

**Exploring the periurban residential areas in Santiago de
Chile: The asymmetric residential model between
Corporate and State residential areas in Lampa 2000-2010**

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2014

Abstract

In the last two decades Santiago exhibited an intensive urban development characteristic for a change in the residential model. At the turn of the nineties, the role of the central and regional State changed from being the main agent of urban development via housing programs into a minor actor – though still maintaining its activities – when private agents began their sophisticated participation through the creation of a new generation of urban landscapes i.e. malls, satellite towns, private highways, etc. The scientific work is focused on the emergence of a more complex and diversified urbanization model, particularly visible in peri-urban territories of the regional Santiago where private satellite towns co-exist with social housing estates. As an attempt to contribute to the still incomplete understanding of the complex phenomenon of metropolitan development of Santiago, this thesis aimed at study the residential development in the peri-urban commune of Lampa for the period of 2000-2012. Interviews with inhabitants and experts in combination with statistical analysis were used to analyze how this process involved profound transformations in the local urban policy, landscape, as well as new expressions of social inequality. The main findings describe a periphery in Santiago that is no longer defined by slums or merely social housing suburbs. Instead, they embody an unprecedented asymmetric residential model with shared action of holdings companies and the urban development led by the central-regional state. Consequences were: (1) Two differentiated urban development agendas were established between an urbanism of holdings with the primary aim of economic growth and the development of social housing estates led by the regional and local government aimed to deliver standardized welfare programs. (2) Residential areas exhibit strongly differentiated neighbourhood infrastructure between “holding” and social housing projects. (3) A social morphology was configured that does not exactly mirror the material quality of residential areas, i.e. high private standard vs. precarious public urbanity. It rather shapes a fragmented cartography of wellbeing which additionally encompasses new forms of poverty in peri-urban ghettos, and also social vulnerability of emerging middle income groups in private residential areas. In contrast to the image of the peri-urbia as calm and non-political territory, Lampa embodies a socially complex residential model where new expressions of social exclusion emerge that reach beyond the classical division between private and the suburbia composed by social housing projects. Both, local and regional governments lack instruments to overcome the new urban quality gaps between the “holding” and social housing areas. They neither are able to guide the metropolitan development toward the achievement of basic standards in peri-urban town centers.

Acknowledgements

This thesis is dedicated to my dear late grandmother Norma, a passionate reader and inquisitive woman. This work is for you.

I would like to express my heartfelt gratitude to Prof. Dr. Ingrid Breckner for her support, patience, and for helping to improve my thesis with her careful and instructive comments. I would also like to thank Prof. Dr. Jorg Knieling for his support and for his encouraging and constructive feedback.

Thanks are due to Dr. Rainer Schmid for his support during the long process of writing and assembling the thesis, and especially for his friendship and priceless support and for editing this work. This thesis would also not be possible without the support of Dr. Ulrike Swida. Thank to both for their support and care.

I would not have contemplated this road if not for my partner Catarina, and our daughters Matilda and Filipa. Deep thanks for support, love and patience. I also thank my friend Dr. Angel Urzua for his encouragement, friendship, and untiring optimism.

And last, but not least, I would like to express my thanks to the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) and the Peter Möhrle Foundation. I am grateful to both organizations for their generous financial support.

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1. Background of the research problem

During the last decades a process of urbanization at global scales has been observed which transforms the city into a key arena to face challenges such as the diminishing of poverty, the access to basic social services, economic development, among others. As typical for developing countries, the intensive recent urbanization in Chile (44% of houses are less than twenty years old) has an additional complexity due to the structural inequality in the country's society. In Chile, the last few decades of urban development have been characterized by profound social, political and economic transformations. The case of Santiago de Chile (40% of the national population) is paradigmatic because its incentive development of the last two decades involves new actors participating in the city making process as well as new residential typologies. In Santiago, until the eighties, the State (central as well as regional) had been the main agent behind urban development through the investment into social housing and urban infrastructure. Since the nineties, the State (central - regional) maintains its historical responsibility for social housing programs but became a minor actor versus private agents. In 1980, the private sector was responsible for 23% of the whole national urban development while in 1997 this had increased to 81% (Plan of Urban Reform, 2001). Companies and holdings increased and sophisticated their participation in the urban development through the creation of a new generation of urban landscapes: malls, businesses parks, leisure boulevards, satellite towns and private highways.

This thesis analyzes how the residential model of Santiago has acquired a particular complexity during the last two decades, which is explained by a prominent private development that innovated and diversified the housing typologies in parallel with a social housing development financed by the central State and administrated by the regional government. This scenario is particularly visible in expansion areas (peripheral or peri-urban communes) where private satellite towns and gated communities develop next to social housing estates. This thesis suggests that in expansion areas of Santiago emerges a particular model of residential development that produces unprecedented forms of territorial, political and social fragmentation. To further explore this problem, the thesis focuses on the peri-urban commune of Lampa, which represents a clear example of the intensive residential development (115,1% of housing increase 2002-2012) in Santiago. The main subject of this research is how the recent residential development of Lampa produced new forms of social, political and territorial fragmentation in the urban development of Santiago de Chile.

The residential development of Santiago de Chile has been in the center of the debate during the last decades. Authors like Hidalgo (2007), Tokman (2006), Sabatini and Brain (2006) highlighted the historical pattern toward the suburbanization and expulsion of social housing projects. Others, like Tironi (2003); Rodriguez and Sugranyes (2004), investigated how physical and social conditions of social housing estates are related to a new type of urban poverty, which is characterized by people with their own house but living in residential areas lacking basic services and facilities. Authors as Salcedo and Torres (2004) investigated comprehensively social integration between populations of public and private projects in the commune of Huechuraba. Moreover, Poduje (2006), Balmaceda (2006); Orellana (2008) investigated normative and institutional backgrounds to obtain explanations for the poor quality of urban infrastructure in low-income communes. However, a better understanding of the current residential model of Santiago required more than sectorial analysis an integrated revision how private and social residential typology implies neighbourhood governance that has effects on the life quality of inhabitants.

This research contributes to various debates in Chilean and Latin American urban studies: (1) The role and impact of welfare policies in the city and urban life quality, (2) influence of pro-entrepreneurial agendas in local and regional urban policy, (3) suitability of current strategies to guide the metropolitan development, (4) role and limitations of current neighborhood planning tools, (5) efficiency of urban policies against poverty, (5) applicability of mixed methodological tools in the study of life quality in cities.

Private and social housing communities built in the peri-urban commune of Lampa during the 2000s (two satellite towns, two social housing estates) are examined. The research aims at an analysis of the process of community formation through

1. studying the political and historical background of each residential typology.
2. inquiring planning principles and tools concerning the development of satellite towns and social housing.
3. exploring the neighborhood management concerning satellite towns and social housing.
4. investigating the influence of the neighborhood design of satellite towns and social housing on the daily routines of recreation, consume, social services and

5. discovering the influence of the neighborhood design of satellite towns and social housing on the life quality perception of satellite towns and social housing inhabitants.

The research first analyses the current discussion on urban community development placing special attention on planning approaches, communities in the metropolitan contexts, social problematic involved, and community as a political phenomenon. Then, the methodological approach used to study the process of community formation is presented. A historical review of the residential development in Santiago is given looking both, at territorial as well as political changes. This is followed by a statistical analysis of the peri-urban development in Santiago, which aims to characterize the frame of the dynamics of urbanization in the study case of Lampa. Furthermore, an extensive fieldwork from four settlements in Lampa is presented which examines planning approaches used in satellite towns and in social housing, as well as their respective management model. It also explores how each community typology relates to specific daily practices and life quality evaluation by the inhabitants. Finally, a general discussion, political strategies and future research is presented.

2. Conceptual framework

A basic step to understand the livability gaps in Santiago de Chile is to look into the composition and dynamics of residential areas. The following literature defines urban communities as a poly-semantic term, composed by two dimensions, a physical area shaped by a mix of housing, facilities and services, and a psycho-social dimension where the neighborhood is a construct that allows the establishment of social relationships and place-attachment (Aragonés, 1998). The term “community” refers both to groups who reside in a geographically (or socially) distinct area, bound together by common cultures, values and attitudes (also by experiences) or a group of people engaged in social interaction such as a neighborhood (Pacione 2005, 376). According to Somerville (2011, 91) a neighborhood is shaped in three major ways: “spontaneously, by the everyday interactions of individual residents with one another and with more or less powerful people and organizations outside the neighborhood; by a variety of residents’ organizations within the neighborhood, such as housing co-operatives, small community associations and tenants’ and residents’ associations; and by organizations from outside the neighborhood, operating on a ‘higher’ scale, in which, in some cases, it may be possible to identify actors who are willing to champion the neighborhood’s cause”.

2.1 Urban communities in a metropolitan context

Historically, cities constitute spaces where a number of basic human needs are satisfied: work, education, contact, culture, etc. However, the current configuration of metropolitan areas shows difficulties to achieve this basic principle due to the extension and functional composition of urban structures. The industrial period in urban development reflected a much greater physical spread between urban functions. During this period transport advances, together with private urban development, regulatory arrangements, and growing income of middle class families, among others, encouraged a process of suburbanization shaped by an economic, territorial and cultural process of “mass production”. This corresponds to principles of standardization and specialization typical of the economic phase of Fordism, applied to urban planning as a “more efficient” way of city-making. However, since the 1980s the metropolis shows a shift from a classical model of city structured as center-periphery, to a model with suburbia functionally more diverse from and less dependent on the city center (DeMatteis, 1996, 24; Fishman 1987, 184; Gust 1999, 44). This more decentralized organization of the city is directly related to the recent economic restructuration, wherein technological and production changes have consequences at two levels: first, the systems of production, based on large factories and

scale economies shift to an organization as a “network” of production; second, the production and consumption activities located traditionally in central urban areas adopt a more dispersed organization in metropolitan areas.

A central feature of contemporary urban territories is that social and economic life acquires a decentralized organization becoming less dependent on the city’s traditional centralities. From this economic re-structuring emerges what Muñoz calls a “multiplied city” (ciudad multiplicada) constituted by three basic features: a new definition of urban centralities, the multiplication of flows and mobility forms, and new forms of inhabitation of the territory (Muñoz, 2008, 19). Authors stress the emergence of a new type of inhabitant who does not satisfy their basic needs in the local context only, but they work, consume and socialize in a more extended metropolitan space. As Ingersoll (2006, 09) reasons, this occurs because automobiles and highways free the inhabitants from the search for urban density. With the increase of car ownership and technological artifacts, the physical distance loses relevance in the organization of economic and social activities in the city. This flexibility of personal movements originated in the twentieth century with the development of transport technology, and has attained unexpected levels with the revolution of telecommunication. The ensuing relaxation of distance has emphasized and encouraged the development of groupings of people and sets of economic and social contacts that no longer depend on physical proximity. The new ways of circulation of information, people, and goods have ensured that distance is no longer a determining condition in spatial relations (Indovina, 1998, 24; Robson, 1973, 23).

The horizontal urban growth pattern in many cities does no longer allow a differentiation of urbanity and rurality as isolated phenomena (Tacoli, 1998, 147; Iaquineta and Drescher, 2001, 2-3). Peri-urban spaces host new forms of residential typologies such as gated communities, social housing estates or satellite towns connected to the city by regional highways. In many cities of different world regions a hybrid rural-urban space emerges subjected to processes such as the loss of agriculture soil, pressure on ecological areas, and hosting low density urbanizations under the lack of urban infrastructure (Allen 2003, 136). According to Phillips et al, (1999, 5) the peri-urban space is characterized by an internal organization with two differentiated macro areas: a closed zone of direct impact of urban growth and an external area with predominant agriculture and natural land. Peri-urban territories are being transformed by new modes of mobility, consume and habitat (McGregor et al. 2006:04). The valorization of peri-urban territories produces problems

such as a loss of rural soil and natural landscapes, or an infrastructure deficit in residential areas (Allen 2003, 136). In the peri-urbia organizational and functional elements of a city can be found, however, it does not share the same characteristics of density, intensity and spatial continuity (Indovina 1998, 24).

This change in the structure of metropolis has a direct influence on the configuration of residential areas. Suburbia was historically related to the notion of transitive and mobile space (Begout 2008, 15), spaces where people only sleep or work - spaces without identity and unable to produce any place-attachment. However, the scattering of urban functions (consume, work, services) in the current metropolitan scenario changed the hierarchical relation of the city-center being the bearer of urbanity and associating the periphery with exclusion and banality. Under the mixture of urban functions the suburban territories are able to be composed by more complex political, economic, and social processes, which are no longer exclusively connected with central city areas. The functional and social complexity of the current suburbia has encouraged a change of concepts where "suburbia" is replaced by the recognition as "regional urbanization" (Soja 2011, 684) and, like a city-region, organized as a network of urban centers. A similar attempt by Sieverts (2003, 122) describes the post-industrial metropolis as "*Zwischenstadt*", i.e. an urban structure of individual islands without a clear center, but with functional specialized areas, networks, and nodes. In such a post-industrial metropolis, the definition of what is "central" takes on multiple forms by producing a periphery composed of new contents, thus re-shaping the concept of an "urban territory" (Muñoz, 2008, 21). Muniz et al. (2007, 311) used dispersed urbanization as an urban expansion model following at least one of the following patterns: (1) a decreasing population density and higher soil consumption, (2) an increasing proliferation of peripheral areas in relation to central ones, (3) a higher isolation or lack of proximity between urban areas, (4) a lower concentration of population in dense urban areas, and (5) an increasing fragmentation of the territory.

A central aspect associated with urban life in metropolitan areas is their multi-scalar character. Individuals can simultaneously be members of more than one neighborhood (Paccione 2005, 377). Due to mobility and communication technologies, people can live and create economic and affective networks in several and even distant places. Hence, community must not be understood as being limited to the physical boundaries of the neighborhood, but should account for the places where inhabitants have access to

employment, consumption and socializing opportunities. The urban inhabitants not necessarily relate to their neighbors or colleagues but create multiple scopes of social relations beyond the neighborhood (Ascher 2004, 40). Technological and transport infrastructure allow the metropolitan inhabitant to generate a reticular structure of social relations where not only the neighborhood but also the mall, work environment, or virtual places become significant social places on a daily basis.

For Martinotti (1993), the current configuration of metropolitan areas had influenced the social morphology of the metropolis. By analyzing Italian cities, the author described the growing of four types of urban population. The first-generation metropolis showed traditional town morphology where people who lived in the city largely coincided with the population working in the city. The additional populations were market-goers, visitors, and suppliers, while not numerically or functionally irrelevant, they did not deeply affect the social structure of the city. The metropolitan development in the first few decades of the twentieth century in the US, and after World War II in Europe, showed a growing differentiation into two types of urban population: the inhabitants of the traditional city, and the workers who daily moved from new suburban communities. Hence, commuting was the reflex and consequence of this differentiation process. The author identified a second-generation metropolis where advances of transport and telecommunication encouraged the growing of a third type of inhabitant called a “user-inhabitant”. Martinotti (1993) characterized this inhabitant type as follows: “The increased mobility of people, combined with the availability of greater income and leisure, allowed the differentiation of a third population in the diagram, the city users, namely a population composed of persons moving to a city in order to use its private and public services: shopping, movies, museums, restaurants”. Finally, the author identified a fourth population type that influenced the social structure of cities, a user-inhabitant who makes an intensive use of the city center, shopping malls, or touristic areas, for hours or some days: the businessman. The Martinotti’s classification is highly relevant because it opens the notion of inhabitant of a city beyond its boundaries by including, for example, people who lives outside a city but use its public or private facilities intensively.

The social morphology of current metropolis has also been used to develop a concept by Muñoz (2008, 27) who proposes the term “territoriante” to characterize the type of inhabitant who lives in a particular place but is also the user of several other places, being an inhabitant of a multi-centered metropolis. These inhabitants use the territory in different

ways depending on the moment of the day and week. Since these metropolitan inhabitants use the territory in moldable forms, they rather may be defined as “inhabitants between places” than as “inhabitants of a place.” Muñoz clearly describes the emergent type of metropolitan population as follows: “...the metropolitan inhabitants live mostly in an urban area but extend their activities to many other places. The spaces used in urban life reach beyond the city and create a metropolis of variable extension, inhabited in different ways depending on the hour and day”. In Sieverts’ view (2003, 49), “never before in history has the city, as a cultural product, been as malleable as it is today. Its functional locations have relaxed and can be combined much more freely than before, and thanks to reduced working hours and employment in services and telecommunications, the people, at least in some areas, have much more freedom than before in their dealings with space and time and can therefore develop completely different lifestyles.”

2.2 Residential areas between pro-economic and welfare agendas.

The development of residential areas constitutes a complex element of the city-making process because it is charged with various political and economic aims (Paddison 2001, 195). This is explained both as an important component of business operations in the city, as well as a central element in welfare policies. In the case of residential projects as land operations led by private investors, literature has focused on how residential projects are often part of a mode of urban development constituted by urban mega projects. These have concentrated huge attention in urban studies due to their potential to produce profound political, territorial and social transformations. One of the first references in the literature about mega-projects focuses on programs of urban post-war renewal in European and Northern-American cities during the 1950s and 1960s (Altshuler, 2003). It has gained renewed focus at the end of the eighties when mega-projects were at the top of urban public policy agenda of the western cities and also of main Asiatic metropolitan areas due to urban operations aimed to attract multinational capital. These entrepreneurial operations aimed to replace old decayed areas (waterfronts, industrial quarters) or to create new business districts or residential quarters in the city.

As Fainstein (2009, 760) elaborates, the term “mega-project” nowadays is most often applied to refer to two types of scenario, either based on the construction of huge buildings with strong symbolic significance or to large assemblies with complex contents (mixed residential uses, service industries, shared facilities, new transport facilities, etc.). Often these take the form of glamorous new spaces, designed by world famous architects

(Fainstein 2009, 769). Mega projects show a certain similitude in aesthetical characteristics, as well as in their political implications such as the creation of urban pro-entrepreneurial regimes between the State and investors (Flyvbjerg, Bruzelius, and Rothengatter, 2003; Pierre, 2011, Stone, 1989; Beazley, Loftman, and Nevin 1997). Political agendas of pro-development mega-projects, rather than constituting private initiatives, are part of a coalition of interest where the State (central-regional-local), far from being a passive actor, plays a role of financing and coordination (Swyngedouw and Moulaert 2002, 551). The creation or administration of residential mega-projects gives form to informal coalitions between economic groups and State based rather than on ideological or pragmatic alliances aimed to achieve economic growth (Stone 1989, 180-181). The limited financial resources of local or regional State has created a dependence link between state and investors able to improve the tax basis and produces social benefits such as revitalization of decayed quarters or improvement of urban services. The creation of residential mega-projects produces in many cases changes of how cities are governed.

The participation of companies in the recent urban development of European (Hubbard, 1996b), Asiatic (Ren and Weinstein, 2013) or Latin American cities (Hidalgo et al, 2008; Janoschka, 2002) transforms the unique and hierarchical structure of urban policy into a dynamic governance model based on private-public coalitions formed around economic aims (Harvey, 1989; DiGaetano & Klemanski 1993 ; Hubbard, 1996). Urban policy is no longer seen exclusively as a field of public expenditure but also as arena of capitalization, the unique and hierarchical structure of urban policy is reorganized into dynamic and multi-agent governance, with several centers of power and decisions. Regime theory is now the dominant paradigm for the study of urban politics not only in the USA but also the UK, where scholars have debated whether it can throw light on the spread of urban regeneration partnerships (Davies, 2003). Stone (1993, 1) defines: "regime theory starts with the proposition that governing capacity is not easily captured through the electoral process. Governing capacity is created and maintained by bringing together coalition partners with appropriate resources, nongovernmental as well as governmental".

Although urban mega-projects have garnered significant attention in recent years, most research on mega-project development has only scantily explored their different processes and outcomes in a comparative perspective. Although these projects show similar physical features or functions (touristic areas, entrepreneurial districts, etc), this is relevant

because they also differ in social outcomes and planning processes (Fainstein 2009, 768). Literature has focused on how formerly Fordist states in North America and Europe have responded to this economic process in the city, but at the same time has neglected questions of regional variations of State rescaling power and the role of investors in urban policy in non-western or Latin American metropolitan cities. But this omission appears problematic because urban literature often gives a general diagnosis about the effects of mega projects, but without reference to empirical studies. This lack of empirical evidence hides the political and social implications of these entrepreneurial land operations in developing countries.

Literature stresses a shift of urban governance models from welfare to economic pro-growth orientation, but it can be questioned whether this shift applies to the political processes in all world regions. The continuing importance of social housing policies in world regions (e.i Latinoamerican cities such as Santiago, Lima, Montevideo or Buenos Aires) also speaks of cities strongly shaped by welfare policies. But what kind of welfare policies arises in these cities? As in other regions a crisis of the Fordist mode of regulation during the 1970s and 1980s led to the crisis of urban government manifested in the dismantling of the welfare-state. This process is explained partly by a failure of the post-war urban planning discipline to deliver the social utopias it had promised (Hall 2001, 106). The economic crisis of the eighties meant in several cities an impulse to turn to policies of privatization in sectors such as housing, education, health, facilities provision, etc. The move from welfarism to post-welfarism represents a shift from a producer state to a consumer oriented state, from a “nanny state” dispensing general wellbeing, to one based on the primacy of individual responsibility for personal welfare (Bailey 2001, 347).

One of the features of the welfare-state reforms is that they not only affect the substantial characteristics of social policies but also their management. It denotes an increasing emphasis on ensuring improved economy, efficiency and effectiveness of public services. The current configuration of many welfare systems (Esping-Andersen 2002, in Andreotti, 2012, 1926) can no longer be seen only in terms of the national system, but must also be seen as a mix of central and sub-national policies, where the term ‘sub-national’ stands for government bodies at a lower territorial level than the central government, i.e. counties, regions, municipalities, provinces, communities, etc. Mayer (1994, 317-322) notes a number of ensuing fundamental realignments of urban governance: (1) local authorities were constrained to become engaged more extensively and pro-actively in local economic

development projects, (2) local welfare and collective consumption policies were increasingly marginalized or subordinated to production-oriented policies, and (3) new forms of local governance, such as public-private partnerships, became increasingly prevalent. Current welfare policies applied in cities are described as a shift under the slogan of “new public management”, portrayed using the terms of efficiency and closeness.

The creation of residential projects for whichever economic development or social aims constitutes an element of the city with a potential to produce profound political and social transformations. Latin American countries are interesting cases of how urban communities activated either pro-economic agenda or are a central component of welfare policies. The configuration of metropolitan areas to a similar extent under both, pro-economic as well as welfare policies, constitutes research lines so far insufficiently addressed in the literature about urban development. Urban policy concerning residential development appears as a moldable body rather than a merely administrative entity as Brenner states “the geography of state rather than being a container or a platform, is a conflicting and dynamically evolving matrix of socio-spatial interaction...actively produced and transformed through sociopolitical struggles in diverse institutional sites and ranges of geographical scale” (Brenner 2004, 451).

The relationship between evolving models of governance and particular approaches used in the creation of residential areas has been a subject of increased attention in urban studies. The focus on the governance of places or territories is useful for improving our understanding of the relationships between scales, and even of the construction of the scales themselves (Somerville, 2011, 93). The urban neighborhood as a geographic entity has become an important site of social intervention, a key spatial and institutional field for political and economic experiments (Brenner 2004: 272). Recent urban literature highlights a transformation in the role play of the government and private actors for the delivery of basic urban services. The emergence of flexible and multilevel networks of governance involves that functions (i.e. welfare services) previously the domain of central and local government, shift responsibilities for managing to the private sector or public-private partnerships (Jessop 1998; Haidar 2005). The participation of private actors on the city making process involves a change in the previous conceptions of consumption as a residual category of urban political economy. Cities are no longer seen as landscapes of production, but as landscapes of consumption (Zukin, 1991).

2.3 Urban communities as gates for livability or exclusion

Historically, cities are regarded as places where human needs are met. This argument is used to explain the massive rural migration into cities in several continents during the 20th century. This notion of cities as tool for human development is recognized by human development agencies who explicitly call to encourage the process of urbanization - this under the conviction that it would exponentially increase the opportunities for human development. For instance, this “city calling” appears in the UNO Report on human settlements (UN-Habitat 2009, 82) which states that it “is imperative that governments see the urbanization as a positive phenomenon and pre-condition to improve the access to services, social and economic opportunities, and a better life quality”. However, the recent process of urbanization in regions like Latin America forces to be careful in accepting this statement. Especially in the “developing world” the process of urbanization adopts a singular complexity due to the structural and social inequalities that explain these cities¹. What the literature describes (Rodriguez & Sugranyes, 2004; Hidalgo 2007; Janoschka, 2002; Ludeña 2006; Tironi, 2003, Taschner, 2001) is a process of unequal access to urban opportunities, for one hand, middle and high income groups access to urbanization with well residential standards, for the other, less privileged people lives in slums or social housing estates designed under a deficit of neighborhood equipment which affects the life quality of inhabitants.

The Latin American region are shaped by strongly differentiated residential typologies (luxus-resorts, middle income communities, social housing or slums) and home of highly diverse socioeconomic groups (Hidalgo 2007; Janoschka 2002; Ludeña 2006), where the main problem of suburban communities relates to two main developments, (1) the socio-spatial segregation of low income groups and (2) a deficit of infrastructure or urban services in low income residential areas. It is unclear whether this apparent contradiction between the high expectations of the social role of cities and the daily images of slums, poor work quality in large factories, poor transport facilities, etc. It is caused by a lack of understanding of the effects that the built environments has on people and communities (Harvey 2003, Northam, 1979).

¹ The GINI coefficient places Brazilian cities such as Goiana, Fortaleza, Belo Horizonte and Brazilia (0,60%) as the most unequal metropolis of the world (only exceeded by Southafrican cities). But also Buenos Aires, Quito or Santiago de Chile show high GINI coefficient of social inequality (0,55%).

The study of social inequality in cities has been a field addressed by different research approaches, such as those based on human ecology (Park, 1936), neo-marxist principles (Harvey, 1999, Lefebvre, 1996), or postmodern studies (Soja, 1995; Davis, 1990; Dear & Flusty, 1998). During the sixties and seventies the concept of social exclusion focused on ethnic segregation (especially in the US) and socio-spatial segregation (especially among geographers and sociologists). But, during the last two decades social exclusion has also been studied as a process of social polarization in “global cities” (Sassen, 2001). This theory recognizes a pattern of growing social polarity among groups associated with well paid jobs related to highly specialized skills in business and information sectors as opposed to groups employed in unskilled and low-level servicing and manufacturing jobs (Sassen, 2001; Mollenkopf and Castells 1991). These ideas were based on empirical evidence from New York and Los Angeles and were extended to major cities in the Western Hemisphere. According to the social polarization theory the main economic urban centers are transformed by an interlinked process: decline of manufacturing industries or their movement from the city, and their relocation to cheaper production markets of the Asia, Latin-America or Eastern Europe. Workers are re-employed in informal and low-level servicing jobs as cleaners, security guards, commerce, etc. In parallel, well paid jobs rely on highly specialized skills in the advanced business sectors or new information sectors. This involves exclusive growth of the occupational market at both, the top and the bottom ends, combined with an absolute decline in the middle. It is recognized as the conventional wisdom regarding the changing social structure of major cities in Western capitalist countries (Hamnett 1996, 1407). Even when social polarization not necessarily means spatial segregation (Hamnett 1996, 1409), in capitalist cities these processes generally go hand-in-hand with spatial segregation operated via the housing market. According to this theory, the social polarization would be present both in the older inner city as well as in the newer outer suburbs. Both urban areas are characterized by a social morphology composed of richer and poorer groups, while at the same time they show a relative decline of middle income groups (Bourne 1997; 1989; Bourne & Lorus, 1999; Walks 2001). Literature identifies two main limitations. First, the term is related to income structure but it fails when it does not seek other forms of social polarization (Thorns 2002, 151) such as gender, religion, migration, that also act as exclusion sources. Second, social polarization does not operate in a political or social vacuum, but different forms of housing provision, labor market regulation, or welfare services, influence the social structure and spatial outcomes in major Western cities.

The theory on social polarization has been criticized especially in the developing world (Marcuse, 1993; Veiga, 2012; Borsdorf & Hidalgo, 2010) arguing that cities rather show a polarized process of fragmentation or diversification of the societal structure where middle income groups are also key components. The urban territory actually would show a fragmentation in different groups and quarters, shaped according to factors like class, race or gender Marcuse (1993). This fragmentation of urban space is associated with the privatization of public space and the growth of specialized residential communities such as gated communities, wealthier housing resorts, social housing areas, middle income suburbs, etc. Studying fragmentation associated with urban development, Navez-Bouchanine (2002a, 2002b, in Doeffner et al, 2011) identifies three processes acting in the city: 1) a physical fragmentation of urban space as an ensemble of urban areas for living or consume of different socioeconomic groups, 2) fragmentation associated with the dismantling or disaggregation of formerly homogenous societal structures, 3) a political fragmentation derived from changes of power relations in city governments. Authors like Bordorf and Hidalgo and Borsdorf (2010, 23) arguing that "...it would be too simple to blame only the rich for spatial segregation. Contemporary Latin American cities abound with walls. Middle class neighborhoods are walled off and even marginal quarters tend to construct fences...". Similarly, Taschner and Bogus (2001, 111) and also Ludena (2006, 51) observe that the social morphologies in the metropolis of Sao Paulo and Lima, respectively, rather than being metropolis composed by a polarized social structure, currently show a socially diversified urban structure explained by the middle income groups segments. In the discussion, segregation is often equalized with social inequality, based on the argument that more unequal societies are also more spatially segregated. But some authors (Hamnett, 1996; Sabatini et al, 2001) emphasize that segregation and inequality are not necessarily interrelated concepts. A city may shows higher levels of segregation in a context of relative low social inequality, as it is the case in Scandinavian cities (Wessel, 2000; Legeby, 2009), and there are examples of segregated cities in highly unequal societies, as in the case of Indian, South African or Brazilian cities (UN-Habitat 2009).

Since the nineties urban studies show a shift from the explanation of social problematic as a discourse centered on poverty and inequality to an emphasis on social exclusion (Thorns, 2002, 151). This shift is primarily a switch from static to a more dynamic approach concentrating on the processes of exclusion themselves (Macgregor, 2001, 353). It relates to the restriction or differentiated ability of groups to gain access to

decision making, economic resources, urban values, and common narratives, which enable social integration (Madanipour 2011, 191). In the economic arena exclusion refers to a gap of economic resources normally secured through employment. In the political arena it is expressed in the mechanism of participation in the decision making processes. Culturally, exclusion can emerge from the lack of participation in the mechanism of cultural integration or the access to common lifestyles. Likewise, social exclusion in the city presents a clear spatial component that is often accompanied by the spatial separation of specific social groups – normally low income groups - from the majority of the population in the city. The social segregation can be explained by a process of autosegregation which is a voluntary decision of individuals to live among the same social group (ethnic groups, groups seeking similar lifestyles) as a mechanism to preserve cultural identities and obtain mutual support (Knox & Pinch 2010). It also can be related to a imposed process of segregation of low income groups that operates via the housing market. Social segregation shows several sources in the different world regions. In European cities it is mainly associated with social and ethnic segregation (Hanhörster, 2001), in the United States it appears mainly as a form of racial segregation (Massey & Denton, 1993), and in Latin-American cities it usually shows an origin in class segregation (Taschner & Bógus, 2001; Rodriguez & Sugranyez, 2004; Alvarez, 2007). What appears as a consensus is the fact that spatial segregation acts as the force that encourages the process of social exclusion in cities. This has impacts on different dimensions of social life (Massey & Denton, 1993). Not only does it act on housing segregation but also on a segregation in public spaces, i.e. parks, schools, commerce (Vaughan, 2007).

In the case of residential areas one of the major forms of social exclusion is the unequal access to neighborhood facilities (sports and cultural facilities, green areas, educational and health centers, transport, commerce, among others). This appears as a central issue in the concept of social justice. (Paccione 2005, 352). Does the neighborhood or the services provided there make a difference to the life chances and place-attachment of a person? As Guentner and Gehrke (2014, 5) point out, place and services do matter. “There is a power in the locality that mediates and shapes the access to wellbeing (....) badly equipped and isolated neighborhoods can amplify experiences of inequality as can discriminatory service delivery. Well-equipped and accessible neighborhoods on the other hand can be important resources to cope with deprivation and even escape poverty, empowering services can be a decisive factor of social inclusion”. Powell et al. (2001) observed an overemphasis on geographies of ‘people poverty’ (i.e. low incomes of

people) and argues for a focus on 'place poverty', which directs analytical (and policy) attention to the characteristics of place that compound or attenuate the disadvantages arising from low household incomes.

"The dynamics of social exclusion both affect neighborhoods and are affected by them, and the understanding of deprivation and exclusion is sterile without reference to neighborhood and place as key elements in the production and experience of exclusion. Such reference includes aspects of the local welfare-state and rebalances accounts that neglect the welfare state altogether or are selective about what they include. (...) The perceptions and realities of opportunity, security, and safety relate to all of these and are important aspects of the experience of exclusion" (Murie 2005: 165)

Urban literature highlights that the segregation of low income groups in metropolitan areas activates two dynamics of exclusion with clear spatial content: estrangement and concentration. (1) The location of less wealthy groups into the margins of cities produces a physical distancing from opportunities to jobs and basic services (Johnson, 2006; Gobillon et al., 2007). Under this process, the life chances of families do not only depend on the labor market, the welfare or the educational system, but they also depend/rely on how markets and institutions spread out their resources across the urban territory (Galster & Killen, 1995). Thus, the problematic of social segregation in cities appears inextricable linked to the phenomenon of urban sprawl (Banerjee & Verma, 2005). Due to the extension and functional configuration of the metropolis, the availability of a private car or of efficient public transport determinates the access to economic and social opportunities for individuals (Miralles, 2004). The urban life in current metropolitan scenarios transforms our understanding of poverty from a notion of material poverty into a dynamic notion explained as a poverty of connections, where certain groups have limited tools to extend their influence in time and space (Graham & Marvin, 2001). (2) Spatial segregation also encourages social exclusion via the concentration of low income groups in poorly equipped neighborhoods. Research approaches inquiring on neighborhood effects (Lupton, 2003; Forrest, 2004; Galster, 2010; Ellen & Turner, 1997) emphasize that wellbeing and social opportunities are strongly conditioned by the material characteristics of residential areas. It is emphasized that the unequal distribution of power, wealth and prestige created by the occupational structure may be simply reinforced in a given locality,

so that the less privileged are made even more so by the differential access to social and recreational facilities in their neighbourhoods. (Knox & Pinch 2010; Powell et al. 2001).

In order to understand how the neighborhoods design and location impact on the inclusion or exclusion of groups it is necessary to consider the concept of opportunity. According to Galster and Killen (1995, 10-12-35), to understand the access to social opportunities for a certain group is not only necessary an analysis of labor markets, welfare or educational system or characteristics of the housing market, but also to consider how markets and institutions have equivalent resources and policies across the metropolitan area. Consequently, a suitable approach to evaluate the livability and forms of exclusion in the city concerns the accessibility of groups to urban services and social opportunities (Galster and Killen, 1995; Miralles, 2004). Current cities and the metropolis have created new conditions for the social and spatial integration of their inhabitants, where the capacity for mobility of each person determines access to opportunities. The access of communities to services and facilities, in different scales, becomes a determinant to the development and well being of communities. The availability or not of personal car or adequate public transport imply that the physical distance is not experienced in the same way for each group. Wealthier groups with personal and modern mobility means adopt more flexible forms of living the urban territory, enjoy more influence over the location of their homes. For some authors the mobile urban life in today's cities reduces the importance of the neighbourhood. Fischer (1982, in Andersson and Musterd, 2010), for example, states that people tend to become socially integrated in differentiated networks at different scales. But for others (Calthorpe, 2001; Frey, 1999) the local environment still plays a central role in the access to wellbeing, even when mobility is a central feature of the contemporary metropolis. The quality of residential areas remains a significant factor in the access to life quality; good neighbors tend to be more important to those who spend more time in their local area (Frey, 1999).

For urban geographers, one of the most serious problematic of community planning approaches is the omission of an explicit consideration of the neighborhood scale in public strategies of delivering of services. The importance of the place criteria in urban policy is emphasized by Knox (2001): "...The unequal distribution of power, wealth and prestige created by the occupational structure may be simply reinforced in a given locality, so that the less privileged are made even more "less privileged" by differential access to facilities". In the similar line, Talen (1997) points out that "the access or lack of access to

such environments and facilities could potentially have greater impact on the health and well-being of residents in low socioeconomic neighborhoods compared with higher socioeconomic neighborhoods because of cost and mobility barriers to the use of private or non-local services and facilities.” A key concept necessary to understand the impact that the physical organization of neighborhoods and metropolitan areas have on social exclusion is the theory of “socio-spatial dialectics” (Soja, 1980), referring to the simultaneous process by which people create and modify their daily spaces simultaneously with the various ways in which the setting where they live are conditioned. Under this notion a residential area acts facilitating, promoting, inhibiting, conditioning, but never as a neutral container in the configuration of practices close to wellbeing.

A central issue in studies about quality of urban life is the relationship between people and their everyday environments. It is recognized that in order to obtain a proper understanding of urban wellbeing it is necessary to employ both objective and subjective evaluations. In other words, we must consider both the *city on the ground* and *the city in the mind* (Paccione 2003, 20). Consequently, studies inquiring on urban life quality should address both objective and subjective indicators. The first should describe the environment in which people live and work; this may deal with issues such as the level of health care provision, education, leisure facilities, and housing. Subjective indicators ought to describe the ways in which people perceive and evaluate their surroundings. Considerations on subjective aspects are essential, since livability is a relative rather than absolute term the precise meaning of which depends on the place, time and purpose of the assessment, and on the value system of the assessor (Paccione 2003, 21). Literature has given a broad treatment to the impact that neighborhoods have on the individual behavior of its inhabitants. Residents who report high neighborhood satisfaction have higher overall life satisfaction, mental health, and well-being. Low neighborhood satisfaction is implied in the residents’ desire to move, which can disrupt neighborhood stability and cohesion (Bolan 1997; Oh 2003 in Dassopoulos et al 2012).

A major feature of contemporary cities is that urban life is the result of the use and symbolization of several distantly spaced places often located outside the neighborhood. This particularity transforms the process of place attachment that individuals develop with their cities. For the formation of place-attachment Vidal and Pol (2005, 283) refer to a bi-dimensional process: (1) By *action-transformation*; through their actions people and groups transform the space - they charge it with personal and collective symbolic values.

(2) By the *symbolic identification* people and groups recognize themselves in the environment - features of the environment act in defining the individual. The first is particularly present in the young while the symbolic identification prevails in older people. The place attachment constitutes a central factor in the stability of the identity and cohesion of a community (Vidal and Pol 2005, 284). An urban community able to reinforce the processes of place attachment facilitates responsible and participative behavior of neighbors and the care for the physical and social quality of the community. According to Tuan (1977, 6), the development of a human person's self in the city incorporates a territorial reference. Even when a place shapes the identity in the first years of our existence, the symbolic associations of each new setting in the existence of people are incorporated into the construction of their self. A property which differentiates human beings from animals is the ability to symbolize, to charge our vital space with symbols. While our relation with a neighborhood is intimate and direct, i.e. a personal place that we endow with values, our idea of a city or country is a notion about space, more indirect and conceptual. In the discussion about "urban space and identity" authors like Auge (1993) stress that the city is currently shaped by an urbanization pattern with alien urban artifacts such as shopping malls, gated communities, mega-airports, all of them unable to create identity. This provokes a more precarious relationship between people and the city. In this context, the neighborhood plays the role of a refuge charged by personal references.

A second concept related to the dynamics of social exclusion in neighborhoods is that of "community satisfaction". It refers to an evaluative process of social and material features of communities (Vidal and Pol 2005, 283). Literature (Campbell et al. in Leslie et al, 2007) highlights as useful term in livability studies the concept of satisfaction rather than happiness. Satisfaction is viewed as more definable to researchers, and implies a judgmental or cognitive experience whereas happiness reflects a relatively short-term feeling. Satisfaction was also considered a more plausible and realistic objective for policy makers than that of creating happiness. Especially in Latin American cities, "fear" plays a major role explaining the satisfaction with neighborhoods. For Caldeira (2000) a major effect of fear is the emergence of a defended architecture and the obsession with security, which both damage the role of public spaces as places of social encounter. To Caldeira (2000, 2) "...This universe of crime and fear is obviously not the only one generating discrimination in contemporary societies. But it is especially important because it stimulates the development of two novel modes of discrimination: the privatization of security and the seclusion of some social groups in fortified and private enclaves. Both

processes are changing concepts of the public and of public space that used to be dominant in Western societies until very recently". In a circular logic, security obsession provokes enclosure, enclosure provokes mistrust and the lack of familiarity with other social realities, and this in turn increases insecurity (Low, 2001, in Salcedo et al, 2004).

A direct effect of the perception of fear is damage in the social cohesion of communities in their role of being formal and informal networks of support among neighbors. Social cohesion refers to the presence of structural and attitudinal mechanisms of solidarity, i.e. the co-operation and exchange between citizens in a society. The constitution of these networks can be either material or structural (exchange of goods, economic interactions) or immaterial (informal relations, shared identities). Communities exist where there is a degree of social coherence based on interdependence. People seek to build neighborhood as a personal place charged with meanings and interactions of mutual trust (Canclini, 1989 in Campos et al, 2004, 23). The access to urban wellbeing depends significantly on the capacity of inhabitants to conquest a valuable personal place in the city and to be able to differentiate this own place from any foreign space. The building of social identity in a city results from the symbolic construction that individuals and groups make of a certain space.

What appears fundamental in the task to democratize basic conditions of livability in the city is that urban planning recognizes the urban habitat as a dynamic and multi-dimensional space. The capacity of a neighborhood to supply basic livability values (place vitality, mixture of uses, economic health, and social diversity) depends on the degree of diversity. As Talen (2006, 238) points out, the social equity dimension of place diversity involves two notions: "The first is the idea that social mixing in one place is more equitable because it ensures better access to resources for all social groups, it nurtures what is known as the "geography of opportunity" (...). Place diversity is a matter of better distribution and improved access to resources a matter of fairness. In the second sense, diversity is seen as an utopian ideal that mixing population groups is the ultimate basis of a better, more creative, more tolerant, more peaceful and stable world". Similar attention to diversity as a key component of urban areas is applied by Jacobs (1961, in Montgomery, 1998) based on the idea that activity both produces and reflects quality of a built environment. She identifies essential determinants which govern or set the conditions for activity: a mixture of primary use, intensity, permeability of the urban form and a mixture of building types, ages, sizes and conditions.

“The alternative to sprawl is simple and timely: neighborhoods of housing, parks, and schools placed within walking distance of shops, civic services, jobs, and transit – a modern version of the traditional town. The convenience of the car and the opportunity to walk or use transit can be blended in an environment with local access for all the daily needs of a diverse community. Applied at a regional scale, a network of such mixed-use neighborhoods could create order in our balkanized metropolis.” (Calthorpe 1995, 16)

The urban planning approach that argues for a mix-use neighborhood structure is also supported by the theory of sustainability. As Rueda (2002, 8-11) states, a certain neighborhood or city can be understood by its relation between diversity and energy. The diversity of elements (commerce, parks, jobs, etc) present in an urban area gives an idea about the number and heterogeneity of exchanges and information sources. In areas composed by a unique land use, the energy demand necessary to keep up the social system is higher than in neighborhoods composed by a mixture of information nodes. Consequently a residential area will be closer to the optimum of sustainability when containing a higher degree of uses. Thus the change between different urban nodes (e. g. home-work, home-supermarket) would demand shorter movements and less consumption of energy.

Frey (1999, 39) pointed out the necessity of a re-thinking process in metropolitan planning approaches towards the creation of a multi-nucleated metropolis which is a more apt urban form for the democratization of livability conditions. The author developed a planning model called “Decentralized Concentration” based on the following principles: (1) Urban containment policies should continue to be applied (2) Compact city proposals, in any extreme form, are unrealistic and undesirable. (3) Decentralized concentration based around single cities or groups of towns, may be appropriate. (4) Inner cities must be rejuvenated, to reduce further losses of population and jobs. (5) Public transport must be improved both between and within all towns. (6) Mixed land use must be encouraged and zoning discouraged. (7) People-intensive activities must be developed around public transport nodes, among others. Similar planning approaches to improve life quality condition in metropolitan areas are in the work of Calthorpe (1995) who re-evaluates the

neighborhood as a basic element² in his concept of the regional city. The author claims that it is necessary to re-think the planning approaches used in metropolitan development through a shift from the notion of the metropolis as a sum of isolated pieces towards a city as a group of places interconnected on multiple scales (metropolitan, communal, neighborhood). Calthorpe emphasizes the relevance to plan the city from the neighborhoods to the city region, creating solutions for each scale of living.

Under this planning approach the neighborhood is not only a term referring to residential areas but also a strategic scale in social programs and the development of key facilities for daily life. There must be an approach that eliminates in residential areas the urban zoning in favor of a chequer-board distribution of functions. This implies a renunciation from notions that consider livability as the mere access to a home, towards notions of the urban habitat as a set of basic urban functions in residential areas (house, transport, and infrastructure). This shift of urban planning from the house to the neighborhood is recognized as necessary especially in cities of developing countries that are configured by profound social inequalities.

² See theoretical contributions of Clarence Perry and his concept-model of the neighborhood unit

3. Methodological framework.

In the following chapter the methodological approach concerning the study of the residential development in Lampa, Santiago is discussed. In order to explore the unknown problematic of urban quality gaps among communities of Lampa, this thesis adopts an exploratory research model. Under discussion are the reasons behind the choice of a relational model of community analysis as the suitable research model to investigate the multiple sources and expressions of urban inequality between the development of social housing areas and private residential areas. In order to analyze the methodological approach the chapter is divided in three parts. Firstly, the theoretical and practical implications of the model of urban community analysis are discussed. Secondly, details about the fieldwork and data analysis are provided. Finally, a general analysis of the fieldwork is presented.

3.1 Relational model of urban community analysis. Design and theoretical background

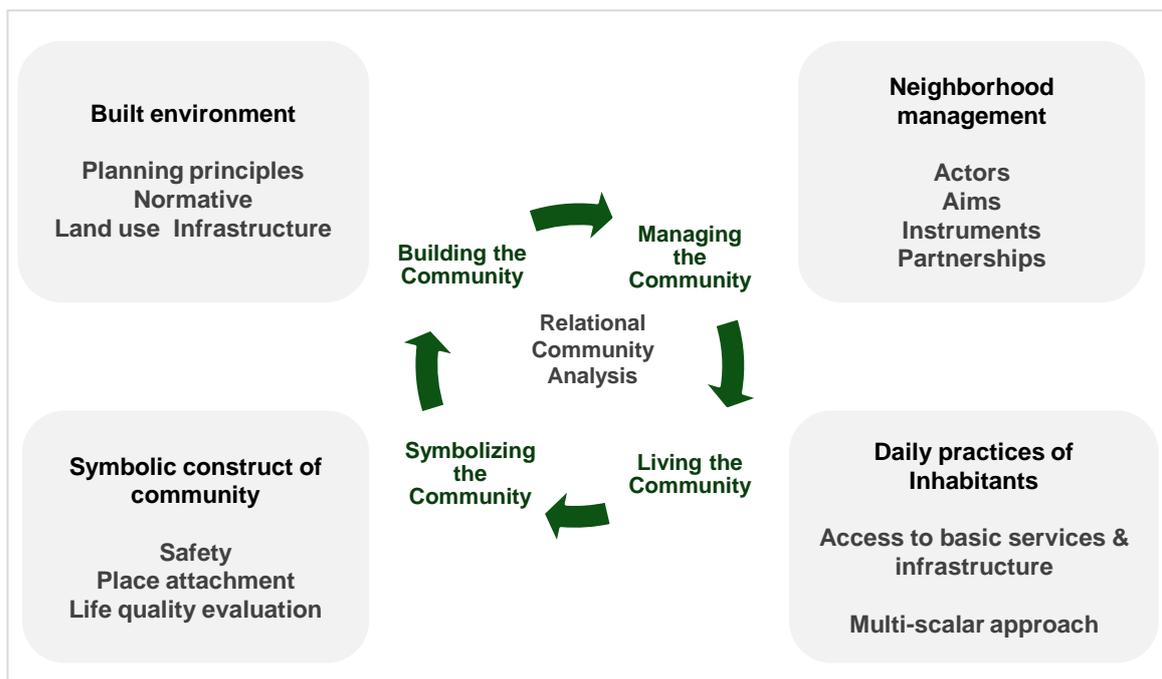
The origin of this research lies in the identification of a research vacuum with respect to residential studies in Santiago de Chile. This is based on two aspects: First, residential studies in Santiago are largely focused on the analysis of the multiple expressions of urban poverty, but less on empirical studies exploring the problematic associated with other social groups such as urban life experiences of emerging-middle or high-income groups. Comparative studies between low-income and middle income neighborhoods in a specific commune or territory are completely missing. Without empirical proof private settings are regarded a priori as oasis of livability whereas social housing areas are described as settings of exclusion. Second, approaches to urban studies in Santiago frequently concentrated on specific aspects of the residential problem like social segregation, deficit of equipment in quarters, governance models, location of projects. However, research about Santiago's residential problematic still shows a deficit of comprehensive studies analyzing the creation of new residential areas. This diagnosis encouraged me to carry out investigations about the formation of urban communities by exploring how the urban planning and political background of residential projects are influencing daily practices and life quality perceptions of the inhabitants. Specifically, this relational community analysis aims to uncover the multiple sources and expressions of inequality arising in the coexistence of two residential models in expansion areas of Santiago: the private, as innovative presented residential typologies versus social housing estates.

