Bringing Inequality Closer: A Comparative Urban Sociology of Socially Diverse Neighborhoods

BY

JAVIER RUIZ-TAGLE
B.S. University of Chile, 2004
M.S. University of Chile, 2006

THESIS
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Defense Committee:

Janet Smith, Chair and Advisor
John Betancur
Nik Theodore
Nilda Flores-Gonzalez, Sociology
Anthony Orum, Sociology

This thesis is dedicated to my wife, Leslie, for her wise academic advice, for her enormous emotional support, and for her infinite love.

And to my lovely newborn son, Pedro, whose cute smile inspires much more than a dissertation.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CEPAL   Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (Spanish Acronym)

CHA   Chicago Housing Authority

HUD   US Department of Housing and Urban Development

LAC   Local Advisory Council

LISC   Local Initiatives Support Corporation

MINVU   Chilean Department of Housing and Urban Development (Spanish Acronym)

NNUP   Near North Unity Program

SERVIU   Chile's Regional Authority of Housing and Urban Development (Sp. Acronym)

SRO   Single Room Occupancy Housing

TIF   Tax Increment Financing

SUMMARY

This research looks at and compares two historically segregated global-north and global-south cities: Chicago and Santiago de Chile. I study one diverse neighborhood in each place, in order to understand the relationship between neighborhood social diversity and several dimensions of socio-spatial integration. The hypothesis was that if other exclusionary processes remain unchanged, the mere physical proximity between different social groups should lead to incomplete outcomes of integration for poor groups.

I conducted a one year-long comparative case-study, complementing qualitative with quantitative techniques, and trying to critically differentiate theories and policies from their specific contexts. Data collection involved collection of case-history literature; collection of spatial and socioeconomic information; and most importantly, qualitative case-studies employing in-depth interviews, field observations, and spatial inventories. I compared the outcomes of diversity in both cases, focusing on the main factors that mark segregation and integration in each country and city; namely, a) social stratification systems, b) housing allocation systems and c) welfare systems in space.

The main discovery from the study of both cases is that physical proximity of different social groups, irrespective of the urban processes that bring them together, does not directly create the outcomes that supporters of poverty dispersion policies believed at first; that is, social networks, social control, role models and an expanded geography of opportunities. At least, these spatial configurations do not bring those benefits by themselves. In other words, the social diversity of the studied neighborhoods is not a precondition of enhanced opportunities, better intergroup relationships or less exclusion from the housing market. In fact, the opposite has been true. Lower status groups in both

SUMMARY (continued)

cases: i) have limited job opportunities, ii) have limited access to quality education, iii) have highly

difficult intergroup relationships with upper status groups, and iv) suffer from exclusionary housing and

political economic processes. All these bring implications for the wide separation between discourse and

reality regarding neighborhood diversity (including its concealment of power differentials), and the

supposed reversal of the outcomes of concentrated poverty, which challenges the literature on

'neighborhood effects'.

I. INTRODUCTION

Shake well, separation is natural

I found this written on a juice bottle and, of course, I found it extremely evocative. The juice was a blend of three different flavors: mango, pineapple, and banana. The consistency of each fruit's juice was different. So indeed, the juices tended to separate 'naturally'. But what I found suggestive was the analogy to my work and the phenomena I am trying to analyze in this dissertation. To me, the phrase written on the juice bottle, translated to human relationships, suggests three interrelated ideas. First, similar elements tend to group spontaneously by their own affinity, and not by external forces. Second, given this situation, mixing elements is recommended and thought to be positive. That is, the flavor of the mix is better than the elements separated. And third, the mix has to be done by an external actor, who has to counteract a 'natural' tendency. Sounds convincing! Let's drink another bottle!

However, human reality is much more complex than the direct translation of natural processes. Maybe some social groups coalesce together in a single neighborhood by their own affinity, like poor residents looking for local ties of subsistence and solidarity. But the external forces of racial and class exclusion, public housing policies or market speculation, are much more decisive in the definitive location of these individuals. Maybe mixing different social groups in a single neighborhood could be positive in some aspects, like having less crime and a better quality of the built environment for the poor. But it would be difficult to affirm that these groups together, instead of separated, form a better community. At least, it is not clear in what aspect could they be a better community and how this is achieved. But the idea that the mix has to be done by an external actor who will counteract a 'natural'

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tendency presents a double problem. First, there have been examples, which I mention in the

Theoretical Framework, in which social mix have emerged without any plan designing it. And this has

happened in two different forms; as a self-conscious movement (Cashin 2004, Nyden, Maly, and

Lukehart 1997) or as an 'accident' of urban development (Ellen 2000, Galster 1998, Sabatini and Salcedo

2007, Salcedo and Torres 2004). And second, this 'natural' tendency (that the external actor has to

counteract), has been highly criticized in the history of urban debates on segregation and integration,

because it conceals the active and powerful forces influencing the location of people in metropolitan

areas (Castells 1978, Saunders 1986).

Thus, this dissertation research delves into relationships of segregation and integration

happening in socially mixed neighborhoods of two cities; Chicago and Santiago de Chile. These two

cities are very different in terms of the main forces dividing their population (race in the US and class in

Chile), and in terms of their housing markets (dynamic in Chicago and stable in Santiago). However,

both Chicago and Santiago have grown with large areas of segregated poor population; in Chicago, poor

blacks are concentrated in the west and south side; and in Santiago, residents of massively-produced

social housing developments are concentrated in the northwest and south peripheries. In addition to

these common historical patterns, the neoliberal reforms brought several processes of territorial

exclusion, which in the US is generally characterized as *'new urban poverty'* (see IJURR, 1993, volume

17, issue 3) or *'advanced marginality'* (Wacquant 1996b, 2008), and in Latin America as *'social*

fragmentation' (Prévôt-Schapira 2001).

In Chicago, these processes created large areas of black poverty, with low quality and racially-

segregated education, food and health deserts, increasing public and private disinvestment, and denied

access to formal employment (Massey and Denton 1993, Wilson 1998). Similarly, Santiago presents

large areas of poverty concentration, with extremely low standards of urbanization, services and

opportunities, class-segregated education, low-budget local governments, and vast income differences with higher classes (Barozet 2011, Rodríguez and Winchester 2001). However, policy initiatives and land deregulation have created an apparently opposite picture in both cities: a few areas of extreme race/class diversity. In Chicago, policies such as mixed-income housing have put together poor black, public-housing residents with wealthy condo owners (Joseph and Chaskin 2010). And in Santiago, the spread of upscale gated communities has 'colonized' poor peripheries in which social housing developments were established, although without explicit gentrification (Sabatini, Cáceres, and Cerda 2001). In both cases, the arrival of upper status residents has modified the quality of public and private services, and generated some employment opportunities (Deluca and Rosenbaum 2010, Sabatini and Salcedo 2007). And these examples have encouraged debates about the possibility of creating less-segregated neighborhoods.

In this context, several authors have studied the emergence of diverse neighborhoods and various issues happening in mixed-income environments (in an isolated fashion). In addition, there are a strong rhetoric and high expectations among policy-makers and some scholars, who believe that mere physical proximity between groups would create a virtuous circle of several benefits for the poor (Joseph 2006). Nevertheless, this proximity between groups have created more symbolic than instrumental gains (Joseph and Chaskin 2010), due to persistent divisions in other spheres of life (schools, public space, etc.), and institutional arrangements perpetuating socioeconomic differences. Therefore, **the problem is** that there is no clarity about the complexity of comprehensive processes of integration, and consequently, the idea of social mix still relies on modest theoretical claims. Then, **the purpose of this qualitative study** is to understand and describe the interplay between multiple social relationships of integration and spatial proximity, for neighborhoods having a mixture of different social groups, both in Chicago and Santiago de Chile. In other words, I study the extent to which spatial configurations of physical proximity between different social groups intervene in processes of socio-spatial integration. I

hypothesize that if other forces of exclusion remain unchanged, neighborhood diversity should lead to incomplete outcomes of integration for marginalized groups. Specific research questions and sub-questions are:

> *Q1: How do excluded groups experience living in proximity to higher status neighbors?*
>
> *Q2: How does this experience affect their socio-spatial integration?*

> *SQ1: How should the coexistence of segregation and integration in urban areas of demographic diversity be interpreted?*
>
> *SQ2: How does this coexistence vary across contexts?*
>
> *SQ3: How can policies for integration be framed from a multi-dimensional perspective?*

This dissertation research is a case-study that contrasts the experience of diversity with a critical analysis of socio-spatial exclusion. To do this, I conceive socio-spatial integration as a relationship comprised of four dimensions (Ruiz-Tagle 2013); i) proximity between different groups, ii) access to opportunities and services, iii) non-hierarchical interactions, and iv) identification with a common ground. I conducted a comparative, qualitative case-study looking at two cases: *Cabrini Green* in Chicago and *La Florida* in Santiago. From the exploration of these cases, the idea was to understand the multi-dimensional character of integration, and its dependence on other processes of social defragmentation. Besides, the idea was to observe how segregation and integration varies in terms of different race/class combinations, housing allocation systems, and welfare systems in space.

Cabrini Green was a huge public housing project within the wealthy Near North Side, inhabited by a wide majority of African-Americans. After decades of concerted efforts of social,

economic, and political disinvestment, it was transformed into a diverse area colonized by new-urbanist, mixed-income developments, raising the threat of gentrification. While there are some organizations working towards social cohesion, several individual, collective and institutional forces maintain poor blacks and upper-middle class groups living in a *"diverse and dissected"* environment, as one black activist told me in an interview. The eastern section of ***La Florida***, a peripheral area of Santiago, received several flows of social housing between the 1970s and the 1990s. The influx of upper-class gated communities from 2000s brought new commercial services, private schools, and growing resistance to more social housing, while organizations of established residents have been counteracting the Real Estate advance and claiming more green areas. In both cases, my research has sought to understand if this close proximity between different groups is leading to further social outcomes, especially for excluded groups.

Data ***collection*** involved collection of case-history literature, collection of spatial and socioeconomic information, and most importantly, qualitative case-studies employing interviews, field observations, and spatial inventories. ***In-depth interviews*** were directed to lower-status and upper-status residents (N=40, each case), and to institutional actors (N=10, each case), discussing experiences of diversity, opportunities for low-income people, influence of local institutions, intergroup relationships, and role of public spaces. The selection of residents was based on a 'decentralized' snowball sampling, creating some profiles to start with several contacts. ***Field observations*** were used to study key places of intergroup contact, examining how social hierarchies are deployed in real-life situations. I conducted 20 observations per case (3-hours long each), mixing passive observation with some questions to actors, recording notes and analytical comments. And ***spatial inventories*** were proposed to observe how space is used and transformed by different groups. I conducted 10 spatial inventories per case (2-hours long each) to map and photograph non-residential land uses, temporary uses, signs of activity, status markers, and types of affordable housing. The total time for the entire

fieldwork was 13 months; 8 months in Chicago and 5 months in Santiago. Narratives (from interviews and field notes) were stored together with pictures, and coded in Atlas.ti. Mappings were stored in a single GIS project. I analyzed the collected data regarding the physical configuration of space, the opportunities, relationships and identities of its residents, and the incidence of institutions in local issues. Then, I compared the outcomes of diversity in both cases, focusing on the main factors that make segregation and integration to vary in each context; namely, social stratification systems, housing allocation systems and welfare systems in space.

