that before, for all the new years, people gathered at the barrier to see the fireworks from all Santiago, it looked beautiful. Or at night, you could see the sky, now we see pure only garbage.

DM:

If you were offered, for example, a new home, within the Commune, would you leave the neighborhood?

Ada:

No, so, I think we all yearn for a house, have a house with its own patio, but I'm not dissatisfied with where I live. Even though there are places that are not good, like everywhere, I am not dissatisfied with living here.

DM:

The rest, do you think the same?

Everyone:

Yes, we think the same.

DM:

If the municipality, for example, made agreements with companies, and linked them to you, to establish specific projects within the Commune, such as companies or other types of services, would you trust those alliances?

Everyone:

According to the mayor who is in charge.

DM:

And if it were not at the level of the Commune, but at the regional level. That it was a public policy, for example, like the "program I want my neighborhood", which is a policy of the central government, mediated by the municipality ...

Everyone:

Yes.

Ada:

Yes, other than that we already have an experience with the program "quiero mi barrio". So, I think so, I think that people would support rhat right way.

DM:

In other words, you have confidence in the policies that the government must do.

Everyone:

Yes.

Paola:

Moreover, then I was elected "queen" (laughs).

DM:

Now I understand everything (laughs).

Gislaine:

It is that if the initiative of the government comes, the people are more motivated and join more, than if it comes communally, that is, of the municipality.

DM:

And why do you think that happens?

Paola:

For the things that have happened.

Gislaine:

Because the municipality, generates a lot of division. For example, there are people who do not believe in the mayor because he has taken things another way. He privileges his friends, his people.

Ada:

For example, the experience that happened to us here. I would like to clarify to the people of the program, that I have my concept of what happened, even if they say that this was not the case. We were in a project of the program "quiero mi barrio" for 18 condominiums, to fix them, change of roof, paintings, and there were 4 condominiums that were not in favor of the mayor, that would be elected again. I was one of them.

Gislaine:

We made it, practically the campaign, to another mayor.

Ada:

We even created ads, so that the other candidate would be elected. And they left the 4 condominiums outside, tell me if that is coincidence.

They fixed all the other condominiums and they left us out.

DM:

They saw it as a punishment.

Ada:

And this project that I won now, did not even get the municipality, I won it alone. Going to the SERVIU meetings, going to the program, I went where they told me. There I was. So that's why we have distrust of the mayor.

Gislaine:

So, that, if the projects came from the government, the people would join, they would be enthusiastic. People would organize themselves if they had to, unlike if we did it for a mayor.

DM:

In other words, whatever the municipalities do, it would have to be understood that they are supported or directed by the mayor.

Ada:

Yes, because we distrusts For example, here is the airport area. We know that the subsoil, is contaminated, we must make a study to build housing. Maybe you can, but you have to do a study. Even Mayor Orrego came to tell the people, vote for Arturo Aguirre, because he is going to build their houses, and it turned out that all this was a lie. And they come from the government, to say that the people should trust the mayors. They removed the mayor, because they made more than 100 committees of relatives, that, if they voted for him, he was going to give him the houses.

Gislaine:

Now, all the committees are taking shots and protests, and it turns out that it was all a lie. Because of that, people from the municipality and mayor will not support you. It is not going to happen. Because there are many issues. The people who were in favor of him are against him now because he promised many things that he did not fulfill. I believe that is the same in all the communes. But here there is a very big rivalry, between one and the other.

DM:

Likewise, one understands that this is perceived as such, because in general there is a lack of transparency and there have been problems of corruption. But also, my question is focused on if you think in this way because you see that the municipality does not have enough resources to solve all the problems.

Ada:

It is that I say that they also depend a lot on the mayor. I'll be back with that, because when the other mayor was there, there were resources. And he left a lot of resources for the mayor who is now, who is in his second term. There were resources, but now there is nothing. Because the other previous mayor had so many resources and now, they are up to their necks.

DM:

In other words, the mayor, as a leader or figure, is very important to you ...

Ada:

Yes, the mayor.

Gislaine:

Let's say that this mayor who is now won the people, because he started doing events, giving grants to the people he knew, instead those who were not close to him hindered them from obtaining the subsidy. So, that, on that side, he dumped the municipality's money, that's why there are no funds. Because if someone came and presented him with a project of 7 million, and there was a couple of them, he gave the subsidy, while they presented papers, without even knowing what was going to be done. He did not care what was done.

Ada:

I believe that people like me, gave Arturo Aguirre the opportunity to be mayor. Because he was a councilman for many years. I know the mayor of this time many years ago. Before even he was a counselor, more than 30 years. But I think he was not able to take on the responsibility that came over him. He disappointed many people. I think that, if it had not been for Claudio Orrego, who came here to talk to the people that they were going to give him a house, he would not have been mayor. Because, for example, we thank God, each one of us has its apartment. But if I did not have an apartment, and someone tells me, vote for him and you're going to have your house, I would closed my eyes for him. I would tell my whole family, vote because they're going to give us a house. And that's what happened now, that's why he as mayor, nothing.

DM:

I am going to ask you one last question: are you more in favor of co-designing or co-participating in the construction of your neighborhood or would you prefer that, if the possibility exists, everything will be provided by the institution?

Everyone:

No, we should help.

Ada:

I would help, because otherwise I do not understand it. If they asked me if I can help, of course, in anything that would help us to emerge. Here in the commune, or whatever.

DM:

And do you find that it is better when it is done in a participatory way?

Ada:

Of course, with people who understand that, that's logical. If they tell me what I want to do, I have no idea, but if they bring me a project and we see that it is good, it is logical that they should, so that people can support and participate as well.

DM:

I ask you this because today the theme of participation is in vogue. But participation is different according to where you live. For example, there are communes where municipalities ask less because there are more resources and most of the services work, but instead in communes with more difficulties or neighborhoods with more difficulties, these forms of association are much more present ...

Gislaine:

Of course, we would like it.

Ada:

Sure, because when the program was, Quiero mi barrio, they gave us the projects, and we had to decide if we liked it that way or not. But I accept people as they were, if they were good.

Gislaine:

I think it's always important to ask the people what the projects look like. Because nobody would like to have a tap in front of the door. But if I would like you to knock on my door and show me the project and tell me this will benefit you and this will affect you, see the pros and cons. What you have in favor and what you have against, when doing that project.

DM:

In that sense, going to the heart of the question, for you it is necessary to be involved in the development of the commune.

Everyone:

Yes.

Gislaine:

The need is going to be from us, not from the government. The need is ours, because, for example, the president will not come if he needs to go to the doctor's office, he will not come to us. We're going to go to that, that's why he has to go through us, decide with us.

DM:

Perfect, I do not have any more questions, maybe something that you would like to comment ...

Ada:

That, if you ever come to do a project, come talk to us first (laughs)

DM:

Of course, I ask you that because sometimes there are different visions, when I worked in the program, I remember that there were neighbors who believe that it is better for things to be achieved and done while others value participation ...

Gislaine:

Of course, there are people who, as I told you, do not care what they do outside the door, because they say, I live in the door. There are many people who care what happens inside their house, not what happens outside, but also one gets older and children grow up, and one has to think not only of oneself, that is staying in the house. You have to think about children, teenagers. For example, I have a son who's 17, one of 16 and one of 3, but I have to think that I will leave them for the future for them. For example, that it does not cost them so much to take transport, that the hospital is not so far away, that the stores are not so far away.

Ada:

And that to imagine having a university in the Commune would be spectacular.

Paola:

It would be great.

Ada:

It would be great.

DM:

Well, that is something that I propose in my thesis, that local projects should be more focused on local needs. Because sometimes what we imagine most are squares and parks, but we do not consider other spaces that allow us another type of development. There is no other kind of things at hand.

Ada:

Here we lack that much.

DM:

Also, I'm very surprised that they say their urban center is in Maipu.

Paola:

Yes.

Gislaine

Is that if you ask anyone who lives here what is your center, they will say "I do not know" because we do not have a place or something where we say this is the center. Because there are squares everywhere.

Ada:

But they are common places.

DM:

And where is the municipality of the municipality?

Gislaine:

No, because for example if you go in a vehicle you do not have a place to park. You have to leave the car in the municipality and leave.

Ada:

On the other hand, in Maipu, they do have a center.

Gislaine:

Of course, they have their place where they hold their events. I just came from there, and they were setting up a stage, that question will be filled more time. On the other hand, not here, because if the municipality does something it does it for neighborhood, then it separates the things, like the village here, does not join with the one there because I do another event.

DM:

I wanted to ask you, do you have contact with other neighborhoods? Because cerrillos is a very heterogeneous city, they are building those closed condominiums, Portal Oeste ...

Ada:

It is that we see that area as another commune. One is more related to the Villas Los Presidentes, Las 3 Villas.

Gislaine:

And with some people just, because for example the other day we had water games and the people who know, who really knows, comes here. But not everyone knows, not everyone comes.

Ada:

It's just that there's a lot of rivalry, because when the Oresthes Plath arrived, Villa Los Presidentes had been years and years. And there was a barrier here in Lo Errazuriz, a wall of bricks, and the bullets ran from here to there and from there to here. We lived like

in the Old West (laughs). They called us the "Choreste" Plath.

So, when they destroyed that wall, it was the best they could do, because that rivalry ended. In fact, it was over, because here before the bullets were normal.

DM:

Hey, and all that we've talked about, you see that the younger people of the neighborhood understand it or are very disconnected?

Ada:

Look, I can speak for my children, she is 16 and the child is 14. Their life is in here, she goes out when she has to study, when she is here, she does not go anywhere. He is 16 years old and has never dated, because I don't want (laughs) that he shares some things. I'm not saying everything is bad ...

Gislaine:

Is that the reality here is that there is a lot of drug addiction.

Ada:

And the fear is always that they take your children the wrong way.

DM:

That also wanted to ask them why drug trafficking is quite embedded in the neighborhoods. There are dealers who are part of the community, and even help in certain things ...

Everyone:

Yes, here is exactly the same.

DM:

I saw it in my experience in the program. And it goes beyond that, that is why I ask you; do you feel that it is a very problematic situation?

Everyone:

Yes, Yes. As everywhere.

Ada:

Here is a sector, which is practically theirs. That they manage, but here, thank God, no.

DM:

And do they oppose developments or programs, for example, do I want my neighborhood?

Ada:

No, it is that here when the program was, Quiero mi barrio, the professionals who came were two tall kids, good guys, passed as detectives. Then I had to go building by building introducing them (laughs), explaining that they were from the program and came to work for the projects. And then when they were already known they relaxed. And then we had a problem with the construction company. Because a construction company came and when the company were finishing, the detectives did not find anything better than camouflage with the workers to investigate some apartements around. After that, the drug dealers wanted to literally kill the poor people from the construction company later.