Urban communities have been a key analytical field in geography in order to understand the production of social space (Day and Murdoch, 1993). Methodological examples about integrated analysis of urban communities can be found in model studies of the sixties due to influences of human geography by the Chicago ecology school. This school applied a research approach showing how physical characteristics of an urban area (size, functional organization) produced a particular adaptive socio-psychological response in the resident's life (Paccione 2005, 400). In the meantime more dynamic research approaches of geographic studies (Liepins, 2000) consider communities (rural or urban) as constructs determined by cultural, material and political dimensions in permanent interaction. Liepins suggests a research model based on a) the community as a set of shared meanings and beliefs of the residents, b) daily practices concerning their social, economic and political life c) the physical environment influencing people's practices and meanings, and d) the political and economic framework behind the community formation. The use of a comprehensive community analysis approach (Liepins 2000a: 25–26) allows to overcome the following limitations: (1) Structural-functionalist perspectives, especially from the viewpoint of ethnography, consider the community as a stable and fixed object and fail to grasp the dynamic aspects such as community's practices or experiences. (2) Usually the concept of community is employed as a key element of sustainability related to notions of social interaction on the local scale, but it does not clearly develop links between communities and considerations of their sustainability. (3) The view of the community is not only connected to its properties as a structural or material construct. It also demands considerations on its social perception.

In this thesis, the empirical work is focused on a comparative approach to socioeconomically differentiated periurban communities, and explores how social inequalities relate to daily practices and people's life quality evaluation, as well as to the political process underlying the creation of communities. This fieldwork is carried out in the peri-urban commune of Lampa, Santiago, based on a relational model of community analysis including four dimensions (see Figure 1, page 30): Physical environment and neighborhood design of residential projects, the community governance, daily practices of the inhabitants and their quality perception of the residential areas. Rather than conceiving urban communities as a mere neutral container of social relationships, the thesis considers them as dynamic and more or less risking conflicts in their political and social arrangement. According to Liepins (2000a, b) communities are shaped by social relations which are under development transiently or continuously both in places and

spaces. Considering this multi-scale conception, this thesis addresses the study of the community of Lampa as a simultaneous process of both neighborhood dynamics and the display of the inhabitant's daily routines in a metropolitan context. Likewise, the consideration of a broad spectrum of actors (inhabitant, municipal administrator and real estate agent) involved in this process is regarded as the most suitable approach in order to grasp the social complexity of the residential problematic (see Paccione, 2001). A minor disadvantage of this multifaceted research design is that it could imply a less deep inquiry into each issue when time is limited. However, a broader look into the community formation process was regarded necessary as it may uncover the multiple origin and impact of the urban quality gaps between social and private residential areas in Santiago. Finally such an approach is expected to provide clues for future improvements.

Figure 1. Relational Analysis Model of Urban Communities. A model aimed to analyze the multiple dimensions and actors related to the process configuring urban communities. Source: Author's elaboration based on the analytical model used by Liepins (2000).



The relational community analysis is based on the following dimensions:

- a) Planning approaches and built environment:** The material dimension of a community relates to a certain landscape design and land use composition. It varies dependent on planning approaches, normative, the income base of inhabitants and financial tools of the promoters (public or private). In the case of Lampa the analysis of the built environment is relevant as it shows how public and private real estate agents use specific planning principles and tools that are associated with a specific quality of neighborhood infrastructure. The functional composition of neighborhoods (recreational, culture, educational, commerce, etc.) determines its ability to satisfy basic daily needs in the short distance, but it also implies transport facilities that are able to connect the setting at a communal and metropolitan level. The analysis of landscape and facility design is a key aspect to explore the urban quality gaps between private and public residential areas. The physical design of a setting has the ability to encourage or prevent recreational practices or access to social services. It also affects social processes such as place-attachment, communitarian interaction, and perceptions of wellbeing.
- b) Daily practices and life quality perception of inhabitants:** A second element in the study of the quality gaps among communities of Lampa relates to how and where people satisfy their daily basic needs such as recreation, jobs, consume, education or health care. These issues require a multi-scale approach aiming to explore daily routines at local as metropolitan scale. In comparative studies between urban communities it is relevant to explore how socioeconomic groups exhibit similar patterns of mobility and daily routines of socialization, consume, work or access to social services. Further, the study of residential areas also implies the consideration of symbolic issues such as place attachment, communitarian relationships, or perceptions of security. It provides valuable clues to assess the livability condition of a residential area.
- c) Neighborhood governance:** The community formation relates to economics and political agendas configured by different actors (communitarian organizations, real estate developers, local government). In this sense, the attention on the political background of communities allows to understand the principles, aims, instruments and actors, underlying the management of a specific residential area. These considerations are relevant in cities, as Santiago, strongly configured by a fragmented urbanization model between private and

social housing programs. In the case of Lampa it allows to understand the economic, technical and political background of the quality gaps between residential areas.

3.2 Case selection

The research problem was defined as urban quality gaps between residential areas built by private actors on the one hand and the social housing estates on the other. Hence, the task was to find a representative commune that shows an intensive recent urban development with private as well as social residential projects. The peri-urban commune of Lampa was selected because of its explosive urban development (120,4% of housing development between 2002 and 2012) that relates to a social heterogeneity of middle-and low-income groups inhabiting social housing and private satellite towns. With neither enough bibliographic material about the residential development of Lampa, neither public reports, the selection itself appeared to be a critical issue. However, positive responses were obtained from colleagues in Chile when the reasons to select Lampa as a study case were presented, but none of them was familiar enough with Lampa to give recommendations on the choice of residential areas. After insights into municipal documents and online research of different real estate projects, a visit to Lampa was regarded as an useful step to make a proper choice. Here notes and photos were taken and Villa El Pellín and Isabel Riquelme were selected as model communities for social housing estates, and Larapinta and Valle Grande for private satellite towns. All four communities were built in the first decade of the millennium and all of them hosted mostly families immigrated from the inner communes of Santiago.

3.3 Research methods and data

The research was based on three modes of data collection, qualitative interviews, statistical analysis and bibliographic review. However, the use of qualitative methods such as interviews and bibliographic revision were the main methods. Due to the lack of literature and empirical studies about Lampa, it was regarded necessary to complement the interviews with two other data sources: The quantitative characterization of the peri-urban residential development in Santiago during the period 2000-2010, and the review of normative, plans and reports related to the urbanization process of Lampa and Santiago. Also, photography was used as a method to facilitate the analysis of the communities.

3.3.1 Semi-structured interviews as main research method

Considering the research problem, the semi-structured interview was chosen as the most suitable method in order to evaluate the practices and perceptions of inhabitants, as well as views and modus operandi of real estate agents and municipal administrators. Semi-

structured interviews are one of the most common methods in social geographic research (Kitchin & Tate, 2000, 213). They allow a comprehensive understanding of community formation based on the points of view of all actors related to the process. In the research about the community formation process the study of people's perceptions or opinions, is not an end in itself, but a means to understand the broad perspective in the social and political processes underlying the formation of the community. Also interviews were judged as a method able to complement the use of secondary data available from bibliographic sources (normative, urban plans, technical studies).

Methodologically, the exploration of each category of analysis was carried out through the development of interviews of inhabitants, municipal administrators and company agents.

3.3.1.1 Interviews with inhabitants

A total number of 120 inhabitants of the selected communities (30 each) of Villa El Pellín, Isabel Riquelme, Larapinta and Valle Grande were interviewed (the names of interviewees are available in the annex N°2, page 197-198). Interviews took between 30-40 minutes per person, and were carried out during September 2009 and in a second stage during March 2010. Due to the timing of the interviews during day hours, the criteria of age in the sample configuration was successfully accomplished but women were over-represented. The questionnaire addressed the following themes: process of selection of the place of residence, description of routines of health care, job, consume, social activities, and evaluation of neighborhoods facilities (see appendix 2, page 200). A basic set of questions was used in order to compare both types of communities. However, additional questions were added depending on whether interviews were conducted in private or social residential areas. The interview questionnaire used two forms of questions: a set of open-questions aimed to obtain personal opinions about urban life issues such as neighbor relationships or place attachment, etc. Other questions are based on an evaluation scale about the quality of neighborhoods facilities or frequency of routines of consume, socialization or health care.

Table 1. Contents of interviews with inhabitants

Categories of analysis	Interview variables
Life quality perception	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Place attachment ▪ Communitarian relationships and organization ▪ Safety perception ▪ Evaluation of infrastructure
Daily practices of access to recreational, consume and social services (at local as metropolitan level)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Recreational practices in the neighborhood ▪ Access conditions to health attention (places frequency) ▪ Access conditions to consume (places & frequency) ▪ Means of mobility

3.3.1.2 Expert interviews

The interviews with experts (see appendix 2, page 203-204) addressed two groups: The first group was directly related to the studied communities and included the urban administrator of the municipality of Lampa and two administrators of the private satellite towns Larapinta and Valle Grande. The questionnaire was based on the analysis framework of Stone (1989; 1993; 2005, Ostaaijen, 2013). Interviews included the following components: study of (1) characterization of the agenda (as priority goals of policy makers), (2) identification of the coalition (group of non-governmental and public actors involved in the agenda), (3) resources (tangible and intangible values: financial, status, taxes, normative arrangements, services, etc. which encourage and maintain the cohesion of a private-public agenda), (4) forms of cooperation (how do actors coordinate their practices in order to accomplish the agenda) and (5) outcomes (results of the coalition visible in normative arrangements, economic benefits, political legitimacy, real estate production, urban infrastructure modernization, among others).

Table 2. Contents of interviews with experts and project administrators.

Categories of analysis	Interview variables
<p>Neighborhood governance (Based on Stone, 1989 and Pierre 1999, 2011)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Actors ▪ Coalitions ▪ Agenda ▪ Tangible and intangible resources ▪ Forms of cooperation among actors ▪ Outcomes
<p>Planning principles and built environment</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Normative (land use & infrastructure) ▪ Planning principles and neighborhood design ▪ Financial instruments

The second type of expert interviews addressed persons indirectly related to the research problem itself. Here, the urban administrator of the peri-urban commune of Colina was interviewed (not part of Lampa but affected by a similar type of urbanization). Additionally this group of interviewees included researcher from the Center of Economic Studies in Latin-America (CEPAL) and the Ministry of Housing and Urban Development. These interviews aimed at obtaining information about the historic development of Santiago, normative details, and views on the research problem.

3.3.2 Revision of bibliographical material

In order to complement the data from the interviews, secondary data from the urban normative, urban plans, company reports and technical studies were collected. Specifically, company reports called “urban impact studies” which address the development process of satellite towns, detailing issues such as design principles, settlement characteristics, and administrative practices were consulted. These reports were useful for the understanding of the planning concepts and the role currently played by the private real estate companies in the urban development of Santiago. Also, metropolitan plans of Santiago were analyzed in order to evaluate the normative about the infrastructural requirements in social housing areas and satellite towns. Likewise, in order to get further information about the financial details of social housing projects, secondary data available from research reports, public reports, and data available from the governmental web sites such as Observatorio Urbano, Municipal information system, or web sites specialized on real estate development (such as www.portal Inmobiliario.cl) were used.

3.3.3 Statistical analyses of real estate and population data.

The statistical analysis focused on the real estate production in peri-urban communes of Santiago 2000-2010. This was regarded as necessary due to the lack of a quantitative characterization of the process of peri-urbanization in Santiago. In order to exploit this research vacuum the building licenses of peri-urban communes between 2000 and 2010 were analyzed. The corresponding data were available in the residential observatory of the Ministry of Housing and Urban Development. Complementing data about housing sales and soil demand in Santiago communes were available from the Internal Tax Services (Servicio de Impuestos Internos). The statistical analysis was performed using the geospatial and statistical software such as Geoda, Arcgis and Excel. These data allowed to study the peri-urban development at two levels: higher rates of real estate development, as well as commune specialization in certain surface typologies (which links to specific socioeconomic groups).

3.3.4 Photography as a research tool

Photography was particularly valuable as a method in the analysis of urban design and to visually document the problems reported in the interviews as well as the peri-urban landscape of Lampa. Rather than producing a superficial register, photography is used to

visualize the main research object: the livability gaps between private satellite towns and public social housing suburbs.

3.4 Fieldwork

By applying the interview strategy proposed by Gaínza (2006, 247), the questions were ordered according to the following criteria: from broader to specific subjects, from superficial to intimate aspects, from impersonal to personal perceptions, from informative to interpretative topics. For instance, questions regarding the inhabitants' daily practices were asked first, but their perceptions of the family's economy, security perception in the community or place attachment (especially in social housing settings), which are highly relevant but complex because they addressed personal issues, were asked in the final phase. The complete process was recorded. The interview process began with an explanation of the aims, intentions and the impact of the study. In many cases it also appeared necessary to provide personal information about the interviewer. Often it was necessary to make clear that the interview was not part of a diagnosis for the development of future projects in the neighborhood.

Regarding the selection of inhabitants for an interview it should be mentioned that there was no previous contact. People at home or in public settings were directly contacted, beginning with an explanation of the intention of the interview and they were asked whether they were interested to participate. This method implied the risk of days with only few interviews because people were unwilling to participate. Occasionally, negative responses such as *"this is just another study inquiring about poverty"* were encountered. This approach was not necessarily the most suitable method to go into an interview process but coming from Hamburg for only a short period of time this appeared to be simply the most efficient way to accomplish a reasonable number of interviews. In order to create an atmosphere of trust and confidence interviews were carried out by following the suggestions of the participants. In some cases people wanted to be interviewed in the garden of their houses, in other cases interviews were carried out during a walk to the supermarket, or in playgrounds while the children played. Open spaces seemed to be more favored because participants were more reflective and relaxed.

The trust of the interviewed person was a key element to the quality of the collected data and their use for the research aims. Therefore, to create a relaxed atmosphere by engaging the partners into a conversation about other issues before going on in the

questionnaire was very important. This was particularly relevant in social housing estates, where the interview addressed complex personal situations such as financial problems, familiar problems or situations of violence. In satellite towns inhabitants were less interested to discuss details about their life quality in their private refuge. In order to overcome the first distrust, talking about a former employment in a well-known institution of Chile and an involvement in social studies and programs (Fundación para la Superación de la Pobreza) was of great help. Two interviews had to be eliminated from the evaluation because the interviewed person seemed to feel uncomfortable with the questions and wanted to finish in a hurry. Once the interview was concluded, ideas and comments were transcribed into the field book. Also photos were taken of a mentioned place or a situation explained by the interview partner.

In the beginning of the fieldwork the questionnaire went through a test phase in the communities of El Pellín and Larapinta. This process was important because so far unconsidered subjects emerged that changed the original design. This was especially important in the private satellite towns where issues related to the life cost were not sufficiently represented. As an example, questions about the evaluation of private facilities such as sports clubs or the use of the mall Plaza Norte as a main urban center were ignored in the original questionnaire. Entering into the questionnaire began with antecedents about the former communities of the interviewed person and the process of why they choose to settle in Lampa. Next, recreational practices and access to services in the neighborhood were addressed. This was followed by questions about the conditions of access to consume, health care, jobs, socializing activities on a metropolitan scale. Finally, more personal and complex issues such as financial aspects of their suburban life, attachment to the neighborhood, perceptions of security, communitarian relationships and projections in their neighborhoods were inquired.

The interview process faced the following difficulties: (1) In spite of previous experiences with interviewing processes the fieldwork became a huge learning process. An unexpected issue was the immense time required for the interviews of a total of 120 inhabitants and the six experts. The empirical process (interviews, document collection and photography) required two fieldwork phases during 2009 and 2010, whereas the original research design considered only one fieldwork phase in Santiago de Chile of six weeks. (2) Interviews in the social housing estates demanded an execution during the day hours due to the consideration of security issues. Some areas were considered as unsafe

by their inhabitants because of drug-dealing. People warned of the risk to be accidentally confused with a policeman in civil clothing. Interviews were carried out in the light of the day and avoiding close passages. (3) To get an appointment with the municipal administrator or with a real estate agent for an interview was a difficult task, because their institutions see external studies with a certain degree of distrust and also with lack of interest. However, in spite of the first difficulties, the officials rapidly understood the aims of the research, and showed a collaborative and open attitude towards my research inquiries.

Although the questions had a clear personal character, most people valued the interviews as an opportunity to express their opinions about less verbalized topics such as the quality of their settings and their evaluation of their urban life. After a first stress phase due to the beginning of the questions, respondents realized that usually hidden but highly sensitive issues were addressed. Thereafter, the respondents commented frequently that *“it feels good when we are asked about our opinions, because the State or the real estate companies construct projects without considering the inhabitants opinions”* and that such interviews are *“positive because the State should know that it is not enough to merely build houses.”*

3.5 Data processing and interpretation

The data of the interviews were transcribed in text format to then be analyzed through the software AtlasTi. Next, the opinions were encoded according to the categories of the analysis after an identification of variables include in the questionnaire. In a first level of analysis an integrated analysis of each community was carried out. The following level consisted of an integrated analysis of similar communities (social housing and satellite towns). This process allowed identifying common patterns of use of neighborhood facilities, mobility patterns, place attachment or safety perceptions in similar communities and socioeconomic groups. Finally, the four communities were analyzed comparatively with the aim to identify patterns of inequality in the built environment, daily routines or symbolic representations of urban life. In the case of expert interviews the process of transcription and codification was similar. But, in a next step secondary information available in financial tools, normative or studies was integrated. This resulted in a comprehensive idea about the political and technical implications of the process of community formation. As the research was carried out in Spanish, the subsequent challenge was to translate the results into English, which often meant to find a suitable

transcription for popular expressions used by inhabitants or experts. In some interview paragraphs context references were necessary.

3.6 Lessons from the fieldwork

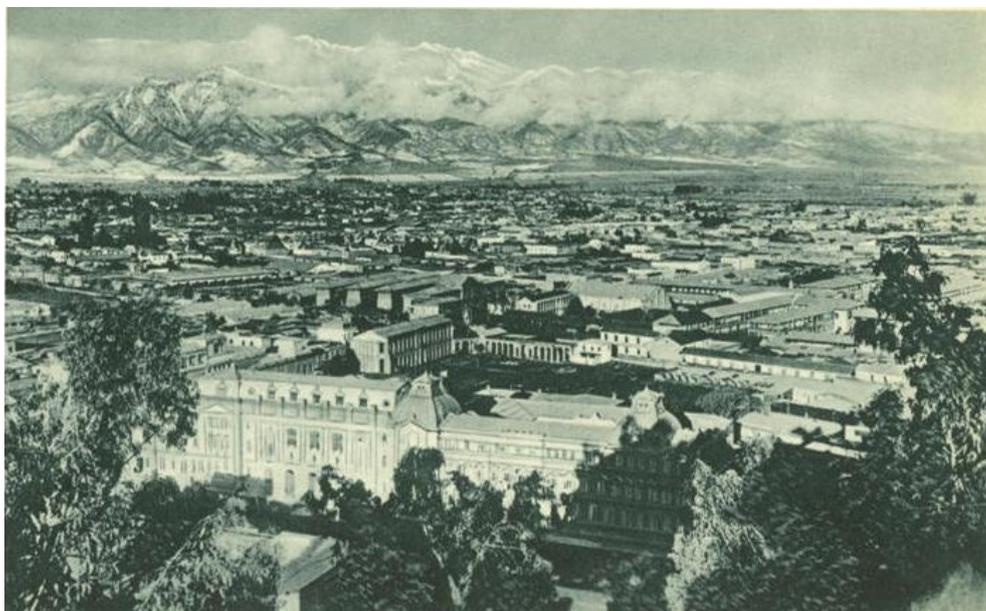
One of the main lessons learned was the potential of interviews as a research method in urban community studies. After the interview process, previous considerations of qualitative methods as a suitable research tool were confirmed. Experiences using the interview method were that they constituted a powerful tool for community analysis because they were both flexible and in-depth enough to cover the social formation process and political complexities of the community. They also were particularly useful to understand expressions of social inequality. Interviews allowed an inquiry of issues as diverse as place attachment, daily routines of inhabitants, or communitarian relationships, with the same depth as the political issues such as power relations between municipality and real estate companies. They also helped to understand bureaucratic procedures concerning the location of satellite towns. In the analysis of urban quality gaps, the use of interviews could easily complement research methods such as quantitative surveys or geo-spatial analysis. Finally, the value of the opinion of actors involved in the community development as a key input in the configuration of urban policy and projects should also be emphasized.

The residential development of Santiago de Chile has historically led to the discussion about its urban development. Currently a new metropolitan plan for Santiago (PRMS 100) is discussed which adds 10,000 hectare of urban expansion for the accommodation of 1.6 million of new inhabitants until 2030. The necessity to adjust the planning instruments to face this intensive population growth is similar to the debate in the fifties and sixties when the rural-urban migration demanded an intensive investment into housing programs. Both historical periods portrait the importance of the housing issue in urban policy and territorial development of Santiago.

4.2 Housing policy - an historical factor of urban growth in Santiago

The first decade of the 20th century shows a central state inspired by the project of modernization and institutional development. One of the pillars of social policy was to deal with the demand of homes for a growing group of urban working people. As a response, the “Ley de Habitación Obrera” (Law of Working Class Housing) was established in 1906 thus constituting one of the first urban normatives in America (Hidalgo 2007, 53). The “cite” was the residential typology created for low-income groups. It is defined as a “housing complex, generally a continuous row of houses, facing a common area”. (Ortega 1985, 19). A housing typology developed by private agents [with public funds] in order to host a major number of families per plot. (Hidalgo 2007, 55). During the 1930s, Chile adopted a national development strategy called “import substitution”. It used the establishment of the industrialization process as a strategy to achieve national development. Santiago became the main industrial centre, and attracted 60% of the whole industrial production of the country in the following decades. The industrialization of Santiago produced an intense rural-urban migration which changed the physiognomy of the city. In 1936 the “Caja de habitación popular” (Popular Housing Fund) was established which aimed to solve the demand of homes in the expanding metropolis of Santiago. This housing program, as described by the author, was based on a proposal which propagated an urban design that sought to be integrated in the urban context rather than to produce isolated housing plots. It stressed the public space as an element able to encourage social integration.

Photo 1. Santiago in the forties. During this period, Chile exhibited an intense rural-urban migration to Santiago which changed the physiognomy of the city. Source: Ernst Young.



In 1953 the CORVI (Housing Corporation) was the next attempt to face the continued demand of homes. However, due to the economic crisis in the fifties the CORVI is described as a period of reduced housing production (Ministry of Housing and Urban Development 2004, 88). In 1959 the National Government introduced the “Housing Plan” (Plan Habitacional) aimed to build 538.700 new houses (75% social housing, 25% middle income groups; Haramoto 1983 in MINVU 2004, 91). At the end of the fifties the regional state (via social housing programs financed by the central state) was the main builder of urban space in Santiago (MINVU 2004, 128), a characteristic which will only changed in the nineties. The Housing Plan strategy was strongly influenced by the then modern movement in urbanism. The project of the city led by the central and regional state introduced large housing blocks which transformed the traditional urban layout of Santiago based on the Spanish based block called “Damero” (see Photo 2, page 45). Thus, the central State, through housing policies, was the producer of a new generation of urban landscapes which symbolized the project of modernization in the country.

Photo 2. The social housing project, called “Villa Portales”, built during the fifties is an example of how the housing policy introduced planning principles based on modern urbanism which transformed the traditional urban layout of Santiago with its Spanish based block called “Damera”. Source: EAD/PUCV, Santiago.



In the 1950s, for the first time in national history, urban population exceeded rural population. Santiago became the symbol of urbanization of the country by concentrating 25% of the national population. Between 1930 and 1952 Santiago had doubled its population from 696.231 to 1.384.285 inhabitants. This explosive population development implied that the capacity of the central State to finance new programs was insufficient to face the growing demand for homes for low income groups. It provoked the development of irregular settlements (slums) at the borders of the city. In Santiago of the 1960s and 1970s, there were 390 shanty towns hosting 600.000 inhabitants. In 1960, the central State responded to this housing deficit with the creation of a program called “Operaciones Sitio” (Site Operations). Between 1965 and 1970 71.000 projects were realized. Of those projects, 51.881 were completed in Santiago (Hidalgo 2004, 220). The program was criticized because it strengthened the location of low income groups in peripheral settlements lacking infrastructure and services (Hidalgo 2004, 224). This growth implied that the city began to show the typical problems of a more extended metropolis like the lack of basic services, lack of public transport and peripheral shanty towns. This scenario encouraged the necessity to rethink Santiago’s urban development on a metropolitan scale.

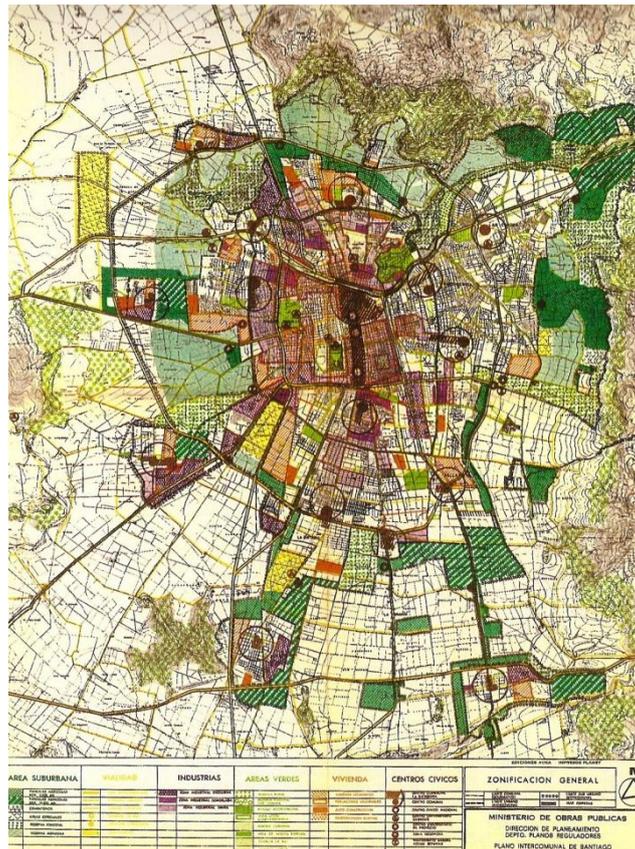
4.3 The “Intercommunal Plan” of Santiago in 1960, the first metropolitan plan of Santiago.

The “Intercommunal Plan” of Santiago in 1960 (PRIS 1960) was the first exercise of metropolitan planning in Chile (see Map 2, page 47). This plan proposed to set up a decentralized metropolis through the development of urban facilities and infrastructure in peripheral residential areas. Even when this plan proposed the peripheral location of social housing, these areas were planned as a mix of housing and urban infrastructure. These proposals aimed to provide a certain functional autonomy to the periphery reducing the dependence on the main city centre. The official document formulated the following aim: “... *to bring the city to the people living on the outskirts of Santiago and to satisfy their material, spiritual and human needs...*”. In order to achieve a coherent urban proposal, the plan aimed to coordinate the different municipalities of Santiago via the application of the land use normative in communal regulator plans.

The achievements and failures of the plan are summarized as follows (Poduje, 2006, 239): 1) The Intercommunal Plan of 1960 designed a metropolitan plan of highways and was based on a radial road system aimed to ensure the mobility in an extended metropolis. This proposal was the basis for private investments into highways during the 1990s. 2) PRIS 1960 aimed to order the industrial activity in Santiago: Previously, the distribution of industries was highly dispersed across the communes without territorial planning criteria. They produced air pollution as well as problems in neighboring residential areas. Therefore, the concentration of industrial activity into certain zones was one of the great achievements of this plan. 3) The plan also aimed to control the urban sprawl towards agricultural soil. But, this objective was not accomplished due to the demand of soil of social housing production. As Petermann (2006, 213) argued, the regional housing office was the main driving force behind the horizontal growth via the development of social housing estates during the period 1960-1975. 4) The urban growth generated a deficit of green (recreational) areas. As a response, 4.000 hectares (10% of the whole urban area) were reserved to develop green areas and parks. The whole metropolis was covered by the plan regardless of the socioeconomic status of specific areas. However, the system of green areas never became a reality as a whole, because finally the responsibility for building and maintenance of these areas was based in the local governments, many of them without the necessary financial resources. 5) The proposal of the plan for civic and commercial sub-centres, intended to give functional autonomy to suburban communes, did not work because the centres were planned in

places with poor accessibility or in communes with little purchasing power. Therefore they were unattractive to private investment.

Map 2. Land use proposal of the Metropolitan Plan of Santiago 1960. The “Intercommunal Plan” of Santiago in 1960 (PRIS 1960) was the first exercise of metropolitan planning in Chile. Source: Parroquia, 1996, 47.



The evaluation of PRIS acknowledged great achievements in terms of industrial ordering and planning of a road infrastructure: Also Poduje stresses (2006, 270) the “[State] was enabled to anticipate the metropolitan phenomenon that came, thus projecting an urban infrastructure that supported these processes”. PRIS 1960 is regarded as successful in the implementation of a land use concept for metropolitan Santiago (industrial zone plan, metropolitan-communal normative order). But the success was less significant in the development of parks and green areas, or in the consolidation of peripheral urban centres. However, the most important aspect of this period is that the State (central-regional-local) began to establish a problem which still continues up to the present day: The great capacity to produce houses but the incapacity to provide the tools for the creation of multifunctional residential areas that satisfy basic daily needs of their inhabitants.

4.4 Santiago 1973-1989. Urban development under neoliberal reforms. Rather than houses a new political-ideological period.

Since 1973 Chile exhibited economic and political transformations inspired by neoliberal principles. This transformation began during the dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet (1973-1989), and represented, in Harvey's words, "the first neoliberal experiment implemented in a whole country" (Harvey, 2007). The neoliberal shift meant a reorientation of the national economic model towards a strategy with emphasis on the exploitation of natural resources such as copper, cellulose, and fish, but connected to a simultaneous decrease in the processing and manufacturing industrial activity. Consequently, the number of jobs in the industrial sector decreased from 30% during the period of industrialization in the sixties to 16% in the following decades. According to De Mattos (2004, 40) the decrease of the industrial sector during the 1980s was paralleled by growing activities such as financial services, transport, communication, and trade. The growth of financial economy reinforced the importance of Santiago as the major urban centre of Chile.

The reforms also caused transformations in urban policy. The neoliberal agenda in the seventies in Chile introduced into the urban policy principles that urban land should no longer be a limited resource, and also that market principles should guide the urban development. In 1979 (DS N° 420) the urban policy was modified according to two main principles: 1) The private sector was installed as the main urban developer and supplier of services. 2) The dynamics of the market were recognized as the primary determining principle for land requirement and the growth of the cities. As Poduje pointed out (2006, 243) "Planning as a system of values centered on design was abandoned (...). The city was no longer based on an adjustment to physical and spatial concepts, but instead had to open itself to the land market, and the real estate market decided where to invest, how to direct growth, and how they would like the city to be".

Frequently the neoliberal reforms during the seventies were regarded as the legal instrument at the base of the chaotic metropolitan development. However, the neoliberal agenda did not lead to a phase of uncontrolled urban sprawl. In fact, during the 1980s the urban sprawl in Santiago was less significant than in the 1990s because of the Chilean economic crisis at that time (Poduje 2006, 255). This author reports that between 1983 and 1992 Santiago grew by only 719 ha. (as a comparison: between 1961 and 1970 the city grew by 1.068 ha). So, what was the real impact of the neoliberal reforms on Santiago? Although they were less relevant for housing development in quantitative

terms, they represented the legal and ideological base to a future private residential development. Santiago is no longer a place for welfare programs only but also for private capitalization. During the 1980s, the development of Santiago was less significant than before because of the Chilean economic crisis (Poduje 2006, 255). However, the nineties represented a period of intensive private residential development. Between 1991 and 2000 private agents became the main drivers of urbanization in Santiago by concentrating 71% of activity in urban development (Ducci and Gonzalez, 2006). One of the most important processes was the suburban residential expansion in communes such as Maipú, Peñalolen or Quilicura. A characteristic was that the private agents not only aimed at high income groups but more relevant was that they also became the major suppliers of housing for the emerging middle income families. With the argument of access to higher residential standards, middle income families were encouraged to adopt a new suburban life mode in rows of standardized semi attached houses. If during the eighties the private sector was responsible only for 23% of the whole national urban development, in 1997 this had increased to 81% (Plan of Urban Reform, 2001).

Our study shows that between 1991 and 2000 it was the private sector and not the MINVU which developed the largest surface [in Santiago] (Ducci & Gonzalez 2006:144)

Until the 1980s the author of the expansion of Santiago was the Housing Ministry through its social housing policy. Recently, in the late eighties, and particularly the nineties, the growth has been mainly private. (Pettermann 2006:207)

As far as the housing programs were concerned, the social housing demands were addressed by a new program in 1977 called “llave en mano” (key in hand). This housing policy worked on minimum basic family savings as a means to gain access to housing subsidies. In this system, building companies were involved into the entire building process: the purchase of plots, the completion of legal procedures, the development of urban infrastructure, and the construction of the houses proper. The regional government solely maintained the responsibility to finance and to administer (Minvu 2004:186). During the dictatorship the problem of slums was addressed by the “Operaciones Sitio.” (Site operations). Between 1979 and 1985 172.218 people were relocated to Santiago’s outskirts (Hidalgo 2004, 227). Similarly, Hidalgo noted that a new spontaneous housing solution appeared simultaneously in Chilean cities - a system where families share homes

with other family members. In 1983, 70.000 families lived together with relatives to satisfy this requirement (Hidalgo 2004, 234). In response, the new democratic government initiated an intensive social housing production because it faced a housing deficit. Between 1992 and 2002 1.270.000 social housing units were built and the deficit was reduced to only 242.000 units. (Ravinet 2004 in Hidalgo et al. 2007). Consequently, this reduced the problem of irregular settlements and in 2002 only 2% of the population were left living in slums. Additionally, the number of houses with problems of basic infrastructure (Lack of potable water, electricity and connection to the sewer system) fell from 616.000 in 1990 to 319.000 in 2002. But low income groups in Santiago became mainly concentrated in peripheral communes such as Maipú, Cerrillos, San Bernardo and Puente Alto. The housing programs installed within the last two decades resulted in the production of ten new homes for every thousand inhabitants. This number is comparable to the development that occurred after World War II in European cities (Rodriguez & Sugranyes 2004.). It was a period of high economic growth that in combination with social policies reduced the poverty from 38.6% in 1990 to 21% in 2000.

The nineties are described as a period of intensive residential development in Santiago. Home owners grew from 61% in 1990 to 70% in 1998 (MINVU 1994, 231). It was a decade marked by population growth in the peripheral communes of the Gran Santiago. In the inter-census period 1992-2002 communes such as Quilicura tripled their population (207% of population variation). Puente Alto and Maipu duplicated their population (95 % and 83%, respectively), whereas inner communes such as Santiago (-9,4%), Ñuñoa (-4,5%), San Joaquín (-14,6%) lost population. In this period, 76% of the residential growth of the metropolitan area of Santiago happened in communes outside the road ring of Americo Vesputio³ ⁴. According to Ducci and Gonzalez (2006, 140) Santiago's surface grew from 49.347 ha to 61.396 ha between 1991 and 2000. Of this growth 41% was for residential use (12.049 has), whereby 24,4% belonged to high-income groups, 14,6 % to middle-high income groups, 31,6% to middle-low income groups, and 28,7% were social housing estates of low-income groups. A further 23% were urbanization for industrial uses, and 2% for equipment. The intensive urbanization of peripheral communes of Gran Santiago caused that the gradient of population density– traditionally a decreasing density from the city center to peripheral areas – changed. As Tokman (Tokman 2006, 502)

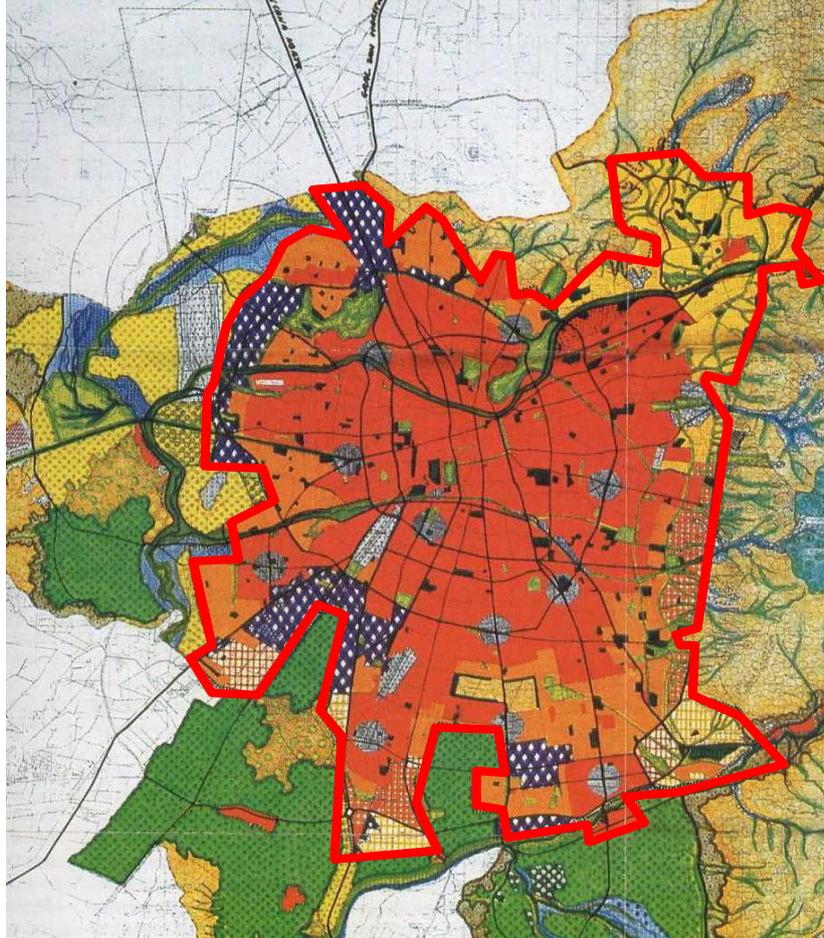
³ The ring Americo Vesputio represents the common denominator to define the limit of the consolidated inner Metropolis.

⁴ Report of the metropolitan Plan of Santiago 2008

states, two tendencies of population density occurred; on the one hand, from the city-center to high income peripheral communes the density decreases by 7,9% per kilometre, and on the other hand, from the towards low or middle income peripheral communes (Pudahuel, Quilicura o Puente Alto) the density is equal or even higher than in the city center. The suburbanization during the nineties transformed the cartographies of social needs in Santiago. This latent demand by daily-use services was presented as a market opportunity to retail holdings which built peripheral shopping malls that served like metropolitan sub-centres.

In response to the intensive development of social housing projects and private urban development the regional government of Santiago established a new Metropolitan Plan in 1994 (PRMS 1994) (see Map 3, page 52). This plan proposed a model of the metropolis with a population density of 150 inhabitants per ha. It suggested a clear division between urban and rural areas, as well as the creation of peripheral sub-centers to provide services and commerce for large suburban residential areas. It was influenced by the guidelines developed in the Urban Development Policy 1990, which proclaimed as its main aim the urban growth with social equity. However, the PRMS 1994 has been criticized by experts for not being able to handle the sprawl of Santiago. Between 1993 and 2002 Santiago grew 1487 hectares per year, which meant that the soil consumption was higher than in the most liberal periods of urban development during the 1980s (Poduje 2006, 255). The result reflected the weak impact of planning proposals and showed the lack of capacity of local and regional governments to carry out these transformations. It also reflected the absence of a comprehensive management of Santiago, while the plan aimed to control the urban sprawl, housing programs and real estate companies shaped a new phase of suburban expansion not only by social housing but in coexistence with higher-standard private development.

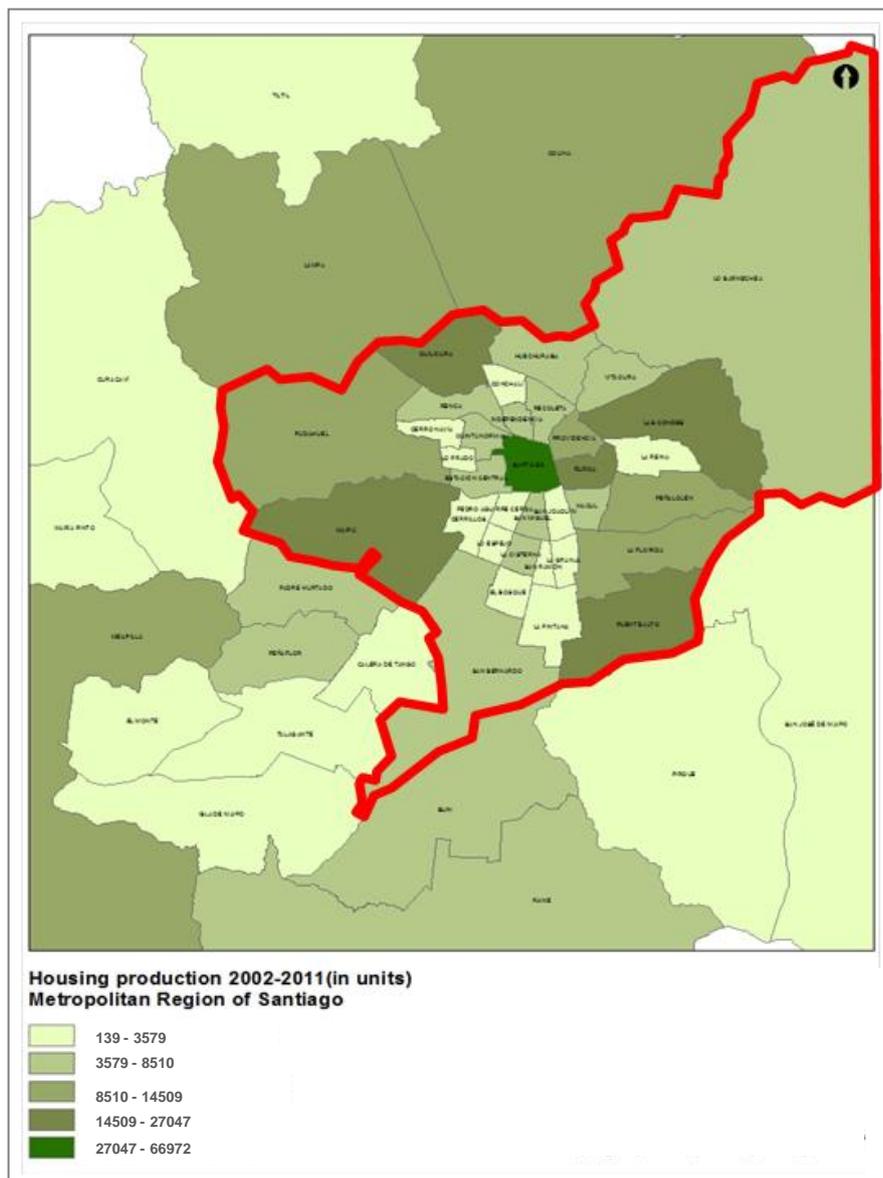
Map 3. Metropolitan Plan of Santiago 1994. In spite of the Metropolitan Plan 1994 (in red the urban boundary) aimed to control the urban expansion, green areas. Source: Parroquia 1996, 62.



During the nineties the urban unit called Gran Santiago showed an intensive urban development in its peripheral communes. However during the period of 2002 to 2012, Santiago experimented with an intense repopulation of inner communes (Santiago with 72.079 new houses representing 93% increase of homes), Ñuñoa (23.333 new houses and 43% increase), Providencia (14.273 new houses, 27.9% increase), San Miguel (9.515 new houses, 42% increase), and Recoleta (8.736 new houses, 23,9 % increase). Suburban communes of the Gran Santiago also maintained high urban growth rates like in the nineties: Puente Alto (28.782 new houses, 21,2% increase), Maipú (25.943 new houses, 20,4% increase), and Quilicura (22.406 new houses, 63,6% increase). The majority of homes was allocated to middle income groups (51-70 m²) as indicated by the analysis of the building licenses in the region of Santiago between 2000 and 2010. Additionally, the 2000s show an intensive disperse urbanization process in peri-urban

communes. The new stage of suburbanization towards peri-urban communes such as Lampa, Colina, or Padre Hurtado, was reinforced during this decade, with the development of social housing programs and private projects such as gated communities and satellite towns. Lampa showed the highest real estate activity with 13.023 new houses, i.e. an increase by 120.4% between 2002 and 2012, Colina (10,952 new houses, 56.2% increase), Paine (7,721 new houses and 54.1% increase) and Peñaflor (7,454 new houses and 41.1% increase).

Map 4. Housing increased 2002-2011 in the Metropolitan Region of Santiago. In dark green the central commune of Santiago. Red line indicates the boundary between the consolidated city “Gran Santiago” and periurban communes. Source: Author's elaboration from data available in the Ministry of Housing and Urban Development.



Residential Santiago rather than becoming a rigid city between 1990 and 2012, might be defined as a liquid metropolis, a highly dynamic body exhibiting different simultaneous transformation processes: the dilation of the city borders in the nineties, an increase of density of inner areas during the first decade of the second millenium, and additional urban growth in isolated drops of peri-urban communes (see Map 4, page 53). Santiago, if analyzed historically, we found that the central State has developed housing programs since 1910, urban policy began in 1930 and, since the sixties, Santiago has been guided by various metropolitan plan instruments. So why the deep urban quality gaps between different urban areas? Because even though a history of urban planning and normative exists, local and regional planning tools have been unable to configure a metropolis planned as a decentralized system of urban-social facilities able to democratize life quality regardless of the socioeconomic composition of each area. Was urban policy in Chile more effective before the neoliberal turn? The inefficiency of planning instruments was not born with the neoliberal policies, the metropolitan plan of 1960 and 1994 fell into the same errors of not adapting the financial and technical tools of local and regional governments to accomplish the proposed aims. Perhaps the real effects of the neoliberal turn should be read as the interruption of a learning process of metropolitan management initiated by the metropolitan plan of 1960. Likewise, the restoration of a democratic government in 1990 did not cause a rethinking of the role and the instruments of urban planning used by the central-regional and local State. This is even more relevant since the nineties when the differences between social housing estates and private residential areas became more pronounced due to the higher standards of private activity in parallel to the standardized urban planning financed by the central State and administrated by the regional and local goverments. This polarized urbanization pattern is specially expressed in the configuration of suburban and peri-urban residential areas.