The present dissertation comprises 9 chapters, from theoretical discussions, methods, policy trajectories, reports from case studies, comparisons, and conclusions. As a note to the reader, there are two important things to take into account. First, although key concepts are defined precisely in the Theoretical Framework and Comparative Framework, the concepts of 'social mix', 'integration', 'mixed-income' and '(demographic) diversity' are used somewhat interchangeably in this dissertation. And second, I treat the problem of segregation and integration in a comprehensive way. That is, although the focus is on housing and neighborhoods, the understanding is that relationships are fluid and transit from one sphere of relationships to another.

After Chapter 1 (this Introduction), Chapter 2 presents the Theoretical Framework that drives this dissertation research. The Theoretical Framework basically discusses two interrelated bodies of literature, residential segregation and socio-spatial integration, and their connection with the framing of public policies. For each body of literature, I review definitions, debates, key concepts and empirical studies. Furthermore, I present a preliminary framework for both segregation and integration. Moreover, I review the theoretical framing of social mix policies in terms of their history, applications and debates, finishing with some partial conclusions to illuminate the subsequent analysis. Chapter 3 presents the Comparative Framework of this dissertation, which complements the Theoretical

Framework and lays the ground for the comparative analysis. In it, I describe the characteristics of three

structural factors of contextual variation that drive the causes, dynamics and consequences of residential

segregation in each country (US and Chile) and each city (Chicago and Santiago). That is, I explain the

historical trajectories and latest trends of the social stratification systems, the housing allocation

systems and the welfare systems in space for each site of research, finishing with some partial

conclusions in terms of the challenges that this complex comparison entails.

Chapter 4 traces the theory-policy trajectory of social mix policies in each country (US and

Chile). I treat the idea of social mix as a theoretical and political transfer, focusing on the relation

between cultural backgrounds and socio-political contexts, at national and transnational levels. I

describe the theory-policy trajectories in the US and in Chile through their most important milestones,

following the way in which intellectual circumstances interacted with political circumstances, opening

room for specific public policies. In the US case, the idea is to describe the theoretical framing of a policy

and the process to become dominant enough to be exported, transferred and/or mobilized. And for the

case of Chile, the idea is to describe the creation of the political and intellectual context that received,

adapted and implemented certain kinds of policies. In Chapter 5, I present the Research Design of this

dissertation, describing extensively the steps taken to perform this research, following the design

planned in the dissertation proposal. I start summarizing the knowledge gaps and presenting the

purpose of the study and research questions. Then, I present some basic definitions of this research.

Then, I describe the selection of cases and variables operationalized for the study. After that, I describe

the data collection and data analysis procedures, providing some measures to ensure trustworthiness.

And I finish with some notes regarding the significance of the study.

Chapter 6 presents the case of Cabrini Green-Near North in Chicago, after eight months of

fieldwork. I first describe the opportunities in this area in terms of job prospects, the role of key

institutions and the local political economies driving neighborhood change. Then, I show the established intergroup relationships, the use of public space and issues of safety. And I finish with some partial conclusions on the mentioned four dimensions of socio-spatial integration (physical, functional, relational and symbolic), and on the discourses of diversity. Chapter 7 presents the case of La Loma-La Florida in Santiago, after five months of fieldwork. I first show the opportunities for the lower class in terms of work and education. Then, I describe the relationships between groups, the prevailing classism, and the problems of crime, security and the use of public space. And I finish summarizing the issues related to the four dimensions of socio-spatial integration (physical, functional, relational, and symbolic), and commenting on the existing literature on diverse neighborhoods in Chile.

Chapter 8 presents the Comparative Analysis between the Cabrini Green-Near North case in Chicago and the La Loma-La Florida case in Santiago. I first analyze the differences and discuss their divergence in terms of the three structural factors of contextual variation, in order to identify the contextual roots of the observed phenomena, and to show how specific problems develop in different urban and socio-political environments. Then, I analyze the similarities between the cases and discuss their likeness in terms of a general theorization of segregation and integration, in order to build an analytical generalization (or 'generalization to theory'). And I finish with some suggestions for the comparative and theoretical frameworks, and on possible policy developments in the future. Chapter 9 closes the research with the Conclusions. In this chapter, I start providing an extended answer to all the research questions and sub-questions in terms of the main empirical findings of this research. Then, I discuss theory and policy implications of those findings, making reference to important topics that emerged in the course of the research and the fieldwork, like issues of neighborhood effects, policies of social mix, and the political and academic rhetoric of diversity. After that, I state some limitations of the present study and offer recommendations for future research. And I finish restating the overall contribution to knowledge in the field.

II. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

"…the key question about social relationships is not whether they are between groups that are different but whether those differences reflect a hierarchical relationship". (Marcuse 1997, p. 251)

"…simply providing space will not create greater interaction among strangers in the city. It is the use of space, the way the space is laid out, and how it is managed that are most important". (Karp, Stone, and Yoels 1991, p. 99)

Residential segregation has been a problem of most cities in the world, and certainly, a major problem in the two cities studied in this dissertation: Chicago and Santiago. As such, segregation has been a major topic of urban research, from different perspectives, theoretical and empirical, and using different methodologies. Socio-spatial integration in turn, has not been discussed and defined clearly. And consequently, not much urban research has been dedicated to it. Despite this uncertainty however, the term 'integration' has been used as a powerful rhetoric tool. And this tool has been used mainly in the making of urban public policies, aimed at counteracting segregation and at promoting 'integration'.

Thus, this chapter discusses two interrelated bodies of literature, residential segregation and socio-spatial integration, and their connection with the framing of public policies. In sections one and two, I discuss segregation and integration. For each body of literature, I review definitions, debates, key concepts and empirical studies. In addition, due to the variety of perspectives and competing definitions on segregation, and due to the general scarcity of theorization on integration, I present a preliminary framework for both concepts. In section three, I review the theoretical framing of social mix policies in terms of their history, applications and debates. I finish with some partial conclusions to illuminate the subsequent analysis.

A. <u>The theoretical framing of residential segregation: definitions, debates, key concepts and empirical studies</u>

Racial segregation in the US has been declining very slowly, but its levels are still high (Logan and Stults 2011). The national black-white index of dissimilarity peaked at 79 in the 1970s. In 2010, for the first time this index is just below 60 (d=59), which is the rule-of-thumb to consider this level 'medium'. In Chicago however, the situation is not promising. From a high peak of 88.6 in 1980, it has declined just to 75.9 in 2010. In Chile, there have been some problems in measuring and interpreting class segregation (Ruiz-Tagle and López 2014). But beyond this, different studies (Rodríguez 2001, Sabatini, Cáceres, and Cerda 2001, Sabatini, Wormald, et al. 2010) have found the Chilean upper class (richest 10%) to be highly segregated in several large cities (dissimilarity between 60 and 70). And this segregation has also been declining. For both cases then, the contexts of historically high (and declining) segregation present a rich ground to study neighborhood relationships in depth, beyond the mere review of indexes. Thus, in this section I discuss the causes and development of the problem of segregation, and how different research paradigms have debated its analysis and interpretation.

A.1 <u>Residential segregation in historical perspective</u>

Although socio-spatial separations within cities are said to be as old as cities themselves (Nightingale 2012), the problems arising with modern industrial cities are for many the origin of present day residential segregation. This is because the emergence of large cities is often portrayed as part of a transition between two types of social systems, marked by the rise of capitalism. Several dichotomies were created to explain this: rural-urban, traditional-modern, community-society, mechanical solidarity-organic solidarity, folk society-urban society, and so on. Beyond particular orientations, most of these definitions have in common a focus on the historical changes that surrounded the development of modern societies. The ideal type of a pre-modern society is generally characterized

as rural, simple, traditional, isolated, dominated by group identity, and carrying an old culture. The pre-industrial cities that housed these traditional societies were economically dependent on food and raw materials, based on a rigid social segregation, and their land use was not specialized (Davis 2003, Flanagan 1999, 1993, Gottdiener and Hutchison 1994, Hannerz 1980, Palen 1981, Redfield and Singer 1954, Sjoberg 1955).

In opposition to that, modern societies are described as urban, complex, depersonalized, rational, efficient, individualized, and based on contracts (Davis 2003, Flanagan 1999, Palen 1981). The urbanization of societies, as the transit from rural to urban, was fueled by a rapidly growing population, technical advantages, capital accumulation, industrialization, and specialization of work (Childe 1950, Davis 2003, Flanagan 1993, 1999, Gottdiener and Hutchison 1994, Hannerz 1980, Palen 1981, Redfield and Singer 1954, Sjoberg 1955). And the cities that housed these societies showed complex stratification systems, crowding and poverty, deriving then in class divisions (Flanagan 1999, Palen 1981). These divisions were highlighted mostly in terms of the social misery of working class' life conditions and the horrors of industrial urbanism (Engels 2003, Gottdiener and Hutchison 1994).

Thus, three explanations of residential segregation emerge from this shift from rural to urban societies. First, segregation is explained from changes in the modes of production and its influences on the location of housing. Engels (2003) highlighted the separation of production (labor) and reproduction (living) that began with capitalism, which left workers' homes devoid of material resources, and located in marginal places that were no longer relevant for urban settlements. And this also carried out important consequences for the structure of families, whose members were divided into gendered roles of production or reproduction. Second, segregation is explained from the commoditization of urban land. The proliferation of titles and rights, and the increasing subdivision and densification of modern cities, opened room for the creation of Real Estate markets, and consequently, for the spatial separation of rich

and poor by hierarchical spatial patterns (Gottdiener and Hutchison 1994). And third, segregation is explained by socio-cultural differentiations. The specialization of cooperative labor in specific tasks and roles that gave rise to capitalism and industrialization, intensified the diversification of cultural traits and lifestyles (Durkheim 1997a). And this differentiation became for many authors the necessary conditions for residential segregation.

However, the idea of a progress from non-civilized to civilized societies, became firstly, a value judgment (or even a prejudice) between primitive and modern societies, and secondly, an excuse for colonization and domination. In this sense, urbanization could be understood not only as the product of industrialization but also of colonial empires (Flanagan 1999) and, consequently, its character is marked by both technical rationality and cultural subordination. Then, racism appears as a fourth explanation of segregation. Racism was constructed as a system of beliefs of superiority and group privilege based on supposedly genetic factors, from which flow relationships of discrimination, prejudice, violence, dislike, and oppression (Cazenave and Alvarez 1999, Wellman 1993). In the 19th century, racism crystallized as a scientific tool to legitimize the practices of the imperialist conquests of foreign territories (Arendt 1973). Thus, this set of beliefs served to approve the subjugation and dismantling of traditional societies, creating a global racial order, and carrying severe and long lasting consequences (Feagin 2000), especially in everyday life in multi-ethnic cities.