DM:

Yes, something similar happened to us, it's a practice they have.

Gislaine:

Yes, it is a technique, but not very good.

DM:

Especially for neighborhood teams.

Ada:

Yes of course, for example, I now have another vision. If I am now going to work with a construction company, every day I tell the project manager to introduce me to his people and to identify all of them. Because it is not that I am against if the police bust them or not, that does not matter, but I will not risk being attacked by their undercover people. Because if they want to do their job, they look for another way. But do not harm us.

Gislaine:

In fact, they were almost two months unemployed without being able to do anything. In addition, there were apartments that were changing the roofs and were left without a roof, in the middle of summer (laughs).

Ada:

The company had to bring only black people to be able to identify them.

DM:

Well, I want to thank you for the whole conversation, it has been very good.

Ada:

Yes, I wish it has helped you.

Everyone:

Yes, I hope so, too.

Lo Valledor Sur Neighborhood board interview

Ivonne Vicencio

Emilia Silva

Marisol Vicencio

Gina Moraga

Mario Aguilera

DM:

My first question is whether you feel that the commune meets your daily needs. When I refer to the commune, I mean the territorial area. For example, if you feel that the community gives you enough opportunities or feel that you are missing some things and if you must mobilize other communes to work or access health. What is your vision about that?

Gina:

For example, here the only place we have is the Vega lo Valledor, which is the largest in South America, but it does not meet the labor needs of the entire world. It is the only thing that we have here, and it is not like in other places that there is industry or other things. So, what happens is that this municipality does not get much economic income because permits are not paid, at least those of Lo Valledor. Then there is a shortage that these money could be for some repairs or to improve public spaces a bit.

On culture, I would say that it has a lot to do with the relationship between governments and the mayor on duty. For example, when Claudina Nuñez arrived, we had Casa de la Cultura and there was a lot of activity, many cultural activities arrived, but unfortunately the change of government that came down and is not the same as before. Now it is more popular to bring images than culture. For example, they bring transvestites and it's not like I'm against transvestites, but that's what I see. Or bring music groups, but not as before when they brought culture street theater or the Teatro a Mil, which came every year and was very good. With the new mayor that was cut.

Marisol:

I feel that from the train line to here we do not exist, because for everything we have to cross and for us it is a problem to cross. The last show that was made here was Ochagavía theater, I cannot go there at 20:30 with the children, then I must pay for a car and returning is impossible. That's why you miss out a lot of things. I ask myself why not also this in an itinerant way do, go to the neighborhoods, because we are much further away from the center of everything. We are on the other side, for us that also determines to see and decide where we are going, because I do not have money to pay for the car or because the bridge of the train line is very difficult and it is not to arrive and cross.

DM:

Where is the center for you ?, according to the activities they do.

Gina:

On the other side of the train line, everything is there, where is the Municipality.

Everyone:

Yes.

Mario:

But the municipality you say? Of the territory ?

DM:

According to what they declare, that you have to do all your activities crossing the train line, I see that everything has to be done in a center that you cannot reach.

Gina:

But there are people who tell us that we live on the other side of the world, there is even a group that has that name.

Ivonne:

We have a pass on the train line, very nice, at the station, but we have a schedule to pass because then they close it.

DM:

Then that barrier delimits its territory??

Everyone:

Exactly.

Ivonne:

For example, I went to an activity in the house of culture, I immediately thought at the time that the gate was closed, and I had to come back before the activity finished because if not then I cannot go through. Do not get to see the activity, because for us it is super safe to go through the subway, because there are guards and security.

Gina:

There is another gate, but the fear of insecurity, because it has a little door that you must go through the train line.

Marisol:

Or the low-level step and it is also insecure.

DM:

And what do you think of these crosses with elevators, do they generate security?

Gina:

Not at all, imagine that elevator that is in the meadow, the people of Lo Valledor south climbs that huge elevator and sometimes they get stuck.

Marisol:

There is one that is not working, it is a tremendous structure and it is not working, I say it because I have gone to the dentist and it has not been working for a while.

DM:

Do you feel more confident about the low level than the other level?

Marisol:

For my only safety, it is where the pedestrian crossing for the metro station is.

Gina:

Imagine that is this huge starway, for us the issue of the staircase is complicated because they can rob you. Because there are bad neighborhoods.

Marisol:

But the same happens in the other areas you also must run, it's not safe.

Ivonne:

I work on Saturdays at the flea market on the other side of the train line, and I found the initiative very good, but when I'm crossing at the subway station, I'm praying that the elevator is working, because I go with my cart. And if it's not working I cannot cross.

DM:

where do you move to work, within the commune?

Everyone:

We leave the commune.

Gina:

The accesses are two, Avenida Central and the train, and all the buses are completely full, many people work as housekepeers. They work for the rich, because that is the system. I only worked here because I was a territorial leader, 6 years, and I did not have to take transport and so I knew all the towns. The black one works outside and Mario in the Transantiago.

Marisol:

I work outside.

DM:

Did the presence of the metro line help you connect better?

Everyone:

Yes.

Gina:

Yes, if you take this metro line you are in 7 minutes in the center.

Marisol:

line 6 does not help me.

Ivonne:

if the train had been underground, it would have been better because we had connected more with the neighbors, but they disintegrated us.

Gina:

We fought a lot for the underground train.

Mario:

But it could have been better, although it's a good connection.

DM:

So, you have helped them to work in other communes?

Gina:

Yes, it's easy and good connection.

Marisol:

The same in the morning is full because it is the last connection, to take it at peak times you have to take it in Lo Espejo.

Mario:

I am a Transantiago operator. And those same connections that are made now, the people who used to go on the bus now leave on the train, but the same goes for the number of people.

Marisol:

Like the train if it was bigger or at least two, it could take more people.

Mario:

The subway has been what the number of people has endured from the failure of the Transantiago, but just as suddenly the subway collapsed.

And what I do not like is that these new lines do not have a driver, nobody has noticed, but for us who are workers and workers are losing jobs.

DM:

Then, they agree that the center of the Commune is not on this side, if it is not at the front.

All:

Yes!

DM:

Then what would that center be?

Marisol:

The Ochagavía nucleus that is now super bad, in the Oriente sector of the commune.

Gina:

The Core Ochagavia what was the white elephant before. A block away is the Municipality and there is also the House of Culture, the pool, everything is there.

Marisol:

ER is also on that side.

Gina:

We are supposed to have a SAPU and a new CESFAM nearby.

DM:

What are the limits of your neighborhood, but not jurisdictionally but what you determine as limits?

Gina:

When one is in the street one knows where their territory ends, for example, here is Central Avenue, Maipú Avenue and departmental and that's all we walk. It's what the neighbors walk, but not everyone knows where their territory ends, because they only walk one block to the square.

Mario:

As a leader I know what the sector is.

Marisol:

because when they talk about my sector, people associate from Maipú to departmental, nothing more.

Gina:

In any case, that is the vision of a leader and of us, not of every commune.

DM:

And for you, what are the spaces where they meet and socialize? They have them.

Gina:

The Chapel Jesus Christ Liberator for us is a strategic point of meetings. The Father Ignacio Vergara square, and the Panama plaza. It is small but many people gather around the Juventud Platense sports club.

DM:

Something that catches the attention in PAC and Espejo is that they have many nuclei as central spaces. For example, where there are carabineros or where there are courts. Do those spaces work for the community or are they too closed?

Gina:

They work.

Mario:

In the case of us, the neighborhood board is a closed space. The board is in a sector that does not embrace the community sense. Within the board there is a difficult population, but with many children who are alone for various reasons. One of the things I tried was for people to come together and embrace this need for children to get together. That problem is seen in the space of the court where people do not dare to go. Accesses are not available and you have to shop around.

DM:

Are those dirt courts used?

Mario:

Yes, they are used. It is a necessity. When the "Quiero mi barrio" program was implemented, I proposed to re-enlist the boys of the sports club helping them to get together and give them a nice space. The neighbors themselves said no. It would have been good if they insisted on activating those spaces so that the children play to avoid them staying at home.

DM:

If I asked you about the crucial problems that the commune / neighborhood has for you, what would they be?

Mario:

One of the debts with the directive of the sector, and altogether too I want my neighborhood, was to illuminate a sector.

DM:

That is, lighting is a theme, but what happens with connectivity, do you feel with enough travel to connect?

Mario:

There are means of transport especially in Avenida Central. It has to be a route where good buses run and good buses.

DM:

Another type of problem that you identify in the sector?

Ivonne:

Security.

Mario:

I think that the drug issue is associated with dark spaces that are not occupied. For this reason, it is necessary to generate activity and occupy the spaces. As long as we have the strength and support of the central government, we could activate those areas. But for that, the will and the budget are necessary. Going out to play with the children, play, or put a theater in the square. Occupying those spaces making people feel good there is a way to get security. To see carabineros controlling the sector will not happen because we are a commune with few resources.

Ivonne:

That's a big point. We marched because of security issues because criminals were burglarizing the houses having police officers in the same area. One needs them in the streets and they know the hours when people arrive at their homes and go out to work.

Marisol:

my daughter has been robbed twice in the area of Departamental.

DM:

In other words, Departmental is a complex path that is frequently used. What other streets do you use a lot?

Mario and Ivonne:

Av. Central

Ivonne:

But my Central Avenue scares me as much as Departmental. In fact to go to the hospital

I do not use either of them.

Marisol:

There is a new neighborhood called "La legua chica". Nueva lo valledor and Nueva Independencia are our accesses, the latter being where you enter the fertile valley. It is very easy to steal there and there is a lot of micro-trafficking inside the same Vega. **More than the accesses themselves are the surroundings where there are more problems and are the youngest / children who, for lack of options, start stealing.**

Mario:

And that's because they leave the children alone. They are discriminated against by the neighbors themselves. You can end up in SENAME knowing that nothing will happen. There is a responsibility on the part of all of us. About surveillance there was a moment when there was talk about the lack of manning and the operation of police officers. And that generates a lack of security

Marisol:

When the police station arrived, I never expected it to improve security. We call them "the police mall". We feel that they come only to live here.

DM:

In that line my question goes. One of the problems that there are, for example, in Cerrillos is that they do not have many spaces or public goods. Where the police is, is it a space for public use, and may have another use? Do you see in these spaces an opportunity to fulfill a different role than now, in order to generate other uses such as markets, fairs or activities for children and young people? Do you think they are important spaces?

Mario:

The space on the court is very important. What I know is that the mayor promised to fix it by building a stadium. It would be a good alternative to make it accessible for everyone the use of the sector creating a center for the neighborhood. We would have the court, the high school Eugenio Miguel de Salas, and the new CESFAM with post in a single meeting point.