4.5 Participation of private agents in the metropolitan development of Santiago. The urbanization phase led by holding companies

“The spatial consequences of combined social and economic power suggest that landscape is the major cultural product of our time” (Sharon Zukin 1991)

The neoliberal agenda in the seventies introduced the principle that urban land should no longer be a limited resource. It also determined the introduction of market principles into urban development, as an ideological framework. Poduje (2006, 243) argues: *the city had no longer to adjust to a physical and spatial image, instead, it should be open enough to the land market, and the real estate market would decide where to invest, how it would grow, and how it would like the city to be⁵ **. However, the development under a neoliberal agenda since the seventies does not mean a phase of uncontrolled urban sprawl. In fact, during the 1980s the urban sprawl in Santiago was less significant than in the 1990s because of the Chilean economic crisis at the time (Poduje 2006, 255). But the more significant impact of the urban neoliberal agenda in Santiago is what happened later since the 1990s. The nineties marked the beginning of a new urban development phase in Santiago. Companies and holdings became the main urban planners of the metropolis (Ducci and Gonzalez 2006, 144; Pettermann 2006, 207). In 1980, the private sector was responsible for 23% of the whole national urban development while in 1997 this had increased to 81% (Plan of Urban Reform, 2001). The pro-market reforms during the seventies and eighties were the foundation of the ideological and legal basis for the subsequent consolidation of a process of “urbanization of capital” (Harvey 1989). Since the nineties, the urban landscape became one of the most important products of Chilean economy. The urbanization of Santiago was no longer determined solely by public investment but began a cycle that was predominantly led by private real estate, retail, and highway holding companies with an interest in capitalizing through the city. (see Table 3, page 56).

⁵ All citations translated from Spanish are marked by an asterisk

Table 3. The ten largest urban megaprojects in Chile in 2010. The table shows that six of the ten projects are financed and executed by retail and real estate holding companies.

Ten Higher Urban Megaprojects in Chile 2010		
Project	State - Company	US Millions
Parque Bicentenario, Santiago	Ministry of Housing and Urban Development	1.050
Parque Cousiño Macul, Santiago	Holding Cousiño	1.000
Costanera Center, Santiago	Holding Cencosud	600
Bahia Tricao, Santo Domingo	Holding FFV	550
La Reserva Chicureo	Incogres Inmobiliaria	500
Izarra Lo Aguirre, Santiago	Inversiones Baiona	470
La Serena Golf, La Serena	No Information	450
Brisa del Sol, Talcahuano	Holding Valmar	350
Altos de Lampa, Lampa	Holding FFV	300
Larapinta, Lampa	Holding SOCOVESA	300

A particular feature of this urban development is the important participation of national and international holding companies. A holding company is a special type of business that owns investments for other companies: stocks, bonds, mutual funds, real estate, or virtually anything else that has value. A holding usually control a higher percentage of bonds of companies, it allows a major control on strategic businesses decisions. The term usually refers to a company that does not produce goods or services itself; rather, its purpose is to own shares of other companies. Holding companies allow the reduction of risk for the shareholders and can own and control a number of different companies. A Real Estate Holding operates in two forms: owning real estate properties (New York) or executing new urban megaprojects (Shanghai, Melbourne, Lima, Santiago de Chile). In Santiago, holding companies did not seek to participate in urban development but to lead a new urbanization cycle, through the creation of a new generation of urban landscapes for daily use. The prominence of private agents in Santiago's urban development is highlighted by De Mattos (1999, 45): *"The fact that most of the Chilean economic groups, which had a significant growth in this period, have incorporated the sector of real estate as a special component of their activities puts the renewed importance assigned to them in evidence."* * The relevance to study the private urban development in Santiago de Chile is based on its multiple impacts: creation of new types of entrepreneurial urban landscapes (Hubbard, 1996), unprecedented modes of urban life, and private-public governance arrangements.

Main holding companies in Santiago de Chile:

Parque Arauco: 23.4% of the holding company, Parque Arauco, is owned by the Said Somavia family. The remainder of the company is owned by families, stockbrokers, pension fund institutions (Afp), and unit trusts. Parque Arauco S.A. is the third-largest commercial center operator in Chile. It owns 17% of the total national commercial area distributed in 13 malls. Since 2006, it has also operated four centers in Peru, and one center in Colombia. Between 2011 and 2014, its investment strategy will involve \$840 million. Of this sum, \$260 million will be invested in Peru and \$410 million will be invested in Colombia.

Holding Socovesa SA: The Gras family owns 70% of the holding company, Socovesa. The company consists of three divisions: real estate, engineering, and construction. In 2011, the real estate division concentrated 76% of its income in real estate and 24% of its income in the engineering sector. In 2007, Socovesa possessed assets of approximately \$271 million and was involved in projects in 40 Chilean cities. In 2011, it showed a sales record of 10.6 million UF (UF is a unit of account used in Chile which is constantly adjusted to inflation). In 2012, Socovesa began a project to purchase urban plots calculated to amount to 2,000 million UF, they hope to maintain a 'plot bank' to ensure land availability for future real estate projects to be constructed over the next five years. Currently, Socovesa's concentrates 5% of Santiago's real estate market.

Holding Salfacorp: 21.9% of the holding company, Salfacorp S.A, is owned by the Río Rubens S.A family. The remainder is owned by stockbrokers (22.1%), a pension fund institution (Afp), unit trusts, and private investors (10.5%). In 2010, Salfacorp's interests were concentrated in 5.4% of Santiago's real estate market. In 2001, 74% of its income was derived from engineering and construction, and 26% was derived from real estate. As of 2010, Salfacorp owned 1,700 hectares of land in urban plots that are kept in reserve for future projects. The holding company maintains a real estate company, Aconcagua. In 2011, it developed 74 projects in 26 Chilean cities. Project sales equaled approximately 14.1 million UF. Since 2007, the holding company has developed real estate projects in Peru in conjunction with SALFA Peru S.A. Since 2009, it has developed project in Colombia in conjunction with SALFA Colombia S.A. In 2013, the holding company is projected to be the main real estate company in South America. Its sales are projected to approach \$2,600 million. This total is 72% higher than total sales for 2010.

Highroad Vespucio Sur S.A: The society, Autopista Vespucio Sur S.A. is part of the Costanera Group which is owned by an Italian holding company, Atlantia SpA and Canada Pension Plan Investment Borad (CPPIB). The Costanera Norte group is involved in the execution, maintenance, and operation of 24 kms of highway known as 'Concesión Sistema Américo Vespucio Sur Ruta 78 – Avenida Grecia'. The concession contract will continue until 2032 with a possible extension until 2040. The growth rate for traffic shows an average increase of 7.7% between 2009 and 2011.

Holding Cencosud: The holding company, Cencosud, is owned by entrepreneur Horsten Paulmann. It is one of several major retail operators that function in Chile and Latin America. In Chile, it controls 26% (487,927 m²) of all commercial centers. Its holdings are located in nine malls. It also owns the supermarkets, Jumbo and Santa Isabel. These supermarkets are responsible for approximately 70% of food and basic products sales in Chile (Feller and Rate 2012). It controls 269 stores in Argentina, 152 stores in Brazil, and 74 stores in Peru. In 2012, the company projects an investment of \$625,000 million in 103 stores in Chile, Argentina, Peru, Colombia, Brazil, two commercial centers in Chile, and one commercial center in Peru. The holding company operates 25 malls spread across Chile, Argentina, and Peru. In the credit sector, it operates the bank, 'Banco Paris', and the credit card, MAS. It primarily offers personal credit, mortgage loans, and insurance to low- and middle-class groups. As a strategy for the development of commercial centers, it creates town centers that include groups of stores. For example, groups of stores such as Easy, Jumbo, Santa Isabel, and Paris are located in a mall, in combination with other commercial stores, universities, clinics, banks, cultural sites, and public services.

Holding D&S: This is a holding company that primarily operates in the supermarket sector. Since 2009, 75% of its property has been owned by the international company, Wall Mart. D&S is the main supermarket company in Chile. Its stores include Hiperlider, Lider Express, Ekono, SuperBodega a cuenta. Together, these stores comprise 36% of the Chilean supermarket market sector. This market sector operates under a monopoly process because D&S and Cencosud control 64% of the food and basic product sales in Chile. The holding company also participates in the real estate sector. It administers commercial centers and purchases urban plots of land to be used in future projects. It also participates in the financial sector with bank and the credit card, PRESTO. As of 2010, 1.500.000 cards were in circulation. The holding company also acts as an insurance broker with its product, Presto-Seguros. Between 2010 and 2011, the holding company maintained an investment plan of \$600 million.

Highway Costanera Norte S.A: the company Costanera Norte, as Vespucio Sur, is part of the Costanera Group which is owned by an Italian holding company, Atlantia SpA and Canada Pension Plan Investment Borad (CPPIB). The society, 'Costanera Norte', executed, maintains, and operates 35 kms of a road concession project that extends between the commune of Lo Barnechea and Route 68 that runs between Santiago-Valparaiso. It also operates a road concession that includes 7.4 kms of highway that extend between Las Condes and Vitacura. This road concession agreement will continue until 2033. Under the name, Vespucio Sur, this highway is operated by the use of an electronic toll system that allows 'free flow' Traffic growth increased 7.8% between 2007 and 2010.

Fallabella S.A: 63.3% of the holding company, Fallabella, is owned by the Solari family. As of October 2012, they are considered the richest economic group in Chile. This holding company owns 100% of the chain of stores Sodimac, the Fallabella bank, the CMR credit card, and the Tottus supermarket chain. Fallabella is one of the major retail operators in Chile. It maintains 245 stores, of which 56% are located in Chile. Its business strategy also includes participation in the real estate sector. It maintains a 59% participation in Mall Plaza. In addition, Fallabella participates in the supermarket sector. It maintains the supermarket brands, Tottus and San Francisco. In the business sector, Fallabella's CMR credit card accounts for 60.4% of sales in Chilean stores. It also accounts for 4.7% of the total number of consumer credit cards in use in Chile. In 2011, 68% of Fallabella's profits were generated in Chile, 20% were generated in Peru, 7% were generated in Argentina, and 5% were generated in Colombia. Between 2011 and 2015, the holding company projects an investment of \$3,500 million in 200 new stores and 16 commercial centers. In Peru, the holding company maintains 58 stores and 3 malls. It also operates 11 stores in Argentina and 11 stores in Colombia.

Holding Mall Plaza: This retail holding company operates eleven town centers in Chile and three town centers in Peru. In 2010, Mall Plaza received 185.3 million visitors. Mall Plaza is owned of the 59% of the chain stores Fallabella. In 2009, Mall Plaza recorded a profit of 66 million UF. In 1997, the malls managed by Mall Plaza represented 15% of the total consumer sales that occurred in Chile. In 2006, sales in these malls represented 21% of total consumer sales in all Chilean malls. Similar to CENCOSUD, Mall Plaza's businesses strategy aims to create comprehensive town centers. For example, the clinics located in its malls provided 4 million Chileans with medical services in 2009. Its public libraries received 1 million visitors, its cinemas received 5 million visitors, and its art exhibitions received 80,000 visitors. In addition, its green areas total 200.000 m² in size.

Photo 3. Mall Plaza Norte. Retail Holdings redefined the classical idea of shopping malls as centers of consume into comprehensive urban centers hosting also private clinics and leisure offers. Source: César Cáceres.



A central feature of these entrepreneurial landscapes in Santiago is what Schumpeter (1975) called ‘creative destruction’, a process of re-organization of capital and permanent innovation of products in order to stimulate demand. This is evident in the development of the metropolis of Santiago via a strategy that may be called “*capitalization through landscapes*” (see Figure 2, page 59). This term does not only relate to investment in sophisticated residential spaces of consume or leisure to the elites, but more relevant, to the production of landscapes for the daily use of Santiago’s population. The social impact of entrepreneurial landscapes in Chilean urban development is the capacity to reorganize elemental urban functions. This process occurs at two levels simultaneously: (1) by the transformation of existing urban areas like inner neighborhoods, waterfronts, peri-urban territories or (2) by the use of elemental urban functions like mobility, residence, services, and recreation to produce manufactured landscapes (e.g. boulevards, residential projects, business parks, and shopping malls) under a slogan of superior urban standards and experiences (see Photo 3, page 58). Holding companies are aware that their power lies not only in the capacity to act on the cityscape but also to transform the culture and modes of life in the city. An administrator of a real estate holding of Santiago pointed out “*Imagine that your children don’t come home from school just to play soccer or to ride a bike, but will be able to go to the beach.... Certainly, this is revolutionary because we offer*

the opportunity to experience the benefit of a beach right in the city". (Portal Inmobiliario, January, 2011) *

Figure 2. Process of urban development led by holding companies in Santiago. Holding companies used the recent urbanization of Chile to create a new generation of urban landscapes that change the way how services and infrastructure are rendered. Source: Cesar Cáceres.



It is important to emphasize that – unlike in European cities - the economic restructuring in Santiago de Chile occurred not only in business districts, but more relevant, by the production of landscapes for the daily use of Santiago’s population. The ensuing strategy of *capitalization through landscapes* in Santiago consists of two main features. Firstly, entrepreneurs did not solely produce mono-functional urban ‘artifacts’ (Harvey 1989, 6) but they designed multi-functional landscapes that function as assemblies of symbiotic urban functions located in larger land plots. Secondly, private agents realized that an efficient way to increase profit margins does not merely involve the production of mega-projects (e.g. regional malls, waterfronts, satellite towns) but also and mainly consists of their administration an long-period management plans of up to twenty years.

Photo 4. Boulevards like leisure centers in Santiago de Chile. In coexistence with malls, boulevards have been built as leisure and consume centers offering public life in a safe and modern habitat. Source: César Cáceres.



Photo 5. Highway holding companies transformed the infrastructure of mobility in the metropolitan Region of Santiago. The companies use a toll system technology known as *Free Flow*. This system allows users to travel on private highways without having to stop or to reduce speed. Source: César Cáceres.



Among the major landscapes created by private agents the following typologies can be found in Chilean cities:

- **Malls as town centers:** Rather than serving solely as places of consume, malls represent new town centers in the metropolitan area of Santiago. A central feature of malls is a business strategy characterized by a shift from a typical commercial center to comprehensive urban centers (e.g. universities, clinics, public libraries, and art galleries, leisure facilities, and urban commercial centers). Malls have the capacity to serve as suppliers for suburban residential areas, as well as to increase the land prices in the immediate neighborhoods. Frequently, in coexistence with malls, boulevards have been built as leisure centers at a smaller scale. Although they contain shops, their main function lies in their offer of leisure (restaurants, cafes, cultural events), usually combined with the atmosphere of enhanced security. The relevance of shopping malls in the system of urban centers of Santiago is evident when taking a look at its composition. As a whole, the metropolis has one traditional center (Plaza Italia), three traditional sub-centers (Maipu, Puente Alto, and San Bernardo) and a vast number of thirty seven private commercial centers of different sizes. (Galetovic et al. 2006, 227; Brain and Sabatini 2006, 22).
- **Private highways:** As a part of the growing participation of private companies in the urban development of Santiago, urban mobility became a product offered on the urban services' market. Beginning in the 1990s, international and national holding companies, such as *Benetton*, *Atlantia SpA* and *Autopistas del Pacífico*, have invested into and operated private highways. These highways are managed by road concessions such as *Vespucio Sur*, *Costanera Norte*, *Autopista del Sol*, and *Radial Nor Oriente*. They transformed mobility and also the perceived metropolitan space by "enclosing" peripheral and peri-urban communes into the functional area of Gran Santiago.
- **Business parks:** The traditional industrial quarters that existed in major Chilean cities have, in many cases, disappeared during the last few decades, or, alternatively, have been recycled into new industrial and business centers promoted by private companies. The reformulation of business centers involved a strategy that offered high standards for technology infrastructure, logistic support services, and commercial services. Traditionally, industrial areas were situated in locations with good accessibility. Sites included areas located near inter-regional highways, airports, or ports. Business parks are now located in Santiago's communes such as Huechuraba and Pudahuel.

- **Satellite towns:** These represent a new residential space typology built at the outer margins of Santiago. These private settlements hope to be incorporated into the urban regional system by hosting between 50 000 and 100 000 inhabitants. Unlike gated communities, they do not use perimeter walls. Their land use design includes a mix of housing, educational and health infrastructures, commerce, sports, and recreational and transport facilities. As settlements, they recycle the urban planning concepts of the “*garden-city*” and the “*neighborhood unit*” by creating towns that place special attention to landscape values and mixed-function urban structures. Satellite towns were built since the turn of the millennium in peripheral and peri-urban communes of the metropolitan region of Santiago such as Maipu, Lampa, Colina, Padre Hurtado or Pudahuel. While Colina specialized on a segment of inhabitants of high income, the communes of Lampa, Padre Hurtado, Maipu or Pudahuel focused on the middle class market.
- **Private park-cemeteries:** Currently, even traditional urban services such as cemeteries have changed into an entrepreneurial version called the park-cemetery (‘*cementerio-parque*’). This is a more aesthetic version of a cemetery in which the traditional aesthetic of rows of concrete blocks is replaced by a softer version with grass and natural features. People can purchase a “family plan” that is made accessible by loan offers.

These landscapes of holdings transform the urban life modes because they change the way how urban services and infrastructure are rendered and conceived. Urban services like highways, recreational and cultural facilities or sports infrastructure, are not basic rights but they address the individual aspiration for access to urban attributes. The relationship of the inhabitants with their cities changed in the last two decades, from a relative standardized offer of urban services, to a relation mediated by a transaction deal between clients and private landscapes: boulevards, satellite towns with private beach, private expressways, private cemeteries, sports centers. Ritzer (1993) relates to the introduction of the principles of the fast food restaurant into the city development as a ‘McDonalds operational model’ supported by four principles: calculability, efficiency, predictability and control. The landscape created by holding companies operates under the same strategies: logical location, territorial flexibility, exaltation of the experience, adherence to the marketing plan, product positioning, and target-customer selection.

Manufactured landscapes create a new relationship of the inhabitants with their city. Promoters introduce nomenclatures like competence, experiences, consumers, member

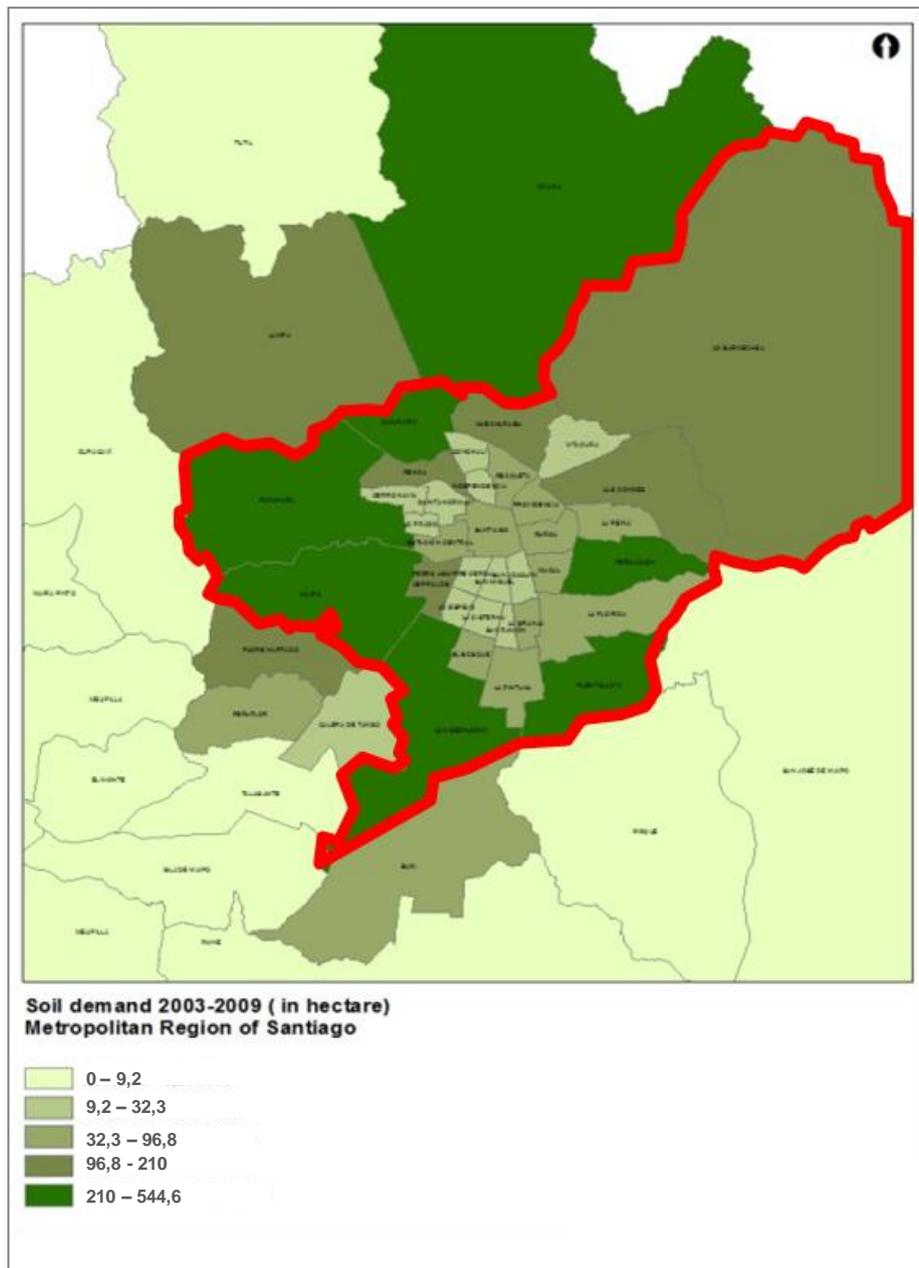
cards, and service quality. Moulian (1997, 109) stated that in Chile, the 1990s began with an increase in the capacity for consumption of the society called “objects party”. The object cult appears to have an urban parallel in the creation of several types of landscape-objects (regional malls, satellite towns, entrepreneurial towns, boulevards) that from their inauguration aimed to satisfy daily needs of inhabitants but also to meet profit agendas - which again follows the principle of *capitalization through landscapes*. But have these alien spaces provoked a rejection by the inhabitants? On the contrary, manufactured landscapes are highly used, valued, and demanded . As an example, the visits to town centers like Mall Plaza grew by 164.3% between 2001 and 2009 (from 70 to 185 millions of visits annually). Furthermore, in a survey conducted by ADIMARK-Autopista Central (2012), spontaneous responses placed malls in the sixth position (among 21) of factors that improve quality of life in Santiago. The presence of holdings in different Chilean cities and their socioeconomic ubiquity (re. high and low income groups) of their investments, provokes the political and social notion that holding companies are the architects of the urban modernity. Holding-landscapes do not need marketing campaigns because they are already present in the mindscape (see Amendola, 2000, 16) of Santiago’s urbanites and regarded as livable and modern urban spaces. This acceptance allows private agents to shape the urban landscapes of Santiago with absolute liberty because they represent what should be understood as modernity and urban wellbeing.

5. Residential development in peri-urban communes of Santiago 2000-2010: the consolidation of a diversified urbanization model in the *peri-urbia*

The peri-urban development in Santiago has been studied from the perspectives of normative models (Naranjo, 2008), social housing location (Hidalgo, 2007), and the governance of peri-urban territories (Salazar, 2010, Heinrichs et al, 2009). However, an analysis deficit regarding the territorial organization of real estate activity is observed. This lack of research hinders a precise evaluation of the socioeconomic and morphological composition of peri-urbanization, as well as its relevance to the whole metropolitan system. Hence, the research of this thesis begins with the exploration of the last decade of peri-urban real estate activity. The analysis is focused on the commune specialization and emerging residential typologies. As an introduction, the territorial organization and the political background leading to this process is described.

The last decade of Santiago's real estate activity shows the repopulation of inner communes and peripheral communes. In addition, it shows a dispersed urbanization process within the peri-urban ring of Gran Santiago. Although this was less massive than the urbanization into the consolidated urban unit, the peri-urbanization shows political, social and economical processes relevant to the metropolitan management. Through the statistical analysis of real estate data it is argued that the formation of a peri-urban crown was specialized on segment of single houses. The peri-urbanization shows a process where communes are specialized in specific housing typologies, which structurally replicates the classical socioeconomic differentiation of the consolidated city called Gran Santiago, however in a dispersed mode. The peri-urban cycle began in 1980s with the development of the so-called *parcelas de agrado*, a legal strategy that allowed the subdivision of agricultural land into lots of 5.000 square metres. However, in the nineties peri-urbanization entered into a next phase which is explained by several factors. (1) Normative arrangements that allow private settlements in rural soil, (2) peri-urban location of social housing programs, (3) private urban projects such as satellite towns, gated communities, peripheral regional malls, and also private highways investment.

Map 5. Soil demand in communes of the metropolitan region of Santiago in the period 2003-2009. Red line indicates the boundary between the consolidated city “Gran Santiago” and periurban communes. Source: César Cáceres.



The city of Santiago historically grew as a consequence of new mobility infrastructure projects such as trolleys, underground railways, and new avenues. These represented milestones able to transform the urban physiognomy. Consequently, the last decade of peri-urbanization followed this tendency because the investment in a new system of regional highways encouraged urbanization cycle beyond Santiago’s previous urban

limits. Private highways such as “Autopista del Sol”, “Radial Nor oriente”, or “Costanera norte” changed the mobility conditions for people as well as economic activities. The transport infrastructure minimized the importance of physical proximity as the key criterion in the creation of the city. The establishment of metropolitan highways allows rural territories with good accessibility to host urban life, or, according to entrepreneurs` logic, peri-urban communes became a market opportunity (see Map 5, page 65). The same private highways that generated the conditions for urban dispersion, constituted the backbone for the generation of urban hubs (regional malls, “strip centers”, satellite towns, gated communities) in the hinterland of the highways. As Indovina (1998, 24) states, residence, consume, production, and social activities no longer seek the physical proximity but use accessibility as the main criterion of their location.

Private highways use of a toll system called *Free Flow*, a device that allows use without stopping the vehicle or reducing speed and thus reduces travel time. Peri-urban communes are no longer situated two hours from the city, but, with the *Free Flow* technology the notion of proximity and distance is redefined. Ingersoll (2006:09) pointed out, “automobiles and highways free the inhabitant from searching for urban density”. Private highways shape a discontinuous and extensive, but highly integrated regional urban system in Santiago. There is a direct effect on territory because the metropolis is no longer configured by a hierarchical center to periphery order, but by multiple specialized centers with differentiated functional weight. Since the nineties, peri-urban territories are no longer residual spaces subjugated to the functional weight of the city, but they are communes, such as Colina, Buin, Padre Hurtado or Lampa, that also host relevant social and economic activity in form of businesses parks, satellite towns or regional malls. This process should not be read as the extension of a suburbanization process, but, an urbanization cycle that involves a broader spectrum of urban functions scattered throughout the regional territory. These new conditions of centrality are recognized by Muñoz (2008, 19) as the emergence of a ‘*multiplied city*’:”...a model of urbanization that, although the territory is shown to be dispersed, does not eliminate the concentration but is reformulated in new versions of what is interpreted as urban, in this sense, a total city”.

Photo 6. Gated community in the peri-urban commune of Colina. The transport infrastructure minimized the importance of physical proximity as the key criterion in the creation of the city. Source: César Cáceres.



Photo 7. Project of social housing in the periurban commune of Lampa. In 2003, the changes made to Article 55 of the General Law on Urban Planning and Construction, permitted the construction of houses below a value of 1,000 UF⁶ (32,054 Euros), (a segment of social housing), anywhere within the region. Source: César Cáceres.



⁶ UF is a unit of account used in Chile which is constantly adjusted to inflation

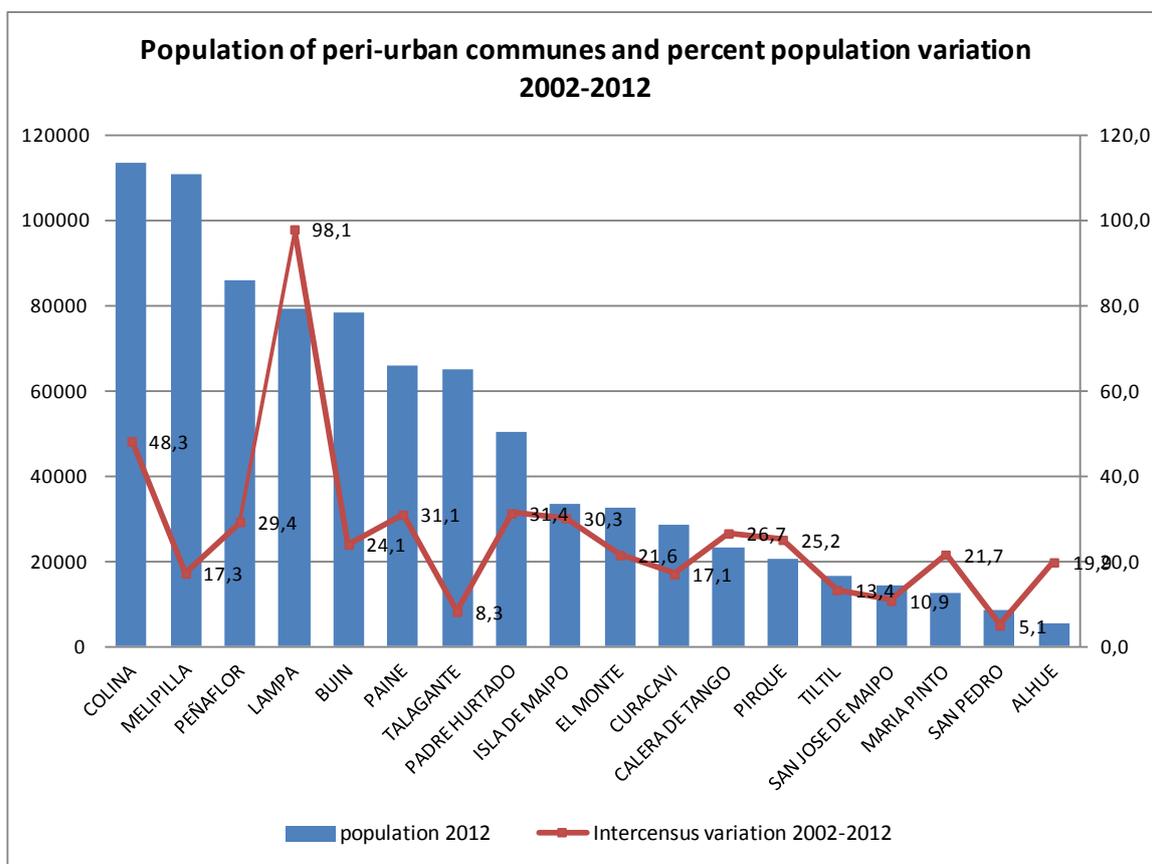
Photo 8. Advertising of a periurban residential project in the periurban commune of Colina
Source: César Cáceres.



Photo 9. SUV-urbanization, a process of peri-urbanization characterized by middle and high income groups with high potential of personal mobility. Source: César Cáceres.



Figure 3. Population of peri-urban communes and percent population variation 2002-2012.
Source: César Cáceres.

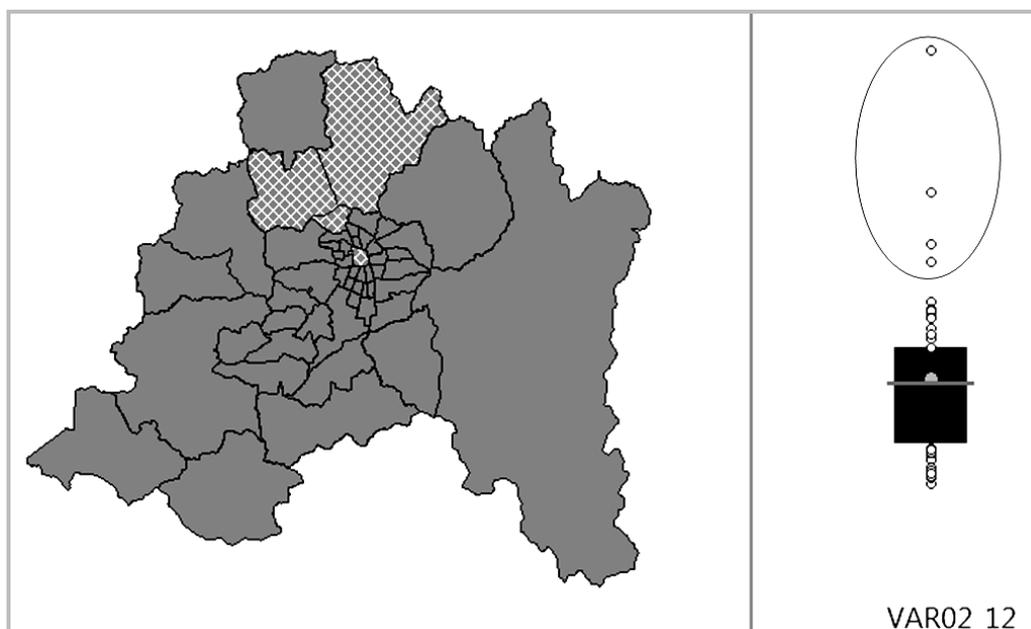


Private highways do not only transform the mobility conditions but act on the urban structure. Santiago does not only show an urbanization pattern of aggregation to the consolidated Santiago, but also creates independent peri-urban centres that are no longer contiguous to existing population concentrations. The reproduction of Santiago’s urban life in peri-urban territories, more than a horizontal extension generates another city, a city liberated from the need for physical and historical continuity with the ‘postcard’ Santiago (see Photo 8, page 68). It is a flexible mode of urbanization cloning urban life in the middle of the countryside. This urbanization cycle emerges as a blank sheet with the absolute freedom from its real estate promoters to reformulate the functional and aesthetical contents of residential spaces. What is the meaning of urbanity? Does this fragmented version of Santiago represent a loss of urbanity or does urban life also include people buying their daily groceries at gas stations such as *Pronto Copec* in Colina?

The notion of peri-urban territories as market opportunity is key to the understanding of how corporations lobbied to promote normative arrangements that favor business

expansion agendas. Poduje (2006, 261) noted, “the large real estate groups, who had bought large plots of land, lobbied to change the land use in valleys with geographic and scenic attractions”. The most important lobby operation occurred in 1997 with the reformulation of the Metropolitan Plan of Santiago. In 1994, the regional government of Santiago proposed a Metropolitan Plan with a conceptual model of a “dense city” that served as the response to severe social problems, such as social segregation, air pollution, and the progressive loss of agricultural land. It redefined the objective of horizontal and deregulated urban growth introduced by the neoliberal reforms of 1979. In its place, it suggested a densely populated city of 150 inhabitants per hectare and also proposed a clear division between urban areas and suburban areas. However, the Plan was modified in 1997 by the inclusion of the Chacabuco Province into the urban area of the Metropolitan Plan. This province is located in a northern area of Santiago. It has a surface area of 15.242 hectares and consists of Colina, Lampa, and Til Til. Consequently, the former objective of a dense city changed in favour of a urbanization normative (“urbanization under conditions”) which permits the urbanization beyond urban limits and the creation of new private settlements in rural soil.

Map 6. Most higher population variation in Santiago’s communes 2002-2012. White areas represents the inner commune of Santiago, peripheral commune of Quilicura, and the periurban communes of Colina and Lampa. Source: César Cáceres.



With “urbanization under conditions” the regional housing office in practice eliminated the urban limits, and attempted to regulate the creation of peri-urban residential projects by imposing standards⁷ that included, among others, a minimum surface area of 300 hectares, incorporation of social housing, provision of a certain percentage of green areas, health facilities, schools, police and fire stations. The main goal of the “urbanization under conditions” normative was that private agents would bear the costs of the ensuing urban sprawl. The control for the plan rested with local governments that negotiated on a project-by-project basis within an adaptive concept of the normative. The Ministry of Housing and Urban Planning give the reasons for the benefits of this normative as follows: “to allow the creation of new towns in areas with aptitudes to the location of new components of the urban regional system, differentiated and separate from the current cities and metropolis, by avoiding the conurbation and the urban sprawl” (Minvu 1996, 30). Paradoxically, the modification of 1997, as established in response to the subdivision of agricultural land in plots of 5,000 m², was a political legitimization gave by the central State to allow the multiplication of isolated private settlements in coexistence with traditional peri-urban settlements.

“Nobody could have imagined that the same entrepreneurs would see their investments increase or that their plots that literally had earned nothing, today earned added value. All thanks to the new metropolitan plan for the metropolitan region that allowed them to create four new urban development poles in the commune of Colina”. (Newspaper El Mercurio September 19, 1999).

Later, in 2003, the “urbanization under conditions” normative that began in the Province of Chacabuco, was extended to the rest of Santiago’s peri-urban communes. In 2003, the changes made to Article 55 of the General Law on Urban Planning and Construction,

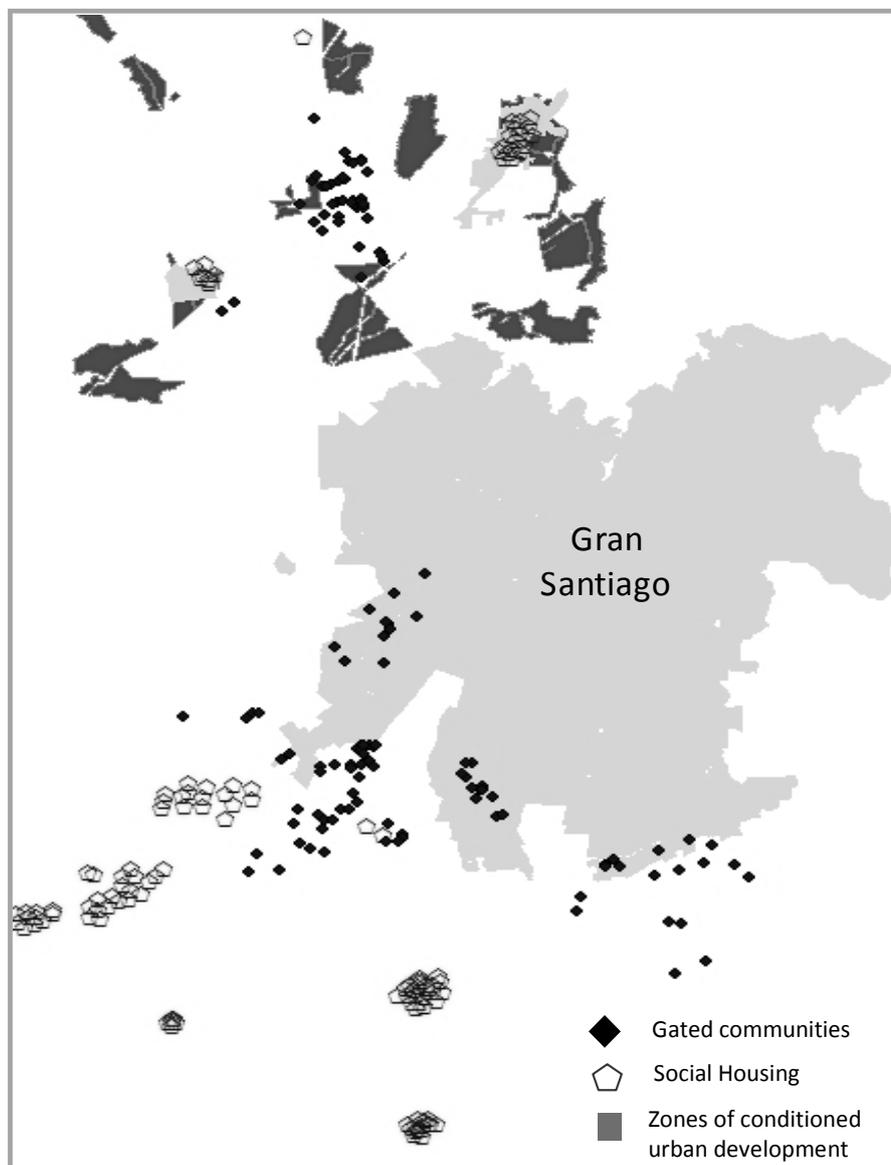
⁷ According to the conditioned urban development normative, these new settlements must fulfill the following requirements: (1) Size must accommodate a minimum of 85 inhabitants/hectare; (2) they must urbanize at least 300 hectares; (3) of all homes built, 30% should already have been acquired by the housing subsidy program. Housing costs should range between 300 and 1500 UF. Of those amounts, 30% to 40% should be high-density housing that will accommodate between 401 and 500 inhabitants/hectare (social housing); (4) towns must include facilities such as health services, education, public safety, green areas, parks, sports, and other services. The public or private character of these facilities is not indicated.

permitted the construction of houses below a value of 1,000 UF⁸ (32,054 Euros), (a segment of social housing), anywhere within the region. In 2006, the metropolitan plan PRM1994 was again modified, and this time the last 12 periurban communes that were not under the “urbanization under conditions” normative were incorporated: the provinces of Talagante, Maipo and Melipilla. (see Map 7, 73). The aim was to norm urban expansion and the road infrastructure under the new concept. Ever since, it is possible to create new settlements in any regional territory. Lands of high agriculture quality and areas representing natural risks (volcanoes, flood areas of rivers etc.) are excluded.

The peri-urbanization should be viewed politically from the perspective of which actors have the political and economic power to influence government decisions. In this sense, the introduction of the normative “urbanization under conditions” was the reaction of the regional housing office to a metropolitan vision which was before decided mainly by real estate holdings. The reforms of 1997 and 2006 are examples how businesses expansion agenda was transformed in the official discourse by the urban policy. In the previous 50 years the discussion in Santiago’s urban policy was about the expansion or contraction of the urban boundary as a form to control the metropolitan development. By contrast, the normative mentioned above aims at the consolidation of a *regional urban growth market-led* model. In the arguments used by the entrepreneurs the horizontal expansion reflects the economic progress of Chile and its emerging social groups. The following argument is often used by the Chilean Chamber of Construction (Cámara Chilena de la Construcción, 2011): "The focus of city development should be on people and their ability to elect "where "and "how" they want to live, as a right of "freedom" but also with the "responsibility" to accept the costs of their decisions."

⁸ UF is an unit of account used in Chile which is constantly adjusted to inflation.

Map 7. Periurban development represents the consolidation of a diversified and complex urbanization model with social housing projects in coexistence with private residential megaprojects. Source: Author's elaboration from GIS layers from the Urban Laboratory, Department of Geography, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile.



5.1 Housing development on peri-urban communes of Santiago: a statistical analysis.

According to the building licenses for houses (with the exclusion of apartments) between 2002 and 2010 in the Metropolitan Region of Santiago, it was found that 30% of real estate activity was concentrated in peri-urban communes. Looking exclusively to the market of houses (excluding apartments) in the Metropolitan Region of Santiago (see Figure 4, page 74) building permissions for houses of less than 50 m² (social housing range) were almost equally distributed between communes of the Gran Santiago (red portions in Figure 6) and peri-urban communes (50,7% vs. 49,3%). For the licenses associated with high income groups (> 140 m²) also shows similar distribution e.i. 55% vs. 45%). Permissions for other income groups were concentrated mainly on the central regions and participation of peri-urban communes was less significant. To state it clearly, based on the number of building licenses issued, it can be seen that both social extremes (i.e., high-income and low-income social groups) are the major participants in the peri-urban communes in the real estate market of Santiago.

Figure 4. Distribution of housing licenses among periurban communes and the consolidated urban unit called Gran Santiago 2002-2010. Source: Author's elaboration from data available in Observatorio Habitacional MINVU.

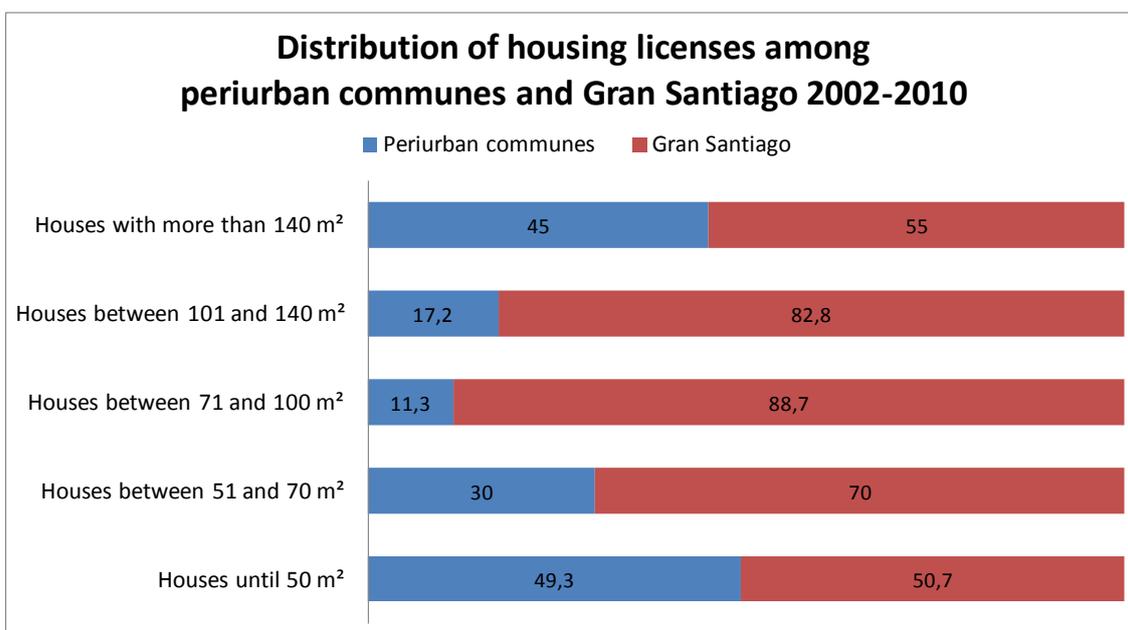
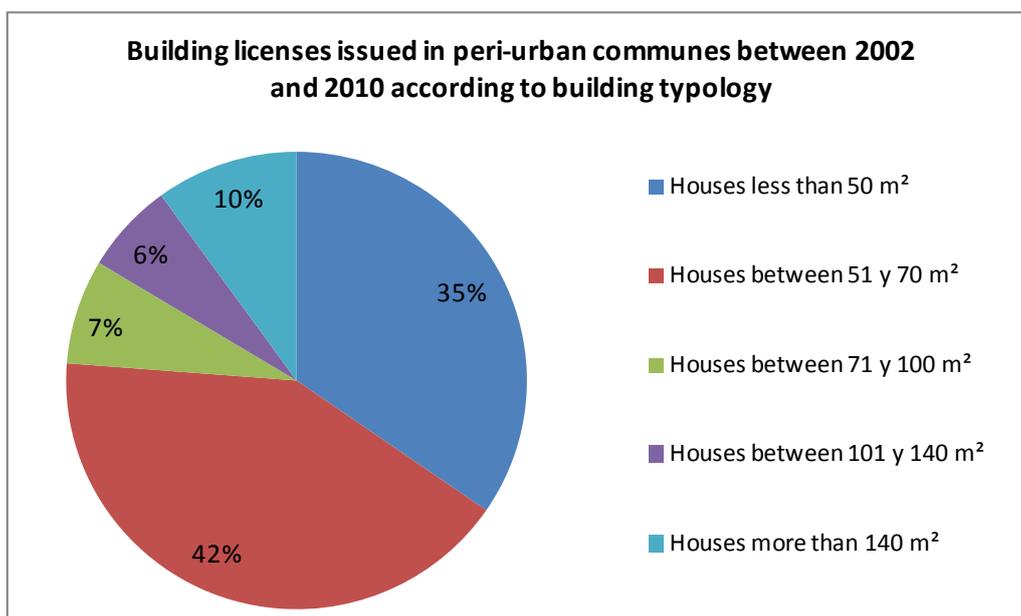
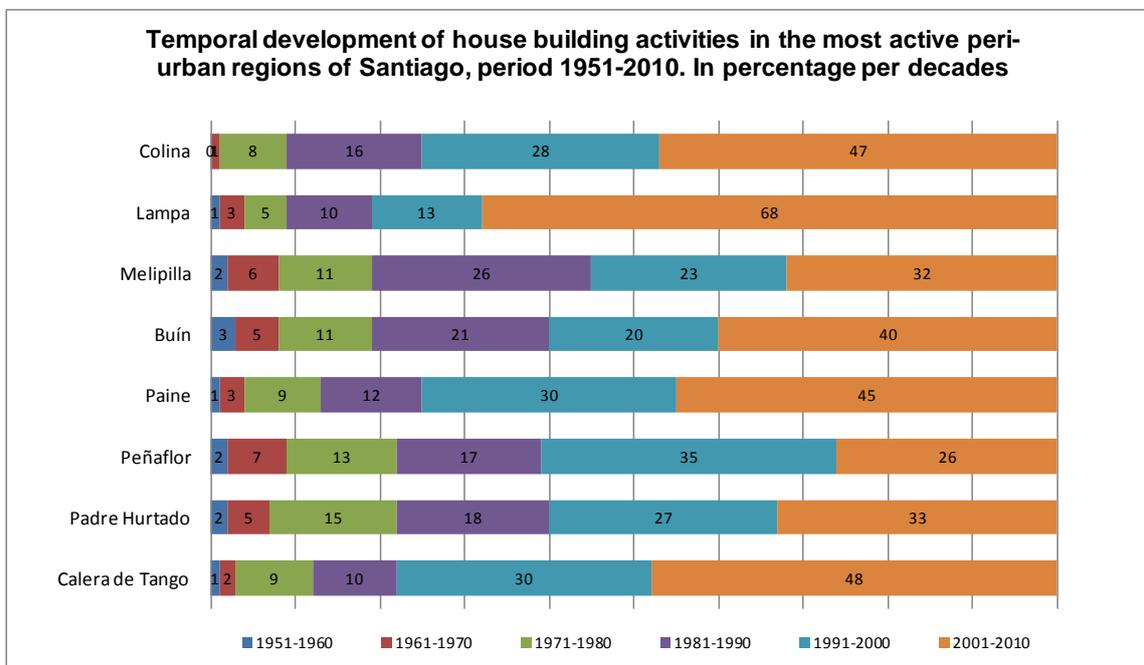


Figure 5. Distribution of building licenses in periurban communes, period 2002 - 2010.
Source: Author's elaboration from data available in Observatorio Habitacional MINVU.