But beyond the historical analyses of the emergence of modern cities, several questions remain unanswered. The industrial revolution and colonial domination set the precedents for a variety of practices of confinement, enclosure and spatial subordination, and the rapid transformations that societies experienced at that time created spatial structures that are still present in most cities. However, residential segregation cannot be understood as the mere legacy of industrial societies, migration and colonization, but also as the expression of new relationships. While during the first

decades of modernization the development of cities paralleled the transformations of the modes of production, at some point those socially created spatial structures started to exert some influences in the reproduction of inequalities. The spatial arrangement of cities then passed from being a mere expression to being part of the factors affecting the development of individuals and communities, which Lefebvre (1991) and Soja (1993) explain as 'socio-spatial dialectics'. And from then on, urban sociological theories were raised to account for those relationships.

A.2 The battle of the century: Chicago School versus Marxist and Political Economy approaches to segregation

Urban sociology is generally divided in two main groups. Each group responds to very different epistemologies and very different political worldviews. And each group has their own roots and its particular branches. Several dichotomies also describe these groups of theories: old and new urban sociology, right-wing and left-wing, individualist/small group and structural, and so on. And of course, each of these groups has very divergent conceptions of residential segregation, and different empirical studies have emanated from them.

The approach of the so-called *Chicago School of urban sociology*, referred also as Human Ecology, was influenced mainly by the work of Emile Durkheim on the division of labor and his empirical-positivist methods (Saunders 1986), and by a Darwinist understanding of competition, dominance and subordination (Flanagan 1993). This approach has some closeness with the functionalist paradigm as well, in terms of an emphasis on the tendency of equilibrium and the evolutionary nature of change (Saunders 1986). The Chicago School was the first to analyze urban questions in a systematic fashion (Flanagan 1993, Saunders 1986), building a broad theoretical perspective of cities and social life (Orum and Chen 2003). This approach is widely recognized for the connection of social phenomena with

spatial patterns, the interactionist perspective studying emergent forms of association, and the study of the role of individual attributes in explaining urban problems (Gottdiener and Hutchison 1994).

The *explanation of segregation* from Chicago School's scholars is the well known assumption of a natural phenomenon. Human Ecology sees the organization of the city as something that has not been designed and that lacks specific control. Segregation is said to be a mere incident of urban growth, locational changes and urban metabolism; a condition that the city inevitably produces in a context of competitive cooperation, and as normal elements of city life (Burgess 1928, Park 1915, 1926). Segregation is not seen as pathological, but as a normal stage moving to equilibrium of social order. It offers a place and a role to groups in the total organization of the city, establishing moral distances in the 'mosaic of little worlds which touch but do not interpenetrate' (Burgess 2008, Park 1915).

The *Marxist and urban political economy approaches* have their origins in the broadening of traditional Marxist theory during the 1960s (Saunders 1986). While Marxist theory had no tradition of the treatment of urban problems, the authors of these studies took some aspects of Marx's method and mixed it with new concepts and interpretations, reconsidering the city as theoretically significant, and criticizing most of the existing urban theories and practices as ideological, for legitimating class domination (Castells 1978, Saunders 1986). Some authors recognize a major distinction between humanistic and deterministic interpretations of Marxism in this approach. On one hand, the humanistic view (represented by Henry Lefebvre) focused on the production of space and its consequences in all aspects of everyday life (Saunders 1986). On the other hand, the deterministic view (represented by Manuel Castells) rejects notions of the individual subject, focuses on the class struggle extended over the urban question, and recognizes certain non-spatial sources of urban problems (Saunders 1986). This non-spatial perspective is influential in many authors denying the relevance of space as object of study, implying that the study of cities means the same than studying society as a whole, and emphasizing the

importance of class and status for community formation (Mellor 1975, Saunders 1986, Zukin 1980). In addition, urban political economy represents a framework open to many disciplines and views that, although dominated by Marxism and Neo-Marxism, expresses an umbrella for a variety of viewpoints, even without including social class in the analysis. Both branches together, so-called New Urban Sociology (in reference to the old ecological school), were born in a particular social and political context; the mid-sixties ghetto riots in the US, and the 1968 insurgency in Europe (Zukin 1980). The coherence for this broad orientation, conceived as the present dominant paradigm, is given by their conjunction of urbanization, economic domination, and the state's role between classes (Walton 1993, Zukin 1980).

In the ***explanation of segregation***, Lefebvre is the first to point out that the naturalist conception is 'pure ideology', in terms of legitimating the system and rejecting intervention and radical action (Saunders 1986). Space is considered as an instrumental commodity of capitalism, generating a particular spatial patterning of overcrowding, lack of open space, spatial subordination, and ideological assimilation of the working class (Castells 1977, 1978, Saunders 1986). Harvey (1989) also stresses that control over space is a powerful weapon in class struggle. Similarly, Lefebvre (1991) highlights that the ruling class maintains its hegemony by several means, including space. However, Lefebvre and Harvey observe contradictions in terms of the centralization of power and the decentralization of poverty that capitalism creates. This generates the basis for confrontation, making the system unstable, undermining the reproduction of social relations (Harvey 1989, Saunders 1986). In terms of remedies, there are contrasted visions among authors. Castells (1978) argues that without structural transformations, urban contradictions can only be patched up. Lefebvre in turn, although not seeing the weakening of segregation by authoritarian means or by administrative prescriptions, emphasizes collective actions from the working class (Lefebvre, Kofman, and Lebas 1996). A similar idea is sustained by Harvey (1989), who points out that a socialist form of urbanization is necessary for a transition to socialism, as

the rise of the capitalist city was for the sustenance of capitalism. Other authors in Urban Political Economy have emphasized the role of human agency in generating patterns of inequality. This view focuses on actors involved in urban development, and recognizes some independence from structural logics (Gottdiener and Feagin 1988).

The main issue regarding the study of segregation is *a tension between two broad views*; one belief about a natural (and even positive) emergence of spatial concentrations, and one that believe that segregation is structurally determined by the capitalist social and economic structure. Both views have been and continue to be highly influential on recent empirical literature. On the side of conflict theories, there have been important influences from Marxist and Weberian approaches in several studies. These include new theoretical constructs like urban regime theory (Elkin 1985, Fainstein and Fainstein 1983, Stone 1987) or urban growth machines (Logan and Molotch 1987), gentrification studies (Smith 1996b), studies of advanced marginality (Wacquant 2008), and contemporary applications of the sociology of zones of transition (Downey and Smith 2011). On the other hand, the functionalist/positivist theories have influenced the majority of empirical studies in the US during the twentieth century. The influence of the Chicago School is highly visible in the persistence of the social disorganization paradigm (see Wilson 1987), the use of ecological frameworks to study emergent patterns of diversity (see Ellen 2000, Galster 1998), and the established tradition of 'neighborhood effects' research (Sampson, Morenoff, and Gannon-Rowley 2002), among others.

A.3 Current debates: agreement on causes, disagreement on consequences, some benefits

Many authors have defined segregation, and the production of ghettos, as involuntary enclosure in spatial forms of concentrated subordination (Marcuse 1997, Wacquant 1997, Wirth 1927), but they are also a result of the need for integrity and continuity for communities (Wirth 1927). In fact, the literature has shown three major types of segregation (Adelman and Gocker 2007, Cutler, Glaeser, and

Vigdor 1999): i) segregation as port of entry for immigrants; ii) segregation as a centralized or collective reaction, related to neighborhood hostility, discrimination in the housing market and the role of the state in exclusionary urban development; and iii) segregation as decentralized discrimination in terms of market preferences (or socioeconomic segregation).

In recent decades, the issue of a natural emergence of segregation (the claim from the Chicago School) has been consensually rejected, and the forces of racism and state practices have been *widely recognized as the main causes*. Residential segregation has been presented as a function of large migrations, institutional practices, private behaviors and explicit public policies and interventions (Hirsch 1998, Massey and Denton 1993). Some research has also emphasized the out-migration of middle-class neighbors (Marcuse 1997, Wilson 1987, but questioned by Massey and Denton 1993). Beyond this, Wacquant (2008) has stressed, more than anything else, the disappearance of a minimal social state as a source of marginalization. In addition, growing income disparities and structural changes in the economy are said to influence the bifurcation of the middle class, the so-called employment mismatch, and interactions between the labor and housing markets (Jargowsky 1996, Massey and Eggers 1990, Wilson 1987). More recently, the global city literature has stressed a strong relationship between economic restructuring, and class and spatial polarizations. This has been expressed through increasing concentration of minorities, expansion of new forms of poverty and the growth of exclusionary areas (Sassen 1990, 1991).

Despite this relative agreement on the causes, the main debate in present days is about the consequences of segregation. And the fracture is, again, between positivistic/functionalistic theories and critical/conflict theories. On the side of positivistic/functionalistic theories, research on the consequences of segregation has been concerned with the formation of ghettos and the concept of the 'underclass'. This concept refers to a reality that, according to Wilson (1987) is not well captured by the

term 'lower class'. Many studies associate segregation with the rise of social dislocations such as school dropouts, children born out of wedlock, drug and alcohol abuse, welfare dependency and low attachment to work (Jargowsky 1997, Wilson 1987). Other authors emphasize problems like economic disadvantage, lack of political participation, unequal access to education, erosion of the economic base, lack of spatial mobility, activity segregation and consequent lack of social mobility (Bolt, Burgers, and Van Kempen 1998, Massey and Denton 1993, Western 1973). High-poverty neighborhoods are said to suffer from the magnification of poverty due to its concentration, as well as from abandonment, and cyclical decay (Adelman and Gocker 2007, Jargowsky 1997). Jargowsky (1997) argues that these neighborhoods present certain immunity to policy interventions, a culture that stresses short-term goals, a lack of role models and stabilizing institutions, underfunded schools, and a reduced access to new jobs at the metropolitan level. The notion of 'neighborhood effects' is used here to portray how poverty concentration influences deviant behaviors. Galster and Killen (1995), for instance, maintain that social networks and economic conditions in the environment affect young people's intellectual development, educational attainment, marriage and fertility, labor market participation and earnings, criminal behavior, and drug use. And this concentration of social disorder is believed to promote psychological and physical withdrawal. That is, neighbors are perceived as threats rather than as supports (Massey and Denton 1993). Massey and Denton (1993) even affirm that ghettos produce a counterculture of failure, an oppositional culture that may reinforce further disorder.

On the side of critical theories, this normative concentration on social pathologies is criticized for discarding the understanding of the rationality of subsistence strategies. Wacquant (1997) contends that these conceptions of the consequences of segregation suffer from two interrelated problems. First, ghettos are assumed to be disorganized social forms, disregarding existing institutions, stressing the inevitable outcomes of city growth, and omitting active forces creating and maintaining segregation. And second, the dominant view of ghettos leads to excessive attention to social pathologies and the

reproduction of stereotypes, disregarding the fact that many forms of social deviation are actually forms of local social rationality in the face of real-life constraints. Critical authors explain the consequences of segregation in terms of subsistence strategies under processes of state withdrawal, welfare retrenchment, and political economies of race and class exclusion (Gotham 2002, Wacquant 1997).