DM:

I raise it because, for example, if one sees the core Ochagavía is basically a renovation of an existing space that finally acquired another function. It adopted functions for the neighbors and the neighborhood, and that generated a center. In that sense, do you think that is a model that can meet the needs in this sector?

Marisol:

Since we have limited access to the places, and the fact that CESFAM is going to move, we ask the mayor to bring a small municipality to that space.

Mario:

Once I had a meeting with the traffic manager, where together with other neighbors, we highlighted the access to transport in that sector. Besides having a good transport, there is the police station, the stadium, the school, the nursery and there is activity with the migrants. When CESFAM moves to this sector, the movement will increase, making it the new nerve center for us. Although the same should take advantage of the place that will be here with some municipal use.

DM:

To close this first part, I would like to ask three questions: What would be the main actors in the neighborhood (religious organizations, social organizations, sports clubs)? Which are the ones that you see with more strength and projection?

Marisol:

First, the neighborhood board. As a mother and historical organization here, it celebrated its 60th anniversary as well as our population. Second, the Catholic Church and all its people were always a help even in times of dictatorship.

DM:

But the neighborhood board is what you see as structural.

Marisol:

Sure, everything comes out from there.

DM:

That has allowed them to connect with other groups.

Marisol:

That's what we've done. We have street delegates and we are organized.

Mario:

This has always been handled. Even the last anniversary was practically made with only resources of the neighborhood council, operating autonomously. It was a self-management, which is what we've always wanted. Although it has cost, it was possible to break a paradigm with the work and effort of all the people.

Marisol:

You could say that the group of people was just us or a small group. It costs a lot that people believe that you have to do things not only for one but also for others.

DM:

In that sense, do you believe that people have a commitment to the place / to live here?

Marisol:

You know who I can see that with. With older adults and our age; people of 50 years, but young people have no interest.

DM:

A phenomenon that has been happening in several communes, and even in this one, is that they are losing population, unlike others that win. There is a process of migration. Do you think that, if people had the option to leave the commune, would they leave here? Or maybe they identify sectors that would do it and others that do not?

Ivonne:

I believe that older adults stay because they created the neighborhood. I would not leave either because one feels safe here and I feel that it is part of me.

DM:

But you are still young. I say this because in other neighborhoods I have had conversations with leaders over 60 years.

Marisol:

There are people who say they are looking for a house to come back here. You have seen this organizational work that has been done in the last 2 or 3 years in which I feel we have changed.

DM:

If we do an exercise. If you were offered to live in an apartment in the center, would you do it?

Gina:

I have always said that from here they take me in a coffin, because here I am charmed. It is the life that we have chosen and has struggled to build.

Mario:

Usually the people who have their home here are not going to leave.

Ivonne:

The young people are the ones who are leaving.

DM:

Everyone?

Marisol:

Not all, in fact there are people who are looking for a place here.

Ivonne:

The issue is that here it has become expensive.

Marisol:

The issue is that surplus value went up with the meter. My sister is looking for a house and she is from here. She is looking for a house here and wants to sell his house in La Florida. She says she is far away, and her neighborhood does not have the activity that there is in this sector.

DM:

There is no community.

Gina and Ivonne:

Nothing.

Marisol:

In fact, when I told her about the last anniversary of the neighborhood and was more enthusiastic about the idea of coming to live here.

Ivonne:

Being from the satellite city came to the anniversary.

DM:

Only to close this first part. You, in that line, could you say that there is a lifestyle?

Marisol:

There is a lifestyle.

DM:

A lifestyle that is what these neighborhoods like Lo Valledor have that is different from those that live in La florida or in closed communities?

Ivonne:

Here there is neighborhood life.

Mario:

That was transmitted by the old people. It came from before.

Gina:

Diego, as is the life of a woman like me here. I take the broom to sweep and you start talking to people. It's like going to the fair, because it's a meeting place where we communicate. Here, in this neighborhood, it's different. People greet you and we all go out to clean.

Mario:

We have a whatsapp group and we met personally.

Gina:

I have all the neighbors' phone numbers. Information such as: "kids we are going to put the chip to the dogs, you have to take out the trash, do not forget, this neighbor's birthday is soon". And there is also the personal and physical encounter. Once a neighbor got sick and we went to help her to take her to the hospital. It is a neighborhood life in which one wants to live. The neighbors are your family.

Mario:

We are community.

DM:

And that is something that, in general, is not transmitted in young people?

Ivonne:

Not because young people go out more. They study, work and party outside.

DM:

But do you want to be here, or have more resources want to live elsewhere?

Marisol:

Of those that I have talked, some want to live or rent here.

Ivonne:

I tell my daughter to graduate to buy an apartment and she tells me she wants to live here.

DM:

Are the women in the neighborhood closer or work closer to the commune than the men?

Gina:

We have lots of housewifes here.

Marisol:

Maybe there are plenty of women without work. Because I see several here

DM:

Then there is then unemployment. I would like to move on to the second part with more questions directed towards the imagination or thinking about the possible future. If you had the freedom to dispose of land in this area, and could you propose an activity or a building to which you would point? What part do you identify as a good place and what kind of activities do you consider necessary?

Gina:

It is that the space of CESFAM is a good space, being strategic for the people who move in and to the place. And I would do something more social. For example, in this population there are many older adults, and we are also getting old. There should be a small municipality and the most priority services for the people. A CCR for the elderly would be ideal. It would avoid all the transfer that they have to carry out today. Another service that is missing would be a point to pay all the bills.

Ivonne:

Missing points to get money too.

DM:

If we thought on a larger scale, how do you see the Cerrillos airport area? Do you feel close or an area that you do not know?

Gina:

There is a space that can be used.

DM:

If there was a hospital there with housing, or a university.

Mario:

I would be interested in having an excellent high school so that the kids do not have to move far from here. I imagine an emblematic high school like the National Institute, because here the kids dream about that. The fact of having it close and being able to access that motivates them.

DM:

I am asking you this because I had to interview a 65-year-old gentleman from Lo Espejo, and he worked as a gardener in the park. He told me that at his age he cannot go to other places, therefore, that work was ideal because it could be easy to reach. I am asking you because there's highway is another barrier that has cut off your territory. It has that value space considering the necessary connections.

Marisol:

If there is connectivity there would be no problem.

Mario:

It would have to be something bigger than the town of Cerrillos, something like a city.

Gina:

It would have to be open for everyone. If you're going to build a hospital, it would not be just for Cerrillos.

Ivonne:

I remember that President Michelle Bachelet proposed to create a business city, which ended up being diluted and transformed into a park.

DM:

It was called Ciudad Parque Bicentenario, and the park was the only thing that materialized. The rest were housing projects.

Ivonne:

And that part has been lost a lot, having forgotten areas where families live in informal homes.

Gina:

The area was taken.

Ivonne:

There was a fire last year and we had to take the children from a nearby school to avoid the ashes and smoke, because of a fire they made. It is a theme and space, being abandoned, is wasted and lost.

DM:

They mentioned the need for housing. Do you think it is necessary to build housing in the commune?

Everyone:

Yes.

Gina:

But there is a problem in the commune. We do not have the spaces.

DM:

Yes, I wanted to ask you that. If someone raised them, we will develop part of the commune including demolitions. Would you agree or disagree?

Mario:

Perfect, I think Yes. I say demolish, but not the neighbor's house.

Ivonne:

Suppose that I sell my house and build a building, it would not generate any benefit for

my neighborhood.

DM:

But if those houses were for inhabitants of the commune and social?

Ivonne:

But you still lose the notion of neighborhood.

Mario:

If they were low buildings that could create access, it would be useful.

DM:

But also, tall buildings do not have the same lifestyles that you have described.

Ivonne:

If I think this idea, I would consider building more houses.

Marisol:

Or maybe build buildings within the neighborhood.

Mario:

Here is a need for many people who live here to access housing, and who can never buy. I know people who have sold 6 houses around here. Many people look out for a commercial and individual interest. Although I do not agree to break the community, I believe that community spaces could be created with these buildings, as in the case of Villa Portales. There are people there who come together and have their lives.

Marisol:

But in Villa Portales there are big apartments.

Ivonne:

Here the apartments have 2 rooms, which in the end generate overcrowded conditions.

Marisol:

Here is full of migrants. We have Peruvian leaders who have lived here for years. But what is it done? When selling a house, many apartments are built by renting them to extremely high values for migrants.

DM:

It's a phenomenon that also happens in all of Santiago. Continuing with the last 3 questions and in this context of ideas: If the municipality could manage a project with other municipalities, with other actors, with the government, with private actors and social organizations to improve the area, do you understand that it is a project? What can take decades? Would they get involved?

Gina:

Yes, for the good of my community and my commune.

DM:

And do you think it would be positive for the municipality to involve them in these types of projects to counteract actions such as the issue of the income of immigrants? If the municipality proposed to you projects to motivate the neighbors that stay in the commune, safeguarding the characteristics of this, and demanded a commitment through a type of contract. Do you think that people would participate?

Gina:

Some. Not all. Not everyone thinks collectively.

DM:

And what percentage would you support according to you? More or less?

Gina:

I think less. It takes a lot for people get involved.

DM:

But if a series of improvements are involved as a requirements?

Mario:

When there is a specific event ("a council or similar"), of an official nature, people get involved much more. If the authorities come to give information, getting involved with the leaders of the place, it adds a lot, giving people more confidence.

Marisol:

I have a different vision, because nowadays there is little credibility in politics. People no longer believe anyone, and it is understandable. We, being involved, would participate because we want something good for our population.

Mario:

It's like when people did not support the "Quiero mi barrio" program until they saw the results.

Marisol:

Something similar happened when I marched, and we were 10 people. We demanded changes for everyone, but the people had no interest in participating.

DM:

In that line was my question. One could say that there is a project, but at the same time a commitment that leaders generally make. Should there be another structure that guarantees the co-participation of all the neighbors and at all levels?

Mario:

There should be the will of the communal or central government.

Marisol:

You have to re-enlist people. At some point I toured around the neighborhood to promote the program Quiero mi Barrio and the subsidies of improvement, being successful and bringing many people together in the chapel room. Then, as we began to sectorize the improvements, participation began to decline. The same people ended up meeting. It is very difficult to re-enlist with everything that has happened in Chile at the political, religious, and other levels, and that is why you have to find potential, credible leaders, that people follow them, and be honest. If you empower those people in the populations, you could convince people to participate more in programs that give them benefits. An example could be the ecological program. People here do not recycle and there are also no recycling points. It would be ideal for people to have the will to do things not only for personal benefit.