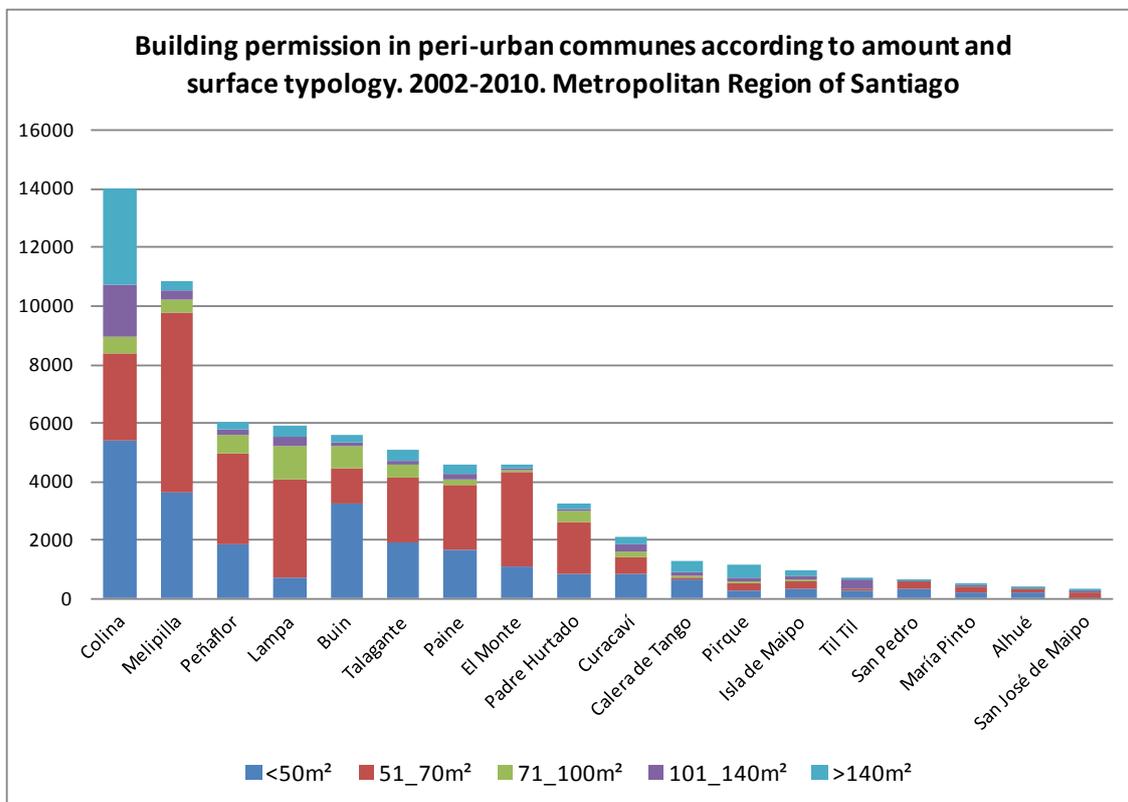
Analyzing exclusively peri-urban communes (see Figure 5, page 75) the following tendencies can be found: Building typology between 101 and 140 m² in size equal 6.4% of total peri-urban real estate activity. And houses more than 140 m² in size represent 10% of total peri-urban real estate activity. This means that 16.4% of the building licenses were issued to the housing segment defined as middle-high or high-income suburbanites. The segment of houses between 71 and 100 m² represents 7.4% of the total real estate activity in peri-urban communes. Likewise, the surface houses typology between 51 and-70 m² in size (middle-low income segment) represents 41.6% of houses. The segment of houses with less than 50 m² contributed 35% to total real estate activity in peri-urban communes.

Figure 6. Temporal development of houses building in the most dynamic periurban communes 1951-2010. Source: Author's elaboration from data available in Internal Tax Services (Servicio de impuestos internos).



By analyzing the historical changes of peri-urban growth we note that the urbanization process mainly was triggered during the last two decades (see Figure 6, page 76). Whereas in communes like Buin, Peñaflo, Padre Hurtado and Melipilla almost 40% of houses were built in the eighties or earlier decades, Colina, Calera de Tango, Paine and Lampa are communes that were intensively urbanized since the nineties. These recent urbanization processes coincided with the boom in the “*parcelas de agrado*” (rural single houses). A special case is Lampa, where more than 60% of the housing stock was produced only during the last ten years. Hence, the peri-urbanization is fundamentally a recent process beginning in the nineties that shows a temporal concordance with factors of the normative arrangements in the modification of 1997, the investment into highways, housing programs, and the beginning of a predominantly private urban development cycle.

Figure 7. Building permission in peri-urban communes according to amount and surface typology 2002-2010. Source: Author's elaboration from data available in Observatorio Habitacional MINVU.



The production of houses in peri-urban communes (see Figure 7, page 77) does not cover the whole regional territory. Its geographical distribution reveals a real estate cluster: 74% of the houses produced between 2002 and 2010 were concentrated in only seven communes. These include Melipilla, Lampa, Colina, Paine, Peñaflo, Buin, and Padre Hurtado. Vice versa, a total of twelve communes, including Curacaví, Calera de Tango, Pirque, Isla de Maipo, Til Til, San Pedro, María Pinto, Alhué, and San José de Maipo, comprised only 26% of the total production during this period together. Excluding Melipilla, the peri-urbanization process shows what Phillips et al. (1999, 5) identify as a pattern of internal organization of the peri-urban space. It is composed by two different macro areas, a zone of direct impact of soil demand to urban growing (Buin, Lampa, Colina, Padre Hurtado-Peñaflo), and a predominantly rural external crown. If we include the data on land prices, we can confirm this tendency with regard to private demand in these territories. Chicureo, which is located in the peri-urban commune of Colina, has the fifth most expensive land prices on the Santiago real estate market.

Table 4. Housing surface composition of peri-urban communes in the period 2002-2010.

Source: Author's elaboration from data available in Observatorio Habitacional MINVU.

	<50	51 to 70m ²	71 to 100m ²	101 to 140m ²	>140m ²
Colina	5397	3004	570	1777	3287
Melipilla	3641	6142	459	310	311
Peñaflor	1877	3070	620	243	216
Lampa	735	3336	1144	332	354
Buín	3251	1208	763	145	229
Talagante	1927	2220	417	131	385
Paine	1642	2270	143	203	305
El Monte	1107	3211	69	78	86
Padre Hurtado	855	1784	379	65	150
Curacaví	827	580	211	251	267
Calera de Tango	684	64	39	106	387
Pirque	268	230	63	175	394
Isla de Maipo	315	272	93	131	177
Til Til	305	26	29	305	5
San Pedro	331	229	32	26	21
María Pinto	223	180	22	17	39
Alhué	184	123	9	9	11
San José de Maipo	22	175	30	47	45

According to the housing surface composition of peri-urban communes (see Table 4 page 78) the most dynamic communes show the following tendencies:

Colina-Chicureo is the most populated peri-urban commune with 113,614 inhabitants in 2012; it increased by 36,914 new inhabitants since 2002 (48%) which is the second-highest population increase in peri-urban communes after Lampa. In Colina, more than 70% of real estate activity occurred in less than twenty years. Between 2002 and 2012, Colina registered housing growth of 56.2% (sixth in the regional context). With 3,026 sold houses Colina is the sixth position of the communes in the Santiago region with respect to housing sales. It ranks as the fourth-highest peri-commune with respect to land demand between 2003 and 2009. According to the building licenses statistics for 2002 - 2010, Colina shows a polarized urban development concentrated in the socioeconomic extremes: 38.4% of licenses are attributed to houses with less than 50 m² (as compared to 23% of such of the total peri-urban communes). Likewise, 23.4% of building licenses are for houses with more than 140 m² in size (as compared to 49.3% of such licenses in all peri-urban communes). The district of Chicureo has the fifth most expensive land in the

region (6,116 UF⁹) below the high-income cluster of Gran Santiago (i.e. Vitacura, Lo Barnechea, Las Condes, and La Reina).

Paine is a peri-urban commune with 66,238 inhabitants which represents an increment of 31% relative to the 49,498 inhabitants in 2002. Is a commune of recent urbanization because more than 70% of its urbanization process occurred in the last twenty years. In Paine, 36% of the licenses issued were for in the segment of the social housing range. 49.7% of the building licenses issued was for houses that ranged between 51 and 70 m² in size (middle low income range). Between 2002 and 2010, Its participation in the market of houses with 101 - 140 m² was less significant ranging at 4.4 %, and houses above 140 m² comprised 6.7 %. Paine ranked as the four-highest peri-urban commune for housing growth between 2002 and 2012 (54.1%).

Buin: In the case of the commune of Buin its 78,593 inhabitants (2012) represent a population increase of 24% relative to the 62,986 inhabitants in 2002. About 60% of the housing production occurred in less than twenty years. Looking at the surface specialization, 58.1% of building licenses were issued to houses that were less than 50 m² in size, which makes Buin the third in the row of peri-urban communes with respect to the building licenses in this range. A segment of middle-class groups is also present in Buin because 21.6% of the houses range between 51-70 m² and 13.6% between 71 - 100 m² in size (for a comparison, this range comprises 15% of licenses all in peri-urban communes together). Buin's participation in the market of houses with 101-140 m² was at 2.6% which is almost negligible and houses with more than 140 m² were 4.1%. Buin ranked as the fourth-highest peri-urban commune for land demand between 2003 and 2009.

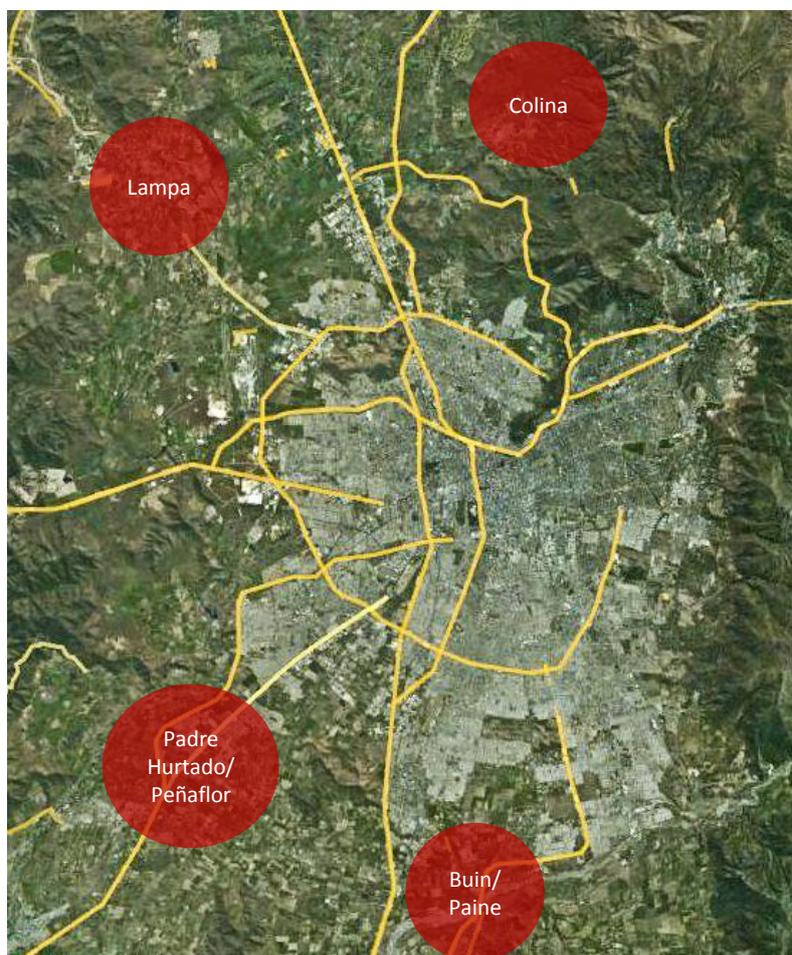
Padre Hurtado – Peñaflo: Padre Hurtado had a population of 50,670 in 2012 which represents an increase of 31% after 2002 (12,082 new inhabitants). In this commune more than 50% of urbanized areas are less than twenty years old. Padre Hurtado had, with 65,5%, the second-highest peri-urban commune growth between 2002 and 2012. In Padre Hurtado, 55.2% of the building licenses issued in the period in question were for houses that ranged between 51 and 70 m² (middle low income range) and 26.4% of the building licenses were issued in the social housing range. The middle-high income range (71 - 100 m²) was at 11.7%. Padre Hurtado ranked third-highest in the demand for land

⁹ UF is a unit of account used in Chile which is constantly adjusted to inflation.

between 2003 and 2009, behind Colina and Lampa. It was also in the third-highest position with respect to houses sales between 1995 and 2012. Average land prices between 2000 and 2010 came second. **Peñaflor** is the third most populated peri-urban commune after Colina and Melipilla with 86,193 inhabitants in 2012 and an increase by 19,544 new inhabitants (29,4%) since 2002. Here, 50.9% of the building licenses were issued for houses between 51 and 70 m² (middle low income range) and 31.2 % of the building licenses in the social housing range, the latter being the fourth-highest peri-urban activity in this range. Peñaflor also ranks third with respect to its 10.3% of houses between 71 and 100 m². Land demand ranked fifth of all peri-urban communes between 2003 and 2009.

Lampa: Lampa had a population of 79,421 inhabitants in 2012, which represents a population increase of 98% (39,323 new inhabitants) relative to 2002. Is the commune with the fifth highest population increment in the region of Santiago. The intensive recent urbanization caused the creation of more than 60% of urbanized areas since 2001 (compare Fig. 6). During the last decade, 13,023 new houses were built (second highest rate in peri-urban communes after Melipilla), and it has the highest relative increase of housing (120.4 %) in the metropolitan region between 2002 and 2012. Based on the analysis of building licenses (2002 – 2010), 8,6% of building licenses was a segment of houses with less than 50 m² in size (range of social housing), 57% of building licenses was for houses that ranged between 51 and 70 m² (second-highest peri-urban commune in this range). Lampa issued 19.4% of its building licenses for houses in the 71 - 100 m² range (highest value for all peri-urban communes). Considering only houses that ranged between 51 and 100 m², Lampa can be identified as the principal peri-urban residential habitat of middle-class suburbanites. In addition, it is the peri-urban commune with the highest housing sales between 1995 and 2012 (apartments excluded). Lampa ranks in the third place for land prices and the second place for land demand between 2003 and 2009 of all peri-urban communes.

Map 8. Poles of real estate developments in peri-urban communes. Source: César Cáceres.



In short, the peri-urban ring of Gran Santiago can be distinguished as a third urban crown in added to the urban inner communes and the previously existing peripheral communes. In 1990, peri-urban communes represented only 18% of the population of the entire metropolitan region. In 2012, peri-urban communes had risen to 25% already and further intensified growth is to be expected when regarding the tendencies. Those peri-urban communes with the highest real estate dynamics are Lampa, Colina, Paine, and Peñaflor (see above) but there are also communes of low developmental potential. Within the dynamic communes a specialization with respect to the income of their inhabitants is observed visible in the surface typology of housing licenses. While Colina shows a polarized urbanization pattern with mostly social housing and a strikingly large segment in the range above 140 m² (~ 25%), Lampa shows an urbanization pattern concentrated on the houses range of the emerging middle and middle-high income groups. Padre Hurtado

and Peñaflores also concentrate on middle income groups, but in these communes also more than 25% of houses belong to the social housing range. Buin, on the other hand, represents a social housing pole with additional emphasis (~ one third) on middle-low income groups.

Map 9. Housing production 2002-2011 in the Metropolitan Region of Santiago. In dark green the central commune of Santiago and the periurban commune of Lampa. Red line indicates the boundary between the consolidated city “Gran Santiago” and periurban communes. Source: Author’s elaboration from data available in the Ministry of Housing and Urban Development.



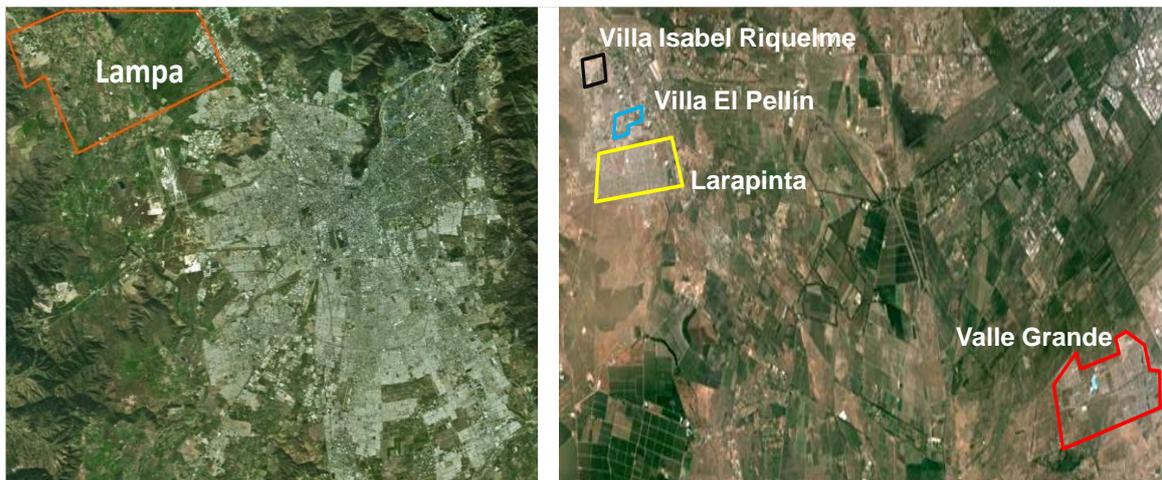
The dispersed urbanization process on peri-urban communes should be interpreted as an urban cycle based on multiple factors, including the modernization of regional highways, growing car parks, normative arrangements, private real estate activity, social housing programs. The analysis of real estate and population statistics associated with the metropolitan region of Santiago proves that the peri-urbanization process is less massive in comparison with the last decade of repopulation and real estate activity in Santiago's inner communes (Santiago, Providencia o Ñuñoa). However, it also shows the increasing relevance of the close peri-urban ring of Gran Santiago in the market of houses. In this segment communes of Santiago like Lampa, Colina or Peñaflo show a more intensive house production than peripheral communes, such as Huechuraba, Peñalolen o Renca which represent traditionally residential areas.

In the following chapter the peri-urban commune of Lampa is analyzed as a case study of a territory intensively urbanized by a dual urbanization process between real estate holdings and social housing programs led by the central and regional State. Social and, economic and political characteristics of the residential community production was investigated in a comprehensive community analysis, on one hand, regarding the planning and governance background of communities, and on the other hand, studying daily practices and social experiences of four communities.

6. Exploring the residential gap in the peri-urban commune of Lampa, Santiago. Planning principles and neighborhood governance in satellite towns and social housing.

Lampa is a peri-urban commune that is 449.4 km² in size. It is located 37 kilometers outside the commune of Santiago and limited in the north by the commune of Til Til, in the south by Quilicura, in the east by Colina, and in the west by Curacaví. As a commune with an agricultural economic origin, Lampa shows a settlement system characterized by the distribution of the population into four traditional centers: Sol de Septiembre, Batuco, Estación Colina and Lampa. The importance of Lampa as a research subject lies in its intensive urbanization during the last decade. It is the commune of the metropolitan region of Santiago with the second highest housing production: 13,023 new houses (ranging ninth with regard to housing increase in the whole of Chile, 115.06% in 2002-2012) and coming fifth among the communes of the Metropolitan Region of Santiago with regard to a population increase. A number of 39.323 new inhabitants (inter-census period 2002-2012) represent a population increase of 98% (79.421 in 2012 in comparison with 25.033 in 2002), which is the third highest population variation on a percent basis at the national level. According to Figure N°9 (page 85) 68% of the urbanization process of the last sixty years happened during the last decade.

Map 10. Location of Lampa and studied communities. Source: César Cáceres.



The combined areas of Lampa, Colina, and Til Til constitute the province of Chacabuco, which was added to the Metropolitan Plan of Santiago in 1997. The inclusion of the province of Chacabuco was a legal milestone with profound implications to the urban development of Lampa because it created the legal figure of “conditioned urbanization”

(analyzed in the previous subchapter). The metropolitan plan established an area of conditioned urbanization of 350 hectare (ADUP) in the south sector of the settlement of Lampa. This sector hosts the project of the satellite town of Larapinta (388 hectare and 10.376 projected houses), a developmental area of 310 hectare in the settlement of Batuco, 205 hectare in the settlement of Estación Colina, and 54 hectare in the settlement of Sol de Septiembre. In addition, the metropolitan plan created a second normative figure under the same facilities requirements. They were called “zones of conditioned urbanization” (ZODUC) and have two sectors: El Alfalfal with 1,214 hectare hosts two projects of satellite towns: Valle Grande (438 hectare and eleven thousand houses) and Santo Tomas (405 hectare and ten thousand houses) and the developmental sector of Lipangue with 1,344 hectare. Also, the commune is building the satellite town “Chicauma Ciudad-Parque” with a projection for 10,000 units of houses in 316 hectares. The intensive recent urban development of Lampa (see Figure 8, page 86) lacks a communal regulatory plan aimed to guide this process. It was ruled by the normative of the metropolitan plan of Santiago. This had severe consequences for the communal urbanization model because the normative of 1997 allows the creation of new settlements. It strengthens the historical pattern of urban dispersion in Lampa and affects the introduction of urban services and infrastructure.

Together with the satellite towns created in the eighties, Lampa registered the development of social housing quarters such as Manuel Rodriguez and Manuel Plaza. This urbanization typology continued during the early millennium but by adding a next component, they were composed to a great part by families migrating from Santiago. In parallel, Lampa’s urban development also used a dispersed urbanization pattern of rural plots called “parcelas de agrado”, a legal strategy that allowed the subdivision of agricultural land into lots of 5,000 m² through the Law N° 3.516. The plots ruled by this normative are Santa Tersita de Leseiux with 239 plots on 120 hectares, Santa Sara (Batuco) with 554 plots on 294 hectares, Las Higueras (Batuco) with 28 plots on 14 hectares, and La Javiera with 52 plots on 30 hectares. Both urbanizations, the creation of satellite towns as well as that of social housing, explained the high demand of soil in Lampa (see Map 5, page 65). It is expected that the development continues with similar tendencies during the next twenty years considering that this commune together with Colina, Til Til, Quilicura and Huechuraba provide 36,5% of the available land (8.479 hectares) for the expansion of Santiago. The land availability and its good accessibility promise an intensive urbanization process.

Figure 8. Population and housing growth in Lampa. Source: Author's elaboration from data available in the Ministry of Housing and Urban Development.

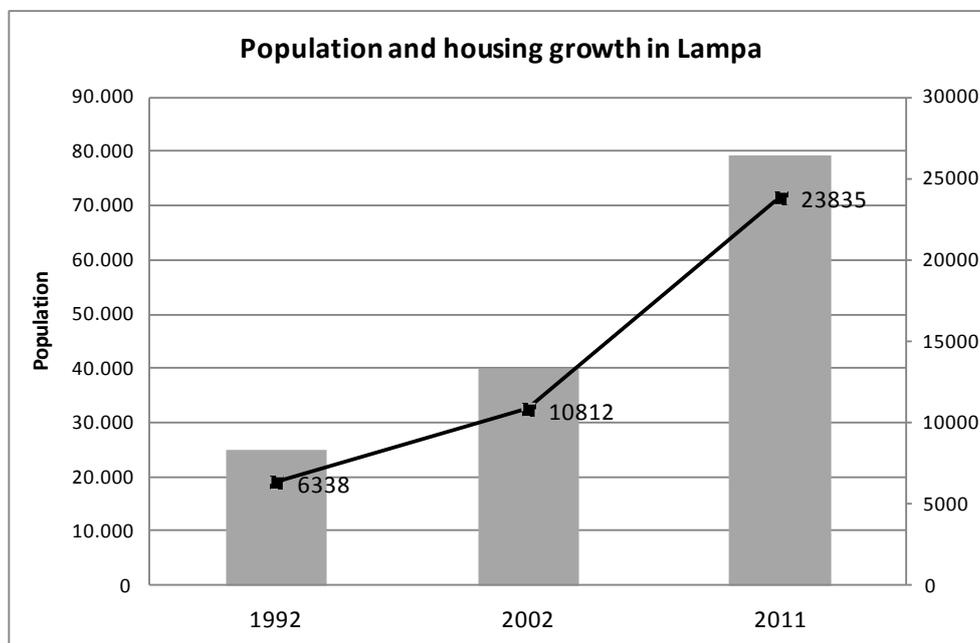


Figure 9. Temporal development of housing in Lampa between 1950 and 2010. Lampa range ninth with regard to housing increase in the whole of Chile, 115.06% in 2002-2012. Source: Author's elaboration from data available in Internal Tax Services (Servicio de impuestos internos).

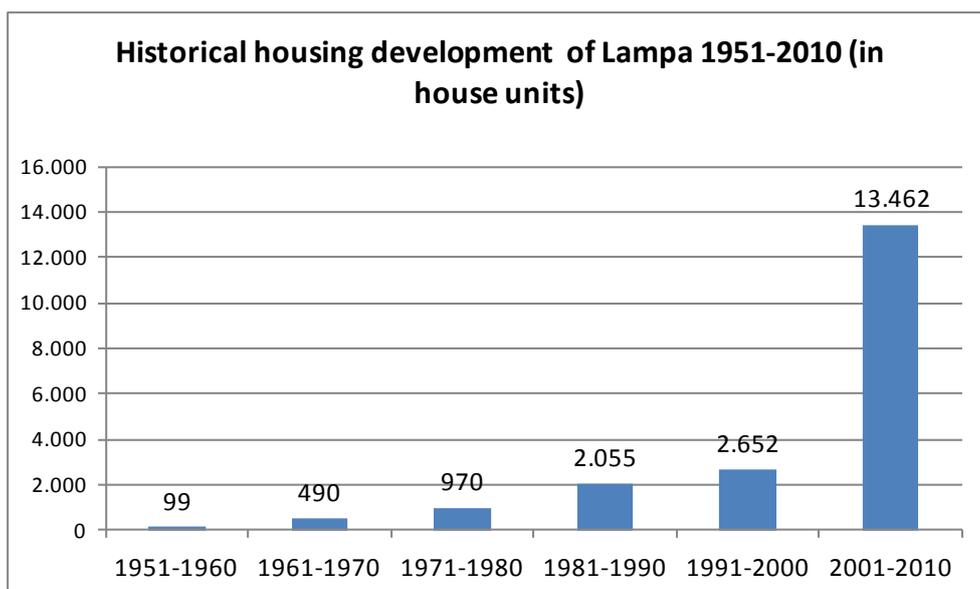
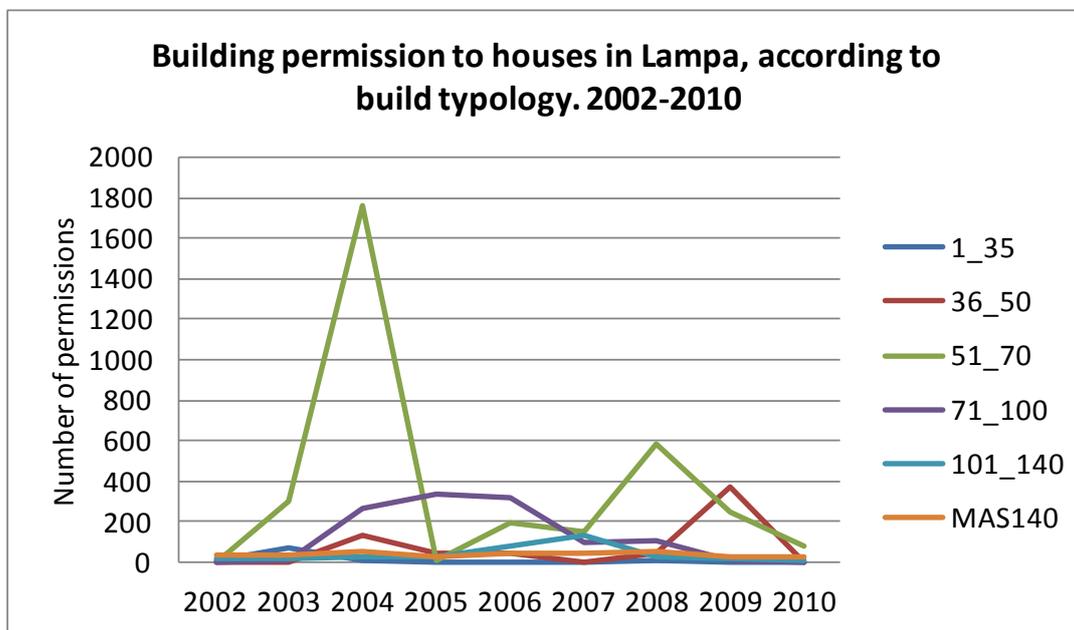


Figure 10. Type and number of building permissions issued for Lampa in the period of 2002 to 2010. The highest number of building permissions coincides with the beginning of the project of satellite towns. Source: Author's elaboration from data available in Observatorio Habitacional MINVU.

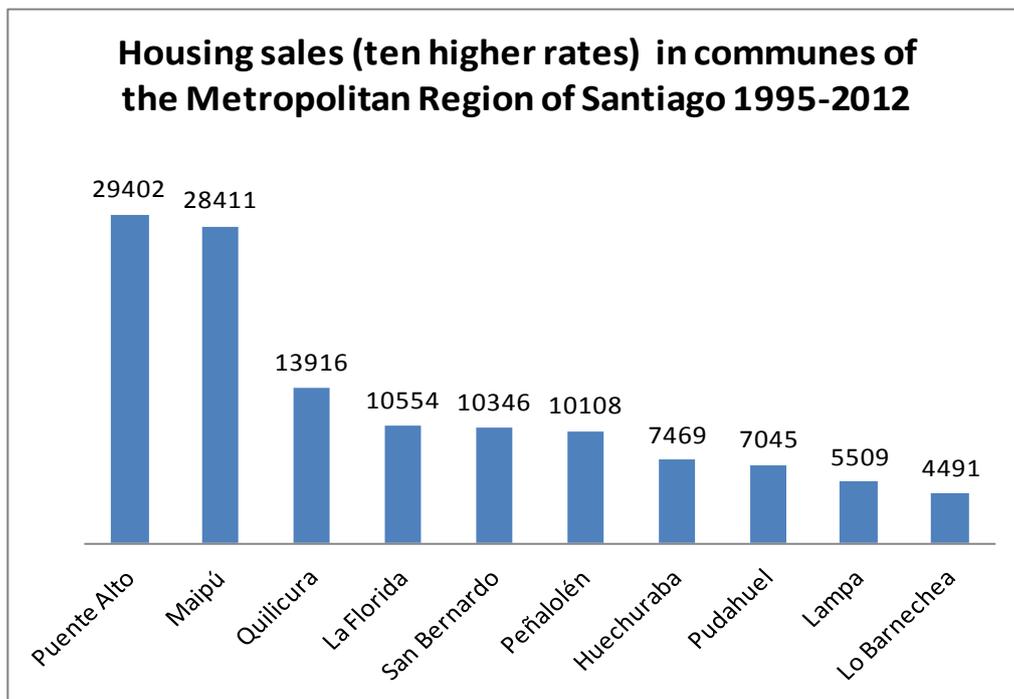


Based on the analysis of building licenses 2002 – 2010 (see Figure 7, page 77), 8,6% of building licenses was a segment of houses with less than 50 m² in size (range of social housing), 57% of licenses were issued for houses of a size between 51 and 70 m² (second-highest peri-urban commune in this range). Lampa issued 19.4% of its building licenses for houses in the 71 - 100 m² range (highest value for all peri-urban communes). Considering only houses that ranged between 51 and 100 m², Lampa can be identified as the principal peri-urban residential habitat of middle-class peri-urbanites. In addition, it is the peri-urban commune with the highest housing sales between 1995 and 2012 (apartments excluded). Lampa ranks in the third place for land prices and the second place for land demand between 2003 and 2009 of all peri-urban communes. (see Map 5, page 65).

The peri-urban commune of Lampa showed an intensive urbanization process during the last decade which, among the communes in Chile, placed it into the position of the second highest population increase on a percentage basis. The urbanization processes involved both, the creation of private satellite towns, and of social housing estates. The following chapters investigate planning principles for each of the two typologies and also explore how this residential development involves changes in the local urban policy.

Methodologically, the political analysis suggests that the governance models of Pierre (1999, 2011) and the regime theory (Stone 1989) offer a wide approach in the analysis of how welfare and pro-growth urban governance modes have shaped the policy and landscapes of Lampa. In the following section two satellite towns and two social housing estates are studied, that were built in Lampa during the last decade, with the aim to inquire about how planning principles, actors' relationships, financial tools, and normative affect the differentiated settlement development. Interviews were carried out with municipal and company administrators with the aim to get insight into the process of community formation from the perspective of the actors. This is complemented with the revision of company reports, normative, and public studies.

Figure 11. Housing sales (excluded apartments) in communes of Gran Santiago between 1995 and 2012. Source: Author's elaboration from data available in Observatorio Habitacional MINVU.



6.1.1 Satellite towns in Lampa, the case of the projects Larapinta and Valle Grande

Satellite towns were born out of a normative that permitted the creation of new settlements in conditioned urbanization zones located in peri-urban communes. Satellite towns have been built since the early 2000s in peripheral and peri-urban communes located in the metropolitan region of Santiago. There are some variations in the location pattern of physical arrangements of satellite towns, in some cases they grow as aggregations with the traditional peri-urban settlements. However, most towns remain isolated settlements.

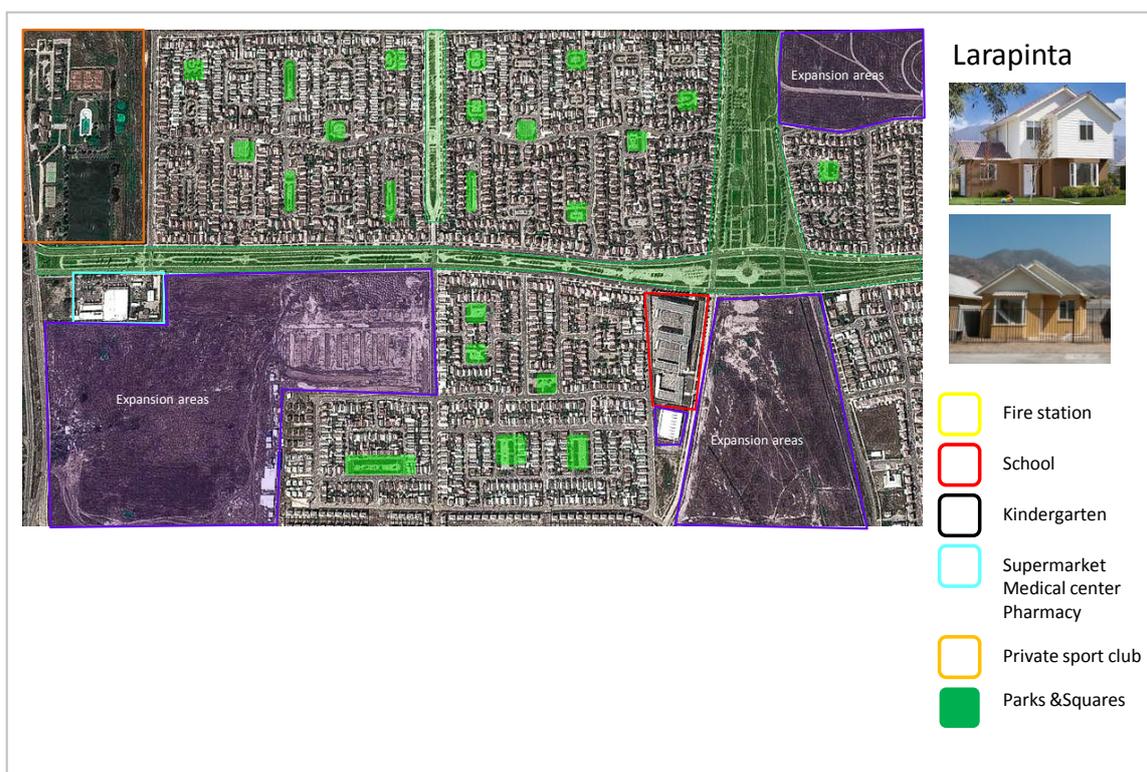
Map 11. Studied satellite towns of Lampa. Source: César Cáceres.



The Satellite Town of Larapinta. This town was built (US \$150 millions of investment), and is administered, by the Real Estate Holding, SOCOVESA. It is located in a conditioned urban area (ZODUC) in Lampa. The company projects an urbanization of 389 hectares on a macro-plot of 1.200 hectare which is the property of the company. The projected total number of homes is 10.376. These homes will house approximately 51.880 inhabitants. Currently, 10.000 inhabitants are accommodated in 2.500 houses. Projected densities are expected to range from a minimum of 70 inhabitants/hectare to a maximum of 150 inhabitants/hectare. Moreover, according to the normative, the project envisages

that 5% of all housing should be high-density housing (i.e., social housing) with 300 inhabitants/hectare at least. The project is focused on a socioeconomic segment that includes inhabitants of both, low and high middle-class income. Prices range between 900 UF¹⁰ and 2,300 UF (33,319 and 85,152 Euro, respectively). According to the settlement design, facilities such as schools, sport centre, security service, will be developed by SOCOVESA, while medical centres are administered by external companies. (see Map 12, page 90) In addition, the water system was designed by the company. The project anticipates the development of 44,5 hectares of parks and green areas. Of those, 21,5 hectares will be freely accessible. The company also created a private sports and leisure center.

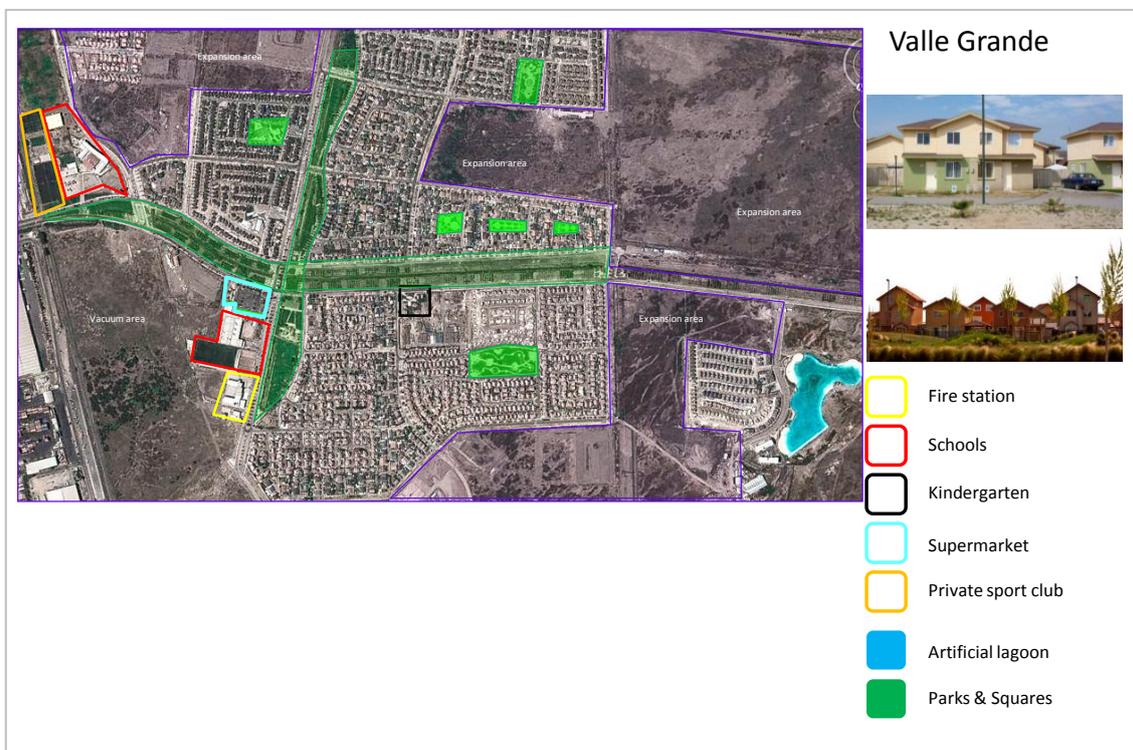
Map 12. Land use composition of the project Larapinta. Source: César Cáceres.



¹⁰ UF (UF is a unit of account used in Chile which is constantly adjusted to inflation).

The Satellite Town of Valle Grande. This satellite town is owned by the Valle Grande Consortium which is the property of three insurance companies: Holding BiceCorp, Holding FFV-Fernandez León, and Holding CorpGroup. Beginning in 2002, the company projected the urbanization of a 437.9 hectare plot. Of that plot, 180 hectares were designated for residential use. This project has been configured to include two macro projects: Santo Tomas and Valle Grande-Orient. The project will provide 25,000 homes that can house 100,000 inhabitants. The project's horizon is 30 years. Currently, 2,800 homes accommodate approximately 12,000 people. Similar to Larapinta, this project is focused on a socioeconomic segment of the middle class. The houses range in price between 1,150 UF and 3043 UF (42,562 and 112,623 Euro, respectively). Projected densities range from a minimum of 70 inhabitants/hectare to a maximum of 100 inhabitants/hectare. With respect to urban design, Valle Grande now contains two schools, a kindergarten, security facilities, and a public transportation system that was installed by the company. (see Map 13, page 91) The new towns also contain commercial facilities such as supermarkets and grocery stores. Some of these facilities were negotiated by the company. Others were spontaneous developments created by neighbors.

Map 13. Land use composition of the project Valle Grande. Source: César Cáceres.



6.1.2 Satellite town: a neighborhood experience 30 kilometers from the city

Satellite towns such as Larapinta and Valle Grande in Lampa are part of the urban landscape repertory created by the holdings. As the settlement design does not only offer homes but also an assembly of social and recreational facilities, this rather is a matter of selling experiences in multi-functional neighborhoods. Entrepreneurs also realized that their businesses opportunities encompass the administration of an entire settlement (100.000 inhabitants estimated), offering and charging for neighborhood services for a period of twenty years. The characteristics and dimension of these projects are described by the urban administrator of Valle Grande:

*“We project 15,749 houses. Currently, there are 2,800 houses between Valle Grande and Santo Tomas. We are just beginning. The project was projected for the next thirty years. For Valle Grande and Santo Tomas we talk about two ZODUC¹¹. Valle Grande and Santo Tomas are property of an insurance company. In Valle Grande, we have 484 hectares and, in Santo Tomas, we have 427 hectares. Valle Grande is envisaged to have approximately 25,000 houses, or 100.000 inhabitants. This is similar to the surface of Vitacura or comparable to the urban zone of Quilicura”. (Administrator of Valle Grande, name withheld, September 2010).**

Satellite town companies appear ingenious in meeting the targets of superior residential standards of Santiago’s middle income groups (71% of participants in the urban “quality of life survey” MINVU 2010¹², stated that the lack of green areas was a serious problem in their neighborhoods). Promoters of satellite towns carry out marketing campaigns that work via the comparison with traditional Santiago’s residential areas. The search of superior residential standards of middle income inhabitants of Santiago is seen as “market opportunity” to build livable peri-urban settlements. Companies revised the classical urban planning principles (“garden city” of Howard (1898) and “neighborhood unity” of Perry (1929), to transform the residential typologies from mono-functional suburban residences to settlements based on a mixture of neighborhood facilities. The deficit of urban quality in

¹¹ Zones ruled by the conditioned urban development normative.

¹² National Urban Quality Survey 2010, Ministry of Housing and Urban Development

residential areas as a market opportunity is explicitly mentioned by the Company SOCOVESA in their urban impact study of the Larapinta project:

*“Larapinta City takes into consideration the complexity of the contemporary city: Social safety, the monotony of urban spaces, the uniformity of cheaper housing designed as “poblaciones” [villages]. They increase the rejection by the inhabitants of an urban lifestyle that has lost the variety and diversity of spaces and modes of traditional life” (Urban Impact Study, “Larapinta” project, 2003).**

And the Urban study of Valle Grande states:

*“The opportunity to create a new city allows to plan and generate high-level life conditions regardless of socioeconomic status, with good highway standards, an offer of green areas and open spaces, supply of services, and recreational facilities” (Urban Impact Study, “Valle Grande” project, 2002).**

Satellite towns are interesting case studies because they portray the multiple roles that entrepreneurs currently play in Santiago’s urban development. The re-definition of the roles of entrepreneurs in satellite towns since the nineties can be characterized as follows: (1) They are *financiers*; the urban development of Santiago is recognized by holding companies as a market opportunity which can be accomplished by the creation of innovative and multifunctional urban landscapes. (2) They are *landowners*; a central aspect concerning the strategy of *capitalization through landscapes* concerns the acquisition of land plot “banks” in expansion areas of Santiago (Colina, Lampa, etc.) with the aim to plan urban macro-projects. These operations were accompanied by parallel lobby operations with the regional government of Santiago aimed to approve the normative which allows the urbanization of rural-peri-urban soil. (see Chapter about the peri-urbanization process in Santiago, page 64). (3) They are *Administrators*; entrepreneurs do not only hope to develop residential projects but the characteristics of these projects imply that companies are administrators of middle-size settlements (between 50,000 and 100,000 inhabitants) during 20 and 30 years. This feature encourages the delivering of local services by the own company (schools, public transportation, or sport centers) and creates particular modes of co-government between the municipalities and the holding companies.

Photo 10. Chinese restaurant created in a house from Larapinta. Source: César Cáceres.



Photo 11. Square in the satellite town of Valle Grande. Companies sell residential values such as green areas which had been neglected for middle income groups in their former neighborhoods. Source: César Cáceres.



As market products, satellite towns focus on the search for urban wellbeing as a subsector of consumer capitalism (Lipovetsky, 2010, 41). Marketing campaigns focus on

inhabitants who become more hedonistic and ambitious with the definition of their habitats. In this process residential typologies in Santiago have shifted to segmentation strategies in which the production of residential communities no longer follows standardized designs or concepts. Instead, what have emerged are habitats that are marketed via the offer of specific urban lifestyles: Single inner-city apartments, suburban senior citizen communities, peri-urban multi-functional private cities, ecological private enclaves, and so on. In this context, to generate a demand for residential projects in the middle of the countryside without marketing strategies is unthinkable. The success of these settlements depends on the promoters' capacities to produce symbolic and physical distances from the "traditional city". As satellite towns are constructed under the concept that scenarios of quality of life can be reproduced whenever the territory is near a highway. Companies imported foreign tropical sceneries of turquoise lagoons to satellite towns establishing a city-making process of pirate-copied landscapes (Verdu 2007, 13), which are extroverted and funny, but also artificial (see Photo 10-11, page 94). To these families satellite towns offer a new version of Santiago that is more enjoyable, safe, livable, and exclusive than public landscapes filled with traditional opacity, homogeneity, and austerity. As Fredder (1993, in Hall 2001, 127) suggests: "*place marketing has thus become much more than merely selling the area to attract mobile companies or tourists. It can now be viewed as a fundamental part of planning, a fundamental part of guiding the development of places in a desired fashion.*"

Satellite towns have emerged as examples of the reorganization of capital in Santiago. Entrepreneurial urban planning rescued the concept of *new urbanism and neighborhood scale* by the creation of new settlements based on easily accessible facilities and on pedestrian urban design (see Photo 12-13, page 96-97). They represent a transition from a classical model of the suburbia based on mono-functional projects of rows of houses, toward multi-functional suburban centers where the predominant urban value is an urban experience in comprehensive neighborhood rather than being centered on the house as such. According to the company's reports Valle Grande and Larapinta are based on four elements: (1) The development of civic and neighborhood centers to host functions such as commerce, health services, education, and recreational spaces. (2) Residential zones are based on blocks composed of unifamiliar and semi-detached houses. The Blocks are clearly separated by housing prices. Thus, the city becomes divided into residences of medium-high and medium-low income. (3) A network of footpaths and avenues that connects residential areas with main avenues and service centers. Simultaneously,

automobile traffic is strongly limited by the design of blocks to favor pedestrians and cycling. (4) A system of green spaces and sports facilities is distributed as parks and squares among the blocks. Additional recreational spaces are provided such as private sports centers owned by the companies. Based on this concept, the neighborhood serves as a unit used by the companies to develop more efficient forms of services and facilities in order to reduce the requirement of daily mobility.