Beyond the debate on the negative consequences of segregation, several authors find that segregation brings some benefits or advantages, particularly in the form of social capital for small groups. Suttles (1972) portrays segregation as beneficial in terms of the additional mechanisms of order, avoidance of conflicts, restrictions on association, and decrease of anonymity that flow from it. Furthermore, Bolt, Burgers, and Van Kempen (1998) describe three types of advantages from segregation. First, it helps in the development of a local culture and social networks of support. Second, it facilitates ethnic entrepreneurship. And third, it creates a base for direct political influence at the local level, even without voting. One of the most important cases to extract these type of benefits has been the historical example of the 'old communal black ghetto in the US', which is idealized in Chicago in the 1930s-1960s. As a reaction under the mentioned constraints, this ideal type of ghetto is said to show the emergence of new organizational structures. Although ghettos are mono-racial, their class composition is diverse, which helps them in maintaining some functional self-sufficiency and strong community institutions (Gans 2008, Sennett 1996).

Nevertheless, this ideal type of ghetto has changed, due to outmigration of middle-class blacks, deindustrialization, depopulation, welfare state retrenchment, institutional abandonment, further impoverishment and more repression (Wacquant 2008, Wilson 1987). This shift on the structural characteristics of segregation and ghettos has moved the center of attention of research. On the positivistic/functionalistic side, the dominant literature passed from a focus on racial segregation across class lines (Johnson 1943, Taeuber and Taeuber 1963) to a focus on concentrated poverty and

neighborhood effects (Jargowsky 1997, Massey and Denton 1993, Sampson, Morenoff, and Gannon-Rowley 2002, Wilson 1987). And on the critical side, authors like Marcuse (1997) describe this new situation as the *'outcast ghetto'*, characterized by exclusion from mainstream economic, social and political city life.

A.4 <u>Key concepts</u>

Here I discuss three interrelated, and questioned, concepts from the study of residential segregation that I consider crucial for this research; a) social disorganization, b) poverty concentration, and c) neighborhood effects.

A.4.1 <u>Social Disorganization</u>

This concept refers to a decreasing influence of existing rules of behavior on individual members of a social group. That is, the degree to which members of a community lose their common understanding (Carey 1975). More concretely, social disorganization is illustrated by the absence of social control in a neighborhood, whose members escape normatively defined social values (Warner 2007). Social disorganization theory emanated from the Chicago School and exerted a strong influence on most part of its research. That is why (Carey (1975)) refers to it as the 'Social Disorganization Paradigm'. In fact, Robert Park suggested that social disorganization resulted from excessively rapid urban changes, and that inner cities pass through four stages (Carey 1975): competition, conflict, accommodation, and assimilation. For (Carey (1975)), social disorganization disappeared from the literature, due to the criticism received (see below), and was supplanted by 'anomie'. But after several decades, William Julius Wilson and many others (see Jargowsky 1997, Massey and Denton 1993), resumed the paradigm. As opposed to the progressive sixties, the return of the social disorganization paradigm marked the regressive nineties in US sociology (Wacquant 2002b). This time, various authors recovered the concept in order to explain the relation between <u>poverty concentration</u> (see below) and

some social pathologies, like rising levels of crime, welfare dependency and so on. In this sense, Wilson understands social organization as *"the extent to which the residents of a neighborhood are able to maintain effective social control and realize their common goals"* (Wilson 1996, p. 20).

As it has been presented, this theory (and paradigm) has received strong critiques. (Carey (1975)) summarizes three major criticisms to social disorganization theory. First, the concept is too vague and too subjective to be used, because it assumes a value consensus in terms of a disruption of normative stages by a deviant one. Second, it has a marked bias in favor of homogeneity, seeing social change as something incorrect, emphasizing pathologies, and deploring countercultures. And third, social disorganization is equated with its consequences, and measured by indexes of social problems. In that sense, it seems methodologically invalid, because the independent variable is measured by a predictive outcome. More recently, Gans (1997) portrays social disorganization as an umbrella concept, which do not distinguish what is disorganized, neither its causes nor the processes involved. Bennett and Reed (1999) also criticize that Wilson directly relates the increase in the proportion of poor people in a neighborhood with institutional atrophy and disorganization. In summary, the normative character of the social disorganization paradigm has its worst consequence in the portrayal of ghettos as decomposed and pathological social forms (see Jargowsky 1997, Massey and Denton 1993, Wilson 1987), which lays the ground for further attacks on areas of concentrated poverty and calls for dispersion policies.

A.4.2 Poverty Concentration

This concept has been a traditional census definition, meaning that 40% or more of a census tract population is living below the poverty line. The measure appeared in the 1970s, developed by the US Census Bureau as part of Lyndon Johnson's War on Poverty program (Bureau-of-the-Census 1970). At the end of the 1970s, while racial segregation was starting a very slow decline, concentrated poverty

emerged as a 'new problem' (Goetz 2003). As a measure created by the government, it was imported into academia without questioning its main assumptions. And from the end of the 1970s, poverty concentration has been used as an *analytic measure*, as a *territorial category*, and as a *causal factor* (Herring 2014). As an analytic measure, it has been used to study the density and expansion of high levels of poverty within cities. As a territorial category, it has been politely used to substitute racially charged categories of ghettos, barrios and slums. And as a causal variable, the spatial aggregation of poor population has been suggested as the main (and direct) cause behind the isolation of poor inner-city residents from networks and resources. That is, the idea that concentrated poverty creates negative neighborhood effects (see below).

Similar to what happened with social disorganization, the concept of poverty concentration has been intensely criticized. The basic problem with it is that few scholars have questioned the construction of this measure and its scientific relevance. In terms of it is use as analytic measure, there is not theoretical justification for marking the threshold at 20% or 40% (Herring 2014). Regarding its use as territorial category, the concept of concentrated poverty removes any influence of underlying power relationships and ethno-racial differentiations (Wacquant 2002a), and presents the problem in these areas as merely spatial. And in terms of its use as a causal factor, the tradition of 'neighborhood effects' research has been widely criticized (see below). In summary, the idea of concentrated poverty appears as conceptually arbitrary (Herring 2014). The worst consequence is its use as a political and ideological construct which, devoid of appropriate theoretical justification, is presently used to propose urban policies such as poverty dispersion and public housing demolition.

A.4.3   Neighborhood Effects

This concept can be simply defined as the additional social problems (supposedly) generated by the spatial concentration of poverty, and which cannot be deducted from poverty itself (Sampson,

Morenoff, and Gannon-Rowley 2002). As (Galster, Cutsinger, and Malega (2008)) affirm, the neighborhood environment has a direct effect in several social outcomes related to health, education, employment, crime, and so on. Tracing the history of neighborhood effects, Sampson (2012) mentions criminology and epidemiology research in Victorian London, social disorganization research in the Chicago School, and concentration effects research in the 1990s led by Wilson (1987) and Massey and Denton (1993). It is that decade in fact (the 1990s) that showed a renewed interest in neighborhood effects, which for Sampson, Morenoff, and Gannon-Rowley (2002) configured a 'cottage industry' of social research, with about 100 papers per year. Due to criticism in the 1990s related to the exclusive focus on mere correlations (Small and Newman 2001), (Sampson (2012)) highlights a 'process turn', in which social mechanisms bringing change at the neighborhood level are also intensively studied. Galster, Cutsinger, and Malega (2008) summarize those mechanisms in six main groups: socialization, epidemic/social norms, social networks, exposure to crime and violence, local institutional and public resources, and stigmatization.

Among the three key concepts discussed here, this has probably received the harshest criticism (maybe because it is still widely used). Steinberg (2010) criticizes the relation between concentration and additional social problems for not separating the structural forces of poverty and for superposing residential segregation as a factor that determines almost everything. Tienda (1990) criticizes the lack of evidence in terms of whether the mere concentration has a higher explanatory power than poverty itself. In this sense, Steinberg (2010) warns that neighborhood effects research could be falling in the same problem that (Castells (1977)) outlined decades ago, referred to a sort of spatial reification as a cause of urban social problems, separating the spatial concentration of poverty from its own causes. Some authors like Gans (2008) and Wacquant (2009) propose an institutional perspective. Gans (2008) suggests that neighborhood effects come from powerful institutions and Wacquant (2009) affirms that neighborhood effects are *"effects of the state inscribed in space"* (p. 109). As Slater (2013) illustrates, *"the*

degree of inequality between neighbourhoods with bad schools and good schools is not a property of the neighbourhood, but a property of the school system" (p. 13). Moreover, Slater (2013) insists that neighborhood effects blame the poor for their outcomes, influencing solutions in which the poor have to learn from wealthy neighbors, and suggesting that the only barriers for social advancement are information and education. That is why (Slater (2013)) proposes a causal relationship that opposes the main assumptions of neighborhood effects research: that is, (capitalist) life chances affect where people lives, and not the other way around.

A.5 <u>A preliminary framework: five moments of segregation</u>

The etymological origin of the word 'segregation' comes from the Latin word *segregatus*, during the sixteenth century, which means *"to set apart from the flock"*, as an antithesis of *gregarious* which means *"belonging to a flock"* (Skeat 1993). The word was originally meant to designate *"the religious notion of separating the flock of the godly from sinners"* (Skeat 1993), so the discriminatory charge was present from the beginning. Dictionaries often refer to segregation as the act of separation of different things. In social sciences, it refers to the act of keeping groups apart and treating them differently (Cambridge-University-Press 2012). And this can be used for a variety of things: pupils with learning difficulties, the Church from the State, trail segmentation in transportation, separation or isolation of criminals, etc. And in terms of a discriminatory treatment, segregation has been used to designate the separation of people with mortal diseases, women in different religions and in different jobs, and people by different races, classes or ethnic groups. Then, even if one takes segregation as discriminatory separation of social groups, it can refer to several lines of difference that come from particular social stratification systems, and that have appeared as a problem in many contexts. In sociological terms thus, segregation designates the lack of interaction between social groups coming from different types of physical separation, and in diverse spheres of life.

In the US context, the word segregation as *"enforced separation of races"* appeared by 1883 (Skeat 1993), around 300 years after the word appear in usage from its Latin root. And this separation of races has been expressed in several spheres of public life; schools, public spaces, and of course neighborhoods. But although the concept of residential segregation has come to be almost a synonym of 'racial residential segregation in the US', this has not been always the case. Some cases that diverge from this ideal type are the caste segregation in India, the religious segregation in Ireland, and the seemingly class segregation in Latin America. As mentioned in fact, some scholars have raised the idea of 'concentrated poverty' when referring to the new configuration of ghettos from the 1980s (Wilson 1987, Jargowsky 1997). Why? I would say that the pervasiveness of the word 'segregation' to designate exclusively racial segregation has become difficult to supersede and to be used with other nuances. However, new studies have started to recognize the problem by other lines of difference, like class, political affiliation, and so on (Massey, Rothwell, and Domina 2009).

The distinction between forms and contents raised by Georg Simmel (Simmel and Wolff 1950) could be useful to differentiate types of segregation. While forms represent the modes of interaction, contents represent the interest, purpose or motive of the phenomenon or interaction. In terms of forms then, segregation can be expressed in housing, education and public spaces. And in terms of contents, segregation can be race-, ethnic-, religious-, nationalistic-, sexist-, or class-based. The first relation designates the means of expressing discrimination, and the second illustrates the foundations of that discrimination according to the specific systems of social stratification. In this regard, I argue that the use of residential segregation as a concept has not been clear enough in most of the literature. It has been used to denote a direct act of exclusion, a result of separation, a result of concentration, acts of self-isolation, and so on (Gans 2008).