Mario:

I think that when you want to do things you have to do them the same. When you see something that was done, you cannot say that nothing has happened here. When seeing the improvements, comparing with the previous situation, one is very grateful. But the person who did not participate in the process does not appreciate those results. Despite that, there is a force that supports the changes and gives value to what was done. It is to understand that here was a dream that was fulfilled. Things can be done by having a commitment or something more formal, participating in processes that generate real changes. I know that if one has the interest of bonding and involving young people, it is possible to move forward. Involving people in participation processes can make the dreams we have come true.

DM:

Continuing with the last question, and to close. Nowadays real estate companies are building new buildings in areas where people do not have much to do, given that everything is done. However, in this type of communes there is a history of co-producing your space. What do you prefer in that sense, are you more willing to continue that idea of co-producing my park, my plaza, or my path, or that the municipality would solve everything?

Mario:

The opinion and what one needs is the most important thing. If you are presented with a project you must respect and comply with our decisions and wishes. It is important to listen to what the neighbors want.

DM:

If you raised a case where you have to make an improvement in an area of the neighborhood, that would improve the condition of a group of people, but that a requirement would be that part of those people participate or in construction, in maintenance or care of that. For example, a neighborhood headquarters where someone will take care of the headquarters. Do you think that people would be interested in participating?

Marisol:

Yes, we have people who do it, and I'm interested in helping because it's a lot of work.

DM:

Are they paid for that?

Marisol:

No, we do everything for the love and life of the people. There is no salary.

DM:

Putting a more concrete example. Imagine if you had to build a center for the older adult. As it implies a big expense, the municipality decides not to use municipal officials to administer it, replacing them by students who would receive a reduction in their tuition fees, Would that model work?

Gina:

I am interested, because it is based on a barter. If there is an exchange with more desire, I would participate, but I do not support the idea that the leaders are paid, because the social meaning is lost.

Marisol:

In my case I am part of a group called Miratea and works with autistic children. People know us a littke, and in the San Borja hospital, where I care for my children, they have called me to participate in some activities. For example, at the end of the year there will be a meeting at the South American level in Puerto Varas, inviting me to participate as part of the group and mother of an autistic son. In this activity I do not receive any financial support, but the satisfaction of collaborating, helping, and supporting activities that benefit everyone motivates me.

DM:

I raise it, because I know that the issue of leadership in Chile is a matter of will, but since we are talking about the lack of participation of certain groups of people, do you think it would be a model that works?

Gina:

I believe that the fact that there is a minimum in return draws people's attention.

DM:

I'll give you an example. In Europe there are time banks, where people who have a specific item (take care of a grandmother, plumbing, etc.) and spend their time without money in between. What do you think?

Everyone:

Good idea.

Marisol:

The idea is good, although we are many years away from being implemented in Chile.

DM:

Well, without further questions, I would like to thank all of your time and answers. I am very grateful.

José María Caro Neighborhood board interview

Bernardita Marambio

Lidia Muñoz

María Angelica Berrios

Guillermo Lazo

Sylvia Lazo

Antonio Quintana

DM:

Well, what I am proposing in my thesis is a strategy at municipal level with Cerrillos and Pedro Aguirre Cerda. And I would like to ask you some questions about your perception of the neighborhood and your needs at the community level. And then ask you some questions about your perspectives. If you feel that the Commune offers you opportunities regarding your needs.

Bernardita:

No, there is not that empathy, from the municipality, there are shortcomings-

Sylvia:

I believe that there is a lot of community, although it is true that the Women's center, which offers workshops dedicated to women, in culture there are no large spaces, no proper workshops. About sport, although it is true sometimes you have the feeling that there are people who are being supported, resources are not optimized so that we can really have adequate spaces.

Bernardita:

And in that sense, the truth is that we are far from resembling Cerrillos or Pedro Aguirre Cerda because there are no options to bring activities such as workshops to these sectors. For example, in other places they take cultural activities to certain areas, that does not happen here.

DM:

And those workshops, What kind of workshops should they be? If we consider all the neighbors.

Sylvia:

In other words, there is enough of a need, culturally, socially. In sports, economics, work.

DM:

Where do you carry out your activities? Do you guys move in general within the Commune or do you leave to work?

Bernardita:

In general, we are housewifes.

DM:

And your husbands or children, where do they carry out their activities? Do they move in or out of the commune?

Bernardita:

This is a bedroom commune, it is not a commune that has companies where to work, except for the people who work in the market. Street markets, because others work in the houses. Because, for example, I have my workshop, but in my house. Dressmaking workshop.

DM:

That is, if you had to asses the Commune in terms of the possibilities it offers, would the rating be low?

All the neighbors:

Yes, it would be low, the rating. Sylvia: There is no industry, nothing.

Bernardita:

That's why we call it a bedroom commune, because everybody has to commute

Antonio:

The streets need paving, too. Of sidewalks, streets, a lot is still missing.

DM:

And where do the people don't work here go to?

Antonio:

It is quite diverse.

Bernardita:

Because, for example, people who work in construction work in different sectors.

Antonio:

There is no specific commune. Maybe Estación Central for selling thingsby trade, shopping centers, sale.

Sylvia:

To Las Condes, for the people who work as housekeepers, people who clean toilets, offices, etc.. But it is diverse, there are different communes.

DM:

A question in relation to the spaces of the communes, if you had to recognize which the most important spaces for you in terms of daily activities are. Some streets or specific place.

Antonio:

Here the best known is Avenida Central, which is where transport circulates mainly. In addition, it was one of the first avenues.

Bernardita:

In addition, there is Salvador Allende Avenue.

Sylvia:

And as a cultural activity is the municipal gym, which is where most activities **are done, from the municipality.**

Antonio:

But it´s hard to develop cultural activities here. There is little participation, and if the children participate it is because previously the parents participated somewhere.

DM:

That is, it works more by inheritance. Antonio: Of course, we have done many workshops, for example, and there are people who come more from other places than people from the community.

DM:

From which areas, for example?

Antonio:

Peñaflor, for example, or other areas. What happens is that it is the topic of communications has encouraged us to make some changes. Because through education platforms we reach a certain segment, mainly young people.

That is why we have become better known, but in the sector, we have to work better on door-to-door communication. Because people do not see us on Facebook.

Sylvia:

But, still, when we started the project of "quiero mi barrio" for example, we did door to door in order to get the people who live here to participate, but still did not participate, very few people participated.

DM:

Is the people's level of participation really low?

Everyone:

Yes, the level of participation is very low, in general yes.

DM:

Why do you think the participation level is so low?

Maria Angelica:

Little interest, people are not interested.

Sylvia:

I believe that they are in favor of individualism. This Commune can be said that it was not made for that. In fact, this was the first Neighborhood Council that was activated democratically after the dictatorship. And that involved participation, taking risks, it meant a lot of things, gathering people, sacrificing time. So, I do not know what happened in the journey that we stopped participating. We fight with each other for lack of participation.

Antonio:

But in general, it is a national issue, we have done workshops in which we started with 20 people and ended with 10. In general, the level of motivation is low. And people do not participate much. We created a community gardenhere on the train line, to prevent people from throwing garbage, and we have advanced a lot, people already know us. But there are few neighbors who participate, although others support you.

Sylvia:

Sure, but people ask you why they do not do this, and we tell you, but get involved, participate.

DM:

It seems to be a cultural issue.

Antonio:

I think it happens because we have lost our cultural identity. If you look at other Latin American countries you realize that they have maintained their traditions, but we have not, we have not maintained them. And that has a historical context.

Maria Angelica:

The people who participate most in this regard are the elderly, who makes their meetings, the mother's community center as well.

Sylvia:

Yes, because they come with another type of upbringing, with the tradition of participation from the past, with the respect from the past, the commitment.

DM:

Do you find it difficult to make teenagers participate?

Everyone:

Yes.

DM:

I wanted to ask you if you feel integrated into Greater Santiago. What are the limits of your territory, for example?

Antonio:

I remember that Commune, we were part of La Cisterna. Then unfortunately they hurt us by having separated us, because La Cisterna is a richer Commune in terms of income.

Guillermo:

This commune is very small.

Antonio:

So, for example, people who are well off complain a lot because of the presence of Haitians. But the truth is that Haitians are the majority in these most popular communes.

Sylvia:

Because they left us badly distributed.

Antonio:

For example, there are invested 1000 million were invested there and 50 million here. And that affect us, and especially how see ourselves, perhaps in that sense it would have been better to have remained as La Cisterna.

DM:

But would you say then that Lo Espejo has an identity? According to your story or ...

Bernardita:

An identity of poverty, because we are the poorest Commune of all Santiago.

DM:

Do you feel very stigmatized by that?

Antonio:

I don´t think so because there are many working people here. A little bit of everything, and people who have left because they have advanced in life.

Maria Angelica:

What happens is that we are stigmatized by crime, which is little, but that is why they stigmatize us. But that sells more in the media.

Lidia:

They put us all in the same bag.

Sylvia:

What has affected us a lot is also the drugs. Drug trafficking in the Commune.

Antonio:

Of course, that destroys families, destroys everything.

DM:

But, for example, to be more concrete, where does it end for you, for example, the Commune? Because they have the railroad.

Antonio:

Sure, that marks a territory.

Sylvia:

Sure, makes the end but also divides it. While it is true, we have an advance that are train stations, and we can change lines in the Metro, the line will always divide us as a commune.

Antonio:

For example, the line divided the neighborhood La Estrella with the neighborhood of José María Caro. The Star has a better quality of life if you see the houses, for example.

Sylvia:

And we are divided in general. We are divided by the Vespucio Sur highway, and the other highway.

Bernardita:

We are boxed in.

Antonio:

We are locked up. Now, Lo Espejo when we arrived was the corner in the background, it was like a field.

Sylvia:

That was the old Lo Espejo, like a small town. And they do not feel like part of the Commune either.

DM:

But in general, as an identity, do you rescue something in Lo Espejo? You mentioned negative things like poverty, but is there anything positive?

Antonio:

Yes, I believe that there are good people here, and I have always said that they are working people.

Sylvia:

The good thing is that for example if there is someone is in trouble, there is solidarity, there we are.

Antonio:

If we took a passage, I would say that 90% is good and 10% is negative. So it's a Commune, which is popular, but it's good people.

Sylvia:

There are hard-working people.

DM:

Of course, because if I look at it from the outside, although one recognizes that there is a lot of poverty and one knows that there is a lack of resources compared to other Municipalities. But despite everything is perceived that there is an energy to move forward, which is something quite worthy.

Antonio:

Of course, that is, there is a problem of poverty, but also of dirtiness. There are people who accumulate garbage in this commune. And there we still have a lot to work on. Because people throw away those things and in empty places or public spaces and that generates more problems.

Bernardita:

They make the population worse, to the Commune.

Antonio:

They do work in the house, and they pay 1000 pesos to the drug addicts so that they go to throw things away.