Photo 12. And Photo 13. The neighbourhood experience like planning concept. The company uses the experience of a neighborhood life as business strategy, selling residential values such as security, close facilities, pedestrian-design. Source: César Cáceres.



Paradoxically, although promoters invite Santiago's inhabitants to project their urban life into the countryside, their planning proposal originates from the most basic of urban concepts: *the neighborhood*. The argument behind the business concept of neighborhood life thirty kilometers outside the city is based on an opportunity to gain access to a superior urbanity denied by former neighborhoods and communes. The "catalogue city" is selling life values such as security, family life, pedestrian-centre design, and green areas, which act as a visual ideology (Cosgrove 1985, 479). The sales strategy for Larapinta shows how companies stress the concept of neighborhood life:

"The satellite town is designed to allow walking or cycling to supermarkets, schools, or kindergartens. We aim to re-invent the neighborhood as a key urban unit ... Children play in squares. Young people cycle in parks. Families meet in public squares to socialize with other neighbor families" (Urban Impact Study, "Larapinta" project, 2003).

*"...A concept of a city that includes a variety of green areas, different types of services and facilities, with parks and squares, with neighborhoods and streets, with places for sports and recreation, offers a way to retrieve the city for its inhabitants... (Urban Impact Study, "Larapinta" project, 2003).**

Regarding the social composition projected for satellite towns, those in Lampa¹³ show a social mixture of middle-high income groups, with access to houses between 2,300 and 3,000 UF; and middle-low income groups, i.e. clients of houses between 900 and 1100 UF. Moreover, the conditioned normative for the satellite towns themselves requires the establishment of high density urbanization plots, but no social houses were built up to now. Hence, far from the idea of being socially homogeneous, even from the point of view of the project design, these projects appear as heterogeneous settlements hosting middle-high and middle-low income groups as well as reserved plots for the location of low-income families. The aim to configure a mixed-social settlement is explicit in the Urban Impact Report of Valle Grande (2002):

¹³ Satellite towns in the adjacent commune of Colina host mainly high-income groups

*"The opportunity to create a new city allows a suitable planning to provide optimal life conditions to any socioeconomic strata. [...] the project aspires to overcome the traditional socioeconomic segregation of the urban space" (Urban Impact Study, "Valle Grande" project, 2002).**

6.1.3 Normative and development of neighborhood facilities.

Another aspect of urban design in satellite towns is that the *conditioned urban development* normative (ADUC, ZDUC, PDUC) regulates the installation of services like schools, health aid posts, sports infrastructure or kindergartens, but it does not state whether they should be private or public. According to this normative the new settlements should accomplish the following requirements: 1) a minimum of 85 inhabitants/hectare 2) urbanization of at least 300 hectares 3) of the homes built, 30% should already have been acquired by the housing subsidy program, with prices for houses between 300 and 1500 UF. Of these, 30% to 40% should be high-density housing between 401 and 500 inhabitants/hectare (social housing) 4) to include facilities such: health, education, public safety, green areas, parks, sports, and services. Whether the character of the facilities should be public or private is not indicated. The *conditioned urban development* normative hands the responsibility of local facility development over to the private agent. Local governments regard the normative as an improvement of their administrative tools to guide the urban development in their territory. In an interview, a municipal administrator from Lampa evaluates the normative:

*(In the case of satellite towns) "The Metropolitan Plan of Santiago determines the facility standards. In the urbanization facet of 3,000 inhabitants the company must build a school. But how do you build? The company looks for an entrepreneur who is interested in building. There is a captive market. The urbanization facet of 10,000 inhabitants requires a fire station, a police station and a gym. For instance, in the 10,000 urbanization section we stopped the project Larapinta because they had no fire station. So, when entrepreneurs begin their business they must take into account all these issues....The municipality controls and may say: "there are no building licenses until you build the gym!" The same will occur in the urbanization facet of 20,000 inhabitants, they will have to find an entrepreneur for a private clinic who wants to invest there". (municipal administrator of Lampa, name withheld, September 2010).**

As the *conditioned urban development* normative does not regulate whether services like schools, health aid posts, sports infrastructure or kindergartens should be private or public, this current legal window allows the development of captive markets for the company. To the company, the supply of these services constitutes an opportunity to establish what Buchanan (1965) called “good clubs”: the community of the town forms groups that collectively, but exclusively, share the use of specific services on the basis of ownership-membership arrangements. The use of “goods clubs” as a business strategy is pointed out by Glasze (2003, 4): *“Developers may profit from the fact that the establishment of a neighbourhood governance structure with the powers to exclude free riders as well as the power to regulate the use of common spaces and facilities reduces the risk of an economic decline of the neighbourhood”*. Examples of such services are private schools, sport centers, transport, potable water, security, all owned by the same companies that developed the towns (see photo 14-15, page 100-101). This strategy is explained by the real estate administrator of Valle Grande:

They [Regional Office of Urbanism] do not require us to have public transportation. However, the same consortium created, in agreement with a transportation company, their own transport company ... In the case of schools, one of the project owners has a school in Quilicura, ...He thought, “if people come here, they will probably need a school”... and he placed a bet for a school ... Everything can be private, even parks. Satellite towns not necessarily need to have public schools. (Administrator of Valle Grande, name withheld, September 2010).

To be allowed to manage these towns for up to twenty years represents a market opportunity where profit strategies not only are aimed at house sales but also where via the delivering of private daily services. Although the cited normative is regarded as demanding (in terms of standards of the accomplishments) by the companies it constitutes a friendly normative for entrepreneurs because of the absence of a specification regarding a private or public character of recreational, health or educational facilities, it allows the creation of “good-clubs”.

Photo 14. Private sport club in Larapinta. The insufficient development of sport facilities in satellite towns appears as a factor of conflict between the company and the inhabitants.
Source: César Cáceres.



Photo 15. School property of the real estate company Socovesa. To be allowed to manage these towns for up to twenty years represents a market opportunity where profit strategies not only are aimed at house sales but also via the delivering of neighborhood services.
Source: César Cáceres.



A second characteristic of these projects is the difficulty that is implicit in the development of neighborhood facilities in satellite towns relates to the lack of coordination with metropolitan public services such as transportation, fire guards, and police. Currently, settlements accommodate between 12.000 and 24.000 inhabitants and will increase to between 52,000 and 100,000; however, they are not included in the metropolitan public transport system called TRANSANTIAGO. The demand for public transport was solved by companies by the installation of their own transport systems or by the association with other private transport companies. Also, there is a legal vacuum regarding the coordination with the public fire and police services. The companies pointed out that they only had limited influence in the negotiations with these institutions. The negotiations with the police about the location of stations failed, because their territorial distribution criteria were not compatible with those of the companies. The companies described this tension:

(Asked about the procedure to attract social services) "In the case of the police, the normative is not synchronized with our planning of the location of police stations ... They told us we have no interest [to locate a station in a satellite town], as it interferes with our own plans when you tell me, "I have 20,000 inhabitants. Provide a police station!" This [a station in the satellite town] is impossible because they have their own plans that are based on action radiuses. Valle Grande is near the communal boundary, so the police told me, I should locate one in the center of Lampa because the action radius there is more effective...This is a satellite town - but I think the authority doesn't understand. They consider this project isolated. They do not think globally. Thus, their responses are fragmented and bad. (Administrator of Valle Grande, name withheld, September 2010).

The creation of isolated private settlements appears as a point of conflict between real estate companies and suppliers of public services because it requires a new territorial organization of services with higher costs to the public institutions. The development of satellite towns was promoted under the illusion of a more efficient version of a settlement government. However, it is full of legal vacuum regarding the roles and responsibilities of both, the company and the municipality and sectorial ministries. The ambiguity in the normative affects the integration as a settlement into the metropolitan system. The management of satellite towns is a more complex and dynamic local management model for which local governments have neither the technical nor the financial tools. This

situation is evident in the maintenance of services in satellite towns, such as street cleaning, lighting, garbage collection, and maintenance of green areas. It produces informal government arrangements lacking a clear responsibility of neither the public nor the private agent. This uncertain government scenario is overcome simply by criteria of “pragmatism” (e. g. Stone 1989, 180). A clear case can be found with respect to the costs for the green areas maintenance in the satellite towns of Lampa: Although, according to the normative, companies should transfer cost responsibilities to the local governments after the fifth year, in practice, this did not occur. Local governments rejected the responsibility because of limits in their budget. They argue:

They [the companies] may say “we do not maintain green areas anymore”, but as we are unable to finance it, they will dry out. Therefore, as they want to sell more houses, they continue their maintenance. So, we make public-private partnership based on common-sense. They have no obligation to take care of the green areas, but we don't have the budget - and we declare this clearly! Of course, this is an irregular situation because the obligation lies with the municipality, but they do understand that. If the green areas are going to be dry they won't sell anymore. So we work on the basis of informal agreements between the company and the municipality (Municipal administrator of Lampa, name withheld, September, 2010).

In addition, there is a lack of strategic planning to control project stages. For example, standards for the incorporation of a certain percentage of social housing in each settlement project have not been fulfilled in either of the studied settlements because no normative outlines the stages for the fulfillment of the standards. A municipality administrator argued:

Nobody knows how to do that [administration of satellite towns]. Neither the ministry nor real estate companies know how it works. How can the standards be fulfilled. There was a lot of vacuum. There was no strong counterpart in the regional government, so we learned as we went along ... with time ... and the real estate companies had to become involved in public urban management (Municipal administrator of Lampa, name withheld, September 2010).

“...we have provided too much public-private management, but everything based on goodwill. This is because there are no norms that rule zones or conditioned

urbanization... ZODUC does not give time schedules for issues like the accomplishment of 5% of social housing. Thus, they developed a project nine years ago but it did not produce social housing so far. So, we cannot force them to build social housing because there is no deadline! (Municipal administrator of Lampa, name withheld, September 2010).

6.1.4 Satellite towns as governance arrangement

One of the distinctive global features of the contemporary urban development is a change in the way that cities are governed (Hall and Hubbard 1996, 153, Harvey 1989, 04). This is visible, for instance, in the political influence that satellite towns have exerted on the local government of Lampa. The impact of real estate corporations in Chilean local urban policy has been empirically untested. However, they are key actors in order to understand the main legal and plan reforms of the last twenty years in Santiago (see section about peri-urbanization, see pages 64-73). The political impact of Larapinta as well as Valle Grande is explained by the characteristics as projects administrated by companies over a period of 20 to 30 years. As a result, the municipality no longer maintains the monopoly of territorial administration, but becomes one of the actors in a group (local and regional government and company) with the legal and economic power to transform and manage the communal territory. Local governments are aware of the new local power map in Lampa:

*“If someone wants to open a grocery in Valle Grande, they have to ask for a license at the municipal office (Dirección de obras). But, we have to ask in Valle Grande because they have an urban design concept. They say 'in that place' because they own the land, and the project is still developing'. It is not like before, when a building company came, built 300 houses in six months and left. Now, this is projected to 20 years - so they are like mayors; they are the ones who solve the problems, for example, a broken plumbing, a street repair. ... They know they have to keep it [the town] in good condition to generate a good product-city” (Municipal administrator of Lampa, name withheld, September 2010).**

Regarding the co-government, a company administrator of Larapinta commented:

“I think what happened in Maipú [Santiago’s commune] will happen in Larapinta too. There, the satellite town existed for many years and the company remains

there almost as a new local government” (administrator of Larapinta, name withheld, September 2010).

Companies and the municipality need to establish a long-lasting co-government which implies a mutual adaptation to the new functions. On the one hand, municipalities have to adopt entrepreneurial principles of efficiency and quick responses, in the control of the development of satellite towns, like the municipal administrator argues:

“The local urban management becomes more complex with respect to what it means to manage a ZDUC. - Handling building statistics, regulating urban densities, managing drain water collection - It is difficult to manage all these instruments” (Municipal administrator of Lampa, name withheld, September 2010).

On the other hand, companies must adopt responsibilities of the public local administrator to be able to respond to community demands:

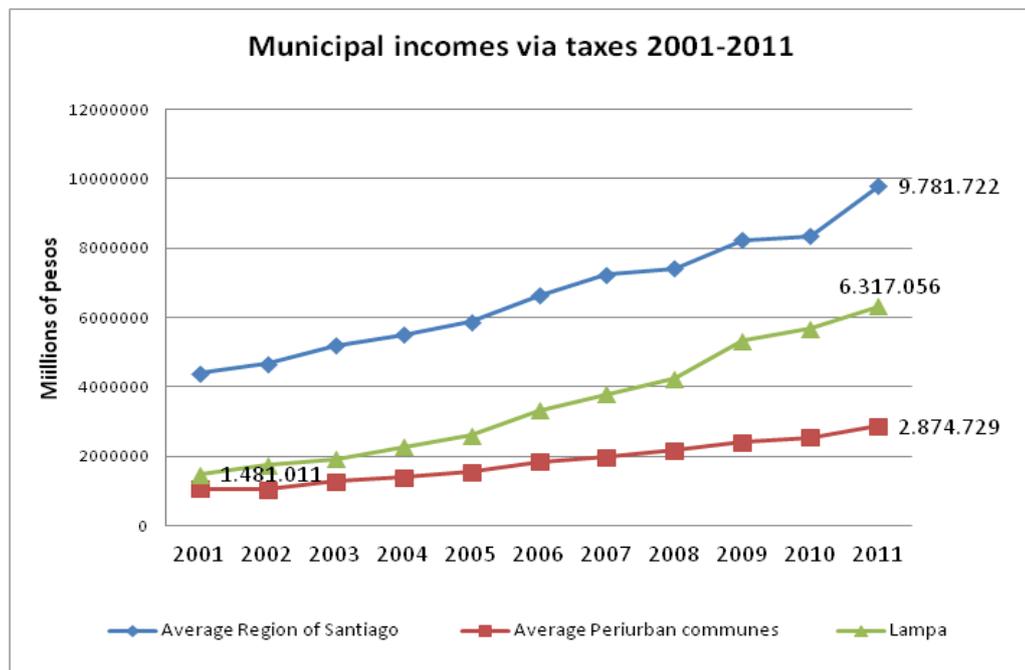
“There are self-organized neighborhoods. They are very demanding, they see us as the municipality. ... If they ask for something, we try to respond in a way that they feel supported by us. It is in our interest that people are happy, so they recommend live here to other families” (Urban administrator of the company, name withheld, Larapinta, September 2010)

The development of satellite towns administrated for a long period by companies creates an informal co-government assembly between the company and the municipality, with shared objectives of economic benefit. Based on the government classification of Pierre (2011, 67)¹⁴ it is possible to argue that the co-administration of satellite towns is based on a pro-growth model aimed towards mutual profit. On the one hand, local governments improve their local tax income from real estate activity and the immigration of middle-income residents (see Figure 12, page 105). On the other hand, companies need the alliances with the local government in order to maintain and increase their own profit margins. Even though this model represents a loss of political power, and less control of the territorial transformation for the municipalities, new towns are seen as attractive

¹⁴ Pierre (2011, 67) defined the pro-growth governance model as something in which everyone in the community benefits from, directly or indirectly. Hence there is very little opposition towards a governance arrangement to that purpose.

generators of local resources. The shared acceptance of this model is expressed by a local administrator: "...there are 1,500 million pesos in favor of the municipality that add to the municipal budget. So we see the cost-benefits." (Municipal administrator of Lampa, 2010.)

Figure 12. The urbanization of Lampa improved the tax collection for the municipality. It shows how Lampa became differentiated from the rest of peri-urban communes since 2002, the period when satellite towns were built. Source: Author's elaboration from data available in System of Information of Municipalities (SINIM).



What changed in Lampa since the 2000s is the role of local government in the local governance, from being the driver of urban development to being an actor among a set of agents with interest and power to transform the city. The fact that companies administrate satellite town's projects for almost twenty years has political impact at a local level. For the company Local urban policy is no longer seen exclusively as a field of public expenditure but also as key arena where companies should be integrated in order to maximize capitalization in satellite towns. Thus, the unique and hierarchical structure of urban policy is reorganized towards dynamic and multi-agent governance, with several centres of power and decision making, shared between companies, regional government and municipality. Instances to govern are no longer restricted to the public administration but reproduced in multiple scenarios – between the local government and a specific satellite

town administrator, local and regional government, satellite town administrator and regional government.

“I do not see co-government but rather a company, installed as a local government of a piece of land, which controls the urban design, and responds to local needs. Sometimes the relationship between us is based on solidarity and coordination; in other cases the relationship is less cooperative. ... I refuse this idea of co-government, it rather involves coordination. Valle Grande has tried this sort of co-government. They told me once: 'when you receive a building license, you have to notify us. And, before you give a building permission, you have to get the [population] densities and a drain water certificate from us'. But we said “Stop, the municipality is in command here” (Municipal administrator of Lampa, name withheld, September 2010).

But this process does not occur in a neutral or aseptic political setting. It is conditioned by the power representation of each institution. However, the relationship between these institutions shows asymmetries in terms of lobby and financial resources. Companies play a dominant role¹⁵ due to their capacity to improve municipal budgets, to attract middle income groups (payers of taxes), to modernize infrastructure, and to change the commune's image on the real estate market.

“We work with a municipality of poor resources [Lampa], without the competent professionals ... [For us it] is tedious because we must assume extra tasks in order to help them. The superior role is on our part because we want the project to happen and because we see that they do not have the means ... Conditioned urban development is associated with municipalities with low economic resources, very small municipalities. This came with a huge responsibility from one day to the next (Administrator of Valle Grande, name withheld, September 2010).

“The municipality rests on us with regard to the maintenance of green areas, street cleaning, street lighting. - They begin to ask for other things too but there is a limit:

¹⁵ Along this line, Rodriguez and Winchester (1997, in Orellana 2008, 115) pointed out that Chilean municipalities are seen as “weak institutions, with few economic, political and ideological power, limited in their autonomy, authority, legitimacy, and management capacity”.

'we are not a "saco sin fondo" [bag without bottom]. Now we are projecting an automatic irrigation system [for the maintenance of green area], all financed by the company regardless of that this is not our responsibility" (Satellite town administrator of Larapinta, name withheld, 2010).

Companies present their local counterpart (municipality) as inefficient and budget-limited institutions that, in all likelihood, will once be replaced by private and modern city management. The architecture of the normative allows that companies may transfer the administration to local governments. The companies' promoters sell satellite towns as a vision of a persisting settlement exalting in the image of being a long-term local government with public sensibility. However, their responsibility as administrators will only be advertised as long as they are not affected by a slump-boom cycle. What happens when the profit margins decrease? This situation is explicitly addressed in the following statement of a company administrator:

"But if something really negative happens, if the project does not sell anymore, who will take final responsibility for all these people who live here? ... the municipality. Who will collect the garbage, will maintain street lighting? ... Finally, it should be transferred to the municipality" (Administrator of Valle Grande, name withheld, September 2010)

Who is responsible in the end to keep up the standards of maintaining artificial lagoons and large parks in a satellite city? Beyond the slogan of public responsibility there prevails in the company a notion of satellite towns as being business projects with a limited schedule. The high residential standards in satellite towns offered by the company provide an opportunity of superior urbanity for middle income groups but at the same time they present a precarious mode of urbanization due to transfer of future costs of administration to local governments. Santiago began with the development of mega-projects led by holdings a cycle of public-private govern assemblies. Satellite towns have changed the local urban policy of Lampa which does no longer maintain the monopoly of territorial administration, but shares power quotes and responsibilities with real estate holdings. This produces a local governance readjustment from a singular and rigid public administration to a dynamic multi-agent co-government between municipality and holdings (see Photo 16, page 108). From this scenario, local governance requires technical instruments to encourage a public-private partnership that secures the territorial and

social coherence in issues like service management or negotiations with regional governments.

Photo 16. Urban administration of Valle Grande. In order to attend to the demands of the community the company instated the person of a project administrator. Source: Valle Grande S.A



6.2 Social housing estates in Lampa, a periurban expansion led by the central-regional State.

Over the last few decades, Santiago's urban development has been characterized by an intensive increase in public housing as a private urban investment. Historically, Chilean governments have considered housing policy as the center of their welfare programs¹⁶. As it was analyzed in the chapter N°4 the urban development of Santiago during the XX century was highly configured by social housing programs. From the thirties to sixties the central government produced housing areas in order to satisfy a growing demand produced by the intensive rural-urban migration of these decades. Further, the period of

¹⁶ Policies and programs, such as *Consejo de Habitaciones Obreras* (1906), *Consejo de Bienestar Social* (1925), *Caja de Habitación Popular* (1936), *Corporación de Vivienda* (1952), *Programa Nacional de Vivienda Ministerio de Vivienda y Urbanismo* (1960s), *Comités Habitacionales Comunes* (1974), *Programa de Vivienda Básica* (1978), and *Programa de Erradicación de Campamentos* (1979), constituted examples of the historically central role of housings in the macro strategy of development in Chile.

post dictatorship represents one of the most intensive years of social housing production. Between 1992 and 2002 were built 1.270.000 social housing units the deficit was reduced to only 242.000 units (Ravinet 2004 in Hidalgo et al. 2007). This was a urbanization process mainly concentrated on peripheral communes of the Gran Santiago (Maipú, Cerrillos, San Bernardo and Puente Alto). Since approximately the year 2000 social housing began a new phase.

But the regional housing office did not only develop social housing in plots inside the consolidated urban unity, but they were also built as estates in peri-urban communes. (see Figure 13, page 110). This process received official legitimation when, in 2003, the regional State allowed to build houses below 1.000 UF (32.054 Euros, i.e. the segment of social housing) anywhere in the region through the article N° 55 of the General Law on Urban Planning and Construction. Between 2002 and 2010, 35% of building licenses of houses with less than 50 m² in size (social housing segment) were concentrated on peri-urban communes. This figure amounts to 49.3% of the total of all licenses in the same period for the entire region. The number of building licenses for social houses issued between 2002 and 2010 was highest in the peri-urban territory of Colina (23%). Buin was second (14%) and 8% were shared between Talagante and Peñaflor. Tokman (2006, 518) pointed out that in 2001 85% of the plot purchases by the regional state were in three peri-urban communes (Lampa, Buin and Paine).

*“This [Social Housing Programs] has entered into a new stage... it is related to the building of social housing in peri-urban or ruri-urban spaces. In other words, in metropolitan areas of Chile, social housing has little chance of being built inside the urban unity. But, social housing is clearly built in spaces far away from the established border, both on rural land, as well as in minor settlements” * (Hidalgo, 2007)*

Tokman (2006, 518) pointed out that in 2001 85% of the plot purchases by the regional state were in three peri-urban communes (Lampa, Buin and Paine). This process is explained by the limited budget of housing subsidy per family, in the context of growing land-prices, where buying low-value agriculture plots in the peri-urban communes of the metropolitan region of Santiago was simply the cheaper. Therefore, social housing is concentrated mainly in peripheral or peri-urban communes where land prices make the subsidy per family more competitive. The location of social housing programs in periurban

communes can also be seen in the increasing average distance of social housing plots to the city's centers and subcenters. The distance between social housing projects and the traditional center of Santiago (Plaza Italia) grew from 20.8 km in 1994 to 28.1 km in 2004 (Brain and Sabatini 2006, 23).

Map 14. Box plot of the number of building licenses for houses (not apartments) with an area of smaller than 50 m² from 2002-2010 in the metropolitan region of Santiago. In yellow: San Bernardo, Puente Alto, Maipú, Buin, Colina and Melipilla, the last three peri-urban communes. Source: Author's elaboration from data about housing licenses available in Observatorio Habitacional MINVU.

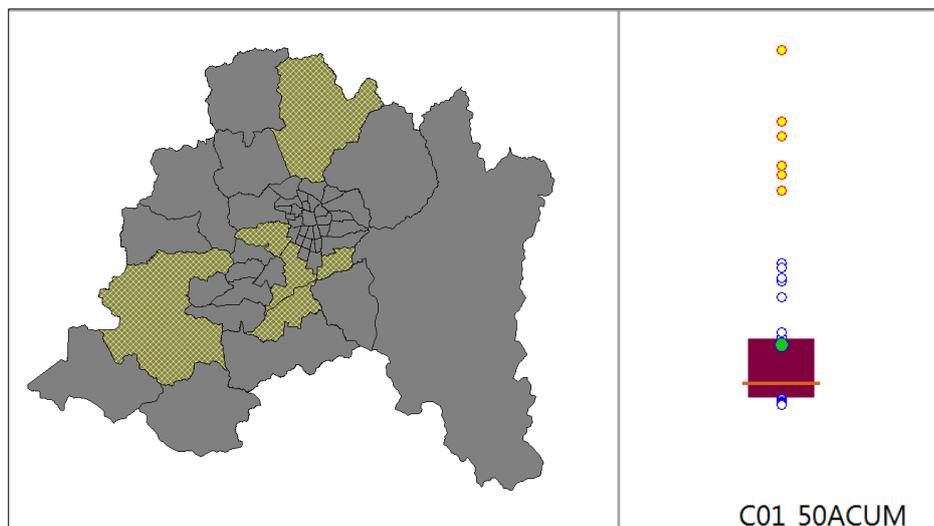
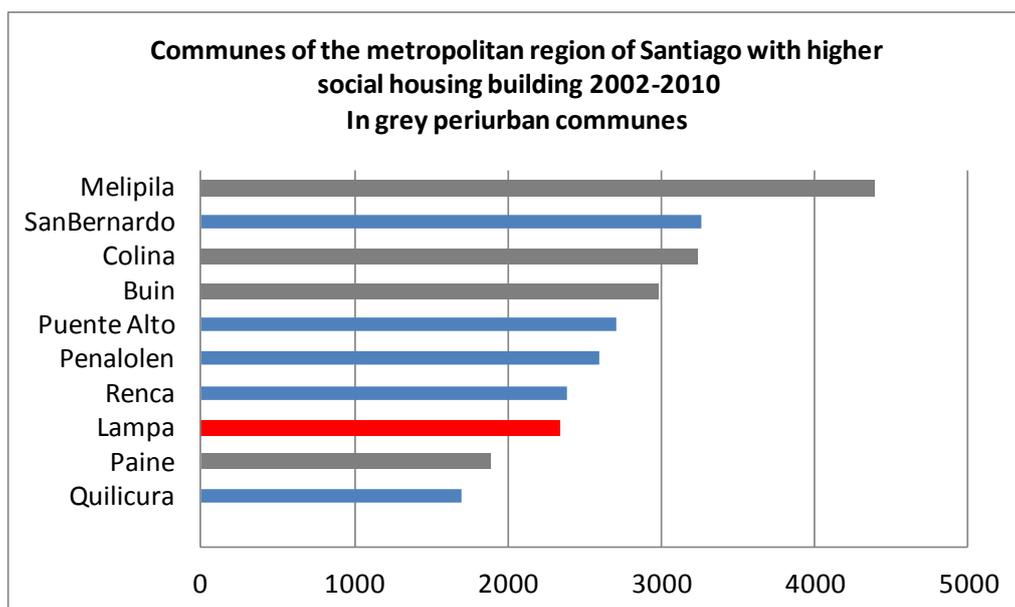
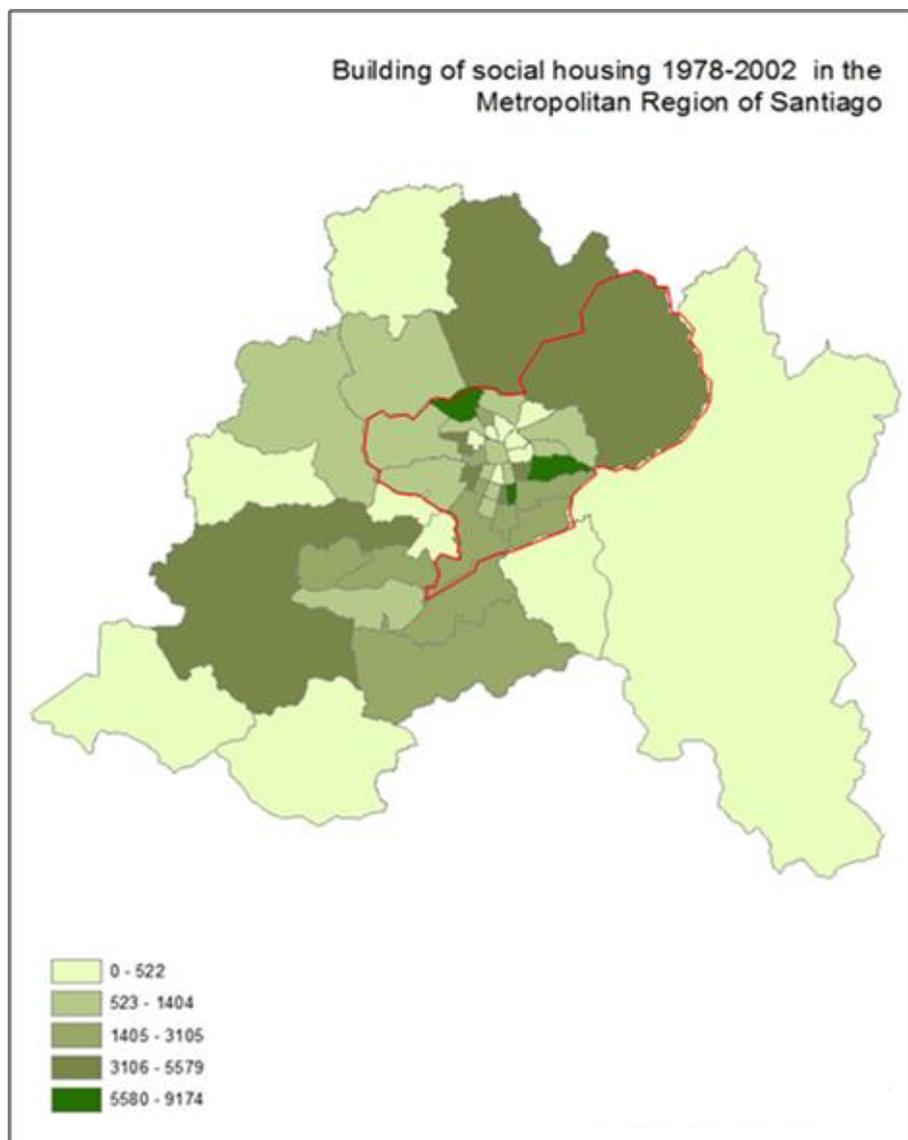


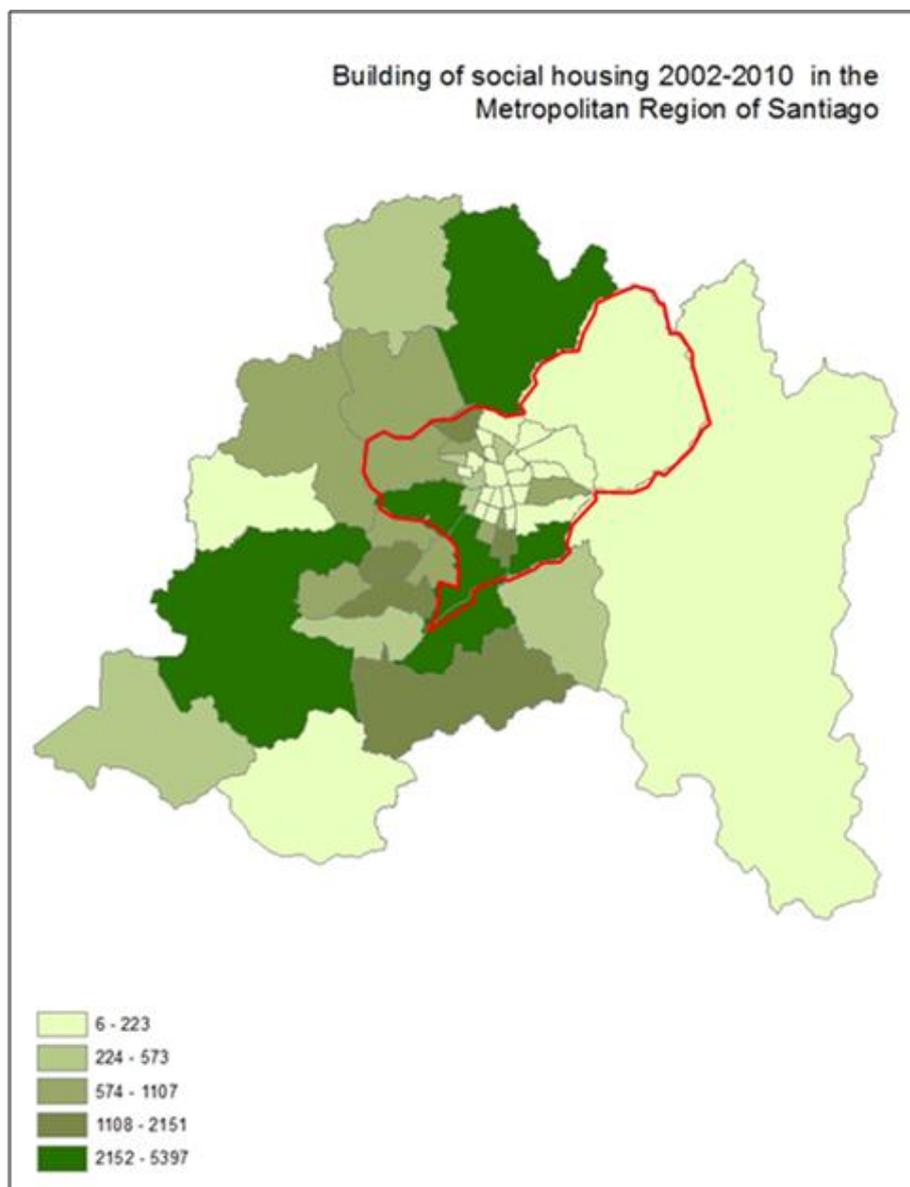
Figure 13. The 10 communes with the highest social housing production in the metropolitan region of Santiago. Source: Author's elaboration from data available in Observatorio Habitacional MINVU.



Map 15. Building of social housing in the period 1978-2002 (Red line indicates the boundary between the consolidated city “Gran Santiago” and periurban communes.). Source: Author’s elaboration from data available in Observatorio Habitacional MINVU.



Map 16. Building of social housing in the period 2002-2010 (Red line indicates the boundary between the consolidated city “Gran Santiago” and periurban communes.). Source: Author’s elaboration from data available in Observatorio Habitacional MINVU.



6.2.1 Planning principles and administration of the social housing projects of Isabel Riquelme and El Pellín in Lampa.

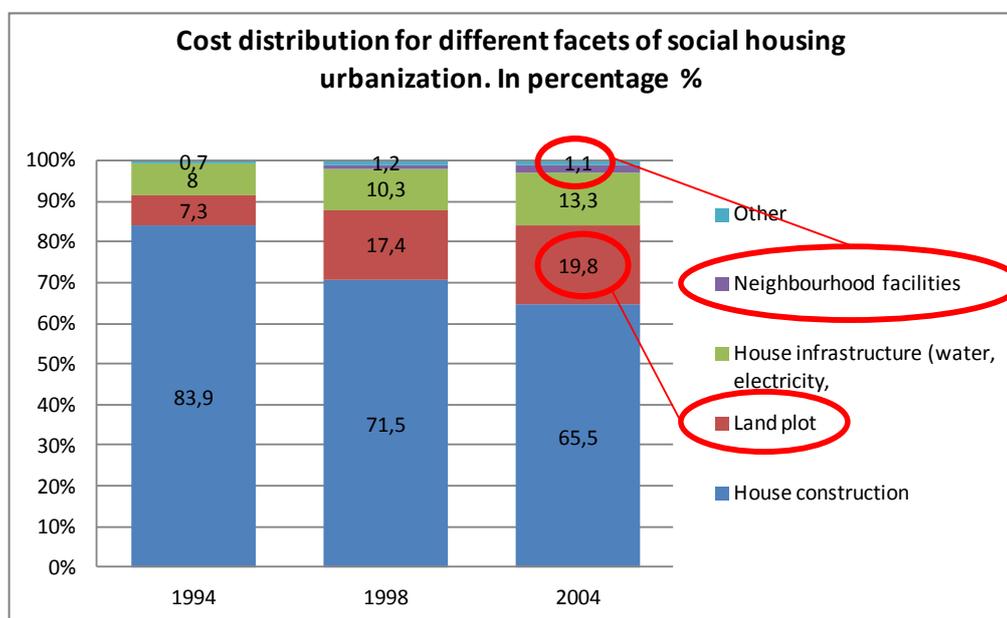
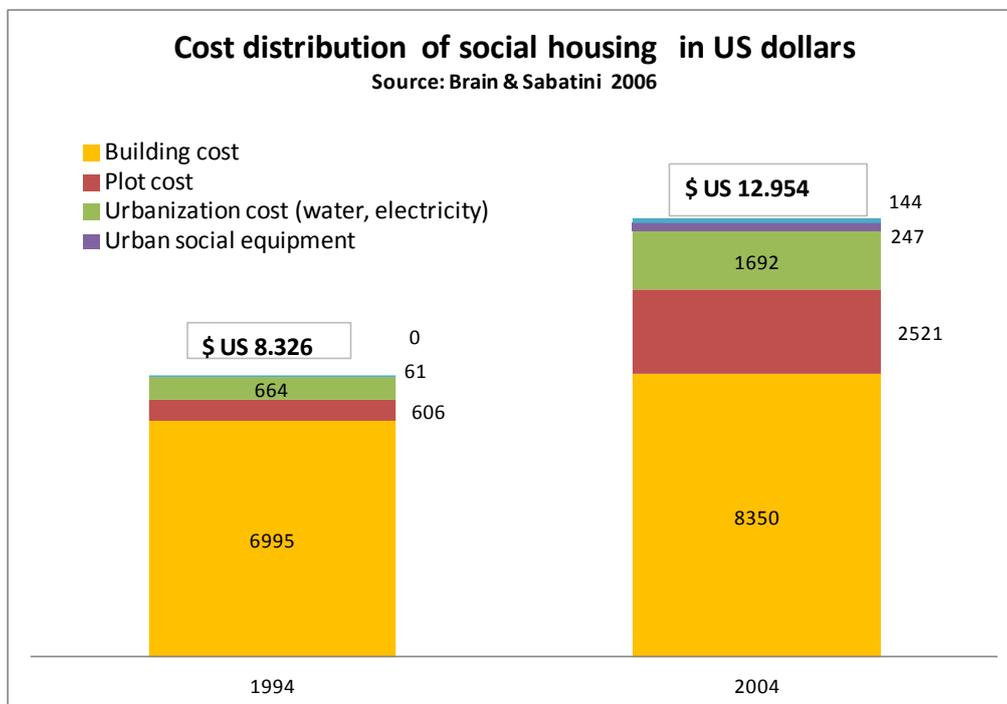
In parallel with the creation of satellite towns, the recent urbanization of Lampa is defined by the building of social housing urbanizations as the case of the Villa El Pellín and Isabel Riquelme. The Villa El Pellín is composed by approximately 2,100 people coming from the Santiago's communes of Huechuraba, Lo Espejo, Macul, San Ramón, Lo Prado, Recoleta (among others), and families who lived in a slum located in the *Cerro San Cristobal* (a hill located in the central commune of Santiago). The social housing project called Isabel Riquelme hosts approximately 3.500 people who come from inner communes of Santiago such as San Joaquín, Quinta Norma, Lo Espejo, Renca or Santiago. The buildings of these communities were part of housing programs financed and administrated by the regional government but built by private building companies.

In order to understand the government model behind the administration of social housing estates, it is necessary to identify actors and programs for these residential areas. Social housing policy operates in Chile via a system called "llave en mano" (key in hand). In this system, a builder's company administers a limited budget composed of the sum of family housing subsidies, provided by the regional Office of Housing and Urban Development. This is a standardized process of social housing production, where the regional office or municipality contacts a building company that plans and builds the housing project. The company maintains responsibility throughout the entire urbanization process: purchase of plots, completion of legal procedures, development of urban infrastructure, and construction of housing. According to Galetovic and Jordán (2006, 39), the housing ministry's building logic is similar to the logic employed by real estate companies: To build a large number of houses with the smallest possible budget.

Social housing estates are clear expressions of an urban habitat with a concept implemented by the State (central-regional). To understand the quality of homes and facilities in the studied communities, it is necessary to analyze the following mechanism of financing and administration e.i. the subsidy distribution on a cost per house, investment by municipalities in urban infrastructure, and investment of sectorial ministries in social housing estates. First, in the case of the subsidy distribution on a cost per house, Sabatini and Brain (2006, 18) states that the cost distribution for social housing in the period 2003-2004 revealed that 20% were used for the land purchase, 64% for construction, 13% for

urbanization infrastructure (water, sewage, electricity), 1% for other costs (administration), and only 1,9% went into neighborhood facilities (see Figure 15, page 115). In the period 2003-2004, when Villa El Pellin and Isabel Riquelme were urbanized, social houses were built with a size standard of 37 m² (in 2012 the size had increased to 47.1 m²). The analysis of cost distribution shows that in ten years the cost per unit of homes grew by 4,410 US dollars (from 8,333 in 1994 to 12,752 in 2004). Also the percentage of subsidy necessary to cover the cost of soil increased from 7.3% to 19.9%. The relative costs for construction decreased from 83.9% to 65.5% in the same period. The figures also show how the percentage used for neighborhood facilities (social, recreational) rose from almost zero in 1994 to 1.9% of the whole subsidy in 2004 (which corresponds to 247 dollars). These data are important because they reflect the low investments assigned to neighborhood facilities in each subsidy. (see Figure 14 and 15, page 115)

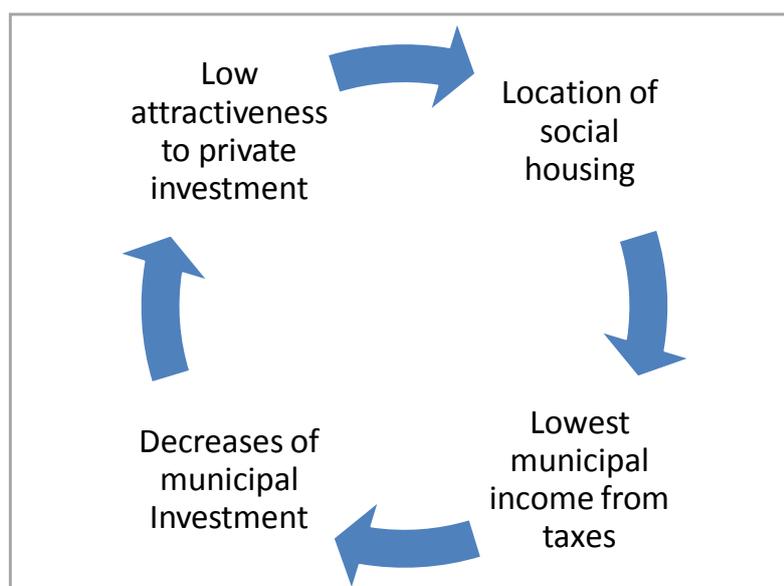
Figure 14 and 15. Cost distribution of the subsidy budget for different facets of social housing urbanization. Numbers are given in US\$ per average house unit. Source: Self elaboration from data available in Sabatini and Brain 2006



In a second level, the quality of neighborhood infrastructure in social housing estates of Lampa is linked directly with the financial and technical instruments available for local and regional government, to the management of these areas. The Chilean welfare system is

characterized by the transfer of services maintenance from the central state to local governments. The political reforms occurred in Chile 1976 and 1989 tended to increase the range of municipal competences, and to multiply responsibilities and resources. (CIEPLAN, 1989) This reform appears highly relevant to understand the quality of Social housing estates because it redraws the role play by local governments in Social residential areas. New tasks exclusively attributed to the municipalities according to this new governance arrangement are (1) the application of the urban construction regulation, (2) the elaboration of a communal regulator plan, (3) elaboration of a communal development plan (economic and social aims) (3) the provision of health attention and primary and secondary education (4) cleaning and lighting of streets, and (5) creation and maintenance of green areas. These new roles were defined in a Constitutional Law of Municipalities (*Ley Orgánica Constitucional de Municipalidades*) which established that municipalities become autonomous corporations with their own patrimony and also the responsibility to satisfy the requirements of the local community. These reforms also defined shared functions and responsibilities between the municipality and regional public agencies like cultural institutions such as libraries and internet centers, sports infrastructure, public transport, social housing programs, among others. Consequently, the neighborhood governance in social housing estates regarding the responsibilities for delivering infrastructure and services appears highly fragmented.

Figure 16. Stagnation cycle in communes with high location of social housing. Source: César Cáceres.



The ability of municipalities to invest into urban infrastructure in less wealthy urban areas depends on three sources: tax collection, direct investment by the central government, and assignments from a municipal common fund (a public investment program created for the purposes of territorial compensation). The most important financial source is the taxes collected from inhabitants and economic activities. There are four kinds of taxes: for property, commercial registration, car permits, and municipal permits, where property taxes being the most important. In the case of Lampa, tax collection grew by 295.8% from 1,341,980 to 5,308,102 million pesos between 2002 and 2011, which is the consequence of the private urban development. The tax collection generated a lower dependency on the Municipal Common Fund which was reduced by 41% between 1999 and 2009. However, under the Chilean tax system, houses under 26.000 dollars are exempt from paying of a house tax called “territorial tax” (social housing segment). This concerns an estimated 67% of houses in Chile (Bernstein and Inostroza 2010, 274)¹⁷. An economic stagnation circle (Fig. 16, page 117) arises. Communes with a high concentration of low-income groups collect less revenue from taxes. This decreases their ability to invest in urban infrastructure which makes them less attractive for the immigration of middle or high income groups who are payers of taxes.

“...[the State] is building a lot of social housing [in Lampa], but we oppose social housing. To us, they are a big backpack. These houses are exempt from local tax collection for ten years. In the eleventh year, they only pay taxes for garbage collection, maintenance of green areas, street lighting, and other local services ...”
(Administrator of the Municipality of Lampa, name withheld, September 2010).

Municipal budget differences are partially leveled out via the Municipal common Fund which is a redistributive mechanism administrated by the Central State. Each municipality receives an annual budget according to a complicated distribution mechanism¹⁸. This fund

¹⁷ Data provided by Orellana (2008, 122) reveal that the municipal taxes vary from 150.000 pesos per-capita/per year in Santiago’s eastern municipalities, to 70.000 pesos in Santiago’s western communes.

¹⁸ (1) 10% in equal amounts for each communes; (2) 10% depending of the number of population below the poverty limit of the commune; (3) 15% depending of the commune population; (4) 30% according to the number of houses exempt from the territorial tax; (5) 35% depending on the own municipal income (surplus above 40% of the territorial tax, surplus above 50% of car taxes, and commercial licenses).

receives money by a mechanism where municipalities contribute to 60% of the territorial tax and 50% of the vehicles taxes, as well as of a special contribution assigned to the richest communes (55% from Santiago and 65% from Providencia, Las Condes and Vitacura)¹⁹ from the payment for commercial licenses. Additionally, the central State provides another amount out of the national annual budget. With this system the Central Government redistributes \$ 550 million per year to the communes. On the receiving end, assignation of 90% of the fund to the communes is re-evaluated every three years, 10% are distributed depending on indicators of good public management or for situations of emergency (such as in the case of the earthquakes in 2010). An average of 50% of the municipal incomes comes from this fund and in low income communes it may reach 70% of the budget (Fernandez and Serrano 2004, 14). In the case of Lampa the dependency on the Municipal common Fund showed a gradually decreasing tendency during the last decade (Fig. 16).