Mainly based on the critical approach mentioned above, I summarize the phenomenon of segregation as a sequence of five moments. First, there is an ***exclusionary spatial separation¹*** as a result of the combined forces of direct racist and/or classist discrimination, and more indirect capitalist exclusion. This is a moment characterized by involuntary separation and the process of 'othering' (Gans 2008). Second, there is a ***spatial concentration²*** due to external and internal factors. An external factor is the spatial relegation of the excluded to the same places, and an internal factor is the search for local ties of subsistence, in a context of social vulnerability³. Then, this moment is marked by a highly constrained choice (Small 2008). Third, there is a ***semi-conscious self-selection***. This is a complex decision of whether to live in a context of discrimination and pressures for assimilation, or in a context of isolation but which provides local networks of survival. Although this accounts for personal decisions, other actors are also involved (such as Real Estate brokers) in terms of directing what the 'natural' location of individuals and groups should be. Thus, this 'semi-conscious' moment is marked by what Bourdieu (1991) calls symbolic power: the intentional capacity to make the social order ignored or treated as natural, imposing categories of thought and perception, and legitimating social structures. In these cases then, the stigmatized may participate in their own exclusion (Gans 2008). A necessary condition for this movement is a situation of high residential mobility, which is characterized by a decentralized labor and educational market, relatively homogeneous housing and neighborhood quality, and white flight movements triggered from racism.

Two subsequent moments characterize the consequences of segregation, following the debate above. Fourth, in a context of neoliberalization and increasing socioeconomic segregation, there is a process of ***concerted disinvestment***. The state leaves the provision of services to the market and

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¹ Following the etymological origin of the word "segregation".

² Ironically, the antonym of segregation (concentration) is commonly used as a homologous.

³ The 'positive' segregation of some immigrant groups (e.g. Italian or Irish at the early 20th century in the US) would be part of this subset: concentration, without previous separation, for exclusively internal reasons.

reduces its welfare assistance to a minimum of deserving poor (Wacquant 2008). Then, these poor areas do not represent any value for the market and become devoid of public aid, with low quality and race/class segregated education, food and health desserts, and denied access to formal employment (Massey and Denton 1993, Wilson 1998). And the final moment of segregation is a *reconstruction of stigma*: that is, the same processes leading to exclusion are reinforced into a further stigmatization (Barry 1998). And this stigma has two sides; it expresses a 'human stigma' for the ideal type of pure racial segregation, and a 'territorial stigma' for the ideal type of pure class segregation (Wacquant 2005). In summary, these five moments represent the processes leading to the formation of ghettos (Blokland 2008, Chaddha and Wilson 2008), rather than an ideal situation of what ghettos specifically are.

A.6 <u>Empirical studies and research paradigms</u>

As mentioned above, there are two distinct research paradigms in the study of segregation. One is a more positivistic perspective, which leans more to quantitative methods and mainly observes demographic patterns. This perspective has relied on the intensive use of segregation indexes, and shows the legacy of the Chicago School in their factorial ecology (Massey and Denton 1988). In the discussion of its consequences, from a normative perspective, is still influenced by the social disorganization paradigm in the portrayal of ghettos as decomposed and pathological social forms (see Jargowsky 1997, Massey and Denton 1993, Wilson 1987). In Chile and in Latin America, the empiricist-developmental paradigm of the 50s-60s evolved as a more positivist approach, which predominate today in segregation studies, highly influenced by US theoretical frameworks (see Aliaga-Linares and Álvarez-Rivadulla 2010, Kaztman 1999, Rodríguez 2001, Rodríguez and Arriagada 2004, Sabatini, Cáceres, and Cerda 2001).

The other research paradigm is a more critical perspective, relying more on qualitative methods or case studies to study the role of key actors in creating segregation, and the responses of excluded individuals under structural constraints. In studying segregation, this perspective raises the understanding of subsistence strategies, the abandonment by the state, existing institutions, and active forces behind segregation (Gotham 2002, Low 2001, Wacquant 2008). In Chile, critical views have emphasized institutional analyses of the powerful actors behind the mass production of public housing (Sugranyes 2005), but these perspectives are still a minority.

B.   <u>The theoretical framing of socio-spatial integration[4]: definitions, debates, key concepts and empirical studies</u>

Much has been said about residential segregation and poverty concentration, and very little about integration. This is ironic as the majority of the policies promoting integration have been based on what is assumed in the studies of segregated poverty. Further, most criticism of integration flows more from its policy applications than from its conceptual meaning. Should one assume integration and segregation are antonyms? As I argue, they are far from being direct opposites. In this section, I review the study of integration, from long standing sociological discussions, to its application in the urban realm.

B.1 <u>Three traditions of study: positive, neutral and negative</u>

There have been three traditions in the study of integration (de Alcántara 1995); one neutral, one positive, and one negative. First, functionalist sociology (and related debates on structure and agency) treats integration as *a neutral description* of relationships, commonly linked to consensus, social organization and order. This perspective illustrates two levels of association; a local level,

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[4] This section and the following are mostly based on my article published in IJURR (Ruiz-Tagle 2013): *A theory of socio-spatial integration: Problems, policies and concepts from a US perspective.* (see Copyright Agreement in Appendix C)

characterized by moral cohesion and focused on relationships between actors, and a societal level, characterized by functional interdependence and focused on relationships through mass instruments within social systems (Mouzelis 1992): mass production, mass consumption, mass communication and the like. Table I below summarizes different authors and concepts which, beyond particular orientations, have in common a separation of spheres of action.

Table I: AUTHORS AND CONCEPTS SEPARATING LOCAL AND SOCIETAL FORMS OF INTEGRATION

AUTHOR	LOCAL: MORAL COHESION	SOCIETAL: FUNCTIONAL INTERDEPENDENCE
Ferdinand Tönnies (2005)	COMMUNITY *(Gemeinschaft)* Strong group control of behavior, shared place and shared beliefs (ascribed status)	SOCIETY *(Gesellschaft)* Individual self-interest, less loyalty to society, more conflict (achieved status)
Emile Durkheim (1997a)	MECHANICAL SOLIDARITY Strong moral consensus, low level of individuation, segmental structure, rudimentary division of labor, individuals absorbed into a collective personality	ORGANIC SOLIDARITY Different elements with special roles, restitutive law, moral density, social differentiation, more personalized and specialized action of individuals
Parsons and Shils (1951)	NORMATIVE INTEGRATION Common values institutionalized in structural elements, promotes social stability, gives meaning, ensures continuity of system	FUNCTIONAL INTEGRATION Each part making reciprocal contributions, equilibrium but not truly organic whole, norms derive from the economy
David Lockwood (1964)	SOCIAL INTEGRATION Relationships between actors, orderly or conflictive	SYSTEM INTEGRATION Relationships through mass instruments within social systems: mass production, mass consumption, mass communication and the like
Anthony (Giddens 1984)	SOCIAL INTEGRATION Interaction in co-presence, characteristic of tribal societies, fusion of social and system integration	SYSTEM INTEGRATION Larger time-space relationships, centralization of resources, new forms of institutional articulation separating social and system integration
Jürgen Habermas (1984)	LIFEWORLD Mobile horizon of communicative actions (includes culture, society and personality), society from "internalist" perspective of acting subjects, lifeworld becoming more rational	SYSTEM INTEGRATION Interconnection of actions, society from "externalist" perspective of observer, non-normative influence of non-coordinated individual decisions, system becoming more complex

SOURCE: self-elaboration

These two levels have also a particular interest for urban sociology, given their resemblance with neighborhoods and cities, respectively. In more empirical works, it was this tradition that influenced the study of immigrants' integration, divided between assimilation theory and the segmented labor market approach (Portes and Manning 2008). Then, according to the differentiation between

social and system integration developed by these six authors, Table II offers an operational

classification[5]:

Table II: SOCIAL INTEGRATION AND SYSTEM INTEGRATION

	SOCIAL INTEGRATION	SYSTEM INTEGRATION
CHARACTERIZATION	Spaces that provide security, stability, identity, sense of belonging, psychological sense of community, and affective connection with the territory	Relationship between individuals and the state and market systems. More important is the role of the individual, rather than its personality.
POSSIBLE DIMENSIONS	Social networks, job relations, urban environment, recreation, etc.	Education, health, housing, job, social benefits, etc.

SOURCE: Parraguez (2002)

A second tradition comes from post-World War II progressive sociology, which linked

integration to the ***positive ideas of inclusion*** and citizenship, going beyond insufficient resources

(Silver 2007a, Strobl 2007). This was much related with the increasing importance given to rights, from

the human rights principles after World War II, the expanding framework from international

conventions, and the creation of regional and domestic systems of welfare protections (Morris 2006).

The idea of inclusion here means that actions are relevant to the social system, without involving the

adoption of norms, and giving more freedom to the individual (Strobl 2007). According to some

classifications of human rights (Marshall 1998, Vasak 1977), integration would imply a duty for the

state and not an individual right, and would pertain to second and third generation rights; this is,

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[5] It is important to recognize that other authors have also applied a multidimensional approach to the analysis of social integration arriving at similar constructs (Galster and Killen 1995, Göschel 2001, Landecker 1951, Marcuse 2005, Sabatini and Salcedo 2007).

positive and collective rights for equality and fraternity that permit or oblige action. But despite its progressive aspirations, (Morris (2006)) stresses that sociology has not enough foundations for a theory of rights, and no ontological arguments for claims to universality, which is part of the problems of ideas like the so-called Right to the City.

And in a third tradition, integration has been studied in the US as *a negative reaction* to desegregation policies, mainly at housing and schools, which is captured in the idea of 'integration exhaustion' (Cashin 2004). In terms of housing, many integration programs have been applied since the late sixties, and Goetz (2003) distinguishes two generations; the first focused on racial integration, and the second on poverty de-concentration, mobility, and redevelopment of distressed public housing developments. In fact, several authors have contended that desegregation policies have led to break of ties, assimilation, and disintegration (Cashin 2004, Greenbaum 2008, Steinberg 2010).

B.2 The term integration: a doubled-edged sword

Integration is a problematic concept. It can have negative or positive effects depending on the context. The term 'integration' is commonly defined as 'the act of combining into an integral whole'; it is related in meaning to such words as 'inclusion', 'incorporation', 'combining', 'mixing', 'blending', 'harmony', 'unification', 'fusing', 'incorporation', 'assimilation', 'amalgamation', 'commingling' and so forth (Farlex-Inc. 2010). Similarly, the verb 'integrate' means: (1) to mix with and join society or a group of people, often changing to suit their way of life, habits and customs (Cambridge-University-Press 2010); (2) 'to combine two or more things in order to become more effective' (*ibid.*); (3) 'to make into a whole or make part of a whole' (Farlex-Inc. 2010), and (4) to 'become one; become integrated' (Farlex-Inc. 2010).

Above and beyond these definitions, the etymologic meaning of 'integration' sheds further light. According to Arnal (1999), 'integrity' and 'integration' have the same root in Latin, from which one can extract their primary contradiction. In addition, 'integer' and 'intact' are closely related words. Thus, 'integration' could mean the alteration of a closed system through aggressive means that favor the integrating element, but bring no benefits for the established element. This allows disintegration by incompatibility, but not integration. Therefore, the integrity (being intact) of the whole system is put at risk when integration is produced against nature. Thus, integrity and integration are understood as antagonistic terms: complete integration breaks the system's integrity, and complete integrity leaves out all the other elements (Arnal 1999).