Sylvia:

And that is lack of social responsibility. Because people care about having a nice house, without rubbish, but do not mind messing up the other person. There is little social awareness.

Bernardita:

But that is in all the communes.

Antonio:

If you look, as a country we are dirty. I work at the airport and people throw trash on the road. Now if you see La Moneda Palace, nowadays it has fences. The entire city of Santiago is surrounded by fences.

DM:

It seems there's a problem with the public goods?

Antonio:

What happens is that most of the houses here closed because of burglaries. But it also shows you the reality of the Country, it's all with bars. Everything is forbidden and with bars.

DM:

Listen, and what are the places that you detect with the major problems, either because there are dump sites or are perceived as dangerous?

Maria Angelica:

Yes, the corner of the highway 5 Sur and Veracruz there is a lot of drug trafficking and crime. I say this because my mom lives in that corner and I'm the one who does the cleaning. And I always find passports, passports, which are stolen and appear there thrown away.

DM:

And does that happen in other parts or in that sector in that specific one?

Bernardita:

In that specific sector.

Sylvia:

I believe that here it has increased in different parts, but there are other areas such as F, which are very complicated, or sector E. On the other side of the line too.

Antonio:

The apartments too.

DM:

Does the train line generate situations of insecurity?

Sylvia:

The issue is that homeless people have appropriated those spaces. And that is a complication both for those who have to move around that area or for the police. For example, the police officers can take them out once, but they can't keep them in custody for more than two hours, they have to release them.

Antonio:

The issue is that today the security of the Commune is not good in general. While it is true there are places where one will not go to the Commune in general is not safe. We have everything, yes, police and detectives in the area. But they are here to investigate not to prevent crime.

Sylvia:

But at least they could intimidate, and the issue is that here criminals always rob you.

Antonio:

They do not become operative, nothing is done.

Sylvia:

Look, some time ago I said it in a meeting with the police, I feel sad and pity when I hear the neighbors complaining about a police station. Here in the commune there are special forces, police officers on bikes, police stations, there is a police academy in Lo Espejo Avenue, so at least we have a symbolic presence. However, crimes are done anyway.

Lidia:

The nursery school that is next to the police station, they have been burglarized many times.

Antonio:

On security issues we are clearly in debt, and it is a state issue.

Sylvia:

There are no effective public safety policies. Look, here come security programs, for example, in the sector E came a program. The program comes with a little money, they do activities, the same as we do, create workshops, this and that, but that does not solve the underlying problem, the structural problem. Because the one with crime problems is not going to take a workshop or a type of learning.

DM:

If I understand well, if one looks at it from the perspective of those people, children or young people, who are using drugs, the Commune does not manage to give it a different path, apparently.

Sylvia:

Look, when I I became this neighborhood's council president, we won a PREVIENE project, that is CONACE. In that workshop many things were detected, very serious things. And we did not have the power to help. They detected with the children that they were working, very serious things, that happened every day and they were hidden. And yet we could not solve anything or help anyone. So, that's what I'm going for, things should be done to really help. From those children, how many could we have saved? many. But we do not have infrastructure, we do not have support, in order to derive those children, there is nowhere to refer those children. That is, the workshop is over, are the funds ending and what else can we do as neighbors? There it is, the children return to the same thing.

Antonio:

In that sense, ideally, we should be able to monitor those children in a vulnerable situation. We in our workshops have worked with many children, and for us it is important because there is a development of children. While it is true our goal is that they develop their skills, they will have another look at the time. But if we know that there is a child in a more vulnerable situation, in fact we should be more present. We would have to go look for them, not leave them at home.

DM:

Hey, and you, after all we've talked about, do you feel that at least people like you have a commitment to living here? I mean the neighborhood, in the sense that things can improve. Or they feel that it is more in decline.

Guillermo:

Not much. People are comfortable, not encouraged, everyone wants to mind their own business. That's the big problem.

Bernardita:

At the beginning, everyone wants to participate, but then the number of people starts decreasing. In the end we finished the workshops with three or four people, then how can we continue doing things if people do not want to participate? We cannot force them.

DM:

Why do you think people do not participate? Because of time? Or because they do not want to? Or because it does not seem attractive?

Bernardita:

I believe because people do not find it attractive.

Guillermo:

There is a lot of individualism.

Antonio:

I believe that because individualism is very present. Nowadays material things, if we talk about poverty, if you go to the houses most have huge televisions.

DM:

That sounds paradoxical, because although there are people who have many needs, apparently not ...

Antonio:

They do not have clear priorities. If there is someone who buys a television, the neighbor next door wants to have a bigger one. It is an individual competition. That is also valid, but individualism does not make you look at your neighbor?

Bernardita:

It does not allow you to look at the other person.

Antonio:

Television took over people, there is no other distractor.

DM:

I find this point interesting, because it is also something that they recognize in the municipality. That there are people with needs, but sometimes they have access to up to two cars.

Antonio:

Of course, I can tell you about it, for example in my personal case, my sister is a single mother, and she in her time bought her house with great effort, she does not owe anything to anyone. My other brother had the same access to subsidy, and as I have a fixed income, I did not have that luck. I had to go into debt with a bank. So that is the paradox of life, that because I have a permanent salary, I do not have access to many things.

Sylvia:

The system punishes you.

Antonio:

But it is true that there are people who have many needs. I have a salary, and I can live quietly with my children, but there are other people who do not have the same luck. People who have three children and have a hard time making ends meet. But as we talked, what are people's priorities? That is the issue.

DM:

Of course, I say it because this Commune has a history of self-construction and self-management that is very strong and important too. And perhaps the subsidiarity of the state has also influenced this.

Sylvia:

Look, if we see it, here the great advances that the population has had, have been based on each neighbor's own effort.

DM:

Of course, that's why I say it, because self-construction talks about an own venture.

Everyone:

Yes, logical.

Antonio:

It is not as if they give it to you.

Sylvia:

That is, not even that, because the houses were built as people were accessing the materials.

Antonio:

But the same people received bricks and sand.

Maria Angelica:

But very few people.

Guillermo:

But there were few people who received that. Because in our case, I do not know if in the block someone received that. Almost all in the measure of your effort. We made the trails. We put the money and we worked.

Maria Angelica:

Of course, it was not even shared with the municipality. But we, we agreed a monthly fee and with that, ourselves we made the trails ourselves.

DM:

Hey, and do you feel that made people get more involved?

Everyone:

Yes, anyway.

DM:

In other words, the co-construction or production of their spaces, of their habitat, forced them to become more involved as a community.

Maria Angelica:

Sure, to be closer together. Not now, because, what I'm going to say is bad, but it's the truth. There is a lot of shamelessness. There are people who steal and then there is a lot of distrust of the people who steal the money, or the materials, etc.

DM:

There is distrust. And in that sense, as you see the public institutions, do they have confidence in the institutionality? Given your experience in the commune. I mean, do you think that institutions can help them or solve problems?

Maria Angelica:

The municipality helps a little., one has to be almost destitute homeless for them to help you. And they give you a one-time help and then nothing else.

Lidia:

There is no follow up. Maria Angelica: There is no follow-up even for the elderly, because here there are people who are bedridden, and nobody does anything.

Sylvia:

There is no concern, although there is anan office for the elderly, which is now just as it began to involve the people who participate. Which is not bad either. However, there is no tracking of what happens to people, for example, from the office.

Antonio:

I believe that from the institution that you are, as long as you involve your political party, you do not seek for the public good, it will be in all the same places, whether right or left. The closest ones will benefit. For example, we have had enough problems here in the municipality, there have been negative news on television, but as long as they do not prove that with facts, we cannot believe it if the television says it. It can be sensationalism. For example, today I was in the municipality, and they told me about the polyclinic, and they told me that the health service has a lot of responsibilities and in that sense the mayor cannot be blamed. We have learned that we have to wait and then give our opinion.

Sylvia:

And really get informed.

Bernardita:

But if people complain because of something serious, because if there is a project that is financed with government money, and the municipality, and you do not see the people who are in charge, is complicated.

For example, in this case it is assumed that it was the engineers' responsibility, because they were supposed to have made a report.

Sylvia:

Of course, there are shared responsibilities.

Antonio:

Yes, I think without knowing so much about the subject. Generally, we must always leave everything backed up, so I think that in public institutions, political parties will never be good for communes of any political color.

DM:

In other words, more than the political color, you believe more in the concrete action than in what the municipality does.

Antonio:

Exactly, for example, I do not care if it is a political color, if I see that the commune advances, obviously within our possibilities, within the resources that exist, for example, in health issues. But imagine that even the state is not interested in health. Then we are also in the middle.

Guillermo:

Health, at the national level, is in trouble.

Lidia:

Exact. It is not only our commune; it is at the country level.

DM:

To finish this first part, I would like to ask you if you are satisfied with your houses.

Maria Angelica:

I am, personally yes.

Guillermo:

I am, because you have to settle for what you build.

Antonio:

I believe that, if one sees it in relation to the square meters, one does not find this type of houses anymore. And with the money I have, I would not even buy half of a house of these now. Now, what stigmatizes you and blames you, are other factors. But if I manage to fix it and improve it, I'm fine.

DM:

That's what I wanted to point to, they think their home is better or at the minute they could leave. Because there, too, there is something that has to do with the love that one has for the commune. If there are not any roots, it is difficult.

Guillermo:

I would not go.

Lidia:

Me neither.

Antonio

Yes, I would go.

Bernardita:

But you would not leave to another commune, you would go to the south.

Antonio:

No, I would buy an apartment. But the idea is to move forward, because the house is a home to live.

Lidia:

But you are not comfortable.

Antonio:

No, if I had to sell it, I would sell it. I would go, in case for example of an earthquake.

DM:

You see it from a more pragmatic point of view.

Antonio:

Of course, I am fine for now. I live happily. And now I'm fixing and improving the house a little.

DM:

Supporting this question that I have just asked you. In general, do you think that the people who live here in Lo Espejo would leave or stay?

Bernardita:

They would leave, of course, many young people would leave, many young people have emigrated from here and already have apartments in other sectors because the Commune does not have any.

DM:

Do you think it could be different if the Commune functioned differently?

Bernardita:

Yes, I feel so. If there were other types of changes, more security, for example.

Sylvia:

I believe that those of us who are the oldest inhabitants, together with the older adults who are staying, love our Commune and we are not going to leave so easily. But if there is the importance of these changes that we need, to be better. Because as it was already thought, to find houses of the size that we have here,there aren't any in the neighborhood. We are a step away from the center, we have good transport, we cannot ignore that. It is true that everyone speaks badly of the Transantiago, but when we found out, for example, when I worked far from here, I had to pay a bus ticket, then take the metro and then pay another bus ticket again. Instead, now, with the Transantiago, I take the three buses with the same cost. And that we have to recognize and value it. Sure, it's true we have to change, but we've always had to do it.