“They [social housing inhabitants] need green areas, but the municipality has financial problems to maintain green areas. Thus, when a project is concluded these areas are dry in a short time because we have no means to maintain them”
(Administrator of the Municipality of Lampa, name withheld, September 2010).

The municipality of Lampa is the commune with the eight-highest building rate of social housing estates in the period 2002-2010. The intensive development of social housing has a direct effect on the financial budget of the municipality. However, this is a process over which the local government has no control. There is little chance that municipalities have an impact on central or regional government decisions in Chilean urban legislation, but the ability of the central government to interfere is high. Data which give an example of the vertical organization of the public administration in Chile are that the transference of financial resources from central to local government represented an average of only 6.1% of the whole central government budget in 2007. However the OECD²⁰ recommends that for a suitable local administration such a transfer should be between 20 and 30% of the whole central budget.

¹⁹ The four communes with the highest income of Chile

²⁰ Organization for economic Co-operation and Development

The political reforms during the eighties established a particular relationship between the central government and municipalities. Under the slogan of the “new public management” local governments shape their action on the city conditioned by a combination of autonomy and subordination. Autonomy because the Law of municipalities transferred (N° 18.695) responsibilities to municipalities in issues such as education, health or recreational facilities and subordination because financial tools necessary to guide the urban development of Lampa are conditioned according to transfer criteria defined by the central government or the dependence on funds. Local governments only could improve their management if the public administration acquired a more decentralized structure. The paradox of the autonomy of Chilean local governments like Lampa is, however, that the central State transferred the role of administration of residential areas during the eighties without transferring suitable financial tools to secure minimum standards of livability. As Jordán and Simioni (2003, 72) put it: *“the transfer of responsibilities to local levels of government has not been accompanied by an appropriate transfer of financial resources, the strengthening of technical capacities, and instrumental or effective power delegation to municipalities”*.

“...the municipality has no income - only costs, we must maintain the streets, squares, and pay the street lighting. These projects [social housings] use our health equipment, it was initially projected for 1 000 inhabitants but now 3 000 people attend. So, there is an extra expenditure for municipal services. We must enlarge our health post, to contract more professionals. And every time more people come to the municipality to ask for things” (Administrator of the Municipality of Lampa, name withheld, September 2010).

An analysis of the different mechanisms of financing neighborhood infrastructure in social housing estates allows to state that municipalities are passive receptors of welfare programs rather than active agents of their own development. The transfer of responsibilities and resources to the municipality of Lampa is characterized by a vertical power relation. According to Sierra (2006, 301) the Chilean urban regulation is vertical, *“heavily centralized and confused in institutional terms”*. This is evident, for instance, in the fact that the development of social housing, even though having a tremendous impact on the municipalities, is a process where local governments are not consulted.

“...They did not consult us, neither in the definition of zones of conditions for urbanization, nor in the decision of social building projects, even with the road mitigations, and we wrote enough letters to the Department of public works to include us, because we were the ones mainly affected by the road. But even so, the local government was never involved in the local decision making process” (Municipal administrator of Lampa, name withheld, September 2010).

A third variable (subsidy restrictions, limited financial tools for municipalities) affecting the quality of social housing areas relates to an uncoordinated investment of sectorial ministries delivering social programs in the city. Once the social housing estate is built, the maintenance of these areas goes over into a blurred governance model where no regional governments decentralize social programs, nor local governments has financial tools for further investments. The highly dispersion of social programs (recycling containers, libraries, culture activities, internet access, kindergarten, recreation facilities etc.) between the municipality and regional ministries produces that these are not coordinately delivering at a neighborhood scale (see Map 17-18, page 121). No conception of comprehensive community design is apparent. This lack of criteria related to the suitable scale of how social programs should be delivered (e. g. neighborhood, commune) exerts a direct effect on the functionality and livability of these residential areas. As the infrastructure quality in Chilean cities is highly sensible to the tax income, the weak transfer of resources from the central State and the lack of financial resources for urban management instruments cause situations of financial shortage in the municipalities regarding the building and maintenance of neighborhood infrastructure in public residential areas. The Ministry of Housing (MINVU 2008) diagnosed a pending problem in the re-definition of urban government scales:

“When only operated by the soil market, social housing can be only built in low-price territories, which tend to be the territories farther away [from urban centers], which are polluted, and lack services. When social housing arrives, the soil prices remain low, which encourages the arrival of more similar projects. On the other hand, municipalities that receive social housing lack of resources because social housings are exempt of local tax payment, which do not allow to invest in infrastructure and equipment “ (Memory, Metropolitan plan of Santiago 2008, 11)

Map 17. Land use composition of the social housing project Isabel Riquelme.

Source: César Cáceres



Map 18. Land use composition of the social housing project El Pellín. Source: César Cáceres



The technical and financial limitations of the social housing design could be corrected via the action of a communal regulator plan. Lampa still has no local urban plan although it is already in design. But, even if a communal regulator plan should exist, this instrument shows strong limitations with respect to improving urban quality in low-income areas because they norm physical aspects of the city such as density and constructability

coefficients, but, they do not include a financial mechanism to carry out investment on neighbourhood facilities. Consequently, communal regulator plans are unable to distribute urban values such as green areas, sport or cultural facilities, irrespective of the socioeconomic status of area. In urban areas or communes where the almost only investor is the central State with its housing policy²¹, current urban tools are ineffective. Poduje (2006, 236) explains the weak effectiveness of local urban instruments to improve livability conditions in social housing areas:

“Urban planning, as applied in Chile, is in fact only the regulation of the physical characteristics of private investments in the city, land use norms, building typology, and density or height [of buildings]. These regulations are effective in communes with real estate attraction, such as Providencia, La Florida or Las Condes, ... But physical regulation is almost irrelevant in communes where there is no major real estate activity, because they are not commercially attractive. The physical rules regulate anything when there are no investments”.

Considering that (1) only a little part of the family subsidy is used on neighbourhood infrastructure, (2) investment of ministries programs is uncoordinated, (3) financial resources from the communal regulator plan are not included, and (4) direct transfer of resources from the central to local State is insufficient, the almost only mechanism available to municipalities to improve neighbourhood facilities in social housing areas is via a logic of vouchers. Asked about the availability of planning instruments in Lampa that could improve the quality of the facilities in social housing estates, the municipal administrator of Lampa stated that one of the available financial instruments come from the *“Urban improvement program”* (Programa de mejoramiento urbano PMU) controlled by the Regional Government. He explains this urban tool:

“There is a fund that gives about fifty millions pesos to finance sports facilities, green areas, etc. But the annual budget is controlled by the Regional government. Therefore there is competition between municipalities, and the municipality with highest political affinity to the Government usually wins” (Municipal administrator of Lampa, name withheld, September 2010).

²¹ In 2013, the Santiago’s communes of Lo Espejo, La Pintana, Pedro Aguirre Cerda, Lo Prado and Cerro Navia registered complete absence of private investments; recent urban development is explained only by public urban programs

This access condition to basic urban attributes in residential areas suggests to introduce a competitive model of “liveability via vouchers” where the development of recreational and social infrastructure in neighbourhoods no longer depends on socioeconomic criteria, but is only accessible through applications for fund money. Social programs with high impact on liveability lose importance because they are independent of basic social policy in municipalities. As Santiago lacks a major metropolitan authority that can overcome infrastructure inequalities between communes or areas the city resembles a conglomerate of municipalities struggling for the access to resources from a central budget. With the model of vouchers the central State but it transfers the responsibility for the access to livability in residential areas to the municipality.

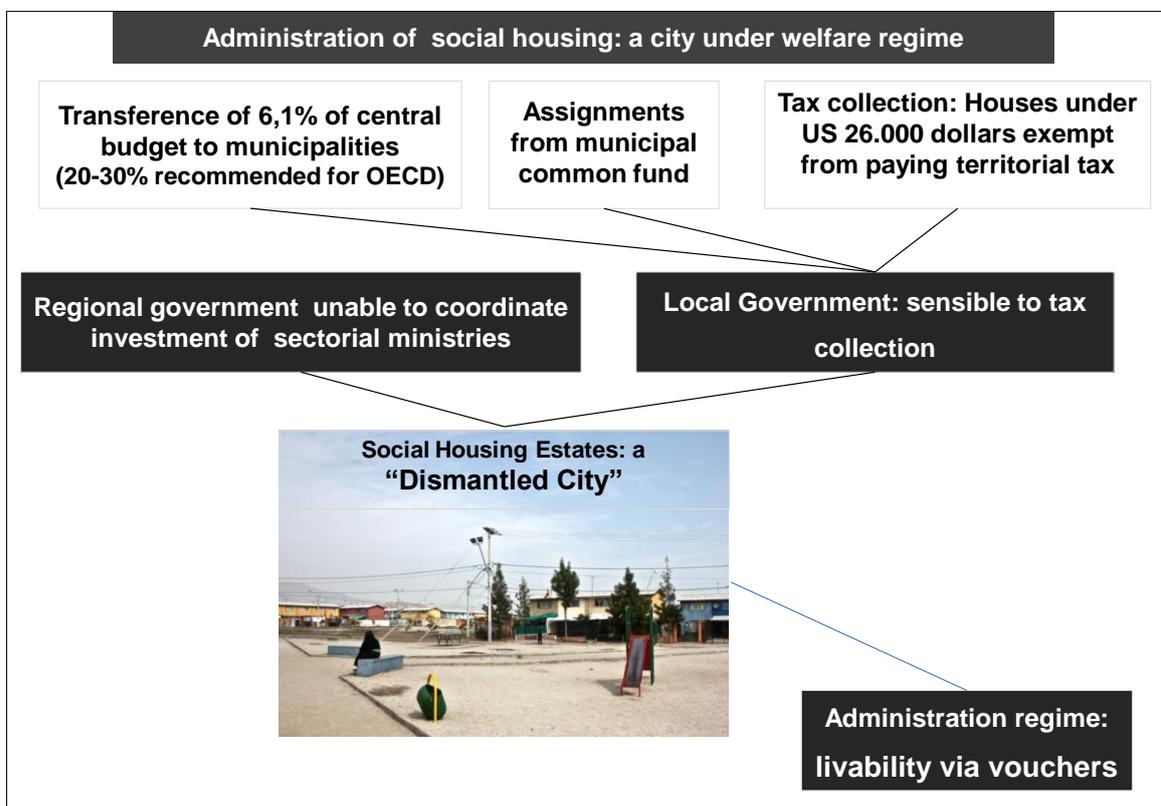
“This (metropolitan) growth would not be problematic if roads, schools and services were provided together with houses. However, in many cases this has not happened. In several communes of Gran Santiago, the urban growth has been faster than the capacity of public and private sectors to deliver infrastructure and services” (Memory of the Metropolitan Plan of Santiago 2008. MINVU, 44)

The normative ruling the facility development in social housing urbanization lies in the Metropolitan Plan of Santiago of 1994, but the fulfillment of standards lacks an external agency with the control over the maintenance of standards. The local government plays both roles - it has to invest in these areas but it is also the auditor. The regional housing office of Santiago (SERVIU) solely maintains responsibility for finance and administration of housing subsidies but there is no additional money to provide recreational and social facilities for social housing estates. Neither of the sectorial regional offices coordinates their programs, with local governments to equip these residential areas both, at the local and the neighborhood level. (see Figure 17, page 125). Social housing estates show a central problematic on how social policies are organized in the city, an uncoordinated action of social housing programs and implementation of social programs such as child care centers, sport infrastructure, public libraries, internet centers, recycling facilities, among others. Although the State (central-regional-local) remains the unique urbanization force it does not guarantee a coordinated implementation of social programs.

Table 5. Standard of equipment for urbanization plots. Normative established in the Metropolitan Plan of Santiago 1994. Source: Author's elaboration from the Metropolitan Plan of Santiago 1994.

Standards of equipment of urbanization plots			
Article 5.3.1 Ordinance of Metropolitan Plan of Santiago			
Type of equipment		Population section	Plot (m ² /ha b.)
Health	Outpatient center (<i>centro ambulatorio</i>)	40 000	0.020
	Health post	40 000	0.020
	Medical practice or office (<i>Consultorio</i>)	20 000	0.060
Education	Special Education (students with special needs)	20 000	0.14
	Technical secondary school	20 000	0.14
	Secondary school	5 000	0.35
	Primary school	3 000	0.75
Security	Police	10 000	-
	Fire station	10 000	-
Green Areas	Park (> 4 hectares)	20 000	-
	Neighborhood square (> 0,8 Hectare)	2 000	-
Sports	Gym	10 000	0,30
	Football court	10 000	0,80
	Multipurpose court	5 000	0,12
Services	Local services center	20 000	0,08

Figure 17. Administration of social housing estates. The lack of coordination between regional and local public bodies and even more so the insufficient financial tools of municipalities create a scenario where the liveability in these areas depends on bidding funds controlled by the regional housing office. Source: César Cáceres.



Although the effectiveness of many social policies depends on the proximity to the user, culture, sport, environmental policies lack consideration of neighbourhood's implementation. Urban policy is just a sum of a number of programs and policies that are dispersed among several sectorial ministries and local governments. There exist a regional policy of sports but lack of direct investment on residential areas, there exist national plan to promote reading but not neighborhood libraries are developed. Apart from the assignment of a budget to the individual social housing projects, the regional government is not further involved in the construction and design of social housing estates. The latter are handed over to the construction companies who apply the standardized urban design where the social and recreational facilities are limited by the budget. This lack of consideration of the neighbourhood as key unit for the delivering of social programs is identified as a problem from the municipality of Lampa:

“There is no transfer of regional public programs or infrastructure onto the neighborhood scale... the social housing neighborhood is just a sector with houses...”(Municipal administrator of Lampa, name withheld, September 2010).

Photo 17. Project of social housing in Lampa. Social housing estates remind of large mono-cultures composed of standardized homes that impoverish the social and functional significance of the neighborhood unit. Source César Cáceres



If a well-designed habitat contains a complete set of basic urban services, social housing areas resemble a “*dismantled city*” because they lack a system of civic-economic centers to meet daily needs (socialization, consume, mobility, leisure, culture). Social housing estates remind of large mono-cultures composed of standardized homes that impoverish the social and functional significance of the neighborhood unit. The urban design standards applied in social housing neighborhoods remain a structure of semi-attached houses in uniform passages. A plot consists of a number of these passages combined with a small playground, but lacking cultural, commercial and sport facilities. In their neighbourhood design Villa El Pellin and Isabel Riquelme constitute a macro urban structure characterized by urban areas developed without a decentralized system of civic and economic facilities, such as health and education facilities, commerce, public services, green areas and parks, sport and cultural infrastructure, a territory that in its organization of everyday life has impoverished the significance of the immediate environment (see Photo 18, page 127). Using Muñoz’ (2008) term, this is *banal urbanism* because the residential space is reduced to the most basic of components: the house. As

consequence of the low urban quality and social problematic associated social housing estates do not produce added value in houses, hence, does not facilitates the social mobility for low-income families. The problem of the housing policy is that by its fight against poverty it increased social inequality in the city.

Photo 18. Sport facilities in Villa Isabel Riquelme. Social housing areas resemble a “*dismantled city*” because they lack a system of civic-economic infrastructure able to meet basic daily needs. Source César Cáceres



6.3 Lampa between two projects. Political roots of the asymmetric residential model

Literature describes a global process of a shift of urban policy from welfare-led government to pro-economic or pro-entrepreneurial models of governance with a growing participation of economic groups in urban development (Hubbard 1996; Harvey 1989). On this background, the urban development of Lampa provides empirical evidence which render the understanding of current political changes even more complex. Empirical findings in Lampa shows that rather than following the substitution of a pro-welfare growth model by pro-economic local governance, it is characterized by the simultaneous coexistence of both agendas. Using Pierre's governance model classification (2011), it can be stated here that Lampas urban policy uses, on the one hand, a pro-welfare governance model with programs and services carried out for the regional government, sectorial ministries and municipalities. It exhibits a vertical power relation where the regional government transfers the responsibilities to the local administration which is merely a passive receptor of the welfare programs, and has few possibilities to influence details of the budget or modalities for the execution of social programs. On the other hand, a pro-growth governance model is carried out in public-entrepreneurial coalitions between local government and real-estate holdings to manage satellite towns. Local administrations establish a pragmatic partnership with the company which instead of producing a rupture in the local policy installs a governance assembly that survives due to the shared goals of economic benefits. Under the aspects of the recent urban development the urban policy of Lampa can no longer be analyzed alone on the basis of the notion that a local government administers its communal territory. Governing is no longer restricted to public administration but reproduced on multiple levels – between the local government and a specific satellite town administrator, local and regional government, satellite town administrator and regional government.

The different aims and procedures of these two governance modes do not present a conflict to the administration of Lampa because the two cities are administered with separate scopes. The coexistence of urban projects explain the fragmented residential landscapes of Lampa because each governance model implies differentiated aims, principles, tools, normative, actors, and target-inhabitants. The origin of the asymmetric residential model of Lampa should be viewed on two levels, from the aspect of planning principles and financial tools applied in the building of each project, and from the aspect of the available instruments for a constant management of these areas. The urban quality gap between the Corporate and peri-urbia of social housing is distinguishable in the

fundamentally differentiate treatment at the neighborhood scale. While satellite towns use a community design focused on the neighborhood concept, creating multi-functional settlements based on a set of recreational, social and commercial facilities, social housing suburbs are urbanizations designed with the focus on housing, thus creating communities based on the standardized production of semi-attached houses lacking recreational and social facilities. Lampa in its recent urbanization process emerges as a more socially heterogeneous city due to the arrival of middle-income groups to a commune traditionally composed by low-income groups (16,9% of population below the poverty line, year 2009). However, this emerging societal mixture does not involve higher levels of social integration because private and public projects are characterized by physical and material differentiation which avoids the integration between groups of residents.

Planning approaches used by companies in satellite towns encourage the creation of mix-use settlements where housing is articulated by recreational spaces and social services like commerce, health and schools are in close distance. The conditioned urban normative, ruling these settlements, attributes to the company the responsibility to design and administer the multifunctional neighborhood units and to condition its development according to the fulfillment of facility standards in each urbanization phase. By contrast, social housing villas in Lampa are designed under a community concept of standardized repetition of semi-attached houses without proper neighborhood facilities. It gives priority to intensive house production (to reduce the existing housing deficit) rather than to the establishment of multifunctional urban areas. Social housing areas suffer from an urban planning under the uncoordinated investment by the ministries and the lack of financial tools of local governments. The territorial scattering of mega-projects such as satellite towns or peripheral malls on the borders of Santiago creates a notion of Santiago as a decentralized metropolis, where unequal distribution of services between urban areas is overcome via a reticular and multi-nodal metropolitan organization. However, what is visible in the urbanization of Lampa is that this scattering of health, leisure, commerce, etc. exists but remains concentrated in corporate urban nodes (strip center, regional mall and satellite towns). Hence, emerging landscapes are associated with a multi-functional suburbia or peri-urbia - called post suburbia (Fishman, 1987, Soja, 2000), whereas they coexist with a "fordist" or classical notion of the suburb that occurs almost exclusively via the spread of residential functions.

While real estate holdings should attract a highly demanding client and achieve a residential product that couples peri-urban settings with an urban life improvement, social housing estates are designed for a group of beneficiaries without alternatives in the private market and contain no incentive, whatsoever, for the builder companies to improve their product. Another factor acting on the origin of the quality asymmetry between the State and Corporate peri-urbia is the type of normative and the mechanism of controlling the fulfillment of standards. For satellite town companies the conditioned urban development normative (ZODUC; ADUC) requires the consequent accomplishment of standards, where the local government acts as an active and exigent inspector. In the case of social housing the accomplishment of standards established in the Metropolitan Plan of 1994 must be achieved by the same actor who is also the inspector: the municipality. This double function deprives social residences of a neighborhood management aimed to a constant improvement of infrastructure. However, both, the pro-economic as well as the welfare governance model constitute highly precarious administration models because they lack clear distribution of roles among the actors involved in community management, e.g. green areas maintenance, location of policy or fire station in satellite towns, non-location of social programs in social neighborhoods.

There are no communal urban plan able to overcome the urban quality gap between each residential model. Therefore, residential growth of the commune is merely reproduced via isolated residential projects of different livability and functionality. This is different from the description by Smith (1996, 77) who states that the uneven development in the metropolis lies in the relation between suburbs and the inner city. Although this pattern is also visible, the uneven developments of Santiago have been replicated in peri-urban communes and acquire a more flexible organization at the regional level. The lack of suitable planning tools to build comprehensive residential areas is identified as a problem since the fifties, but, urban quality gaps become stronger in the current scenario of metropolis development due to the sophisticated participation of privates in the residential market.

7. Exploring the residential gap from the perspective of the inhabitants: daily practices and urban life perception of inhabitants.

The following chapter analyzes the impact of the asymmetric residential model underlying the recent urbanization of Lampa in daily practices and life quality perception. The first section gives an insight into the biographies of residents, recreational practices are analyzed and neighborhood designs are evaluated. This is followed by a study of the daily access to consume, job, socialization, education, and health attention. The analysis was performed on the basis of 120 semi-structured interviews, conducted between 2010 and 2011, with residents of the satellite towns of Valle Grande and Larapinta and the social housing estates “El Pellin” and “Isabel Riquelme”. It was applied to sixty inhabitants of satellite towns and a similar number in social housing projects.

7.1 The exodus to peri-urban communities: different biographies of low and middle income peri-urbanites.

The composition of communities in the recent urbanization of Lampa is differentiated not only materially but also socially. The different socioeconomic level of groups implies dissimilar degrees of control of the location of their homes. Asked about their motivation for middle income groups to move in satellite towns, interviewed persons report that their decision to leave their former homes in communes such as Conchalí, Renca, Recoleta, Huechuraba, San Bernardo, San Miguel, La Cisterna and to move to private settlements was driven by the search of superior residential standards (some of them came even from social housing). Urban sceneries of large green areas, rows of pastel houses and private security represent symbols of the status of economic progress. Middle income groups became more ambitious in the definition of their habitat. The decision was mostly not explained by the dream of owning a house as such because most of them had owned one in the Gran Santiago, but caused by the search of a next level of residential experience. This superiority was characterized by an assortment of subjective factors such as quietness, family security, new “levels” of neighbors, plenty of green areas, bigger houses, and the escape from air pollution. Following Ingersoll’s (2006) terminology, inhabitants of satellite towns are a kind of “tourist” in their own city. They choose the isolation from the traditional Santiago, because in their exile they have access to urban experiences that make sense in their pre-fixed notion of urban life-quality. People described the selection of their suburban home based on a number of alternatives of communes. Lampa was selected due to the combination of both environmental values (pure air, stillness, semi-rural atmosphere) and also because it appeared as a “realistic” option considering that

here a middle income family budget allows to buy bigger houses and to gain superior neighborhood facilities.

Satellite town's inhabitants described their life improvement:

*"Yes, we chose this place because we did not want to live somewhere like Maipu or Puente Alto, where all the houses are crowded and semi-detached. There is more space here; we have a garden that is twice of what it would have been in a house in Santiago. Here I have space for two cars. Similar houses in Santiago would cost twice as much...". (Carolina, Interview 14, Larapinta).**

*"I think that [with respect to quality of life perception], we won because of the public spaces...We have a bigger house, a bigger garden. For the same amount of money, [a house] bought in Santiago [would have been] much smaller. [It would have a] much smaller garden.... Here, children can play. We have space for a pool. In San Miguel, our garden was only one meter wide". (Daniela, Interview 15, Larapinta,).**

The process of selection of a home was different for social housing's inhabitants. To understand this process an insight into the position of low-income groups in the Chilean real estate market is necessary. Families gain access to a subsidy by becoming members of a group of candidates called "*comité de vivienda*" (housing committee). After a proof of their socioeconomic situation families need to deposit a certain amount of savings into a fund. Only in some cases the central State finances the full cost of the house. Each housing committee works together with a building company which searches for a plot on the private estate market. The strong gap between the available budget (sum of family subsidies) and the land prices in the Gran Santiago, produces that social housing projects are mainly built in communes where cheap land is available (Puente Alto, Quilicura, Talagante, Buin or Lampa). In this context, interviewed residents described that build companies communicated the purchase of an estate and only few months later they had to move to Lampa. Inhabitants of the two studied communities (El Pellin and Isabel Riquelme) reported that there usually was no possibility to influence the selection of the commune. Only some inhabitants of El Pellín described that the companies offered options of communes but their decision was Lampa because of its closer proximity to Gran Santiago in comparison to other peri-urban communes (Melipilla or Talagante).

*“First, they said Buin, then, they said houses will be built in Melipilla. Then, they said houses were ready in Lampa. We were offered no option to stay in Pedro Aguirre Cerda”. (Angela, Interview 2, Villa Isabel Riquelme)**

*“I applied for a subsidy to buy a second-hand house.... The problem was that my subsidy only amounted to 9.600.000 pesos. This amount would only cover a house in the periphery. I would rather go to Puente Alto but I preferred to move to the north [Lampa]. [In my former community] ..there were no options to stay because of the prices. Where we lived, the houses were priced at about 30.000.000 pesos”. (Alejandra, Interview 3, Villa Isabel Riquelme)**

7.2 Recreational and social practices at neighborhood scale

In the previous chapter it was analyzed how planning and financial instruments determined the quality of facilities and landscape design of residential projects of Lampa. This chapter analyzes how the neighborhood design and the location of projects influenced the daily practices and life quality perception of the inhabitants.

7.2.1 Recreational and social practices in Satellite towns

A central aspect explaining the life experience and evaluation of residents in satellite towns relates to the neighborhood design. Satellite town’s inhabitants express a high satisfaction with the landscape design and quality of recreational facilities. Asked about an evaluation of squares, sports facilities and parks 63% of inhabitants assigned values to their recreational facilities of “good” or “very good” (see Figure 18, page 134). Consequently, 34% reported that they use recreational spaces for running, walking or playing more than three days per week (see Figure 19, page 134) and 48% reported their use at least once a week (mainly at weekends). This is a very high frequency, when the results are compared to the national urban life quality survey (Minvu, 2010) which reports that 51% of the residents in Chilean cities make no or almost no use of squares and parks in their neighborhoods. This indicates that recreational practices appear when minimum facility standards in residential areas are offered. Consequently, this gives raise to the concept of satellite towns being settlements able to encourage new modes of recreational practices and public life. Using Foucault’s terms, inhabitants develop a personal and subjective *gaze seeing* their setting. Even if the satellite town is located in rural

surroundings, between social housing estates and alfalfa crops, they only see the opportunity of a neighborhood life.

Figure 18. Evaluation of recreational facilities for satellite town's inhabitants. Source: César Cáceres.

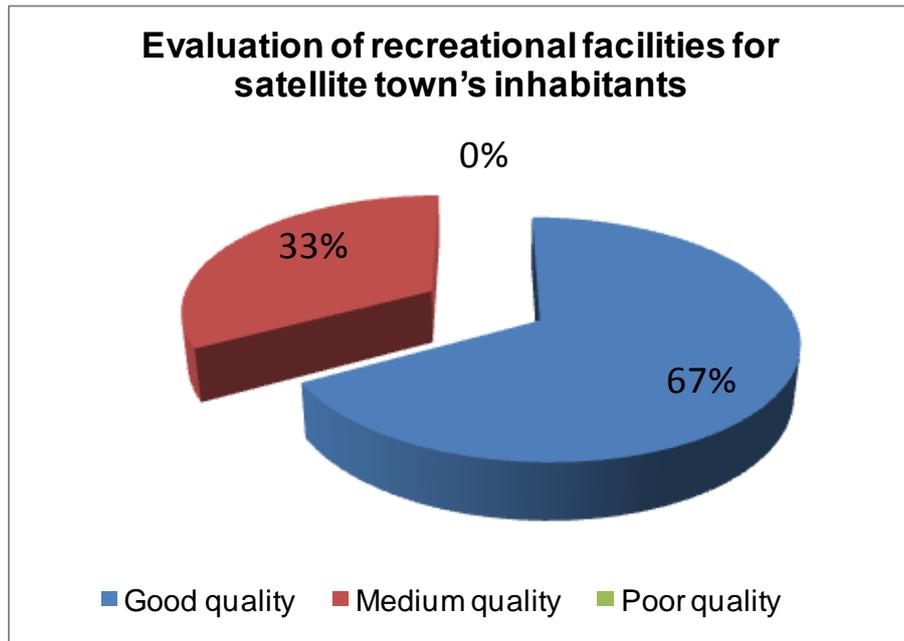
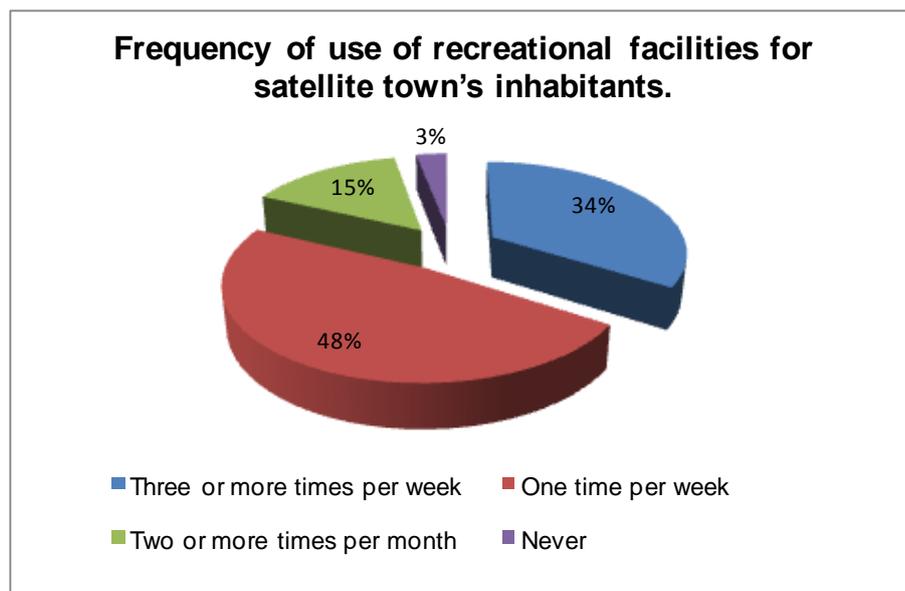


Figure 19. Frequency of use of recreational facilities for satellite town's inhabitants. Source: César Cáceres.



“The squares are good, there are many trees and they [the company] keep them clean and the grass short. I come every day with my son and we stay the whole afternoon because it is pleasant. At weekends the squares are full of children playing. Multipurpose courts are fewer. There are some, but you have to pay to use them. We need them, because the children play in the streets...” (Alejandra, Interview 7, Valle Grande)

*“I won altogether. The place is set up so you can go out. My daughter told me, 'We can bring a tablecloth and have a picnic'. The grass seems like a carpet. This is a place to go out with the family. There's no comparison – see these open skies! There, I had the neighbor's wall, I had the cables, the apartments with the clothes hanging out” (Paulina, Interview 23, Larapinta).**

*“We go out two or three times a week with the girls [to parks and squares]. We did not do that in the commune where we lived before because we had no squares nearby. To go to a square, we had to take the car and go to '9 de Gran Avenida' where there was a park. But, you could go out walking. This is something I like here. You can go out with the kids on bikes, walking quietly. It feels safe. That's a quality of life that we did not have where we lived” (Daniela, Interview 15, Larapinta,).**

A second feature of satellite towns mentioned by inhabitants that affects their life quality is the value of the quietness. Exploring this value in the course of the interviews it appears to be primarily related to the design qualities of the settlement characterized by the larger space in homes and in the settlement design. The conquest of more space appears as a precious value when compared to life conditions in the former communities, where small houses and overcrowded neighborhoods affected mental health and social relationships of their inhabitants.

*“Here you have more space. We are not on top of each other; this produces less conflict, less tense faces. We win because everyone in our house has a bedroom, we also have a bigger garden, this brings quietness into the house”. (Paulina, Interview 23, Larapinta).**

A next feature related to the quietness is the life mode influenced by a semi-rural atmosphere of calm. The low-density of the settlement encourages a more intense experience of the semi-rural settings. If their past settings were “noisy places”, the perurbia appears as an urban lifestyle freed from the air pollution and stress of the inner city. A third form of how quietness is expressed is associated with an escape from crime such as thieving or burglary (a sensitive issue in Santiago’s population). Asked about the safety perception, 88% of interviewed persons noted that they feel safe in the satellite town. As portrayed by a young mother: “*Children go back to playing in the streets.*” Fear is an important variable explaining the housing location pattern of Santiago’s inhabitants. It is one of the reasons why families tend to live in apartments in the inner communes or, alternatively, move to gated communities and peri-urban satellite towns.

*“It is quite different from Santiago. Here I am out at night and I do not feel fear. You can walk at 2 or 3 in the morning without a problem. Until now, we haven’t had any burglary - it is 100% safe. I don’t regret to live here because in other communes there are no public spaces and quietness like here. I would not like to return to Santiago because of safety, I feel safe when my children cycle to school. I gave priority to safety rather than issues such as [proximity of] health care, here my son has been ill and we had to go to Santiago by taxi, but even considering these aspects I want to stay here”. (Elizabeth, Interview 27, Larapinta).**

Photo 19. Green areas in the satellite town of Larapinta. Interviews with inhabitants portrait a conquest of a neighborhood experience that are evident in new recreational practices and a new relationship with their close environment. Source César Cáceres



Photo 20. Public areas in the satellite town of Valle Grande. A factor acting on recreational practices is a perception of safety, a very sensible issue for Chilean population, so, satellite towns is seen as a opportunity to escape from the risk of the city. Source César Cáceres.



The empiric evidence shows that satellite towns improve the residential standards of their middle income groups. However, for 33% of the residents the satisfaction with the

neighborhood design is moderate (see Figure 18, page 134). When residents were asked to name the minimum services that should be provided in their communities, they named the following four categories in order of importance: (1) first aid post; (2) Fair-priced supermarket (3) Police station (4) and free sports facilities. Inquiring into the last point, inhabitants argued that companies laid great value on the design of large green areas but paid limited attention to the functionality of public spaces (playgrounds, multipurpose courts) designed for young people and children. Instead, sports facilities are concentrated in private clubs (Photo 21, p139). The lack of sports infrastructure in their former neighborhoods was an important variable deciding the exodus to the private peri-urbia; therefore, the costs are seen as an aspect affecting life quality:

*“They thought only of providing PROCLUB [private sports club] which is a club where you have to pay if your children want to play football. They did not provide additional municipal multipurpose courts ...only some sectors have ones...To improve the project they only thought of ABC1 people [high-income status] and provided more municipal facilities...They say [the company] if your children want to play football take them to PROCLUB and pay (Catalina, Interview 1, Valle Grande).**

Interviewed inhabitants (middle income families) value the socioeconomic composition of satellite towns as a value. Their exodus to the private town can be understood as spatial testimony to their social mobility. Residents did not directly mention their increase in status; nevertheless it is a relevant variable explaining their satisfaction with life in the satellite town. When they attempted to explain their achievements in terms of quality of life, one characteristic was their satisfaction with a “life between equals,” and of living in neighborhoods with “superior classes of neighbors.” They were real estate clients aspiring for homes in the housing price range between 900 and 2500 UF²² which would hardly gain similar community quality in the consolidated area of Santiago and therefore they jealously guard the social composition of their community. An example that portrays how middle income peri-urbanites represent their habitat, is explained by a satellite town administrator. Years ago, the Regional Government of Santiago promoted a project that offered social housing to a group of elderly persons. However, the company reported that this project failed because of the inhabitants’ resistance to accept social housing:

²² UF is a unit of account used in Chile which is constantly adjusted to inflation

*“A project was proposed to build housing for elderly people [into the satellite town]. It was to be located in high-density zones. However, the outcry from the inhabitants [of the satellite town] was so strong that the project was stopped. This is a sensitive issue for these people, because they are a social group originally coming from social housing. Therefore, to have a social housing project in front of their homes is not regarded attractive”. (Interview conducted with administrator of Valle Grande, name withheld, September 2010)**

Photo 21. Younger playing tennis in the streets. Interviews with inhabitants shows report dissatisfaction with the payment for the use of sport facilities, a point of conflict with the company. Source. César Cáceres.



An aspect considered relevant to understand the life quality condition of urban communities is the relationship between members of the community. Interviews inquired on two of its expressions: relationships among neighbors and the organization of the community towards political ends (negotiations with company and municipality). The first pattern arose with respect to the relationships among neighbors. One group of persons presented their social relationships in their new setting as weak like in their former communities, limited to the basic cordiality of daily greetings etc. Another group described their social life in the “city from the catalogue” as a loss of neighbor relationships. A fifty

year old woman described her relationships as cordial, but as being affected by a type of implicit behavior regulation under the regime of a diurnal and secluded familiar life. Different from the spontaneous and unregulated urban life of the traditional city, life in the private town is ruled by the ideological scenery of family life.

*“Your neighbors do not disturb you. They are decent people. But you don’t see anybody!! [It] is too lonely ... coming home, my seven year old daughter says: ‘we go back to our beautiful prison’. She feels oppressed and locked in. She misses her friends from the former neighborhood. The best things in my life here are my house, the space, the playground. But, it is too lonely here ... In my former house, I used to sit outside and I knitted, but here, this would not be appropriate”. (Aida, Interview 27, Valle Grande).**

The second characteristic of community relationships concerned organizational aspects in the negotiations for neighborhood improvements. Although social life in the private settlements is low-intensity, a distinct activity of neighborhood organization occurs which is aimed at improvements of services and neighborhood facilities. Inquiring on organizational aspects, interviews showed that satellite towns influenced the ways people perceived their political position in neighborhood governance. Rather than being passive and waiting for improvements, inhabitants presented themselves as clients asking for the residential quality promised in the project catalogue.

*“The majority of the people contact SOCOVESA directly. They don’t contact the municipality. Last year we made a protest in front of the company office by demanding more security so they installed private security”. (Elisa, Interview 24, Larapinta).**

*For example, we complained to the company because they planted a type of tree called Asian Plantain that causes allergies. My husband was affected. He called the company and requested that they change the trees. The company quickly replaced them”. (Olaya, Interview 8, Valle Grande).**

Contrary to the notion of peri-urban communes as being non-political settings, satellite towns appear as spaces of contest in which inhabitants attempt to impose settlement design criteria, while companies attempt to maintain the business concept as a platform of

private facilities and services (sport club, transport companies and private schools, to name a few). The identification with the role as clients also influences the relationship with the local government. When the municipality does not respond to demands, people protest by simply paying their car taxes in another commune. The local government recognizes this change in inhabitant attitude.

“...the community of satellite towns is alert to whether we comply with the normative [municipality obligations to provide services], we are under observation, therefore we should be extra careful on what we do”. (Municipal administrator of Lampa, 2011).

Inhabitants of satellite towns are significantly more vocal than traditional urbanites and, as a result, municipalities must suddenly manage the requirements of residents based on market criteria such as quality, satisfaction and efficiency. This encourages a new relationship with real estate companies or municipality that takes the form of kind of a horizontal governance model where residents interact on a more equal power level.

7.2.2 Recreational and social practices in social housing estates

The recreational practices in social housing areas are the consequence of the regime of design and administration applied by the regional housing office and municipality. As noted previously, the housing subsidy given by the regional government, financed largely the costs for the construction of homes as well as land and urbanization infrastructure, but costs of a social infrastructure such as squares, green areas and sports facilities were insufficiently covered. As former inhabitants of slums or coming from overcrowded houses, low-income migrants to Lampa see their peri-urban turn like an opportunity to achieve basic conditions of livability in their settings. However, this expectation was only partially accomplished because people acquired an own house but located in settings characterized by a poor quality of recreational facilities and social services. This is evident in the resident's evaluation:

*“There is a square but it is not enough to the number of children that live here...and there are no “canchas” [multipurpose courts] ...they [the central-regional State] do not build more; they only provided small squares like this”. (Roberto, Interview 18, Villa Isabel Riquelme).**

*“I don't go with the kids to the playgrounds because these are demolished! There is no grass, trees...nothing, when I think of going for a walk, I associate this with a warm place with shaded paths and with things that make me happy ... But here! You only see houses and more houses! “. (Irene, Interview 4, Villa Isabel Riquelme).**

*The public spaces should be larger because here live many children. There is one football court but the competition for using it is great. Here people work until 7 p.m. and the first thing they do next is to go to the “cancha” [multipurpose court] ...so many people come and so there is a deficit... I think a private company should build something because the municipality does nothing. (Ruben, Interview 14, Villa El Pellín).**

Public spaces? These are in poor condition, when we arrived, there were squares in my sector but now they are damaged. We need more playgrounds for the children to play. We need grass and more nature! If you go to a square in my sector, the seats are hot because there is no shade! The trees don't provide any

shade. Look here, in the Villa Isabel Riquelme 2, there are no swings... moreover who would want to come [to the square] in this heat? (Ruth, Interview 20, Villa Isabel Riquelme)

Asked about the perception of quality of recreational facilities, 58% of the inhabitants considered them as being of poor condition of maintenance (see Figure 20, page 143). This directly implied that their use was low; visible in that 74% said that they never use these areas (see Figure 21, page 144). Unlike satellite town inhabitants, the turn to Lampa did not involve access to livable settings. Poor urban design specially affects social housing estates because these are densely populated during the day by elderly people, children, unemployed youth and young mothers, all people with a low mobility potential, to whom urban social services and recreational infrastructure in the vicinity are highly relevant. When residents were asked to name the minimum services that should be provided in their communities, they named the following four categories: (1) green areas and recreational facilities; (2) police stations to maintain security; (3) public internet centers, particularly for children and young people and (4) fairly-priced commercial facilities because the price level in the existing supermarket nearby rather encourages people to do their shopping in Santiago.

Figure 20. Evaluation of recreational facilities for social housing's inhabitants. Source: César Cáceres.

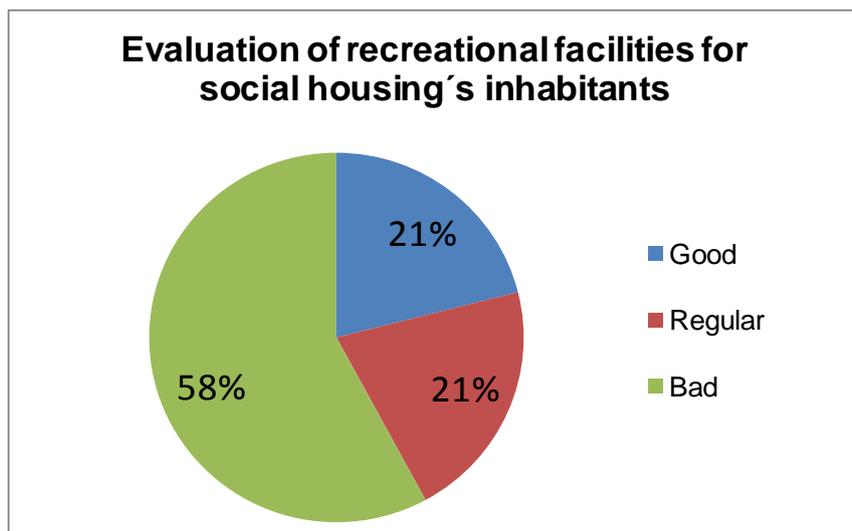


Figure 21. Frequency of use of recreational facilities for social housing's inhabitants.
Source: César Cáceres.

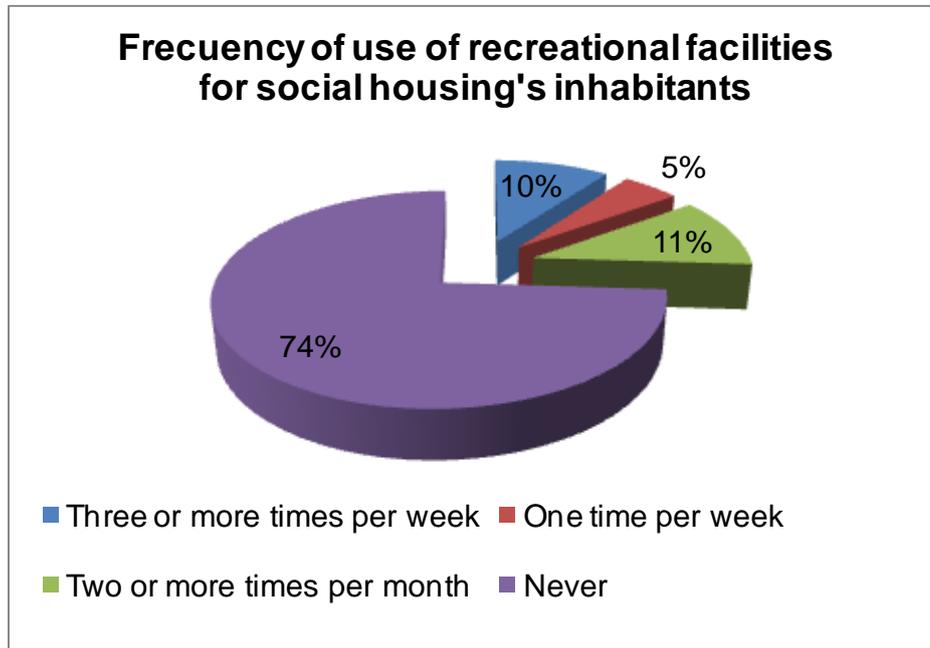


Photo 22. Recreation area in the Villa El Pellín. Interviews stress a daily life lacking of significant close “places”. A close environment unable to satisfy basic needs and encourage place attachment. Source: César Cáceres.



Photo 23. Sport facilities in Villa Isabel Riquelme. The low quality of neighbourhood facilities particularly affect this residential sector because its population shows low potential of mobility i.e. younger mothers, unemployed, elderly people. Source César Cáceres.



When people were asked in the interviews for life quality perception in their neighborhoods the terms “unsafe” and “restless” appeared which was explained by theft or drug consume or traffic in the area. Asked about their perception of safety at home, walking in the neighborhood or using squares, 68% of respondents reported a perception of unsafely. This has three implications for the residents. First, the identification of squares and streets as being dangerous during certain hours of the day implies that these places lose their value as opportunities for recreation and contact between neighbors. Second, it affects the generation of trust in the community. Sectors outside the familiar passage where a house is located appear less trustworthy. Third, it encourages people to take their own security measures such as installation of bars in windows and gates in passages that are closed during the night. However, paradoxically this also provokes a kind of communitarian organization among neighbors motivated by the specific aim to increase the degree of security. Although the true dimension of the problem of crime and drug consume remained unclear the perception of public areas as unsafe spaces was identified as a sensitive social problem.

The life experience in social housing estates frequently appeared in the interviews associated to a lack significant “places”, i.e. residential areas charged with personal histories, intimate pieces of city where people feel protected. Hence, if the use of public spaces is prevented by the urban design and social problematic how can inhabitants interrelate and how can they develop place-attachment? In accordance with Auge (1992, p. 83) who defines urban artifacts such as airports or shopping malls as “non-places” (i.e. non-relational, non-historic, and non-identity places) it is possible to also extend the term “non-places” to residential areas that are unable to satisfy basic needs of recreation, socialization, and with difficulties to encourage identity (see Photo 22, page 144). Due to the settlement design and to social aspects, social housing estates shift the social exclusion of their residents from the previous condition of homelessness to the situation of being house owners but of lacking basic urbanity in their neighborhoods. People without house cause damage to the family but people without neighbourhood deny the social construction of the community.

“We organized ourselves in the condominium to install a gate. This was necessary because many young people came from outer areas for thieving and also taking drugs; they even destroyed the communitarian center. Since then our condominium is quieter. At 10 p.m. we close our gate”. (Ximena, Interview 28, Villa El Pellin)

“My passage is safe but from here to outside it is not secure. Therefore, I don’t like to take a walk in my neighborhood. If it would be more quiet I would take a walk with my wife but we just stay at home. Most people stay at home because the conditions [social] of this sector do not allow recreation in public spaces”. (Roberto, Interview 18. Isabel Riquelme)

As with inhabitants of satellite towns, to study the relationship between members of the community was considered relevant for an understanding of the life quality condition in social housing estates. Interviews again inquired into two of its manifestations: the relationships among neighbors and the organization of the community towards political ends (negotiations with municipality and regional urban ministry).

Answers to the question about the inhabitant’s relationships to other neighbors revealed that the peri-urban home appears as a factor of interrupting former social networks.