Different disciplines make use of the word 'integration' differently. In life sciences, integration means 'the assimilation of nutritive material by the body during the process of anabolism' (Farlex-Inc. 2010); in mathematics, it refers to 'the process of computing an integral; the inverse of differentiation' (Farlex-Inc. 2010); and in psychology, integration involves 'the organization of the psychological or social traits and tendencies of a personality into a harmonious whole' (Farlex-Inc. 2010). In economics, integration means *"the process by which two or more countries proceed to eliminate, gradually or immediately, the existing discriminatory barriers between them for the purpose of establishing a single economic space"* (Cohen 1984, p. 143). A related definition in politics asserts that integration *"deals with the need to establish, along with the integrated space, an institutional center capable of regulating the functioning of the economic relations within the space"* (Cohen 1984, p. 145). The common feature of the economic and political definitions, says Cohen (1984), is the final goal of the creation of a larger space, which, however, carries with it the problems of loss of sovereignty and fear of disappearance.

In order to develop a common meaning thus, I extract some of the critical ideas from each of the definitions and classify them as potential benefits, neutral effects or potential damage (see Table III).

Table III: INTEGRATION AS A DOUBLED-EDGED SWORD

POTENTIAL BENEFITS	NEUTRAL EFFECTS	POTENTIAL DAMAGES
Elimination of barriers Open of closed and exclusive systems	Mixing of parts in a single space	Loss of identity (assimilation) Breaking the integrity of a whole system Disintegration by incompatibility

SOURCE: Ruiz-Tagle (2013)

B.3 Social forms of integration

The idea of social integration, applied to human beings, refers to *"the extent to which an individual participates in a broad range of social relationships"* (Brissette, Cohen, and Seeman 2000, p. 54). In terms of social theory, the concept is rooted in Emile Durkheim's work on social condition and suicide, in which social interaction is associated with greater well-being. Thus, assuming integration just as mutual moral support or cohesiveness (Durkheim 1997b), one can find different 'social forms', in Simmel's (see Simmel and Wolff 1950) sense, that do not necessarily imply mixture or diversity. Table IV is a taxonomic effort to define different social forms of integration based on its degree of mixture (or openness to diversity) and its degree of freedom under a group's discipline.

Table IV: DIFFERENT SOCIAL FORMS OF INTEGRATION

		DEGREE OF FREEDOM (UNDER GROUP DISCIPLINE)	
		LOW	HIGH
DEGREE OF MIXTURE (OPENNESS TO DIVERSITY)	LOW	Integrity	Limited liability
	HIGH	Assimilation	Cultural pluralism

SOURCE: Ruiz-Tagle (2013)

From this, I extract four types of integration. ***Integrity*** refers to a homogenous whole where only equal members are accepted, where norms and values are maintained by strict discipline and where individuals cannot express themselves beyond these norms. ***Limited liability*** represents homogeneous communities where individuals live independently and are tied solely by functional relationships. ***Assimilation*** covers cases where the access of diverse members to the group is determined by their adaptation to the original norms and values and proceeds only if the integrity of the group is not threatened (see Glazer 1993, Hiebert and Ley 2003). And finally ***cultural pluralism*** refers to an open access to diversity involving constructive interchanges where the group culture is enriched by difference, but does not subsume the individual (see Glazer 1997, Hiebert and Ley 2003, Locke and Stern 1942). Thus, if integrity may be destroyed by residential mobility, and if cultural pluralism is difficult to achieve, the most common forms in the city are assimilation and limited liability.

B.4 Socio-spatial distances and power relationships

Lefebvre (1991) maintains that social structures wear down in use and are sometimes transformed. But to avoid transformations, mechanisms like the enactment of laws and the production of space act as fixating structures, and then relations cease to be volatile. In other words, social relations exist as they have spatial existence, and get materialized through the production of space (Lefebvre

1991, Soja 1996). In a similar way, urban geographers refer to the idea of distance, which was coined by Georg Simmel, both in a geometric and a social sense (Ethington 1997). Grasland (2009) suggests that sociological and geometric distances generate indirect pressures on the restriction of opportunities as part of a probabilistic approach. Similarly, Ethington (1997) affirms that geometric distance may influence or even produce social distance. Socio-spatial practices of distance may be essential influences on constructed identities of race, class, ethnicity, gender and the like (Ethington 1997). Therefore, one can see that the issue of integration has been always mediated by distances, which are crucial parts of the structures that shape social relationships. The interplay of social and spatial proximity is said to generate opportunities for contact, and then to improve the probability of relations (Blau 1977, Grasland 2009), be these positive or negative. The so-called 'contact hypothesis' affirms that increased contact among different groups creates positive attitudes among them and that, as a result, physical integration will be transformed into social integration (Zeul and Humphrey 1970). Nevertheless, this idea has been rejected by other authors, who indicate that contiguity of different lifestyles could lead to tension, friction, and conflict (Häußermann and Siebel 2001, Wirth 1927).

Other conceptions of integration along these same lines open up a number of different interpretations that imply different power relations. So then, what are the 'contents' of integration?[6] Blau (1960) describes how individuals can be integrated into groups or communities through processes of social attraction. But individuals can also be integrated into society, and communities can be integrated into society as well. While useful in seeing how integration operates in relation to larger systems, these definitions do not reveal anything about power relations, superiority and subordination, which are crucial for segregation. Thus, a useful differentiation of contents should identify which elements are disadvantageous and which are not, and which elements lead to people being socially or economically deprived or discriminated against. For example, individuals who are not disadvantaged,

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[6] Again, in Simmel's sense (see Simmel and Wolff 1950).

but need integration might be friends, schoolmates, and even migrants and new neighbors, while disadvantaged people in need of integration might include former prisoners, people with disabilities and excluded poor and minorities (see Table V).

Table V: DIFFERENT CONTENTS OF INTEGRATION

Non-Hierarchical Relations	Hierarchical Relations
Friends, schoolmates, migrants, incoming neighbors, etc.	Former prisoners, people with disabilities, and excluded and poor minorities

SOURCE: Ruiz-Tagle (2013)

Regarding the above discussion, the enforced spatial distances during the Jim Crow era in the US showed that space made social relationships worse; more explicit and more material (Ethington 1997). Thus, one can see that distance is what makes hierarchies and power relationships stricter and more concrete. How does space affect disadvantaged individuals? Former prisoners come from a physically separated and socially stigmatized environment: i.e. jails. They carry the burden of enforced social and spatial distance. Individuals with disabilities deal with the lack of adjustment of the built environment to their limited modes of movement and dwelling. And excluded and poor minorities cope with the persistent physical separation in neighborhoods, schools, jobs and public spaces.

B.5 Key concepts: main assumptions for integration

Here I discuss five interrelated and questioned concepts from the study of socio-spatial integration (beyond social disorganization, poverty concentration and neighborhood effects), that I

consider crucial for this research; a) contact hypothesis, b) social networks, c) social control, d) role models, and e) geographies of opportunity.

B.5.1   <u>Contact Hypothesis</u>

The so-called Contact Hypothesis (or intergroup contact theory) was proposed in the 1950s in social psychology research, and then extended to sociology and criminology. It assumes that interpersonal contact is an affective mechanism of reducing prejudice between different social groups (Allport 1954). Since prejudice is based on ignorance about 'the other', contact may bring some degree of knowledge, and consequently, better prospects of understanding and acceptance. In other words, physical integration becomes social integration (Zeul and Humphrey 1970). However, certain conditions must be met (Dixon 2001): i) groups have to be taken into an equal status relationship, ii) groups have to working for a common goal, iii) groups do not compete against each other, iv) contact is supported by authorities, law and customs, and v) contact needs to involve personal informal interaction. Although the contact hypothesis is not explicitly mentioned in social mix policies, it can be observed implicitly in discourses about diversity. Thus, it is important to be aware of its criticism, which has emerged from several fronts. First, social psychologists have found that 'negative contact' is a latent possibility. This means that the encounter exacerbates prejudice, instead of reducing it, and intergroup conflict endures (Paolini, Harwood, and Rubin 2010). The same effect has been called 'environmental spoiling' by other social psychologists (Ebbesen, Kjos, and Konečni 1976) and 'conflict hypothesis' by sociologists (Häußermann and Siebel 2001). Second, the hypothesis is criticized for detaching intergroup dynamics from social contexts. Thus, contact is more illusory than actual (Dixon and Durrheim 2003). And third, in spatial terms, boundary processes are always present and express the exercise of power, reproducing segregation (Dixon 2001).

The next four key concepts have been understood by the literature (DeFilippis and Fraser 2010, Joseph 2006) as the major foundations for mixed-income developments.

B.5.2   Social Networks

Social networks as 'social capital' emphasizes the importance of the return of middle class residents to inner cities. By doing this, the social mix would facilitate the development of 'weak ties' through which low income residents would access employment networks and other resources (Joseph 2006). The most obvious criticism to this assumption is that upper status individuals would not be willing to share their resources and their networks with the poor easily.

B.5.3   Social Control

Social Control indicates that the presence of higher income residents will lead to better behaviors regarding norms, and increased order and safety (Joseph 2006). Neighborhood effects research has shown correlations between higher status and social organization, which in turn reduces crime. Higher income residents are called to take action and have a strong voice in the neighborhood. Again, an obvious criticism here is regarding the one-sided idea that poor people will be better controlled by more affluent individuals in their own neighborhood, and not by themselves. In fact, Tach (2009) has observed in some mixed-income communities that lower status groups have been enforcing more social control than upper status groups.

B.5.4   Role Models

Culture and behavior, or simply role models, implies that the presence of upper status neighbors will lead to the adoption of socially acceptable and constructive behavior. That is, the assimilation of a middle class culture (Joseph 2006). Two types of role modeling are emphasized; observing the actions of others (distal), and direct interaction for advice, feedback and accountability (proximal). As it happens

with social control, the idea of role models is criticized for assuming that the poor will be better oriented in their behavior and goals by better-off neighbors, in a one-sided belief that their values and customs are intrinsically negative (Smith 2006, 2010).

B.5.5   <u>Geography of Opportunity</u>

Political economy of place, or geographies of opportunity, points to the generation of new market demand and political pressure, bringing higher quality goods and services (Howell-Moroney 2005). Affluent residents are expected to bring *"more personal resources, broader networks of influence, and greater control over their time"* (Joseph 2006, p. 216). Galster and Killen (1995) explain this as an opportunity structure, in terms of how markets, institutions and service systems influence the life prospects of local residents. Thus, spatial changes in the opportunity structure would shape life decisions. One can criticize here that this idea has an implicit (and ideological) market-oriented assumption, suggesting that the location of opportunities follows the more powerful groups, and overlooking the political economy of institutions in the redistribution of resources. Consequently, the practices of poverty dispersion or physical proximity to upper classes (under this assumption) would be the 'only way' of enhancing life prospects for the poor.