Guillermo:

The Transantiago, what's bad is the frequency. Because sometimes we have to wait up to 30 minutes.

Bernardita:

And the other issue are the routes, because for example we do not have a direct route to the hospital here. We have to change, but in the sector itself we do not have one.

Guillermo:

The positive is that we can move around with the same ticket.

Bernardita:

Yes, that is true.

Guillermo:

So many do not see it, and some do not know it.

Antonio:

Now that it is expensive, transportation is expensive, especially in relation to the level of income that Chileans have.

Bernardita: Yes, in general.

Sylvia:

Everything is more expensive for us.

Antonio:

The cost of transport in Chile is very expensive, if we compare it for example with other countries of South America.

Sylvia:

Transport and housing are expensive.

DM:

But then, you who have had a more substantial history in the Commune if you stayed ...

Guillermo:

I'll stay.

DM:

Do you think that if there were more stimuli for young people they would stay? Or would they migrate the same?

Bernardita:

What happens is the problem of work. Yes

DM:

But hypothetically?

Bernardita:

Yes, I think so, if there were more work and meeting places for young people, they would stay.

Antonio:

Or more security in the Commune. If the police did their job, one would be happier.

DM:

And if you could propose new activities in the Commune, new spaces, so that in the end they would meet those needs. What do you imagine?

Bernardita:

I wish we could have places and more spaces. There are no places to go to celebrate, you have to go to Gran Avenida or other places.

DM:

In other words, leisure and recreation spaces are also missing.

Antonio:

What happens is that what I perceive is that there is no harmony with the municipality.

Sylvia: Exactly.

Lidia:

An example happens with the soccer field, to book it you have to send a letter, and that process takes a lot. And it turns out that the young people who used this field at the end left, we have tried to re-enlist them, but in the end now the field is here, in the social center, but they do not want to return. And the idea is to reinvent them to come back, but they do not want to return.

DM:

And if we were more ambitious, and we thought of a greater investment for the commune, one thing that they could decide, what do you imagine? I'm talking about a physical place.

Antonio:

A good school, with good infrastructure and good teachers, for me that would be great.

Sylvia:

A cultural center, where young people could participate.

Antonio:

Of course, because education is the basis, because good people have come from here, who have done very well in life. But it requires a space not only to study, a space for example to play sports. Physical education doesn't happen around a court.

DM:

Do you think spaces are needed for people to be trained or do workshops?

Lidia:

That would be nice, it would be very beautiful.

Guillermo:

It would help.

Sylvia:

For example, I was in an activity and there was Mayor Jadue, and obviously the income there is different, I mean the income of that commune. But sometimes the needs are common, and he looked for alternative solutions.

DM:

In that line I mention it, because, for example, he says we have a court ...

Sylvia:

And that court is in a school, and that court can be used over the weekend.

Bernardita:

It was proposed to do that in the school here but we never reached an agreement.

Antonio:

Of course, the school here could have taken the field that was in the next field, and have planted grass in it, have fixed it. In such a way that school life is more pleasant, because if we talk about children, they get bored with the formal, have them there every day doing the same.

Bernardita:

Ideally, teachers should be trained to train children in sports or other activities. And so, they would have some teaching, something that would help them to defend themselves in life. However, here in the Commune that does not happen.

Antonio:

Of course, one of the main things that exists for example in developed countries, are the artistic activities in schools. That go hand in hand with the other classes. But that is difficult to change, today there is a very rigid structure. For example, there are schools that you go, such as Manquehue, Los Maristas, and where do they do physical education? In huge stadiums. Instead, here you have to do it on the same court.

Bernardita:

And you also need to book it in advance and pay a huge fee.

Antonio:

So here they should have taken a space, within the same school, that already gives you another kind of life.

DM:

For you then green areas are important, but you also see that there are other types of functions that would help, for example, technical institutes or other activities.

Bernardita:

Of course.

Antonio:

Of course.

DM:

Taking the example of Recoleta, where new skills are being taught to children, for example.

Bernardita:

Sure, they are training older adults.

In fact, they have a university for the elderly. That kind of thing.

Sylvia:

While it is true that in those programs you don't get a degree, it is a great advance. Because that teaching and that knowledge can be given to the youngest and youngest, or you can participate with the youngest ones.

Antonio:

We, with the the community garden that we created there, came children from two kindergartens, and all that for us is gratifying, because there is learning, wisdom, when the children could learn to water the plants, instead of doing it in their home, and learn not to litter. And that happened in situ, there the children painted, planted, another motivation was given. It's like with music, you can always learn new things.

DM:

Listen, and what do you think about the creation of housing here in the Commune, do you need housing?

Guillermo:

They are needed, but there is no space.

Bernardita:

We would have to start increasing the floors.

DM:

But you would agree to create more housing here in the Commune. How would you see it? Because if one analyzes the communal space, there are still land that could be used. Especially, where the central spaces are. Would you accept housing there? For example, with other functions? I mean that it was not only housing, but that they had other types of services, for example.

Antonio:

That is the ideal, that is always above average. Because if you are going to deliver houses that in the end you will end up destroying and selling, as happens in the building there in the background, in Chinatown. You need a space with a kitchen, bathroom, two bedrooms, a decent minimum. Make it something of quality.

DM:

But would you see it as something positive or something negative?

Antonio:

I would see it as something positive, although perhaps the person who would live next door would see it negatively.

Bernardita:

Exactly.

DM:

But inside the area of Lo Espejo, how do they see it?

Antonio:

Yes, there are spaces, but with quality. We do not want a second "Barrio chino" (Chinatown).

Maria Angelica:

It would help the same relatives that are in the houses.

DM:

Of course, thinking about the issue of overcrowding.

Sylvia:

For example, my daughter built on top of my house, and I have a house with the same bedrooms, and in fact I have an apartment with kitchen and bathroom.

Bernardita:

It would be the ideal that one could build on one's house, but sometimes, for example, there are two or three children you cannot give the same space to build, then that is the top. Then there they are forced to leave to look for housing, to apply for subsidies. The same people who are applying here, are applying to other communes because there are no spaces here for them to build.

DM:

And for example, if they use areas near the Commune to build housing, do they believe that the people from here would leave for that sector? Would you rather be close to the commune?

Bernardita:

Yes, of course, for example, the people who are looking for a house here in the sector, are all looking for the San Eugenio sector, next to the Zanjon de la Aguada.

DM:

That is, people still prefer to have a link with the Commune.

Bernardita:

Of course, yes.

Sylvia:

Sure, by kinship.

Antonio:

Is that the other is the subject of connectivity, by transport. For example, my nephew bought a property on the other side of the street, some apartments, even though he could have gone somewhere else.

Sylvia:

If then, everything is in the area sector of Cerrillos or on the area near Lider (Supermarket), all those houses are sold or leased.

Antonio:

Sure, he went there, he could have gone elsewhere.

DM:

If, for example, the area of the Cerrillos airport were developed, homes were made, services were made, considering the district of Espejo. If new connections are generated, do you think that those spaces would be used by the people of Lo Espejo?

Bernardita:

Yes, if those sectors are open to build urbanization.

Antonio:

Sure, but there is a place that is not built. The airstrip.

DM:

But doing the hypothesis.

Bernardita:

Yes, it could.

Antonio:

Of course, because people, for example, go to the Lider supermarket to buy or to the shopping mall Plaza Oeste. If there were an alternative, people would go.

Bernardita:

Yes, even if we think about the things that our Commune lacks, the shortcomings that we have, we have many things in favor. There are shopping centers, now a bank will open here, we have better transport.

Antonio:

We go to Franklin neighborhood and buy meat. Because here the issue is for the police to do their job.

Maria Angelica:

That's what I meant, that the biggest issue is drugs, crime. That tarnishes everything.

DM:

And continuing with this line of questions, if an alliance between different actors, companies, governments, the municipality, the neighbors, was raised to develop a long-term project, everything we have talked about. If that could be done, you believe that people would be motivated, would it be positive?

Bernardita:

Yes, I think so.

Antonio:

Yes, to be a city, not a Commune, to look at it as a City. That is the ideal.

Bernardita:

A transformation.

Antonio:

I think people want to do things, young people want to do things, 100 will not come, but 20 people want to do things. We now did a a salsa workshop in December, and we did it on the street. And there were about 50 people, we did a work and 120 people arrived, in the street. We always did things in the schools, but we decided to do them in the field, and we started to take them out to the street, and then we moved on, the community garden began, the workshops finished. And now we are recharging energy for March.

Sylvia:

Those are the things we should do.

DM:

In other words, what is public? Is public space relevant to you and your neighbors?

Antonio:

That is, what happens is that today headquarters that were created with the neighborhood unit 29, although it is true was a loan of the municipality, I also understood that this actually has a cost, the care, the light, you have to pay for these maintenance expenses. And we could not keep this because we do not generate money per month, and we would have to pay for those expenses.

Sylvia:

But I think we would have had to organize ourselves in such a way that it could have been solved. Because sometimes in the day it is not even used. In fact, we as the Neighborhood Board bought some stuff. And the annoyance in that sense personally, is that in fact when we participated in this project, many people could have participated, in the end we were only around 15 people who were there, for the common good. Not even thinking about self-satisfaction. Therefore, the least we could have understood was a conversation with the municipality. Because we all understand it in the same way, that the maintenance is much bigger, but it would have been different if those authorities that made the decision had been transparent with us and had made it clear that they were going to take over the administration. But not to lie to us and to have happened to us to take after having worked and to have asked us for the validation of the Projects. Because we still have to open four places and still call us to meet, because we have to validate the projects in community. So that's what you're going for, that you have to take us into account.

Bernardita:

Yes, because for some things they take us into account and for others they use us.

DM:

In other words, it is important for you to have transparency between the institutions and you.

Everyone: Yes.

Bernardita:

That is ideal. If not, how can we work? if there is no transparency.

Antonio:

Of course, because here any project that you participate has to go with a loan, so that now everything is handled by the municipality, it is not fair.

Sylvia:

And, what's more, we had a current loan, which expired in November. Then we feel taken advantage of, both by the municipality and by the SERVIU. We know that you can cut a loan if you are not fulfilling some things, but in this case, that was not the case. So that's where the trouble is. Because perhaps we would have understood, or if they had told us before. Because here there are about 1000 members, and if everyone paid their fees, we would have been able to maintain this space perfectly. Because only with the income by concept of certificates, of when we facilitated the room for events, we had to pay, electricity, water and telephone, which are the basic expenses.