Interviews identified two situations: Firstly, to be converted into suburbanites by the action of a housing subsidy imposed a distance to other family members. It is represented as a factor of vulnerability because the family played an important role in their former strategies of surviving. A second disruption of previous neighborhood networks was caused by the arbitrary re-localization of members of a committee or a slum into several communes or projects. In spite of one resident's report that neighborhood relations occurred in special situations, such as helping another family, most of the participants indicated a difficulty to reestablish trust relationships in the vicinity. This difficulty to constitute a valuable social life in their setting appears as important to the people's life quality perception as the material condition of their neighborhood. Inquiring about this problem, communitarian relationships appear affected by the conversion of the people into suburbanites by action of the social housing policy and not their free decision. The latter appeared to affect their predisposition to re-establish neighborhood networks.

*"Yes, I like my community ... Well ... I have confused feelings. I was depressed for one year. But I have no other place to live. I lived in La Pincoya for forty years. I've had no rest there because I have seen balaceras [gunfights] ... But, it was difficult to move to Lampa because I had to leave my sister behind. We should live in the same neighborhood where we grew up. I would leave [Lampa] today! ... because I knew the people in my old neighborhood. If you lived in a place since you were young, of course, you miss this place". (Gloria, Interview 6, Villa El Pellin).**

*"I grew up in the largest slum in Chile, in Pudahuel. But, no [affordable] plots of land were available there. When I arrived [in Lampa], I became depressed. I did not like my house. I cried every day. I have never liked this place. I always cry when I return from my job. [The government] should have provided houses in one place for everyone of the slum, they should not have scattered the people". (Silvana, Interview 9, Villa Isabel Riquelme).**

The second characteristic concerned community relationships on the organizational level to achieve neighborhood improvements. As the inhabitants were aware of the low quality of recreational facilities and social services in their neighbourhood, the interview inquired about forms of communitarian organization in the accomplishment of better facility standards. With regard to this, people reported that organization in the neighbourhood is weak. Interviews portrait a form of communitarian organization which is activated in

situations such as the application to bidding funds given by the regional government in order to improve recreational facilities or to install gates in the urbanization. However, inhabitant's reports do not show a neighborhood organization beyond the logic of vouchers but there is an aim to demand profound transformation in the quality of neighborhood infrastructure. This appears to be explained by the self-definition of the residents as beneficiaries of a housing subsidy, very much unlike private inhabitants-clients who claim the right to demand residential quality because it was paid for (see above). People here simply accept the urban quality provided via social housing subsidies because they consider themselves in a disadvantageous social position where their demands will not be taken into consideration.

*"I participated in the committee to the extension of houses...here the government left houses unfinished, the second floor was not finished... It was horrible... there wasn't even a staircase!... I think the government does this because of the economic resources [social status] we have. The government knew that we are people 'erradicada' [displaced] from the slum... these are 'casas sin deuda' ["houses without doubt": name of type of subsidy without contribution of payment by applicant]". (Magdalena, Interview 4, Villa El Pellin).**

This explains the little success of the demands and the lack of participation of the inhabitants. Once the estate has been put into place, all responsibilities of the government or the real estate company disappears. Neither are there instances of communitarian participation aimed to take care of the demands of community. This non-participative governance model is provoked by a shared notion of social housing estates as "*backpack areas*" which none of the government institutions wants to be in charge of.

7.2.3 Conclusions on neighborhood life, a differentiated experience

An asymmetry appears in the role played by the neighborhood in daily life, as a place of wellbeing or as a factor creating new modes of social exclusion. At the one hand, for satellite town inhabitants the new habitat implied a conquest of a "neighborhood experience" visible in recreational practices and communitarian organization. To middle income groups appears a notion of conquest of neighborhood life (thirty kilometers from the city). This notion isn't does not associated to rich neighbor relationships (as traditional values of neighborhood) but as the access to superior standards of neighborhood facilities. At the other hand, for social housing inhabitants the neighborhood appeared as

a place unable to facilitate recreational and social life. Families stated satisfaction with their own house because it allows a basic livability to families. While, they also reported about difficulties to create attachment with their neighborhood. Social housing estates do not imply larger houses, neither stillness, nor availability of green areas or well-implemented neighborhoods.

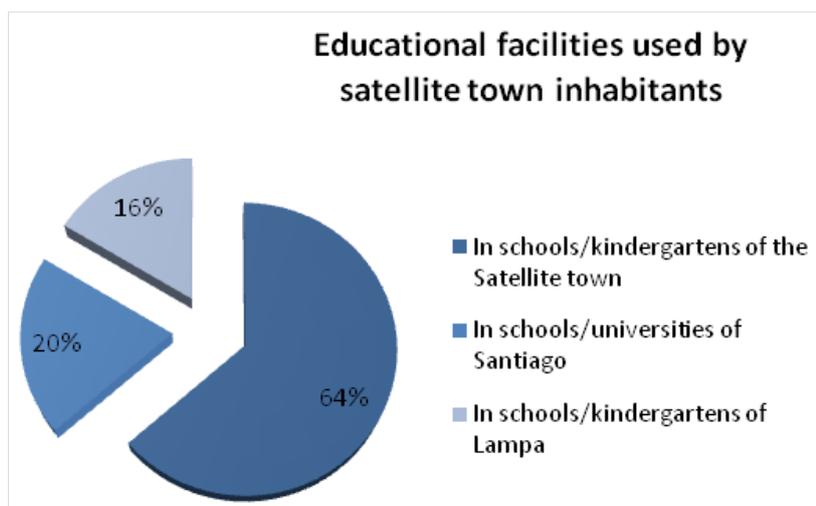
7.3 Access to basic services, multi-scalar experience of inhabiting the city.

The creation of residential areas in Santiago's peri-urban communes such as Lampa re-configures the routines of access to consume, health attention, socialization, education and jobs. They do no longer inhabit the consolidated metropolis (called Gran Santiago) but their social and economic life reaches a regional scale. According to Ascher (2004, 40), the urban life in the contemporary metropolis occurs at different simultaneous scales and forms. People not necessarily interact with their neighbors, or colleagues only, but they create multiple scopes of social relations that may reach metropolitan dimensions. This section is focused on daily routines of work, and access to urban opportunities in order to evaluate the influence of the existing neighborhood services (supermarket, health post, schools) on the configuration of daily routines of inhabitants.

7.3.1 Access to basic urban services in satellite towns

In order to evaluate the routines of access to basic services and goods, satellite town inhabitants were asked where they satisfy their needs of education, work, health services and consume. Regarding the access to educational facilities (see Figure 22, page 151) families with children revealed the following patterns: 64% of the respondents pointed out that members of the family (son/daughter, brother or grandchild) attended a school or kindergarten in their satellite town, 16% were enrolled in other schools of Lampa, and 20% were enrolled in schools in Santiago. This shows that satellite towns exhibit a significant ability to contain educational needs at a neighborhood scale. Even though most interviewed persons mention high costs of monthly fees for schools in the private project, they relied on nearby schools.

Figure 22. Educational facilities used by satellite town's inhabitants. Source: César Cáceres.



The use of medical services could be differentiated according to whether people were public or private users and to whether they attend health facilities at the local or metropolitan scale. The private health center located in the peripheral mall *Plaza Norte* in the commune of Huechuraba (Integramedica) is regularly visited by 17% of the interviewed persons. When attending health facilities in the inner communes 30% attended the public hospitals and health posts in Santiago (Conchalí, Quilicura, Hospital Salvador), whereas private clinics such as Recoleta and Santiago (*Clinica Davila* as one of the most cited and *Hospital Clinico Universidad Catolica, Clinica Santa Maria*, among the cited) were attended by 53%. (see Figure 23, page 152). The use of the health center located in the satellite town was cited by one person referring to a case of emergency but people state that the nearby health center is expensive and lacks specialists, which means that it has no influence on their health attention routines. These results allow three main conclusions: First, only about one third of satellite town inhabitants (30%) are frequent users of public health services while the majority (70%) are users of the private health system. Second, the impact of the private health center located in the satellite town itself still is marginal. Third, the peripheral mall of Plaza Norte emerges as a significant health center regarding the quality of health services and accessibility.

The normative of *conditioned urban development* is based on the promise of the creation of settlements of self-containment. It appears as a normative in conflict with the existing socioeconomic profile of the satellite town inhabitants. Asked about the demands by the inhabitants for services in satellite towns, the municipality of Lampa stated:

[Scattering of welfare services to satellite towns]here we are separated into several territories, so, we cannot provide public services for every satellite town. If they want to use public services like the health post, there is one in Lampa. But no - they don't want to use it. They want that we locate services there. (Interview conducted with municipal administrator, name withheld, September 2010).

Figure 23. Use of health care facilities by satellite town's inhabitants. Source: César Cáceres.

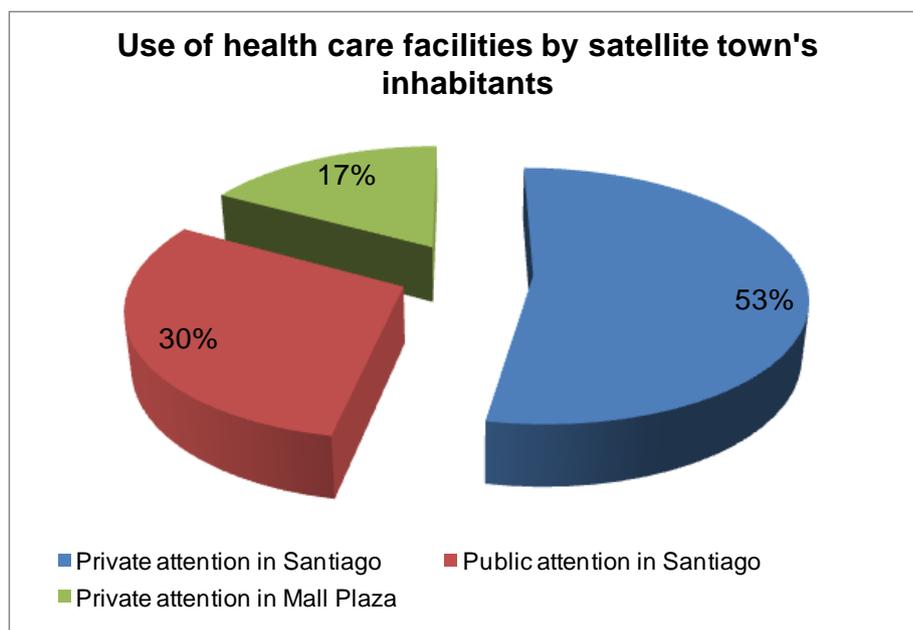
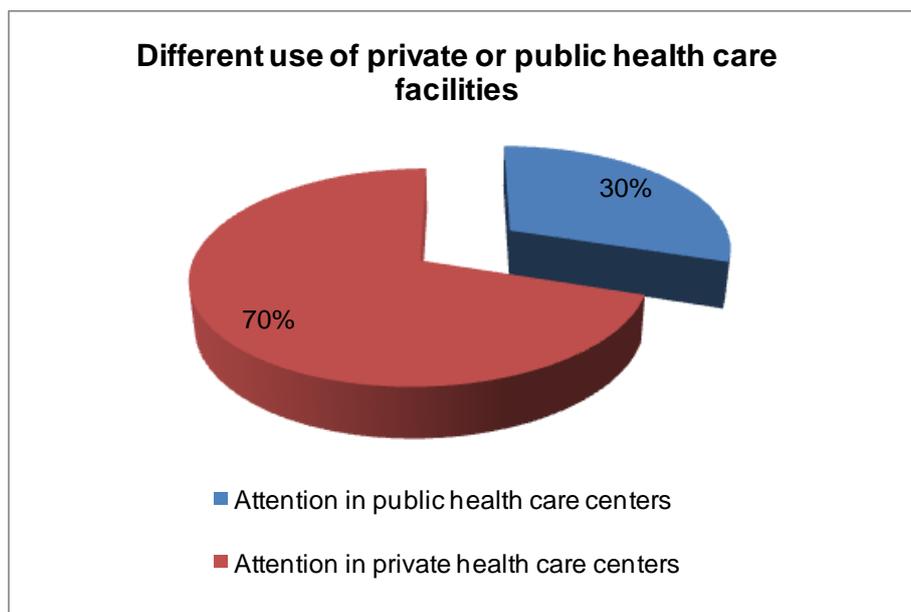


Figure 24. Different use of private or public health care facilities. Source: César Cáceres.



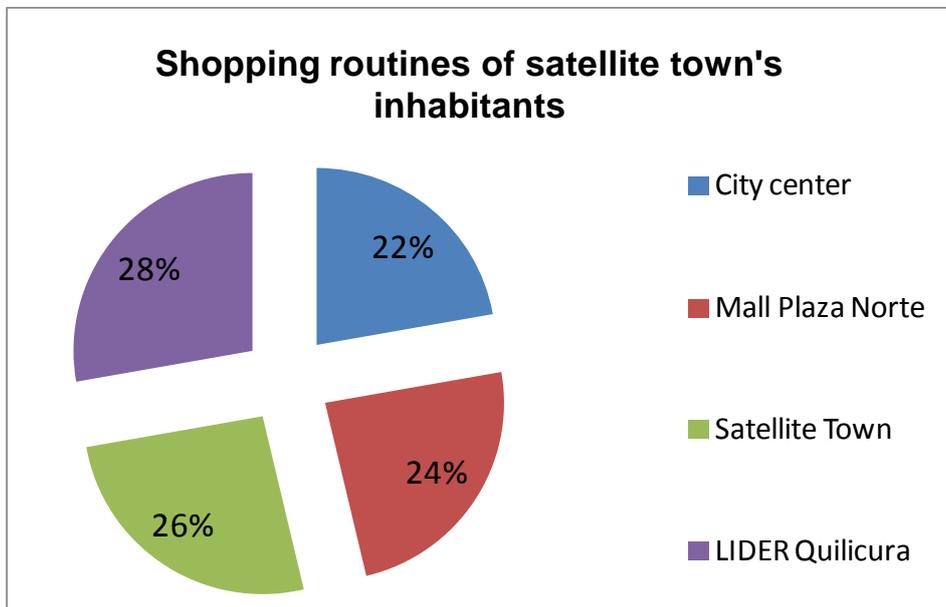
Regarding their preferred shopping practices (see Figure 25, page 154), 26% of the participants do their groceries in the supermarket of the satellite town. People stated that they use the local supermarkets because they don't have a private car, even knowing that prices here are higher. Another 28% of interviewed persons declared that they shop in a specific brand of supermarket (Lider) located in the peripheral commune of Quilicura. The mall Plaza Norte was used by 24% of respondents as their main shopping center. Only 22% of respondents stated that they shop in supermarkets and a "feria" (open fruit and vegetable market) called "La Vega" in the central communes of Recoleta and Santiago. The results about shopping routines show that even though supermarkets exist in both satellite towns, the cost and quality of products there are reasons for an only moderate user preference. That the *LIDER* supermarket in the commune of Quilicura attracts almost one third (28%) of the satellite town inhabitants shows that the search of a fair-priced supermarket determines their shopping routines. It is interesting to note, however, that the mall Plaza Norte (commune of Huechuraba) holds a major role in terms of consume, health center and leisure.

"The supermarket of Larapinta has less variety of products I buy only small things there. I shop our groceries in the LIDER of Plaza Norte, Actually, most of families from Larapinta shop in the Mall Plaza Norte, because of the quality and price. We also attend the medical center Integramedica in the Mall, we do not attend the

medical center from LARAPINTA. Normally I use the mall a lot, for shopping, medical care and also for a stroll with my children...” (Johanna, Interview 1, Larapinta)

“I purchase everything outside the community, i.e. in the LIDER from Quilicura. Also, I often go to the Mall Plaza Norte to the gym and the supermarket LIDER. We go to the mall four times a week... As we purchase everything outside for me it is not problematic that Valle Grande does not have more variety of commerce...”. (Marcela, Interview 13, Valle Grande)

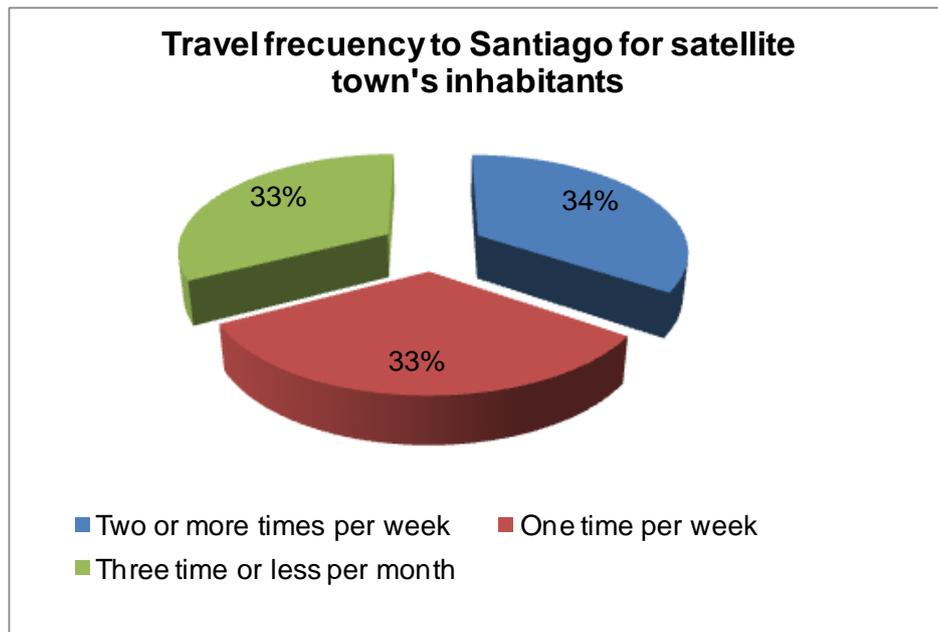
Figure 25. Shopping routines of satellite town's inhabitants. Source: César Cáceres.



Asked about mobility practices, all interviewed persons reported that one or more family members commute daily to jobs in Gran Santiago. But, how is mobility influenced by the needs of health care, consume, bank issues or socialization? Asked about mobility practices motivated by the access to these services, 38% of respondents reported that they travel to Santiago more than twice a week, 36% about once a week, and 26% three times per month or less (see Figure 26, page 155). Satellite town inhabitant constitutes a kind of metropolitan inhabitant who due to the availability of a private car is able to organize his daily life flexibly by the simultaneous use of different urban territories (mall, mega-supermarket, satellite town, and clinics or jobs in inner communes). However, although a high number of inhabitants own a car, the quality of public transport plays an important role in the perception of their life quality. Therefore, the lack of a bus service at

night and the absence of coordination with the metropolitan public system of Santiago called TRANSANTIAGO, represents the most sensitive variable damaging their quality of life.

Figure 26. Travel frequency to Santiago for satellite town's inhabitants. Source: César Cáceres.



“[Re. public transport] the quality is poor, there are no services at night; from 22 hrs the transport does not work...here since 10 p.m if you are ill and you have not a car... therefore, I think people do not come [to the satellite town], not because it is far away from Santiago, but because it is inaccessible”. (Luisa, Interview 4, Larapinta)

“I use the public transport... I consider it of middle quality because at weekends the frequency is poor and the travel to Santiago at night is difficult...The problem is that the bus [Lampa Transport company] does not operate with the card BIP (metropolitan transport card). They are private buses. People ask for the TRANSANTIAGO because we are also part of the metropolitan region”. [see Map. 20, page 159] (Regina, Interview 9, Larapinta)

Photo 24. Supermarket in Valle Grande. Although satellite towns have been advertised as self-contained settlements, the ability to provide health attention and consume needs still is marginal here. Source: César Cáceres.



For one hand, satellite town inhabitants draw a poli-nodal assembly of daily routines where the satellite town is functionally linked with multiple urban centers (inner communes clinics, peripheral mega supermarket in Quilicura and the mall Plaza Norte in the peripheral commune of Huechuraba). This inhabitant uses and values the commercial, health and leisure facilities available in corporate urban centers (peripheral mega-supermarket and malls) i.e. inhabit extensively the metropolis selecting urban centers according to advantages of price or quality i.e. access to health attention and education in inner communes, or leisure, health attention and consume available in the peripheral mall Plaza Norte. These groups create a personal metropolis composed by multiple specialized urban fragments: the liveable satellite town, the funny boulevard, the multifunctional and safe mall, the instantaneous private highway. (see Map 19, page 157).

Map 19. Geography of metropolitan opportunities: routines of access to social services and commerce for inhabitants of satellite towns. Source: César Cáceres

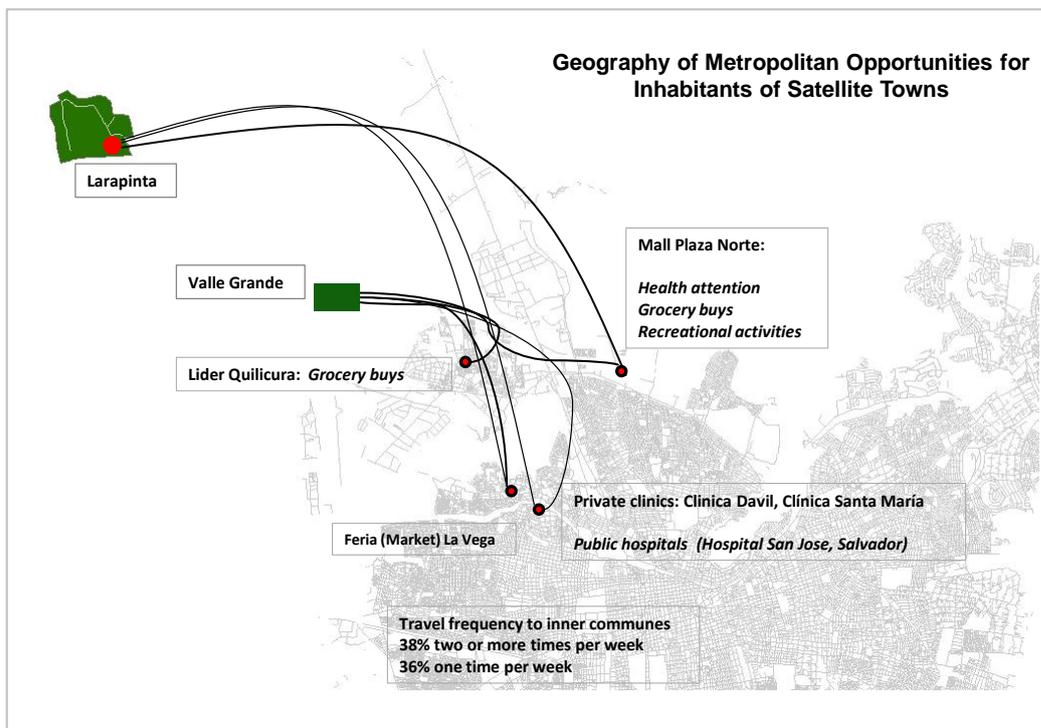
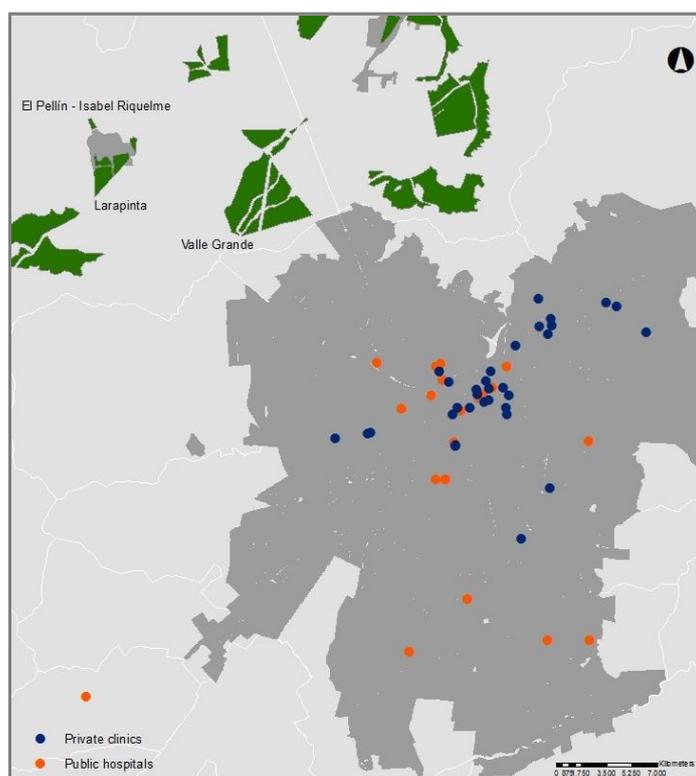


Photo 25. Mall Plaza Norte in the commune of Huechuraba. The routines of access to basic services and commerce emphasize the relevance of this peripheral mall which acts as an elemental center for daily life rather than a consume center only. Source: César Cáceres.



The analysis of routines of access to basic services and travel frequency, allows two conclusions. First, the availability of a car and of financial resources accounts for a type of metropolitan inhabitant who enjoys and values a flexible mode of urban life (see Map. 19, page 157). They draw a reticular and moldable daily life, where the satellite towns, but also the mall, supermarkets, and highway-restaurants constitute significant daily places. Second, although satellite cities are promoted as self-contained settlements by the companies, empirical evidence shows that, with the exception of education, the services in satellite towns still represent marginal factors for the satisfaction of basic requirements. It is often argued (Frey, 1999; Calthorpe, 1995, 2004) that a neighborhood composed of a variety of nearby services improves the quality of life for the inhabitants by reducing the need for mobility. However, the evidence above shows that even though there is a certain influence (education) inhabitant's priorities lie in quality (health care) and cost (supermarket) and not in proximity. Similarly, private suburbs are usually associated with an habitat of users of private services (Glasze, 2005), but evidence shows that residents are also users of public services, such as public health services (FONASA), subsidized or municipal schools, public transport, and public kindergartens.

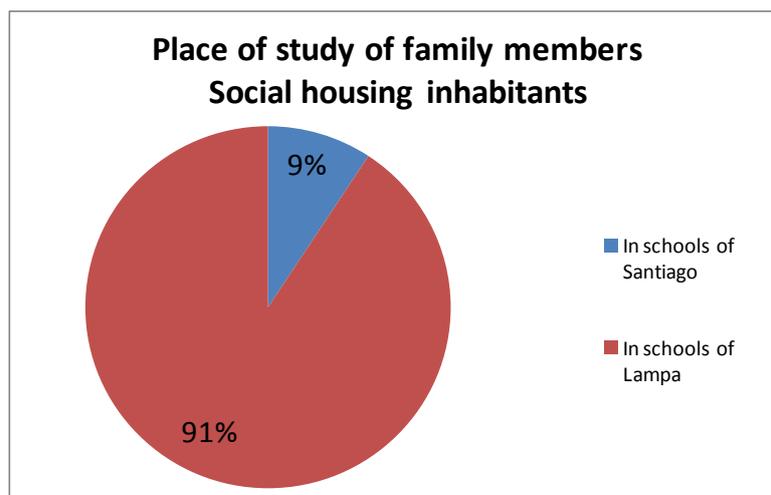
Map 20. Lack of coordination between peri-urban communes and distribution of public and private health centers. Source: Author's elaboration from data facilitated by the Observatorio de Ciudades - Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile.



7.3.2 Access to basic services in social housing projects in Lampa

An essential element in life quality studies relating to the wellbeing of low income groups in metropolitan areas relates to the access to basic services and mobility means. Consequently, to evaluate the routines of access to basic services and goods, also the social housing inhabitants were asked about where they satisfy their needs of education, work, health care, and consume. In the case of access to educational facilities, the interviewed families with children, 91% revealed that they made use of the public schools or kindergartens located in Lampa (an approximately twenty minute walk from home), and 9% were cases with children attending public secondary schools in Santiago's communes (see Figure 27, page 159). For social housing residents, public (or mixed public-private) schools appear as a nearby welfare service with a high influence in terms of satisfaction of educational needs. However, interview partners identified a deficit of childcare centers in the neighborhood which prevents the access of mothers to the labor market.

Figure 27. Place of study of family's members, social housing's inhabitants. Source: César Cáceres.



With respect to access to health care (see Figure 28, page 160), the inhabitants reported a high dependence on health centers located in Santiago's inner communes. Even though the health post of Lampa is used in cases of emergency, they state that a deficit of specialists there has only little influence on their routines of health attention. Instead, a high dependence on public hospitals in Santiago's inner communes is observed. Consequently, 97% of people reported to visit a public hospital (Hospital San Jose, Roberto del Rio) in Santiago and 2% use private clinics (Clinica Davila). The interviews highlighted the precarious situation regarding the availability of integral health attention.

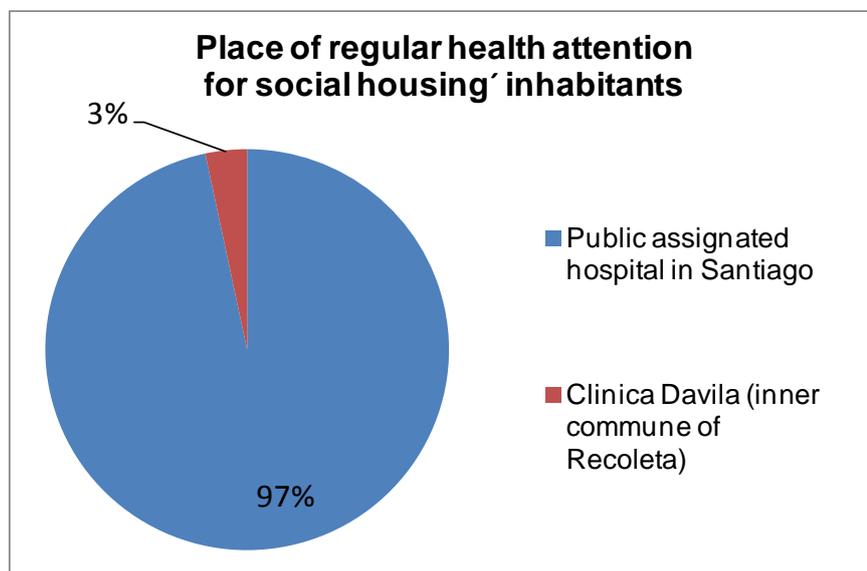
This situation was further enhanced by the lack of a private car and the absence of a night bus service from Lampa to Santiago. The lack of coordination between the social housing and sectorial policies (health, transport) implied that the scattering of social housing projects in peri-urban communes was not accompanied by a simultaneous decentralization of essential welfare services.

*“Here, there is only a health post, for instance to get an x-ray examination, we have to go to the Roberto del Rio or San Jose in Santiago [Public hospitals]. I am waiting for an appointment with the doctor for my son and I wait for months...Yesterday I was to the health post at 7 a.m. to get an appointment but there were already 60 persons...”. (Gabriela, Interview 3, Villa El Pellin).**

*“The [medical] attention is poor because few specialists are available here. Three days ago I took my granddaughter there, who was sick with flu. They gave her a medicine to treat gastroenteritis...for a girl of two years! ... So, how can I appreciate the medical facilities here?”. (Silvia, Interview 6, Villa Isabel Riquelme).**

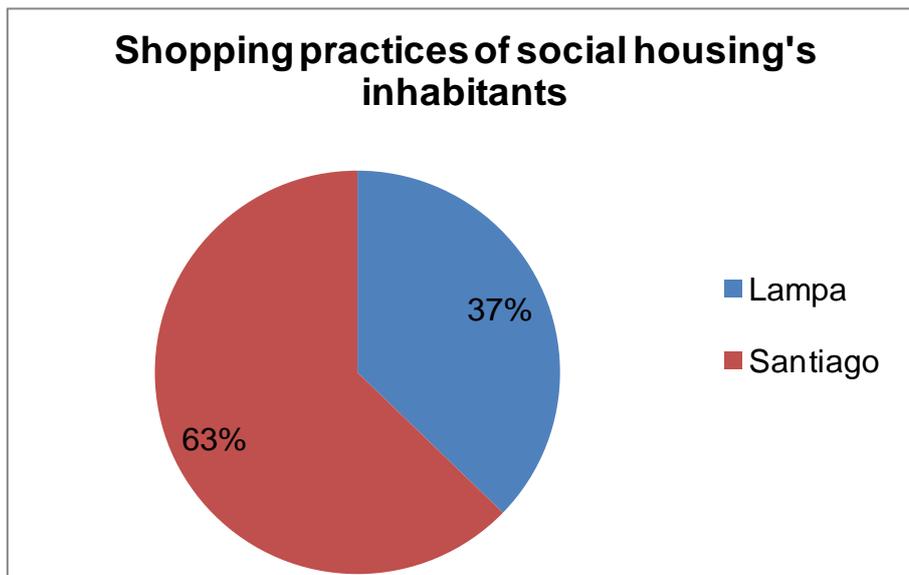
*“The [medical] services are poor, If you need a specific treatment, they send us to the hospital San Jose... I go weekly because the doctor says 'you have to come back next week' and you just have to do that...I would return to Santiago because all the doctors are there, here I spend a lot of money traveling to Santiago...and if I am ill who is going to visit me?”. (Beatriz, Interview 10, Villa El Pellin).**

Figure 28. Place of regular health attention for social housing´s inhabitants. Source: César Cáceres.



Regarding their shopping practices (see Figure 29, page 161), social housing residents also seem to avoid the local commerce because they regard the existing supermarket brands as expensive and limited. Although there is a supermarket in walking distance, only 36% of the interviewed persons state that they buy their groceries in Lampa while the rest (64%) are families who buy their groceries in inner communes of Santiago on a weekly schedule. Inhabitants declared that the price and quality of products available in Lampa causes them to shop in wholesale supermarkets and the open market “La Vega” located in the inner communes of Recoleta and Santiago. (See Photo 26, page 162). This evidence shows that the patterns for groceries’ shopping of social housing residents are determined by price and quality rather than by proximity. As in the case of satellite towns, the availability of commercial facilities in the vicinity does not necessarily create self-containment of the settlements and, as with health attention, the lack of nearby commercial variety strengthens the importance of mobility.

Figure 29. Shopping practices of social housing's inhabitants. Source: César Cáceres.



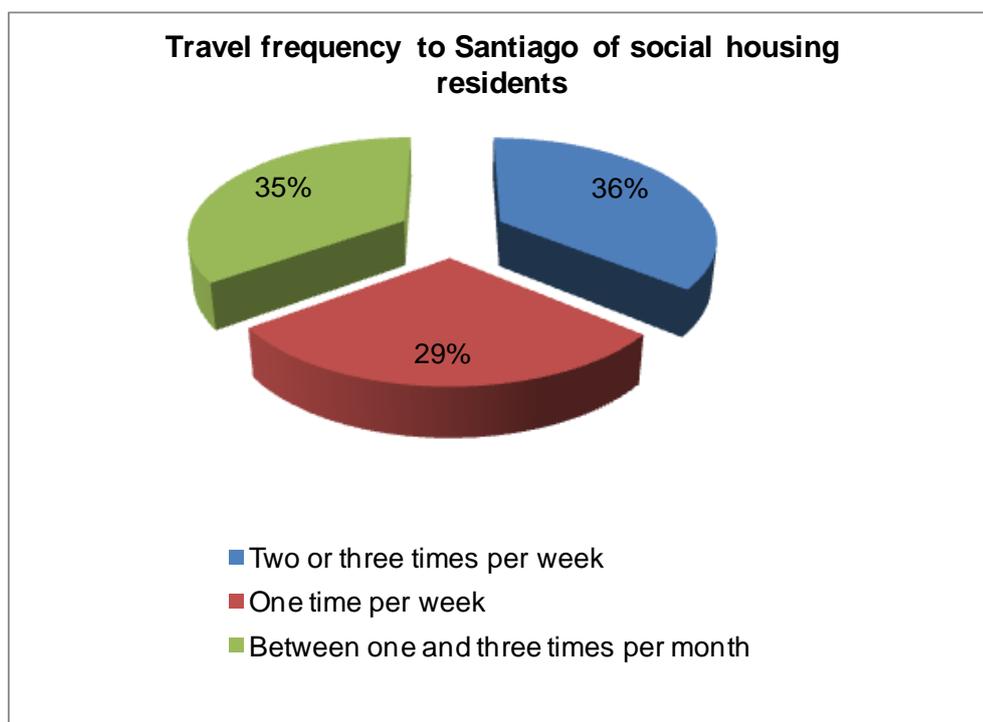
*“I go to the Santa Isabel supermarket in Mapocho, and grocery stores in La Vega, where vegetables and fruits are cheaper than in Lampa. We need more variety of commerce, people prefer to go to Santiago because they pay the same money to buy more things”. (Gabriela, Interview 3, Villa El Pellin).**

*“The commerce in Lampa is poor, it is too expensive. It is full of vegetables here, but the kilo of potatoes is too expensive, therefore, most people go to La Vega [vegetable market in the city center]. Before, when I had 50,000 pesos I often went to buy in the “feria” La Vega. But now as I have less money I buy in Lampa because I have not the [financiamiento] means to go and buy in Santiago. In Lampa, we need a fair supermarket because people here always look for the cheapest products”. (Patricia, Interview 23, Villa Isabel Riquelme).**

Photo 26. Feria (Market) La Vega, Commune of Recoleta, Santiago. In spite that social housing estates has supermarket in walking distance, only 36% of the interviewed persons buy their groceries in Lampa. Mostly shop in the market “La Vega” located in the inner commune of Recoleta. Source: El Mercurio/Guiooteca.

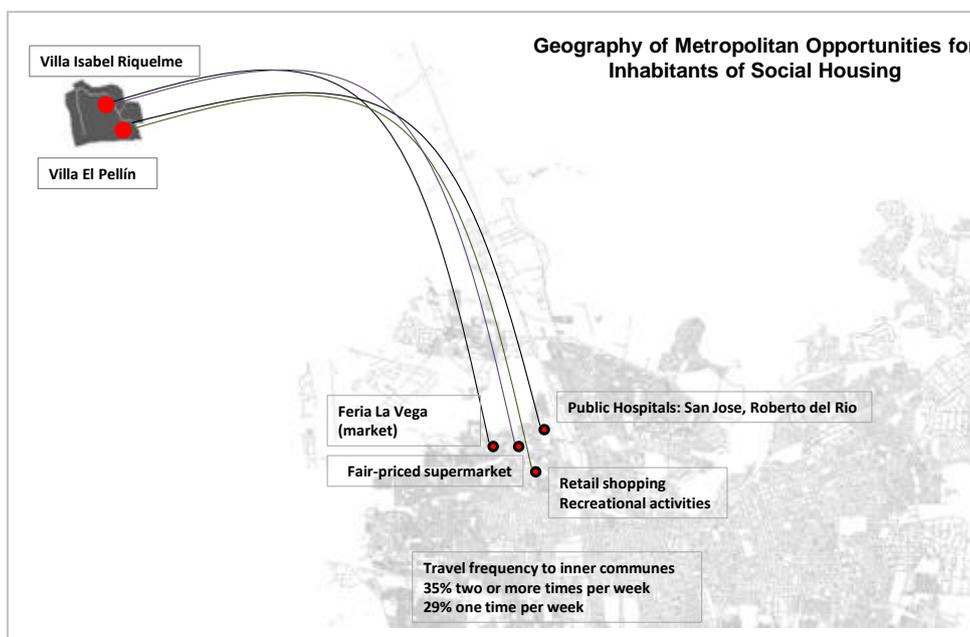


Figure 30. Travel frequency to Santiago of social housing residents. Source: César Cáceres



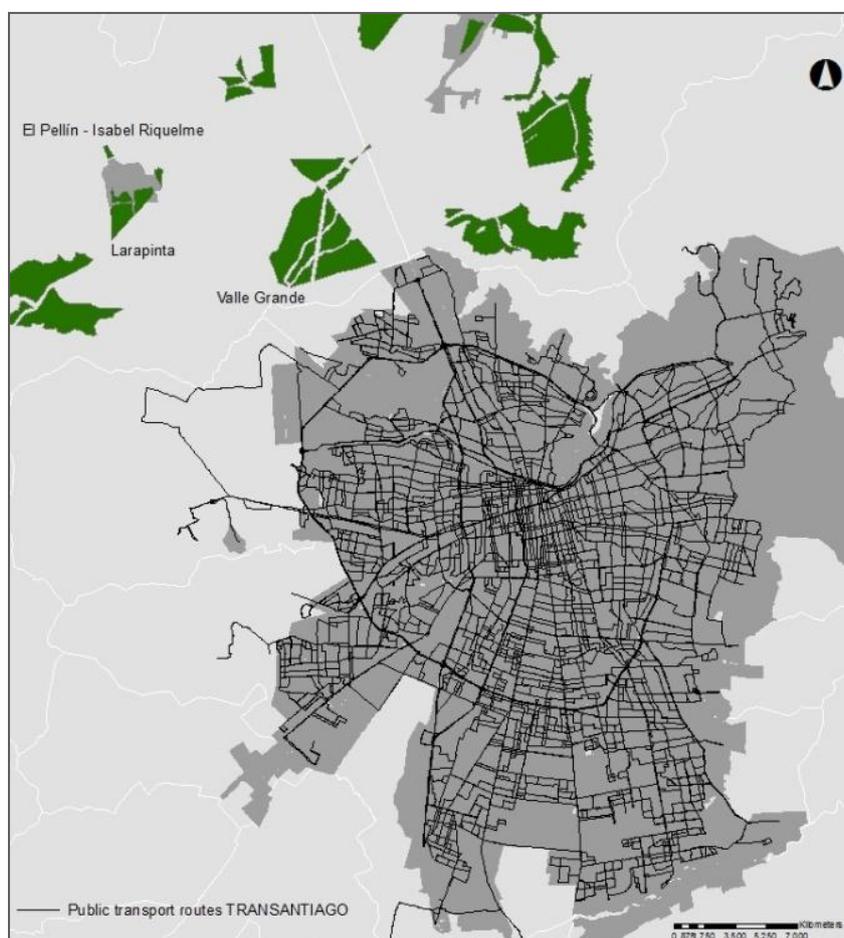
Asked about mobility practices, all interviewed persons reported that those family members who have a job commute daily to communes in Gran Santiago or work in the industrial zone in the contiguous commune of Quilicura. But on top of this, how does the need of health attention, consume, bank procedures or socialization influence mobility routines of these residents? Asked about mobility practices motivated by the access to the mentioned services, 36% of respondents reported to travel to Santiago more than twice a week, 29% once a week (mostly weekends), and 35% three times or less per month (see Figure 30, page 163) . For social housing residents, the access to basic services implied binary mobility routines from the social housing estate to specifically two central communes: Santiago and Recoleta, where public hospitals, open markets, fair-priced supermarkets, retail stores-credit payment and leisure opportunities are located. The fact that Santiago exhibited a scattering of services towards peripheral malls (Mall Plaza Norte, Mega-supermarkets in Quilicura, etc) in the course of the last two decades is irrelevant for these groups because the results are evidence that their wellbeing depends on welfare and commercial opportunities available in the city center (see Map 21, page 164).

Map 21. Geography of metropolitan opportunities: routines of access to social services and commerce for inhabitants of social housing residents. The fact that Santiago exhibits a multicenter metropolitan structure with the development of peripheral malls is irrelevant for social housing inhabitants because the results showed that their wellbeing depends on welfare and commercial opportunities available in the city center. Source: César Cáceres



As already mentioned with respect to the access to health care, leisure, and shopping, the high travel frequency to Santiago's inner communes is to a great part affected by the lack of coordination in the integrated transport system between the private services of Lampa and the public transport of Santiago (TRANSANTIAGO) where Lampa has not been included (see Map 22, page 165). This caused an absence of nightly bus services and higher costs to families because they pay twice per trip. The absence of a private car and an efficient public transport creates dramatic situations for families in need of medical care from hospitals located 30 km from their homes. The cost of transport also implies that people are excluded from jobs simply because salaries do not provide minimum earning margins to cover the transport on top of their living expenses.

Map 22. Lack of coordination between periurban communes and the metropolitan transport system TRANSANTIAGO. Source: César Cáceres.



“The transport system is poor, expensive and it takes too long. It costs 1.000 pesos each way. They don’t think about these people who commute daily to Santiago. Here, some people only earn 150.000 pesos a month! My husband spends almost 100.000 pesos and earn us 200.000 pesos a month... My son won a scholarship to study English, but he could not take the course because the buses that travel from Santiago to Lampa are only available until 11:30 pm. So, my son rejected the scholarship!”. (Irene, Interview 4, Villa Isabel Riquelme)

“My husband had to leave his job in Santiago because he spent half of what he earned on transportation. When we made a family budget plan, the first thought was always to pay for transportation and then the home expenditures”. (Patricia, Interview 23, Villa Isabel Riquelme)

*“The transportation is horrible because of the frequency and the price. I came to Lampa in 2004 and until 2008 I commuted to Santiago. I had to get up at 5:00 a.m, I worked until 3 p.m but I arrived at 9:00 p.m. To be five hours per day on a bus or wait 1 hour thirty for a bus...this is no life!”. (Gloria, Interview 6, Villa El Pellín).**

*“I worked for six months in Lo Espejo. I earned the minimum salary of 150.000 pesos but I spent 80.000 pesos for transportation every month!”. (Ruben, Interview 14, Villa El Pellín).**

Social housing inhabitants of Lampa consider their life quality as highly conditioned by the feature of “inaccessibility”. Their condition of poverty appears as a poverty of connections (Graham and Marvin 2001, 53)²³, which affects the social and economic integration of families into the metropolis. This kind of inhabitant is a victim of the physical distance between their most significant places: home vs. open-market, wholesale supermarket, public hospital, retail-credit store, and jobs. This creates a fragmented city difficult to inhabit by people with less potential for mobility. Unlike other socioeconomic groups, these people did not dream to be converted in peri-urbanites because for them the traditional city center is still the most important hub of their survival.

7.3.3 Asymmetries in the ability to live in an extended metropolis

The residential areas in Lampa define a singular type of inhabitant for whom urban wellbeing not only depends on local facilities but also on services and jobs dispersed across the territory of Gran Santiago. The peri-urban inhabitants are characterized as residents of peri-urban projects, commuters to daily jobs in Santiago’s inner communes, and as residents “floating” among communes such as Santiago, Recoleta, Quilicura or Huechuraba (Mall Plaza Norte) where consume, health care and leisure are available. They remain a kind of “*user-inhabitant*” (Martinotti, 1993, 152-153) who inhabits flexibly different territories simultaneously. These inhabitants live in one place, but they also are users of several other places depending of the moment of the day and week (Muñoz, 2008, 27). Following the population concept proposed by Martinotti (1993) and Muñoz

²³ “Such a poverty of connections limits a person or group’s ability to extend their influence in time and space, often condemning them to local, place-based ties and relationships”. (Marvin and Graham 2001, 53)²³

(2008), the link becomes obvious of the peri-urban residential development on the one side and the emergence of a type of inhabitants who lives simultaneously in more than one city (Lampa and Gran Santiago). The development of this kind of inhabitant is explained by the weak influence of the settlement design on routines of access to basic services. No significant asymmetries between satellite towns and social housing estates are detectable. The capacities of both typologies of residential areas (social housing and satellite towns) are high with respect to satisfy educational needs, both shows weak ability to satisfy needs of health care at neighborhood scale, and moderate in their absorption of shopping routines (only approximately 30%). The absence of regional-urban plans with the aims to develop welfare services and the encouragement to establish private activities in peri-urban settlements (as an alternative to the intensive mobility) involved that peri-urban inhabitants were converted into diurnally floating inhabitants of Gran Santiago.

Taking into account the high dependence on Gran Santiago, the life quality asymmetries between Lampa's inhabitants appear as a consequence of the dissimilar condition of access to basic services at a metropolitan level. This is explained by two variables: the organization of urban centers (or functions) in suburban and peri-urban communes and the availability of mobility means. Since the nineties, the scattering of consume, residence and work over peripheral communes of Santiago (Quilicura, Huechuraba) installed a more multifunctional suburban model. However, this metropolitan structure does not necessarily imply an accessible city for each group of peri- or suburbanites. After an analysis of the practices of inhabitants, it is possible to argue that the scattering of urban functions such as provision of health, consume and leisure across the expansions of Santiago (mainly in larger shopping malls and mega-supermarkets) had an effect on middle income groups owning a car, but influenced the daily life of low-income peri-urbanites only marginally. The development of peripheral malls in Huechuraba, entrepreneurial parks in Huechuraba, satellite towns in peri-urban communes in Lampa, strip center in Colina, install a notion of Santiago as a metropolis that abandons the hierarchical structure (inner city vs. suburbs) toward a more reticular and multi-nodal urbanization. But this new model so far does not imply an easier access to services for each socioeconomic group. Rather, it is reserved exclusively for groups with the availability of a car for whom the metropolis became a variable and multicentered city. Others experience a classical version of suburbia that highly replicates their former routines of access to services in the inner communes.