B.6 <u>A preliminary framework: Four dimensions of socio-spatial integration</u>

In order to elaborate a definition of socio-spatial integration, I now take the relevant dimensions that play a role in these contexts. Peter Marcuse affirms that integration represents the elimination of barriers to free mobility and the establishment of positive and non-hierarchical relationships—which is more than mere non-segregation (Marcuse 1997, 2005). So far I have identified the importance of proximity, of functional relationships, and of respectful coexistence. Identification with common symbols in local settings is also an important factor defining community (Schwirian 1983). In this sense, Simmel (Simmel and Wolff 1950) argues that isolated elements (individuals and groups) may be unified

by their common relationship with an outside phenomenon. Then, rather than posing a linear approach, I maintain that socio-spatial integration is manifested as a multidimensional relationship that may work independently and at different levels (see Table VI).

Table VI: FOUR DIMENSIONS OF SOCIO-SPATIAL INTEGRATION

MACRO DIMENSIONS	SOCIO-SPATIAL DIMENSIONS	CHARACTERIZATION
SYSTEMIC	Physical	Physical proximity between different social groups (defined by power and status)
	Functional	Effective access to opportunities and services in the territory
SOCIAL	Relational	Non-hierarchical interaction between different social groups
	Symbolic	Identification with a common ground

SOURCE: Ruiz-Tagle (2013)

The dimensions here defined are specifiable aspects of a concept to help grasp its complex meaning and to develop further operationalizations. The physical dimension implies the proximity between social groups, and can involve variables like space design, spatial distance according to social distance, agglomeration, clustering and so on. The functional dimension is related to access to opportunities and can involve variables like spatial distance to opportunities, quality of opportunities, economic access to services, level of state involvement and presence of public and private institutions. The relational dimension implies the interaction between different social groups, and can involve variables like hierarchical and non-hierarchical relations, social control, leadership, community institutions, cultural exchange and assimilation between groups, role modeling, political participation, etc. Finally, the symbolic dimension is related to identification with a common ground, and can involve

variables like external and internal symbols, real and imaginary boundaries, partial and common identity and differentiation, separation between established members and outsiders, perceptions of normality and disorder, etc. Then, how are these dimensions expressed in the different social forms of integration? Table VII endeavors to explain this.

Table VII: SOCIAL FORMS OF INTEGRATION THROUGH THE DIFFERENT SOCIO-SPATIAL DIMENSIONS

	PHYSICAL DIMENSION	FUNCTIONAL DIMENSION	RELATIONAL DIMENSION	SYMBOLIC DIMENSION
INTEGRITY (LOW DIVERSITY, LOW FREEDOM)	No proximity to different social group. Behavior conditioned by enclosure. (e.g., traditional ghettos)	Access to opportunities limited by level of state intervention and market interest in the group	Non-hierarchical relations easy because of homogeneity, but conditioned by group discipline	Strong identification, creation of symbols and boundaries, separation from outsiders
LIMITED LIABILITY (LOW DIVERSITY, HIGH FREEDOM)	No proximity to different social groups. Enclosure does not affect behavior, just functional relations. (e.g., dysfunctional ghetto)	Access achieved by personal interest, and also limited to state and market	Non-hierarchical relations are more functional than affective	Weak identification, only with symbols that are neutrally created
ASSIMILATION (HIGH DIVERSITY, LOW FREEDOM)	Proximity to different groups, conditioned to "adequate" behavior (e.g., bi-racial coexistence in the US)	Access achieved by market interest in the higher status group, and state efforts for dispersion	Relations, if any exist, are pre-eminently hierarchical and involve social control	Identification just with higher status symbols. Differentiation occurs if integrity of higher status group is threatened
CULTURAL PLURALISM (HIGH DIVERSITY, HIGH FREEDOM)	Proximity to different groups, mutual control and enrichment from behavior (e.g., Cashin (2004) multicultural islands)	Access achieved by state and market, but also by community leadership, and by personal interest	Non-hierarchical relations are expressed through activism for coexistence, political participation, and social capital	Collective creation and exchange of symbols. Differentiation with outsiders could occur but only if they don't commit to diversity

SOURCE: Ruiz-Tagle (2013)

After this proposition, residential segregation may be restated as the opposite of de-concentration and/or physical proximity to higher-status groups, and socio-spatial integration may be restated as the opposite of territorial exclusion. Social exclusion refers to a denied opportunity for participation: an involuntary social isolation as a response to hostility and discrimination (Barry 1998). Social exclusion has been also defined as *"a multidimensional process of progressive social rupture, detaching groups and individuals from social relations and institutions and preventing them from full participation in the normal, normatively prescribed activities of the society in which they live"* (Silver 2007b, p. 15). Thus, the proposed dimensions of socio-spatial integration can be reframed inversely through this lens: *physical* exclusion as residential segregation; *functional* exclusion as denied access to opportunities; *relational* exclusion as indifference and denied participation; and *symbolic* exclusion as imaginary construction of otherness. Table VIII explains the distinctions between the opposites of segregation and integration, respectively.

Table VIII: THE OPPOSITES OF SEGREGATION AND INTEGRATION

	SEGREGATION	OPPOSITE
NEUTRAL MANIFESTATION	Spatial concentration of social groups (similar status)	Spatial dispersion or deconcentration of social groups (similar status)
EXCLUSIONARY MANIFESTATION	Physical separation from the rest of population and their opportunities	Physical proximity to higher status groups and their opportunities
	INTEGRATION	OPPOSITE (EXCLUSION)
PHYSICAL DIMENSION	Physical proximity	Residential segregation
FUNCTIONAL DIMENSION	Access to opportunities	Denied access to opportunities
RELATIONAL DIMENSION	Non-hierarchical interaction	Indifference and denied participation
SYMBOLIC DIMENSION	Common identification	Imaginary construction of otherness

SOURCE: (Ruiz-Tagle (2013))

However, integration does not represent a simple reversal of the causes of poverty or exclusion. Material dispossession and physical exclusion cause complex social problems. But, as I have argued, material provision and physical proximity are not immediate solutions to those problems. That is why it is necessary to recognize that, just as segregation is an intervening variable in the production of poverty, physical proximity is just one dimension in a more complex process of socio-spatial integration.

B.7 Empirical studies

The empirical study of socio-spatial integration, much more relevant than studies of segregation for this research, can be divided in two: studies of unplanned diverse neighborhoods (accidental or voluntary), and studies of socially engineered diversity by social mix policies.

Within the study of unplanned diverse neighborhoods, I have identified two models in the US literature. Here, some authors have exposed 'keys' for achieving integration based on particular urban and demographic characteristics, or as a result of persistent activism on the part of communities and individuals. In the positivistic/functionalistic side, there is an ecological-demographic model that tries to explain the spontaneous emergence of stable diversity patterns in terms of specific demographic changes (Ellen 2000, Galster 1998, Modarres 2004, Smith 1998). Despite the emphasis on stability, this model understands integration as the '*time between when the first black moves in and the last white moves out'*. This type of model is influenced by Chicago School theories and their studies on neighborhood change (Smith 1993), although giving some chance to the possibility of integration. Within this model, Ingrid Gould Ellen (2000) identifies five factors that have favored stable racial integration in the US: the neighborhood's history of stability (as a self-perpetuating phenomenon), distance from main minority concentrations, percentage of rental housing, secure set of amenities, and the presence of African-American population in the metropolitan area as a whole.

In the critical side, there is a politico-institutional model that stresses the active influence of powerful actors and grassroots organizations in bringing about a desired coexistence (Anderson 1990, Cashin 2004, Molotch 1972, Nyden, Maly, and Lukehart 1997). This approach understands integration as an active and purposive process, although the observed outcome is not much more than demographic diversity. Sheryll Cashin (2004) illustrates two kinds of integrated communities: biracial middle-class enclaves and multicultural islands. Biracial middle-class enclaves are represented by older suburbs with highly educated neighbors articulated by a historical activism for diversity, and multicultural islands by neighborhoods that were inundated with a multicultural citizenship by circumstance, with an ample range of incomes and a diverse tenure, attracting middle-income inhabitants without causing gentrification. Cashin (2004) is emphatic about the importance of an institutional framework for intergroup communication in order to ensure coexistence and stability. In this case, as the inverse to

homogenous exclusive communities, she highlights difference as the main feature in common. A similar argument is put forward by Nyden, Maly, and Lukehart (1997), who offer two explanations for the emergence of integrated communities that, beyond the dynamics of tipping, are based on purposive decisions and actions. The first is the idea of '*self-consciously*' diverse neighborhoods, where they found active promotion of diversity through programs, organizations and social networks. And the second is '*laissez-faire*' integration, where diversity emerges by circumstances not attributable to intervention. Anyway, despite the distinctions between both models, the ecological-demographic and politico-institutional models just explain how certain diversity emerges and how it is sustained over time. But they do not deepen into **how integration works, how it operates, or what it actually means**.

Regarding the study of socially engineered diversity by social mix policies, there has been growing literature from the 1990s. Since studies are dispersed in several topics, here I classify them according to the four dimensions already defined in the preliminary framework. On the **physical dimension**, there are several studies on the physical design for social mix (Greenbie 1976, Talen 2008, Vischer 1986a, b), and studies on the perception of the physical impacts of transforming public housing into mixed-income communities (Joseph and Chaskin 2010). On the **functional dimension**, there are studies focusing on the social networks of lower status groups (Atkinson and Kintrea 2000), on the overall benefits of social mix for poor people (Fraser and Kick 2007), and on the effects of mix on socioeconomic status, earnings, and employment (Galster et al. 2008, Galster, Andersson, and Musterd 2010, Sarkissian, Forsyth, and Heine 1990, Van Ham and Manley 2010). Similarly, there are also studies on the effects of social mix on property values and school performance (Sarkissian, Forsyth, and Heine 1990), and on the attraction of amenities for specific social groups (Atkinson and Kintrea 2000).

On the **relational dimension** there is a wide variety of studies. First, some studies focus on the overall inclusion and cohesion between the different social groups (Arthurson 2002, Atkinson and

Kintrea 2000, Chaskin and Joseph 2010, Joseph 2008, Sarkissian, Forsyth, and Heine 1990). Second, some others concentrate on social interactions, social organization and social control (Joseph and Chaskin 2010, Kleit 2005, Rosenbaum, Stroh, and Flynn 1998, Tach 2009). Third, there are studies focusing on participation and deliberation of the different groups at stake (Chaskin and Joseph 2010, Chaskin, Khare, and Joseph 2012). And fourth, there are some others focusing on perceptions of safety (Rosenbaum, Stroh, and Flynn 1998). Regarding the *symbolic dimension*, interestingly, there are no studies concentrated directly on topics of meaning, symbolism, identification identities and so on. Finally, there are several works studying the overall idea of social mix and the efforts of planning around it, with a focus on consequences, potentials, benefits for stakeholders, degree of satisfaction, future stability and the like (Arthurson 2002, Fraser and Kick 2007, Joseph 2008, Rosenbaum, Stroh, and Flynn 1998, Sarkissian, Forsyth, and Heine 1990). Therefore, as can be seen, *there are no comprehensive studies focusing on the interrelation of the four dimensions of socio-spatial integration*; physical, functional, relational and symbolic.