DM:

To conclude, beyond the possible obviousness of this question, independent of these problems, do you see the need to have the possibility of co-producing, of co-creating this type of project, this type of initiative?

Bernardita:

We are here then.

Maria Angelica:

Yes, of course.

Sylvia:

For example, along with the project, Quiero mi barrio we had a FOSIS project. And even though I had less money, I feel we did better, and we even did a job for the common good. Because with the funds that arrived, we did a study of ground study, and with that the luminaries were placed from streets Veracruz, Acapulco, Salvador Allende. And it was much less money. About 50 million. We know that if it were for me it would be enough, but for an investment it is little. I believe that this project for me was much more valuable for the common good. There are a lot of people that I'm sure they do not even know because they put the new lights in Santa Anita. And it was us, because we as neighbors decided to invest in that. Where to invest and what to invest in.

DM:

Well, I do not know if someone wants to argue something else, something that you think is essential for the neighborhood.

Bernardita:

I hope that projects can be implemented, that can help to project improvements, housing, public spaces.

Antonio:

I believe that there are a series of projects that could benefit the neighbors. Because you still need people to help us. For example, changing roofs for next year, which in the end the same people are organized to do that. And in that one appeals to people to help, for example, young people who help gather information or guide the neighbors. That's missing, I think there are several projects in SERVIU, but you have to work with the neighbors. Most likely, these people need help, but people do not know that there are projects, they do not get involved to see what projects there are.

Bernardita:

This is what used to happen with the sidewalks, things were done, and when there was no money, people gathered, collaborated, sold things and collected the necessary funds. And so, no one would be left with money, or some more or less. Everything was distributed the same.

Maria Angelica:

Here in our street we installed speed bumps, and not all the people wanted to participate, and in the end if we were 20, we raised the money, even some part of them. It is not logical, but to achieve something you have to do it.

DM:

In other words, co-participation and transparency is a fundamental requirement for you.

Everyone:

Exactly.

Sylvia:

Look, when I came here to the neighborhood board, there were a lot of problems, of confidence, of loss of prestige, and the people for a short time approached because they understood that the work was being done, that there was no abuse. The closest people who had lived here were happy to see how they were doing things. Because before there were people who felt ownership of this space. In fact, I arrived and there was a debt of 1 million pesos for the water bill. And that meant making an agreement with the company and paying the agreement, but unfortunately now this happened to us. We have a beautiful corporate headquarters, but we do not have control over it. We cannot decide when to use it.

DM:

I would like to take the opportunity to ask a question about this last one. Is it important for you to have sovereignty over this type of public spaces in which you have worked?

Everyone:

Yes.

Bernardita:

Because it's for the community.

DM:

Because, I give you an example, you have these blocks where there are a series of services of which the neighbors in general consume the service, but they are not able to manage the spaces, or those spaces do not exist. Do you believe that if agreements or agreements were generated so that you could administer health, education, cultural services, would people get involved?

Everyone:

Yes.

Sylvia:

In fact, there were plenty of dreams, when the construction of this center started was started. I projected myself with many things. Because finally I could have looked for a job out there, be earning my money. And yet I stayed here with no payment, but we had dreams.

Bernardita:

And we continue dreaming, although we have not specified much.

Antonio:

Yes because, anyway, I've been working, I've been a leader here and, in my work, but I do not intend to be more than four years. I am one of the people who want alternation, I like to rotate. Because you also have your life.

Sylvia:

Because to me and personally, and I believe that all, in the years that we worked on this project, I have given it everything. In fact, I often don't go to family birthday celebrations, of my family because I had to be in activities here. Once I was in the Laguna Verde with my daughter and I came for a meeting here. In fact, in August last year when my younger brother died, I did my mea culpa, because many times I did not go and did not participate because I chose the neighborhood. And that hurts.

Bernardita: Yes, it happened to all of us.

DM:

There is a limit to the effort ...

Antonio:

Yes anyway. I feel happy, I think we have made progress, but In the group I am in they are all young. I am a senior. I think they have to continue later. I already finished my period, I think, but others have to appear, to be renewed, to keep growing, because if it is not dying. We must move forward and after the young people start participating more.

Sylvia:

The problem is that young people do not want to participate in the neighborhood board. We have tried to invite young people to come, but it is hard. But the truth is that it is a big responsibility. But a small organization involves less work than a neighborhood board.

DM:

Well, I would like to thank you for your participation.

Maria Angelica:

And let's hope that this also works for you.

Sylvia:

And to thank all my neighbors who came, I told them what it was about and how good it was they came.

DM:

Yes, thanks to all of you, this will help me a lot.

Economic growth and economic clusters in the MAS

As shown in the graphs, during the past 20 years, the economic growth of the country has been permanent and aligned with the growth of the metropolitan area of Santiago. It can be seen that even in the case of the metropolitan area, growth has been slightly greater.

On the other hand, the Metropolitan Area, concentrates the greatest amount of business services, industry and national commercial operations, as a centre of sales of all the geographical productivity of the country (Vergara, 2018). The importance of this agglomeration is relevant not only for the urban transformation but also a signal of its national importance. Indeed, all the national and itnernational banks operatinf in the country, together with more than 45 economic groups of the nation are headquartered in the Metropolitan Area (Zegras and Gakenheimer, 2000).

Nevertheless, as it has been observed previously in the mapping of the investment concentration and metropolitan services functions, the agglomerations have tended to concentrate only in three communes: Vitacura, Providencia and Las Condes.



Fig. Real GDP per capita growth 2000 - 2014.
Source: Own ellaboration based on Report "Global Santiago". 2016.



Fig. Growth in Employment 2000 - 2014.
Source: Own ellaboration based on Report "Global Santiago". 2016

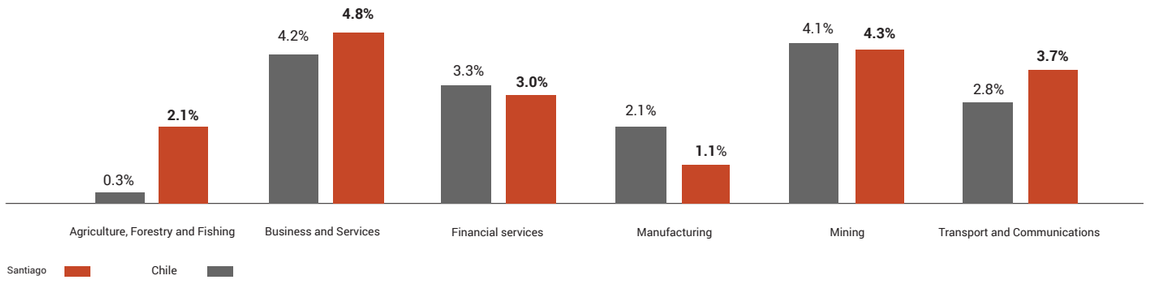


Fig. Growth in Employment in key Trade Sector 2000 - 2014.
Source: Own ellaboration based on Report "Global Santiago". 2016. Reference in chapter 3.

Index of Quality of Urban Life / Indice de calidad de vida urbana (ICVU)

The "Indice de Calidad de Vida Urbana (ICVU)," in English *urban quality of life index,* is a study developed annually by the Institute of Urban and Territorial Studies from Universidad Católica de Chile. Corresponds to "A synthetic index that measures and compares the terms". in the provision of "public and private goods and services to the resident population and their corresponding socio-territorial partners, both in the scale of intermediate cities and metropolitan cities." The index uses six dimensions: housing and environment, health and environment, socio-cultural conditions, connectivity and mobility, working conditions and the business environment. Each dimension is constructed based on a series of variables that weigh the final score of each indicator.

The index covers 93 communes with more than 50.000 inhabitants, out of a total of 50.000. It includes all regional capitals and 78.6% of the Chilean population. Its latest version (used in this thesis) includes the results of the abbreviated pre-census of the year 2017.

The results of its application to the present year, show that there are 22 Communes of a total of 36 from the metropolitan area of Santiago, in the lower range of the Index. However, the most relevant aspect is that at least 50% of these Communes present the lowest range of the indicator at the national level.

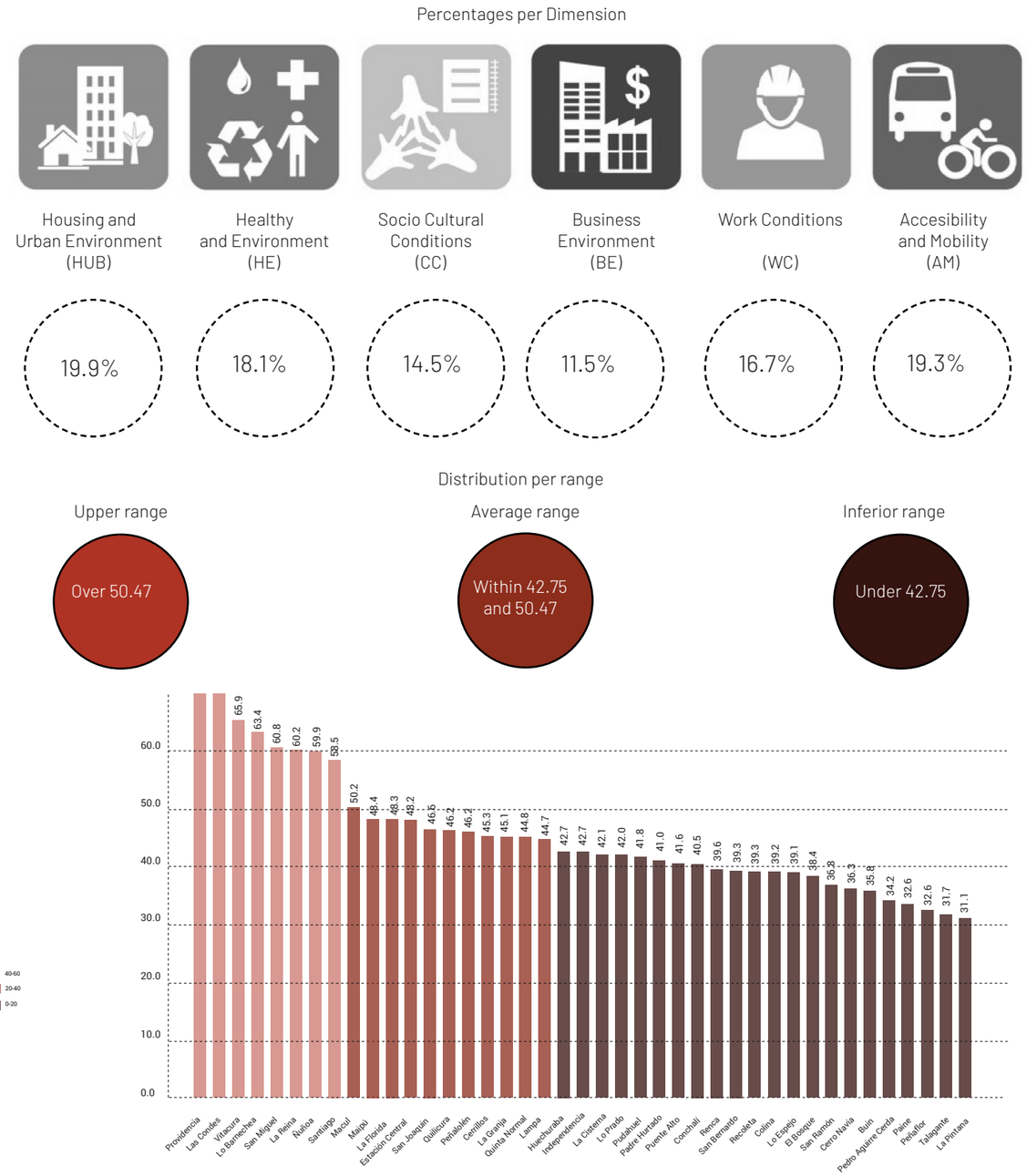


Fig. From top to botton: Percentages per dimension, Distribution per range and results per Commune in the Metropolitan Area of Santiago, (ICVU, 2018).
Reference in chapter 3.