Furthermore, the deprivation of an efficient public transport or a private car creates an hierarchical metropolitan social space where some groups are able to deal with the extended metropolitan space, while public transport users are adversely affected by the physical distance between urban centers. While the time to reach the city center is reduced to 30 minutes when a car is available, public transport users need between 90 to 120 minutes. The differentiated mobility means characterize Lampa as a heterogeneous and subjective vivid urban space where cartographies of access to urban services become conditioned by socioeconomic backgrounds. The peri-urbia in Santiago (Lampa) acts as a kaleidoscope-space facilitating or rejecting conditions of life quality depending of the socioeconomic characteristics of inhabitants. While for high-income population peripheries constitute an opportunity to escape from all the undesirable of the city like noise and environmental pollution, for lower socioeconomic groups the same periphery constitutes a spatial obstacle to the access to quality of life and opportunities of human development

7.4 Life quality perception and place-attachment in studied residential areas of Lampa.

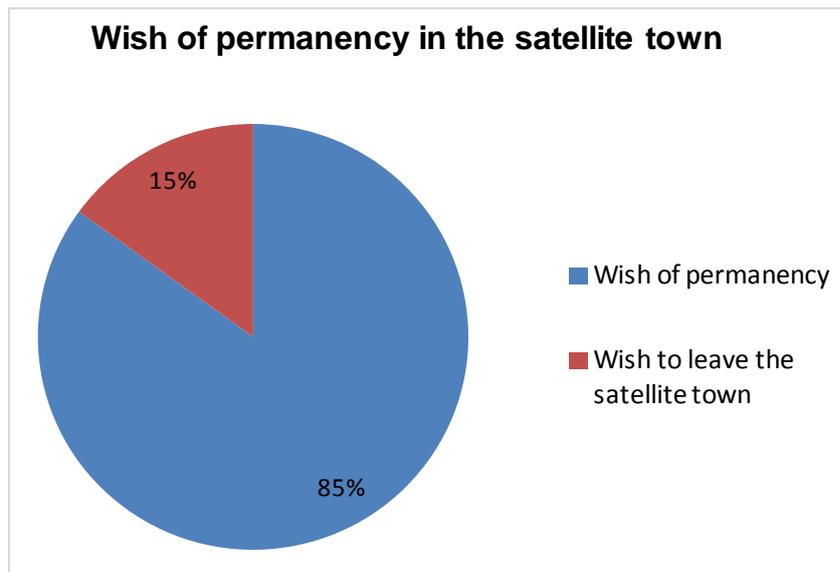
For the inhabitants, to establish residence in Lampa generally implied a profound but also specific redefinition of urban life. Together with the installation of new social and recreational practices in their neighborhoods this involved new conditions of access to basic services. The next section examines how life quality asymmetries are visible in the general perception of life quality as well as in the future projection of their residential areas.

7.4.1 Life quality perception in satellite towns.

Asked about the wish to stay in the satellite town, 85% of the interviewed residents project their further life in these settings (see Figure 31, page 169). This fact is explained simply because families accomplished the expectation to improve residential standards. According to the evidence above, the satellite town appears as a successful case of private action with high impact on the life quality of middle income groups. These groups are able to shape their urban life resembling a “city a la carte”, i.e. by selecting their valued urban attributes, such as green spaces, neighborhood facilities, pedestrian oriented town design, while excluding negative aspects of the traditional city of Santiago like stress, pollution, lack of safety, and lack of green areas. Furthermore, the peri-urbia does not constitute a damage of their social relationships because they replaced “local”

contacts by a reticular organization of social life being carried out in distant places, such as peripheral malls, private boulevards, specific quarters in Gran Santiago, or the gas station café. For these inhabitants the satellite towns were not the option of abandoning urban life completely but to clean it from unwanted experiences. To experience a life far away from jobs, clinics, family, and malls, did not change their notion of a conquest of a superior urban wellbeing.

Figure 31. Wish of permanency in the satellite town. Source: César Cáceres.



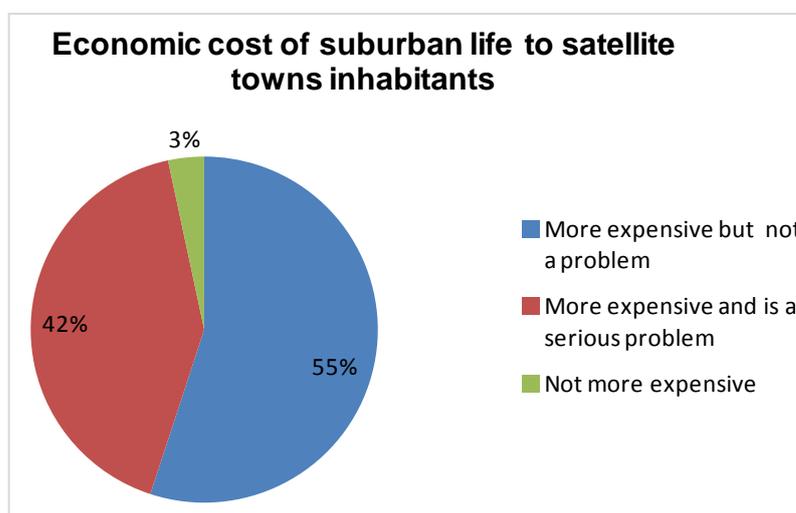
“For my monthly grocery shopping I use the supermarket of Larapinta although Santiago is thirty minutes by car. My son attends the schools from Larapinta. Stay? ... My former neighborhood was in Quilicura where I had no green areas, just a small football court and with shade. Here I cycle with my son every afternoon; we go with the dog to the hills and the swimming pool from the Club is not expensive... I like this life mode, one just tries to live better”. (Caty, Interview 8, Larapinta)

“I project my life here, because my life improves in terms of safety, I win in quietness, in pure air. I chose to live in Valle Grande because to gain life quality, and also to leave a complicated [unsafe] commune such as Huechuraba [former commune]...Here my daughters have no problem to play outside; I pay for safety and quietness, that’s what I win... although my family budget is less because everything is expensive, transport, supermarket, schools, but my incomes are the same. But we believed in the project [Valle

Grande] regarding that they sell a life in a “small city” where I do not need to go to Santiago...although this still does not happen”. (Tatiana, Interview 18, Valle Grande)

“I bought a house to stay here...I prefer to live here than in Santiago, even when I should stay all the time in Santiago. Here we gain pure air...here it is agreeable; it is just another quality of life. Here you can sleep quiet. I never had a problem I go for a walk at night and there isn't problem...and also with the technology - I can solve many things by internet. Here the problem is the lack of a good health center, the public health post in Lampa is not helpful - and a bigger supermarket”. (Victor, Interview 7, Larapinta)

Figure 32. Economic cost of peri-urban life to satellite towns inhabitants. Source: César Cáceres.



Do satellite towns in every case present an improvement of life quality? Even when the majority wished to stay in the satellite town, questions about access to basic services revealed that part of inhabitants did not agree with an urban life mode based on private facilities in the vicinity, far away from public hospitals, and with an inefficient public transport. Therefore, an additional question dealt with the availability of the necessary financial tools to handle the cost of the peri-urban life. Inquiring about their perception of life quality, opinions manifest clear variations in the individual economic capacities to deal with the higher expenses of life in private settlement (see Figure 32, page 170). A minor part described their life as a conflicting happiness between the satisfaction with the conquest of superior residential standards and an existence of economic scarcity (42% of residents report to keep its suburban dream under serious economic problems). How to

interpret this finding? Inhabitants under these conditions experience what Lipovetsky (2010, 13). describes as a "paradoxical happiness" characterized by an apparent contradiction in societies between a higher consumption ability but also higher levels of scarcity. The transition to the satellite town came as an economic shock for the emerging middle class groups because the city still was a source of welfare services (30% of interviewers are public health users). This results define the studied satellite towns as settlements composed by differentiated socioeconomic groups rather than homogeneous enclaves, since they are constituted by middle-high income groups and also by what in Chile is classified as middle-low income groups (in consume classification defined as C3). Inhabitants reports disagree from structural interpretations of urban life (put forward by Marxist geography) where space (city or neighborhood) acts as structure that condition (positively or negatively) the well-being of individuals. Satellite town reports portrait a private peri-urbia that does not represent an achievement of superior urbanity in every aspect or to every group.

"Stay? I am applying for another school for my son, the National Institute, which is very far from here, so I am thinking, a few more years and then I'll go. The supermarket is far and transport is very expensive. I don't have a car and it is very expensive. Also the housing payment...it is complicated. Many people have returned their homes to the banks because they cannot make the housing payments". (Johanna, Interview 1, Larapinta)

"I would not return to Santiago, although everything is closer there. We know that we need more patience that everything is fairness, but we win in life quality. Here, the life cost grew by 30%, but even considering that, we intend to stay here. Here we won a house where each of us has a room". (Manuel, interview 18, Larapinta)

"Yes, the familiar budget is limited, my son wanted to buy a car when we arrived here but as our life cost is higher he couldn't. The life cost rises because of the transport...if you look around, there are many signs 'for sale'. Here, there are many people who are selling their homes. People are coming, buy a house, and then they realize that the family budget is not enough". (Aida, Interview 27, Valle Grande)

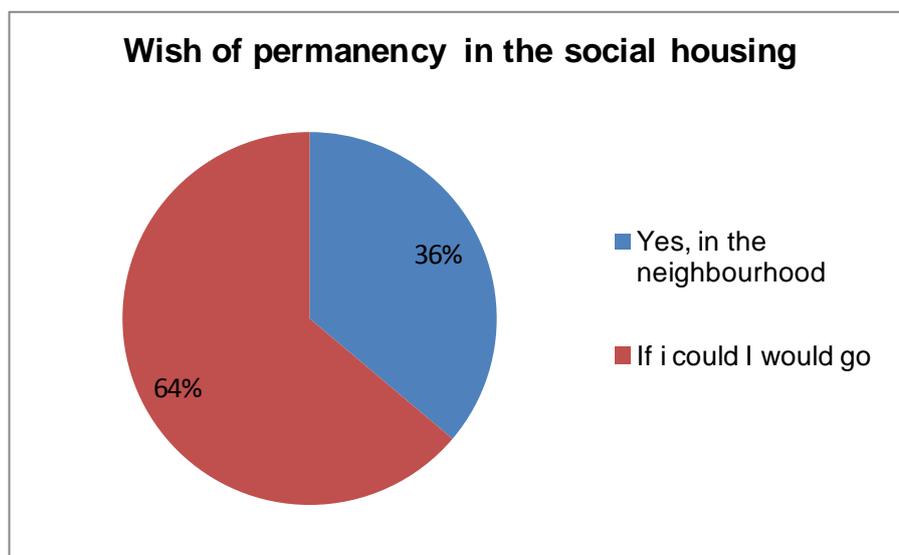
“I would not return to Santiago, we use up all our means to live quietly, I feel safe here; at weekends I take the children to the park. I won, because here is a different kind of neighbors. But financially, my life is worse because the price for the groceries and the schools are expensive. The familiar budget is affected because the payment for the home is high and regarding transport, you pay twice to go to Santiago. But, it is worth the money because it is another social climate for the children, and one should care for them. To them life quality is better”. (Susana, Interview 23, Valle Grande)

To pursue superior livability standards (neighborhood facilities, green areas, security) was the main reason behind the suburban exodus. Therefore, people want to stay to live their private city. But the fragile suburban life of this group can only continue as long as they can serve their debts. People decide to keep a superior urban life level under high degrees of economic uncertainty; however, as soon as some family member loses their job or an unforeseen expense emerges, sign posts “for sale” appear, pointing to a return to the city. With the Chilean economic development of the last decades, Santiago’s emerging middle-income groups enjoy more than ever personal freedom. They decide between several alternatives of urban habitat typologies and move freely for an extended and multi-centered metropolis. But the peri-urbanization process of middle income groups is also a phenomenon opening new forms of social vulnerability.

7.4.2 Life quality perception and place attachment in social housing estates

Asked about the wish to leave their neighborhood, 64% of respondents wished to move (see Figure 33, page 173) but to determine how many respondents of the remaining 36% stay simply because there is no chance to return to the city is unclear. Unlike private owners who just sell and return to the city, low-income peri-urbanites have little alternatives other than to return to the slums or to homes of family members. They acknowledge the inevitability of this peri-urban condition because their return to the city is only possible via the private real estate market. Homes are probably the most important familiar asset they ever had, but they serve as an anchor that binds them to a life mode they are unable to handle with their financial resources.

Figure 33. Wish of permanency in the social housing. Source: César Cáceres.



*"If public spaces would be improved, it would change the people's mentality. If the squares were beautiful, we would be disposed to care about them, because we would feel proud".. (Evelyn, Interview 1, Villa Isabel Riquelme).**

"I live as 'allegado' [people who live in homes of family members] in a slum in Recoleta but we could not build a home there because it was located in a hill...but I would return because here it is difficult to survive. In Santiago, I had a job. I was a guard, I worked for a cleaning company. After that, we moved to Lampa and everything changed; the system changed. There are jobs in Santiago but because of the price of transport I should always look for jobs in Lampa. My life improved because now I have a home but economically the change was a disaster...for me it has been very difficult...if I could I would return to Santiago, here we are isolated!" (Maria, Interview 5, Villa El Pellín)

"I came from the slum Senador Matte in Recoleta...but If I could, I would return because I lost the commodity of living in Santiago, where there were well transport, all things [facilities] are in the city center...more closer. I would come back but this is too difficult because I am a landowner here. I would like to sell the house but nobody wants to buy it". (Aida, Interview 7, Villa El Pellin)

"In Lampa, only seasonal work is available. Here there is only summer-job but in winter people stay workless. So ... we have better air, we own our house, but we

don't even have 10 pesos! The government does not think about that. People say, it's your house! Yes, it is my house, but I must also eat and dress!". (Fabiola, Interview 13, Villa El Pellin)

The study of the social housing estates El Pellín and Isabel Riquelme provides empirical data that support a change in the nature of urban poverty from a previous urban life in slums in Gran Santiago (consolidated metropolitan unit) toward a regional-scale poverty. This residents experiment a twofold exclusion i.e. a life in neighborhoods without recreational, health, and commercial facilities, as well as an inefficient public transport that hinders the access to social and economic opportunities of the metropolitan system. As is reported in the interview N°7 (page 174) they cannot sell their homes because the house has not a value able to allows a jump toward a better house in the future. The housing subsidy acts like a prison because condemn these people to a certain location and level of urbanity gave by the central and regional State. Traditionally, the social geography of Santiago has been viewed as two cities that co-exist within the same urban consolidated area (i.e., the upper-middle and upper-classes residences in "Upper Plaza Italia" and the lower- and lower-middle class residences of "Lower Plaza Italia"). Although this image of Santiago's social geography persists, it does not adequately reflect the current social cartographies of the metropolis. Low-income families are not solely inhabitants of the social condominiums in Pudahuel, Peñalolen, and Puente Alto. They also reside in social housing communities built in peri-urban settlements such as Lampa, Buin, or Colina which are 40 kilometers distant from their jobs, public services and fair commerce. Urbanites "without city" experience

7.4.3 Peri-urban communities of Lampa: a new social morphology in Santiago's peri-urbia.

The life quality asymmetries between private and social residential areas in Lampa attain different expressions both at the neighborhood experience as well as with regard to access to services at the metropolitan level. They emerge from the coexistence of middle-income groups, on one hand, who live in satellite towns designed from a multi-functional concept of neighborhood and low-income groups, on the other hand, who inhabit neighborhoods with severe planning deficiencies. The urban quality gaps between the habitats created by the holdings and the social housing estates are quite obvious regarding the interview statements about recreational practices or safety perception. The present urban quality asymmetry between satellite towns and social housing in Lampa is clearly verbalized by a satellite town inhabitant:

“if you walk out of Larapinta - which I never did before - it is like two different worlds, you go across the street and you find very small houses. This is a very hard shock, this creates resentments between one sector and the other, the difference is too great“. (Daniela, Interview 15, Larapinta)

The life quality asymmetries also arise from the differentiated access to services and job opportunities at a metropolitan level. The absence of incorporation of Lampa into the TRANSANTIAGO service routes causes a social differentiation between inhabitants of satellite towns with a car and financial means to live in an extended metropolis and the social housing inhabitants deprived of the economic resources to do the same. The accessibility gaps are enhanced by an uneven spread on the outskirts of the metropolis between private services such as consume, health, leisure (in shopping malls and mega-supermarkets) and other welfare services still concentrated in the city center (public hospitals). The life quality asymmetry reported by inhabitants could be interpreted as the emergence of a singular social geography in new residential areas of Lampa. It is characterized by three main groups that can be differentiated according to their financial situation which, in turn, affects their life quality perception.

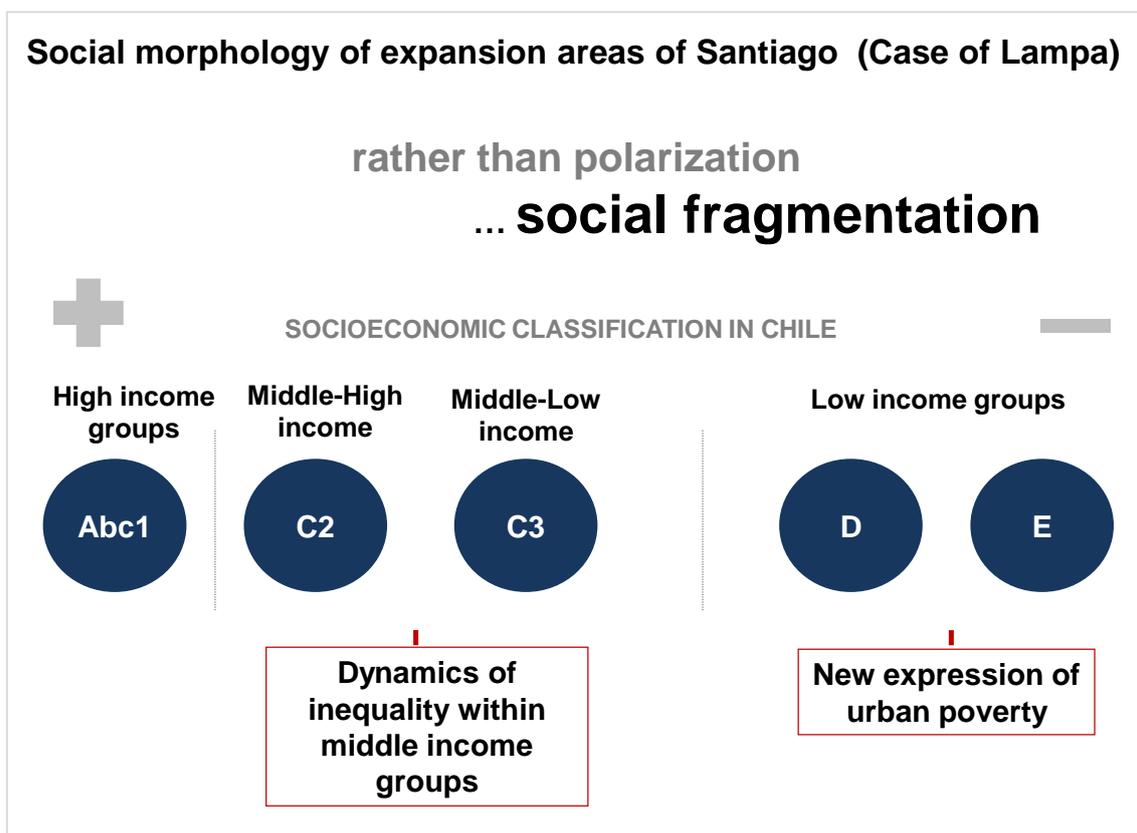
(1) First, there are low-income suburbanites for whom suburban life never was an aspiration. They moved because this was the only way to come to an own house. For these inhabitants, the idea of peri-urbia as livable communities came not true because they inhabit a “peri-urban ghetto” characterized by deficiencies in transport and neighborhood facilities, as well as by being distanced from family, welfare services and

fair-priced commerce. They do not want to be liberated from the traditional city; - on the contrary, their survival strategies depend on proximity. What little chances they have of returning to Santiago depends on the ability to participate in the private real estate market. These low income peri-urbanites define a new type of poverty in Santiago which is no longer related to homelessness but to home-owners living in settlements that, for design and location, are deprived from basic urban opportunities.

(2) Second, there are satellite town inhabitants with good economic resources to deal with the expensive peri-urban life. They show high satisfaction with a peri-urban life - even taking into account considerable costs for the need of increased mobility and the extensive use of different locations in the metropolis. These are people who enjoy a "city a la carte" because a private car is available. They consume, socialize, work, and live in distant territories. They accept the mobility and high economic cost as the price of living where they want to live. For these groups the Mall Plaza Norte is even more relevant than central communes and it appears as an elementary center of urbanity (gym, bank, health attention, cinema, etc). Life in the peri-urbia does not constitute a disadvantage to their social life or their access to basic services, but they keep an intensive social interaction with the metropolis through daily and intensive personal mobility.

(3) Third, there is a minor but not unimportant group of satellite town inhabitants (almost one third of those interviewed) who declare to experience their peri-urban life under serious economic stress. They regard suburban life as a precarious combination between neighborhood satisfaction and economic scarcity. These emerging middle income groups experience high satisfaction with the entrepreneurial urbanity, but the jump to the private housing market also implied an unprecedented economic scarcity associated with expenses for private neighborhood facilities and daily mobility. A significant part of this group presents themselves as intensive users of the public health services (FONASA), subsidized or municipal schools, public transport, and public kindergartens. They are also highly sensible to grocery prices and use fair supermarkets located in peripheral mall or the mega-supermarket of a specific brand (LIDER). For emerging middle class residents for whom the city is a source of welfare services and consumes opportunities the transition to the satellite town was regarded as a shock. The conquest of the superior everyday reality gives origin to a social problem that may be named "the paradoxical happiness of the suburbanite of emerging middle class". It is a fragile suburban life that will continue for as long as they are able to pay off their debts.

Figure 34. Social morphology of expansion areas of Santiago. Empirical evidence gives evidence that rather than polarization, Santiago exhibit a more diversified social fragmentation in expansion areas. Emerges new forms of social inequality beyond the limits among private residential areas and social housing areas. Source: César Cáceres



A distinctive feature of the recent residential development of Lampa is that the idea of emerging social polarity underlying the urban development process in Latin-American cities (Ciccolella, 1999; Tachner and Bogus, 2001; Janoschka 2002) remains too limited to explain satisfactorily the social geography of this commune. These processes were described expansion areas composed by a polarized social structured of luxurious residential enclaves coexisting with slums or social housing estates. The emerging social morphology of Lampa rather relates to a process which more closely resembles a diversification of social fragmentation arising not only between low and middle income groups but also between middle-income groups in satellite towns. This social fragmentation occurs between middle-high and middle-low income inhabitants with different ability to cope with the economic cost of a private settlement and mobile life. The residential model in expansion areas of Santiago configures a social morphology that appears not like an exact mirror image of the material quality of residential areas i.e. high

private standard vs precarious public urbanity but it shapes a more fragmented cartography of wellbeing which additionally encompasses new forms of poverty in peri-urban ghettos, and also populations of social vulnerability of emerging middle income groups in private residential areas. In contrast to the image of the peri-urbia as a homogeneous, boring, non-political territory, Lampa is an example of a dynamic and complex space where new expressions of social exclusion emerge that reach beyond the classical divisions between the private and the residential areas created by the central or regional state.

8. Conclusions. Peri-urban expansion in Santiago de Chile: an asymmetric residential model.

“An environmental and socially sustainable city should allow the fair and democratic distribution of wealth service, goods and opportunities”. Anna Tibajuka. UN Hábitat 2010.

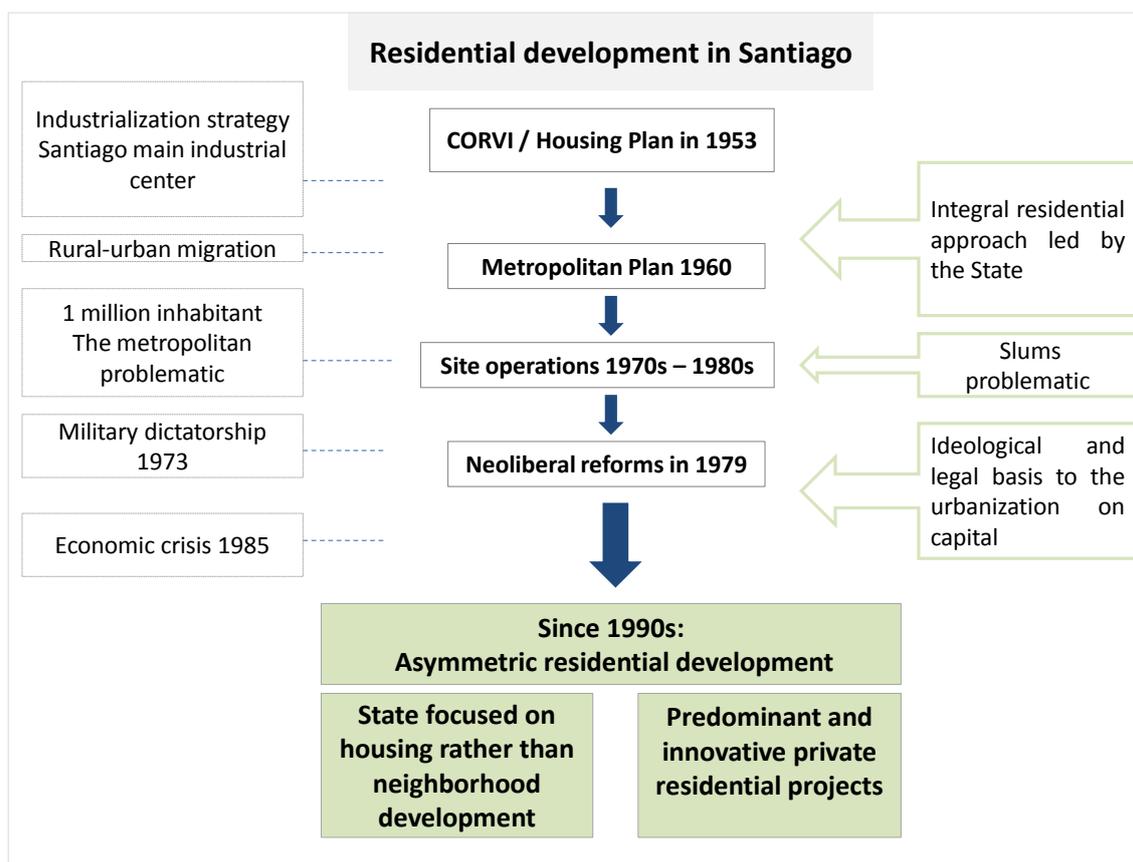
As presented above, the urbanization started in Lampa since the 2000s is founded on strong life quality asymmetries between social and private residential areas. This process occurs due to the coexistence of two differentiated city-making processes between an innovative urbanism led by real estate holdings with the potential to create mix-use towns, and residential areas configured by uncoordinated public offices building rows of homes rather than integral urban habitats. Does the asymmetric residential model of Lampa represent the new stage of urban inequality in Santiago? During the nineties, the most important goal of the governments was to reduce the deficit of 900,000 homes for low income groups. Between 1992 and 2002 1,27 million social housing units were built and the deficit was reduced to only 242,000 units. (Ravinet 2004 in Hidalgo et al. 2007). This was a period of high economic growth that, in combination with social policies, reduced the poverty from 38,6% in 1990 to 21% in 2000. Even though the housing deficit persists until today (current deficit is 480,000 due to the earth quake in 2010) the findings of this thesis give evidence of a transition from a main problematic of housing deficit or homelessness to a new urban problematic of highly differentiated qualities between neighbourhood infrastructure in Holdings´ and residential areas projected by the central-regional state. The residential model exhibited by Lampa shows a metropolis that, unlike in the period from the fifties to the eighties, does not exhibit a periphery of irregular settlements, neither is composed exclusively for social housing areas, but fragmented residential landscapes of differentiated livability, creating a complex social morphology in expansion areas of Santiago. (see Photo 27, page 180).

Photo 27. The asymmetric residential model in expansion areas of Santiago de Chile. Santiago experimented last two decades a transition from a urban problematic of expansion areas composed by social housing and slums, towards expansion areas characterized by an asymmetric residential model between Holdings´ and social housing estates. Source: César Cáceres.



The asymmetric residential model began in the nineties under the suburbanization period on peripheral communes of the Gran Santiago such as Quilicura, Maipu, Penalolen, Huechuraba. However in peri-urban communes such as Lampa (or Colina) this polarized housing model reached particular relevance because companies sophisticated their residential repertory, from a concept of mono-functional suburbs to multi-functional satellite towns which coexist with standardized welfare residential areas. What the urbanization of Lampa demonstrates is a larger distancing between the residential standards of each settlement typology. With a central State maintaining its historical role in urban development of the XXth century which is based on the logic of charity, and restricted to providing homes to low income groups, private investors became more indispensable to the access to life quality than ever before.

Figure 35. Historical context of the asymmetric residential model. Although historically urban quality gaps existed before, they become stronger due to the diversification in urbanization model with innovative urbanization by Holding companies and the traditional one by the central State which is mainly concentrates on the finance of housing subsidies.
Source: César Cáceres



This mode of urban expansion enhanced the differentiation of access to liveability attributes (recreational, commerce, health, transport) because both, in peripheral (Huechuraba, Puente Alto) as well as in peri-urban communes (Lampa or Colina) they remained restricted to corporate landscapes (private highway, mall, satellite town, strip center) for inhabitants with income. Leisure, consume, or health care and mobility are not democratic urban values but based on the primacy of the individual ability to get access. The satisfied inhabitant is one who lives in gated communities or satellite towns, uses private highways, consumes in malls and socializes in private boulevards. The central state financed housing programs for those families who cannot cross the border to the private real estate market. But local and regional governments lack the management tools to overcome neighborhood infrastructure gaps and establish a permanent management of

residential areas. Budget gaps, overlaps, and inter-municipal competition persist, which produce spatial tension between the geography of social needs and services.

Santiago, if analyzed historically, we found that the central state has developed housing programs since 1910, urban policy began in 1930 and, since the sixties, Santiago has been guided by various metropolitan plan instruments. So why shows the current urban quality gaps between different urban areas? Because even though a history of urban planning and normative exists, local and regional planning tools have been unable to configure a metropolis planned as a decentralized system of urban-social facilities able to democratize life quality regardless of the socioeconomic composition of each area. Was urban policy in Chile more effective before the neoliberal turn? The inefficiency of planning instruments was not born with the neoliberal policies, the metropolitan plan of 1960 and 1994 fell into the same errors of not adapting the financial and technical tools of local and regional governments to accomplish the proposed aims. Perhaps the real effects of the neoliberal turn should be read as the interruption of a learning process of metropolitan management initiated by the metropolitan plan of 1960. Likewise, the restoration of a democratic government in 1990 did not cause a rethinking of the role and urban planning instruments available for regional and local governments. This is even more relevant since the nineties when the differences between the residential project led by state in its several scales, and private residential areas became more pronounced due to the higher standards of private activity in parallel to the standardized urban planning led by public bodies. This polarized urbanization pattern is specially expressed in the configuration of suburban and peri-urban residential areas.

How can these problems be resolved in a scenario of intensive future urban development in Santiago? Regarding the economic and social problem arising from the location of low income groups and middle- low income groups in peri-urban communes showed in this thesis the suitable strategy for urban growth of Santiago will always be to integrate residential areas into Gran Santiago (e.i. into the TRANSANTIAGO routes, close to fair-priced commerce and public hospitals). However, projections establish that Santiago will host between 1.2 and 1.6 millions of new inhabitants in 2030. Part of this growth will be located towards the 10.000 hectares defined as urban growth areas by the Metropolitan plan of Santiago 2010 (which requires for each urbanization project a quota of 8% of social housing). Consequently, this appears as a limited strategy considering that the soil prices and the demand for private projects probably will render the location of the

projected 192,000 new social houses into Gran Santiago difficult. In this sense, the future scenario of the growth of the metropolis opens challenges to creating alternative strategies of growth that can overcome current asymmetries in terms of neighbourhood and transport infrastructure.

A more equal metropolitan structure of opportunities demands a planning agenda toward a concept of Santiago city-region. It should be based on a principle of “decentralized concentration” (Frey, 1999) of urban attributes (at communal and neighborhood level) in expansion areas i.e. peripheral and peri-urban communes. As a basic criterion, residential areas should be planned as the basic unit for the delivering of social programs (schools, health, commerce, parks, public libraries, public transport). Current discussion in Chilean urban studies are focused on the limited financial instruments available to local governments (undoubtedly a critical situation), but, no consideration has been given to the most suitable scale (local or regional) for social policies²⁴. On this sense, what is the real impact that large parks have on central communes of Santiago when the daily urban experience of children from Lampa, Quilicura or Puente Alto does not change? The concept behind a strategy of decentralized concentration of urban values on residential areas is not to prevent people from travelling (location of jobs is a process beyond the attributions of planning instruments) but give an alternative to obligated mobility for health, consume, education or leisure reasons. But, according to Frey (1999) there are many who, for several reasons, do not believe in the viability of a neighborhood scale of public management. There is an argument that people who live in a neighborhood may not necessarily use the local services and facilities but those in other areas of the city. It is an issue of preference rather than proximity. Or people simply use the facilities near their workplace, or for other obvious reasons. However, following the arguments of this author, cities needs a more integral planning approach for the neighborhood because it provides services and facilities for the less mobile groups, especially the elderly, young mothers with small children, and the disabled. For these people, childcare, commerce, health care or recreational facilities in the vicinity are elemental.

²⁴ When Chilean inhabitants were asked about the quality of neighbourhood facilities, 51% considered sport infrastructure as poor or regular and 16% stated that it was does non-existent; 42% considered that parks were in a poor condition and 12% that they don't exist (survey on urban life quality, MINVU 2010). Furthermore, when asked about use of public libraries, 18% stated that they do not use any because they do not know where they are (Survey about cultural consume, 2009).

scale as basic unit of delivery; (4) adjustment of transport programs (TRANSANTIAGO) aimed to include all most dynamic peri-urban communes; (5) to create regional or metropolitan authorities with financial and political power and the tools to invest in urban infrastructure that overcome communal budget differences; (6) higher transfer of resources from central to local governments which would allow to finance permanent urban projects, and to eliminate the logic of “urban development via vouchers” used today; (7) revision of the policy related to the added value for soil urbanized by the privates (projects which urbanized rural soil, or close to underground lines) that exhibit higher profit margins; (8) financial tools added to communal regulator plans.

The peri-urbanization process in Santiago could achieve real improvement in the quality of life of families, who otherwise would be doomed to live in small apartments in inner communes. However, this requires a transition to a model of a metropolis based on attributes of functionality and social integration. To overcome the current asymmetries between residential areas in expansion territories is necessary to provide urban quality at the peri-urban margins where the city is arising.

8.1. The asymmetric residential model in expansion areas of Santiago: an agenda for future research

On the basis of the findings of this thesis, future research should involve the following research lines:

a) Life quality studies

The social problematic explored in this thesis, evident in the conflicting experience of life quality both in social housing estates and in satellite towns, suggests that quantitative social research methods, such as surveys, should be used to strengthen the arguments derived from the study of life quality evaluation in residential areas of Santiago. Such an application of quantitative methods should increase our understanding of the following subjects:

- a. The suburbanization of emerging middle income groups and their conflicting happiness with the conquest of superior residential standards in private communities and its association with conflicts of economic scarcity.
- b. The impact of the design and the location of social housing estates on life quality perception, and the differentiated daily practices and life quality evaluation between inhabitants of social and private residential areas.
- c. The study of conditions of urban life quality in peri-urban communities should help to adequately evaluate the social impact of the urban planning instruments used in expansion areas of Santiago (and other similar systems).

b) The urbanism of Holdings Companies

This thesis explored the action of private real estate agents in the peri-urbanization of Santiago de Chile. The evidence here stresses the relevance of the private actors in the current development of this metropolis, and how a specific mode of private action emerges which I define as the "urbanization led by holding companies". Although the private urban development of Santiago has been explored here and also by other Chilean authors, the study of planning and administration of satellite towns opens new questions in the following areas: (1) About actors - their financial tools and political networks; (2) about the governance arrangements between holdings companies and local administrations – conflicts, alliances, modes of coordination; (3) exploring typologies and their planning and administration processes of urban megaprojects (satellite towns,

waterfronts, regional malls, leisure mega projects, etc.). The urban development led by holding companies is a subject of high importance not only for the understanding of urban development of Santiago but also for the recent urbanization processes in other Chilean cities.

c) Planning and governance of residential areas

The above evidence concerning the low regard, associated with neighborhood facilities for the social housing inhabitants, suggests the relevance to explore innovative instruments for the design of comprehensive residential areas mixed with social facilities for daily use. The creation of multifunctional residential areas also implies the study of new approaches in urban governance, considering financial instruments for local governments, neighborhood plans with secure funds, and modes of private-public partnerships for the development of socially mixed neighborhoods. Evidence here emphasizes the necessity of improved and comprehensive modes of neighborhood planning, with a shift from a planning approach restricted to the development of houses, towards a planning conception of the neighborhood as a spatial unit that includes delivering basic social services. The study should result in a governance mechanism that encourages the transition into a city of lively neighborhoods as a condition to face the urban quality gap presently existing between private residential projects and areas under administration of municipalities. Consequently, this should be a priority in Chilean urban studies.

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APPENDIX 1. Names of Interviewees

Name	Institution
Maria Jose Balmaceda	Real estate administrator of the project Valle Grande
Name withheld	Real estate administrator of the project Larapinta
Eduardo General	Municipal administrator of the commune of Lampa

Larapinta	
Name	Community
Johanna	Larapinta
Fernanda	Larapinta
Judith	Larapinta
Luisa	Larapinta
Johanna	Larapinta
Carla	Larapinta
Victor	Larapinta
Caty	Larapinta
Regina	Larapinta
Claudia	Larapinta
Carmen	Larapinta
Mabel	Larapinta
Marlen	Larapinta
Carolina	Larapinta
Daniela	Larapinta
Marcela	Larapinta
Ana	Larapinta
Manuel	Larapinta
Mariela	Larapinta
Lisette	Larapinta
Rodolfo	Larapinta
Isabel	Larapinta
Paulina	Larapinta
Elisa	Larapinta
Maritza	Larapinta
Samuel	Larapinta
Elizabeth	Larapinta
Adela	Larapinta
Adriana	Larapinta
Jennifer	Larapinta

Valle Grande	
Name	Community
Catalina	Valle Grande
Magdalena	Valle Grande
Susi	Valle Grande
Christina	Valle Grande
Wendy	Valle Grande
Paola	Valle Grande
Alejandra	Valle Grande
Olaya	Valle Grande
Evelyn	Valle Grande
Margarita	Valle Grande
Rosa	Valle Grande
Elizabeth	Valle Grande
Marcela	Valle Grande
Andrea	Valle Grande
Maria	Valle Grande
Barbara	Valle Grande
Nadia	Valle Grande
Tatiana	Valle Grande
Vanesa	Valle Grande
Estela	Valle Grande
Elsa	Valle Grande
Doris	Valle Grande
Susana	Valle Grande
Gabriela	Valle Grande
Angélica	Valle Grande
Hilda	Valle Grande
Aida	Valle Grande
Patricia	Valle Grande
Jessica	Valle Grande
Maite	Valle Grande

Villa El Pellin	
Name	Community
Ingrid	Villa El Pellin
Teresa	Villa El Pellin
Gabriela	Villa El Pellin
Magdalena	Villa El Pellin
Maria	Villa El Pellin
Gloria	Villa El Pellin
Aida	Villa El Pellin
Evelyn	Villa El Pellin
Marion	Villa El Pellin
Beatriz	Villa El Pellin
Sandra	Villa El Pellin
Fabiola	Villa El Pellin
Rubén	Villa El Pellin
Sonia	Villa El Pellin
Margot	Villa El Pellin
Gladys	Villa El Pellin
Rocio	Villa El Pellin
Ines	Villa El Pellin
Macarena	Villa El Pellin
Silvana	Villa El Pellin
Melisa	Villa El Pellin
Cintia	Villa El Pellin
Debora	Villa El Pellin
Patricia	Villa El Pellin
Fernando	Villa El Pellin
Carlos	Villa El Pellin
Mariela	Villa El Pellin
Ximena	Villa El Pellin
Eduardo	Villa El Pellin
Monica	Villa El Pellin

Isabel Riquelme	
Name	Community
Evelyn	Isabel Riquelme
Angela	Isabel Riquelme
Alejandra	Isabel Riquelme
Irene	Isabel Riquelme
Nancy	Isabel Riquelme
Silvia	Isabel Riquelme
Genesis	Isabel Riquelme
Vivian	Isabel Riquelme
Silvana	Isabel Riquelme
Irma	Isabel Riquelme
Julio	Isabel Riquelme
Monica	Isabel Riquelme
Lorena	Isabel Riquelme
Ivonne	Isabel Riquelme
Elizabeth	Isabel Riquelme
Guillermina	Isabel Riquelme
Carmen	Isabel Riquelme
Roberto	Isabel Riquelme
Raquel	Isabel Riquelme
Ruth	Isabel Riquelme
Claudia	Isabel Riquelme
Rosa	Isabel Riquelme
Patricia	Isabel Riquelme
Sofia	Isabel Riquelme
Emily	Isabel Riquelme
Maciel	Isabel Riquelme
Rosana	Isabel Riquelme
Ana	Isabel Riquelme
Maria	Isabel Riquelme
Leonor	Isabel Riquelme

APPENDIX 2. Questionnaires

Inhabitants of Satellite Towns

1. For how long do you live in this project?
2. Where did you live before?
3. You or family member work in Santiago?
4. Is a member of your family in a school or a kindergarten of the project?
5. What is your opinion of the schools or kindergarten of the project?
6. When receiving medical attention where do you go most frequently? Is it private or public institution?
7. About the medical center: How often do you attend medical centers?
8. Have you attended the medical center of the satellite town? If not, why?
9. Have you attended the public health post of Lampa? If not, why?
10. Where do you shop your groceries?
11. How often do you shop in a supermarket?
12. How often do you use the supermarket of the satellite town?
13. How do you evaluate the commercial offers in Lampa?
14. How do you rate the quality of squares and multipurpose courts in your neighborhood? Very good – good – medium – poor - very poor?
15. How often do you use squares and parks of your neighborhood? Every day - more than three times a week - weekends - twice per month?
16. What transport means do you use to move to Santiago?
17. How often do you go to Santiago for different reasons than for a job? Which needs produce higher demand of mobility?
18. Can you indicate facilities that are necessary in this project today?
19. Do you feel safe living here? Do you feel safe walking at night?
20. Do you participate in a neighborhood board?
21. How would you describe your relationships with your neighbors?
22. Did your life quality improve or worsen when you came to this project? What are the main differences?
23. Do you have the feeling of attachment to this neighborhood?
24. Do you project your future in this neighborhood?
25. If you could, would you return to Santiago?
26. Do you use the private sports club of the neighborhood?
27. Do you consider that satellite towns such as Larapinta are an improvement in the life quality for inhabitants of Santiago?
28. If there are problems with the urban services or infrastructure, e.g. holes in the streets, lighting, security issues, do you contact the municipality or the company?

29. Do you think that the costs for life increased in the satellite town? If yes, are the new life costs a serious problem?

Inhabitants of social housing estates

1. For how long do you live in this project?
2. Where did you live before?
3. Did you apply to Lampa or was this your only option?
4. Do you or a family member work in Santiago?
5. Is a member of your family in a school or a kindergarten of Lampa?
6. How do you evaluate the schools or kindergarten of Lampa?
7. When you receive medical attention where do you go most frequently? Is it a private or a public institution?
8. About the medical center: How often do you attend medical centers?
9. Have you attended the public health post of Lampa? If not, why?
10. Where do you shop your groceries?
11. How often do you shop in a supermarket?
12. How often do you use the supermarket of Lampa?
13. How do you evaluate the commercial offer in Lampa?
14. How do you evaluate the quality of squares and multipurpose courts in your neighborhood? Very good – good – medium – poor - very poor?
15. How often do you use squares and parks of your neighborhood? Every day - more than three times a week – at weekends - twice per month?
16. What recreational activities do you make in your neighborhood?
17. Why are the squares destroyed? Give your opinion?
18. Which means of transport do you use to go to Santiago?
19. How often do you go to Santiago for different reasons than the job? Which needs produce the highest demand for mobility?
20. Name the facilities that are necessary to improve your neighborhood today?
21. Do you participate in a neighborhood board?
22. How would you describe your relationship to your neighbors?
23. If you see problems with the quality of squares, holes in the streets, lighting, etc., do you contact the municipality?
24. Do you project your future in this neighborhood?
25. Do you feel attached to this neighborhood?
26. Do you feel safe living here? Do you feel safe walking at night?
27. Did your life quality improve or worsen when you came to this project? What are the main differences?

Municipal administrator of Lampa

1. What urban growth is projected for Lampa in the coming decades?
2. Has Lampa a communal regulator plan? At what stage of development is the Communal Regulator Plan of Lampa?
3. What instrument norms the urban development of Lampa?
4. Lampa has been intensively transformed during the last decades from the creation of PDUC, ADUP, ZODUC. Was the creation of an “area of conditioned urbanization” a participative process of decision between the regional government and municipality?
5. For how many years does the company maintain the green areas and what happens when the company sells the entire project?
6. How is the coordination with the company regarding the delivery of urban services such as street lighting, garbage collection, cleaning of streets, etc.?
7. What benefit and risks contains the conditioned urbanization normative to the urban administration of municipalities?
8. How much social housing is projected by the municipality in the coming years?
9. How evaluates the municipality the creation of social housing urbanization in Lampa?
10. Is the location of social housing urbanization a participative process with the regional government?
11. Is social housing mainly inhabited by families that come from Santiago or people from Lampa?
12. What financial instruments are available for the municipality for the delivering and maintenance of urban infrastructure such as multipurpose courts, green areas or libraries in social housing areas?
13. What kinds of services or infrastructure want the inhabitants of social housing urbanizations?
14. What kinds of services or infrastructure want inhabitants of satellite towns?
15. How do you see the coordination with the regional government in basic urban services for municipalities such as health, transport, social housing programs?
16. Which mechanisms of coordination exist with sectorial ministries in delivering social programs such as internet, libraries, sport infrastructure, in the scale of neighborhoods?
17. Are there plans to include Lampa into the routes of the TRANSANTIAGO?
18. Do you consider a territorial co-government for satellite towns in Lampa?

Real Estate Administrator (Larapinta and Valle Grande)

1. How many years does the project run?
2. How many people live today in the project and how much does it cost?
3. At what social segment aims the project?
4. How do you define the project? What is the main attraction?
5. How is the maintenance of green areas coordinated with the municipality?
6. How is the installation of urban services such as fire guard or police negotiated?
7. How are roles and responsibilities distributed between you and the municipality in issues such as street lighting, cleaning of streets, maintenance of parks, etc?
8. What are critical issues in the coordination or relationship with the municipality?
9. How do you evaluate the local government as a counterpart in the development and administration of satellite towns?
10. How does the company attract private facilities such as supermarket, schools, etc.?
11. Schools and sports clubs are property of the company?
12. The "normative under condition" requires to build social housing in the project?
13. How does the company evaluate the requirement of social housing?
14. What mechanisms operate in the communication with the community? Is there a neighborhood board?
15. Requires the urban ordinance for satellite towns the location of public services such as schools or health post?
16. How is coordination with the metropolitan transport system TRANSANTIAGO when satellite towns are created? And what about the location of public or semi-public services such as schools, kindergartens or health post?
17. The public transport to Santiago is property of the company?
18. In the next years you will reach the dimension of a private middle-size town; does the company see itself as a small local government?
19. What urban infrastructure or services are planned for the next years?
20. Is this model of urbanization for conditions an attractive model to invest or is it too demanding?
21. Regarding the experience of the past years: How does the company evaluate its experience with the development and administration of satellite towns?

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