FUNCTIONS AND MORPHOLOGICAL TISSUE



The district of Lo Espejo is mainly made up of residential functions, which date from its origin as collective landings by families that had migrated to the city in the 1960s. Despite the monofunctional aspect, the original urbanization process considered the development of centralities with different types of social and community equipment. The objective was to generate functional cores that could supply, at least in basic terms, the collective needs of the neighborhood units that had been configured. This is clearly defined in its morphological grain, conformed by a sequence of plots of social housing of one floor that frame a series of open cores for collective use.

The social repression during the military dictatorship criminalized the different neighborhood social organizations and contributed to the marginalization of the neighborhood units of the Commune (. On the other hand, the development of metropolitan infrastructure projects did not consider the neighborhood scale of the Commune, much less favored its integration. This has led to the deterioration of the original infrastructure of the Commune, mainly affecting the public space.

Finally, the case of Cerrillos is even more ambivalent since much of its administrative area is made up of a mixture of industrial areas with new urban developments under gated community models.

PUBLIC SURFACE

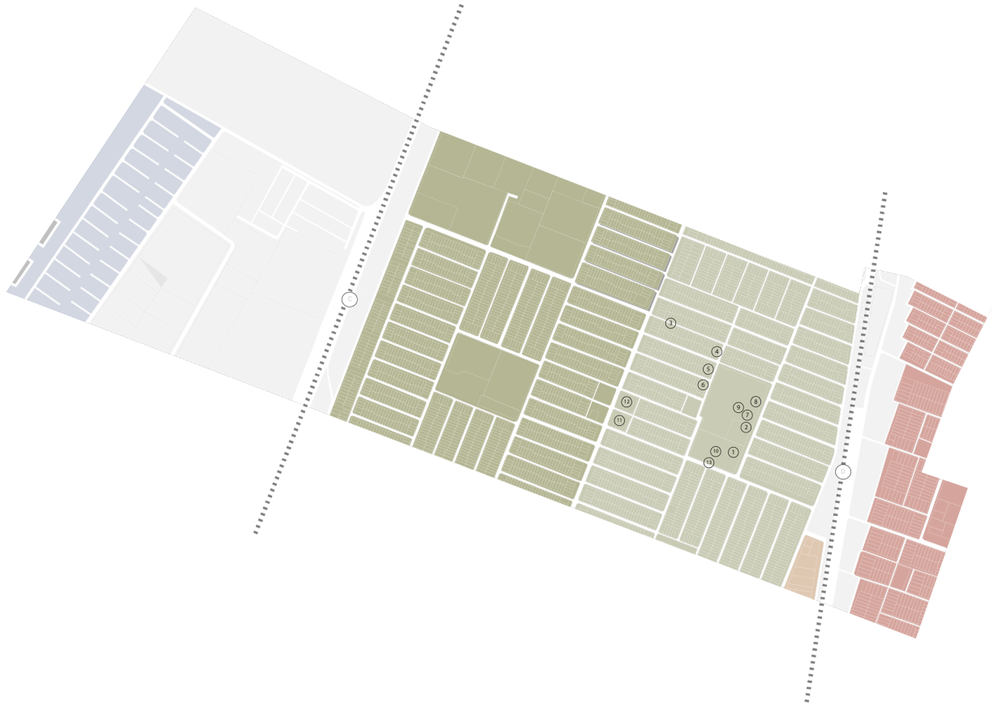


The public space is concentrated in linear parks adjacent to the urban barriers of the area. These areas constitute the most relevant spaces in terms of public surface and have become buffers of the metropolitan road impact. The equipment centers remain mainly closed (they are considered semi-public) and, given the quality of their infrastructure and maintenance conditions, they cannot be conceived as spaces for collective and civic use.

On the other hand, a large part of the Comuna de Cerrillos corresponds to patches of land destined for metropolitan use of industrial type (mainly storage). These areas enhance spatial disintegration at the local level.

Activating these centralities is therefore a promising strategy, together with the transversal connection that the different Communes can communicate in a transversal way.

SOCIAL COMMUNITY COMPOSITION



As previously mentioned, the conformation of the neighborhood units for the case of the Communes generated by land registration formalization processes was consolidated by neighborhood units. These units were constituted as administrative areas formed by neighborhood associations or specific social organizations.

The impact of the military dictatorship and the cultural change influenced by the neoliberal model dismantled the community function. Notwithstanding the foregoing, in the case of the most marginalized areas of development, such as Lo Espejo, Pedro Aguirre Cerda and certain areas of Cerrillos, the organizations have persisted and have been recognized politically by the public plans of the State.

The above is an identitary precedent but also strategic for local development, which has been manifested (for example), in the case of the committees for the right to housing.

Legend

- Barriers
- Neighborhood Unit Jose Maria Caro C
- Neighborhood Unit Jose Maria Caro D
- Neighborhood Unit Santa Anita
- Neighborhood Unit Clara Estrella
- Paula J./ Elderly social club
- 1 Teresa Rojas / Elderly social club
- 2 La Respuesta / Religious Temple
- 3 Casa de todos / Elderly social club
- 4 Celtic / Sport Club
- 5 Raul Saez Public school
- 6 Jose Maria Caro / Social Union
- 7 Juventud Palestion / Sport Club
- 8 Esperanza de Vida / Civil group
- 9 Music School
- 10 Culture Municipal department
- 11 Women Municipal department
- 12 Huelemu / Kindergarten

CONNECTIVITY

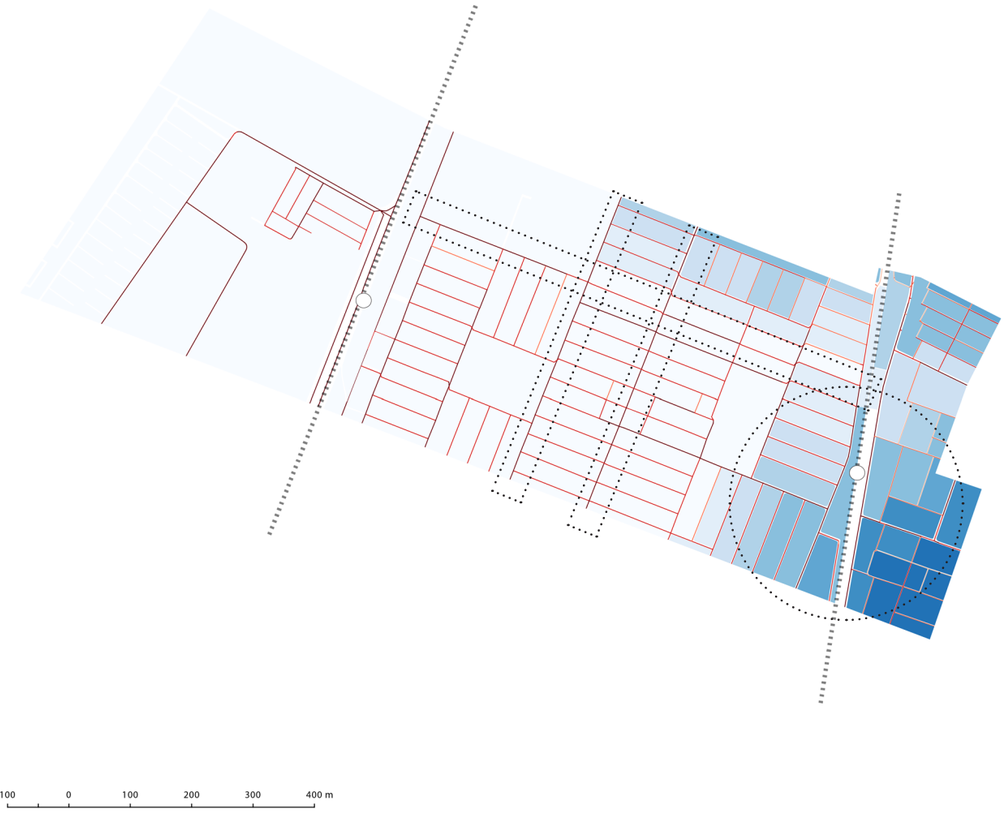


In terms of barriers, the spatial discontinuity at the pedestrian level is given by the same design of the lots. The neighborhood areas were designed to live inwards, without major connections with the adjacent urban areas. Finally, the metropolitan and regional roads, such as highways and train lines, confine the area further, segregating the different neighborhoods of the rest of the City.

Legend

- Barriers
- Transantiago Routes (Bus rapid transit system)
- Blocks
- Bus stop
- Street Discontinuity / barriers

ANGULAR INTEGRATION AND ATTRACTION REACH
BY WALKING



At the level of integration and attraction reach, the values vary. The possibility of pedestrian contact increases in public areas inside the enclaves, especially related to the inner barriers. This characteristic is seen in the proximity to the railway line. This factor coincides with the location of the free street markets. On the other hand, the more integrated streets tend to be the internal structuring axes, coinciding with the public transport routes or the main streets. The above graphs a high integration potential at the inter-neighborhood level, which could be strengthened by spatial connections between municipal areas at a transversal level.

Legend

Attraction reach walking at 800 mts

0
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10

Angular integration walking 800 mts

Low
Medium - Low
Medium
Medium High
High

Diego Reinaldo Moya Ortiz
Architect
D.R.MoyaOrtiz@student.tudelft.nl

Delft University of Technology
Faculty of Architecture and Built Environment.
MSc Architecture, Urbanism and Building Sciences
MSc track Urbanism
Complex Cities Studio

TU Delft