The study of diverse neighborhoods in Chile deserves special attention here. Given the low levels of residential mobility and scarce neighborhood change, the only cases of emergent or spontaneous socioeconomic diversity have been observed in older neighborhoods within historical centers, and recently in poor peripheral areas that are being colonized by wealthier gated communities (Sabatini, Cáceres, and Cerda 2001). The appearance of these cases has been explained in terms of the dispersion of elites through a particular mechanism; that is, buying cheap land in poor peripheral areas and building enclosed neighborhoods (Sabatini and Salcedo 2007). But beyond the appearance of these urban artifacts, these studies have focused on their positive consequences. They have raised the gains in functional exchanges (mostly domestic services), lower stigmatization, attraction of market services, and an improved urban environment (Sabatini and Salcedo 2007, Salcedo and Torres 2004). However, they tend to overestimate symbolic changes above several critical issues of these places. The Chilean authors

studying gated communities in poor areas (Sabatini and Salcedo 2007, Salcedo and Torres 2004) tend to reify these cases as the only dynamic that is actually reducing socioeconomic segregation, and as the only (possible) examples of diversity, falling in the same problem of *equating physical proximity with integration*. Of course it is laudable that these authors have gone beyond the mere emergence of diversity, putting the emphasis on the consequences of this issue. Nevertheless, several elements are lacking, like a critical interpretation that goes beyond the initial accounts of residents, a comparison to other contexts showing more instrumental changes, analyses of the actors involved in neighborhood institutions, and expressions of race and class in more spheres than mere housing.

C. **The theoretical framing of social mix policies: history, policy applications and debates**

The Cambridge Dictionary's chapter of 'American English' defines integration as the *"action that causes (an organization or group) to bring into it people, especially of a different race, who have been kept separated previously, or to cause such a separation to end"* (Cambridge-University-Press 2010: American English). This implies that the persistent experience of racial segregation and the different attempts to counteract it have opened up the space for a particular dictionary definition. Indeed, the efforts to promote integration in the US have been primarily centered on racial segregation and, secondarily, on the de-concentration of poverty.

In Chile, desegregation policies were launched in the late 2010s, and at present just 9 social integration projects have been opened (see chapter 4). However, there has been an intense academic and political debate to promote measures for integration in the housing realm, and the main empirical base to make such claims has been the cases of gated communities colonizing poor areas of social housing (as mentioned before). In any case, several Chilean scholars are highlighting the theoretical base and the best practices from the US cases of mixed income housing, which I review in Chapter 4.

C.1 <u>The idea of social mix in historical perspective</u>

Although the theorization of about integration comes from urban sociology, the framing of social mix policies has been a question of urban planners, and consequently, subject to their wishful thinking, idealized ingenuities, and physical solutions for social problems.

The origins of the idea of socially mixed neighborhoods date back to the Victorian era in England (Arthurson 2012, Sarkissian 1976, Sarkissian, Forsyth, and Heine 1990). From those times, two branches of Victorian thinking supported the idea. On one hand, romantic-conservatives idealized the pre-industrial village, the values of small towns, and the social control of the community, which led to the movement toward 'balanced neighborhoods' in the US and the UK. On the other hand, utilitarians affirmed that mixing would work better than overcrowded and segregated industrial cities (Arthurson 2012, Sarkissian 1976). However, none of these branches were worried about decreasing inequality. Other supporter was Ebenezer Howard and his Garden City Movement, who was in favor of segregation at the lower scales but considered Garden Cities as a representation of the whole society. English social reformer Octavia Hill also entered the debate, proposing the idea of a spirit of emulation (similar to Wilson's role models), and supporting social mix between the educated and those to be culturally uplifted (Sarkissian 1976). However, Octavia Hill's legacy ended up distorted in the assumption that middle classes would work as unpaid social workers for their poor neighbors. From the US, Lewis Mumford propagated the idea of social mix, as an opposition to segregation. He sustained that mixture is an essential function of the city, which will allow cross-cultural fertilization (Sarkissian 1976).

After World War II, the idea of social mix was revived. Classlessness ideologies reached urban planning, with a focus in regenerating communal life. Some examples in the planning rhetoric and practice were the 'neighborhood unit' and the 'socially balanced neighborhood', although the details of

the mixture and means to achieve it were not all clear (Sarkissian 1976). During the Cold War, western democracies reaffirmed the idea mix in terms of removing barriers to opportunities under the new welfare economies. In the US, Jane Jacobs celebrated the vitality of heterogeneous neighborhoods, close to the idea of the old village. In addition, there has been emphasis on social mix from planning and legislation from the second half of the twentieth century (Sarkissian 1976). However, the black left has contended that integration policies threaten the solidarity of old communal ghettos, and act as a mechanism of atomization. Two milestones marked the 1990s in the US: the re-entry of urban design and the revival of social mix in planning. Regarding urban design, New Urbanism appeared as a movement that wanted to participate in the development of HOPE VI's mixed-income communities, contributing with their normative prescriptions (Smith 2006). This re-entry put urban design in the table again, after the Garden City and the Neighborhood Unit ideas. And regarding the revival of social mix, this reappeared as a new consensual wisdom in planning debates (August 2008). Social mixtures started to be applied mostly to redevelop existing low income communities. And although the rhetoric still points to the historic progressive ideals of equality of opportunity, these recent applications have been more in line with neoliberal governance (August 2008).

Through all the mentioned historical examples, Sarkissian (1976) summarizes nine different goals that have been outlined to support the establishment of socially mixed neighborhoods (regardless the coherence among them):

1. To raise the standards of the lower classes by nurturing a 'spirit of emulation' (…)
2. To encourage aesthetic diversity and raise aesthetic standards (…)
3. To encourage cultural cross-fertilization (…)
4. To increase equality of opportunity (…)
5. To promote social harmony by reducing social and racial tensions (…)
6. To promote social conflict in order to foster individual and social maturity (…)
7. To improve the physical functioning of the city and its inhabitants (…)
8. To help maintain stable residential areas (…)
9. To reflect the diversity of the urbanized modern world (Sarkissian 1976, p. 231-233)

Although Joseph (2006) has shown some evidence on the mentioned assumptions for social mix (social networks, social control, role models, geography of opportunity), several others (Arthurson 2012, Sarkissian 1976, Sarkissian, Forsyth, and Heine 1990) insist that *the evidence is very little and that the case for social mix relies on modest theoretical claims*. Therefore, they all maintain that *more studies are needed*.

C.2 Policy applications for integration in the US

The primary framework for integration policies in the US was given by the Civil Rights Movement, in terms of urgent claims for integration in labor markets, schools, housing markets and public spaces. But in the urban debate as mentioned, one of the main conceptualizations for integration efforts in the last decades came from the emphasis on middle class networks and role models (Wilson 1987). Many integration programs have been applied since the late 1960s, and Goetz (2003) distinguishes two generations. The first generation, based on the 'open housing movement', aimed to reverse past discrimination and promote racial integration. The second generation, starting in the late 1970s, saw the treatment of poverty concentration as a 'new problem' and focused on mobility and the redevelopment of distressed public housing developments.

The Gautreaux Program was a first-generation initiative. It came about as a result of a court decision against the Chicago Housing Authority. This decision mandated a metropolitan-wide remedy for the relocation of African-American public housing residents to areas of the region that were less than 30% black (Goetz 2003). The evaluation was optimistic, pointing to positive relationships between relocated and original residents, gains in employment, education and safety, mobility from poor-segregated to middle income-integrated neighborhoods, and 'second generation' effects for the movers' children. Furthermore, qualitative effects were highlighted regarding the sense of life-improvement, a

new sense of self-efficacy, more know-how, less intimidation vis-à-vis white people, and behavioral modifications in exchange for community safety (Deluca and Rosenbaum 2010). However, Gautreaux advocates recognize the political limits of implementing the strategy beyond this isolated case (Davis 1993).

Next, Inclusionary Housing Programs have been established in some states to increase the supply of affordable housing and to foster economic and racial integration (Calavita and Grimes 1998). The idea here is to involve private developers through special zoning ordinances, cost offsets and development incentives. This is made to include a 'fair share' of affordable and market-rate housing, and to open up exclusive suburbs. Some authors perceive this program as a 'unique non-forceful' means of integration, where the market is positively involved in the creation of diverse communities (Brunick 2003, Calavita and Grimes 1998). Nevertheless, some problems have been identified. First, the flexibility of local governments on the affordable housing quota has weakened the integration potential. Second, the maintenance of affordability in the units remains controversial. Third, not all developments are open to low-income housing. Fourth, the actual impetus of the real estate market comes from state mandates and not from their own principles. Finally, the units provided are still insufficient to meet housing needs (Calavita and Grimes 1998).

The second generation of integration policies is best known for Mixed-Income Housing strategies born out of the HOPE VI Program. This program is a major federal plan to revitalize the most distressed public housing projects and transform them into diverse neighborhoods. The major focuses here are the isolation and concentration of poverty, especially among the African-American population (Joseph 2006). The development of Mixed-Income Housing has garnered increasing attention from scholars. Thus, its potential has been framed on the mentioned four assumptions (Joseph 2006): social networks, social control, role models, and geography of opportunity. Many consider this to

be the more controversial of the three programs presented, because of the shortages and delays in the replacement of public housing units (contributing to the deficit), insufficient resources to support residents during relocation, and a de facto practice of gentrification (Greenbaum 2008, Joseph 2006, Smith 2006).

C.3 <u>Integration policies in an international perspective</u>

Integration policies have been applied in several European countries and in South Africa, among other places. In the case of Europe, despite the diversity of countries, most policies have failed to stop ethnic and socioeconomic segregation (Andersson, Bråmå, and Holmqvist 2010, Bolt, Phillips, and Van Kempen 2010). Many policies have created further problems of disintegration (when they are based on dispersion) and constrained housing stocks (Bolt, Phillips, and Van Kempen 2010, Phillips and Harrison 2010). Similar to the US, the most excluded population has not benefited from integration policies but has suffered from them, and the middle class has been the point of reference for social and cultural norms (Bacqué et al. 2011, Blanc 2010). More generally, some authors have criticized social mixing's being used to facilitate control over the poor by atomization, and as a compensation for lack of integration at the national scale (Uitermark 2003).

In the South African case, integration policies have marked a significant change from apartheid times, and in some places there is peaceful coexistence between different races (Lemanski 2006a, b). The processes of relocation have created new identities, sometimes making race less important than other factors such as the building of norms, housing politics, crime, legality, and the like (Lemanski 2006b, Oldfield 2004). However, demographic mixing has masked a lack of social interaction and the persistent segregation of institutions and their practices (Lemanski 2006a). In other words, *physical desegregation is not leading directly to social integration*. Besides, there is a growing tendency for more class- than race-based segregation in this new post-apartheid era (Lemanski 2006b).

In more general terms, several authors have criticized the vast gap that exists between policy rhetoric and effective policy outcomes (Blanc 2010, Bolt, Phillips, and Van Kempen 2010). Integration has been proven not to be a mechanical consequence of desegregation (Lemanski 2006a). Instead, authors claim that constructive social development should go beyond housing renewal and social engineering, and create real redistribution (Bacqué et al. 2011, Blanc 2010, Phillips and Harrison 2010). Finally, as I have shown conceptually, social mixing has been found to have contradictory aims. It encourages urban equity, but undermines the right to choose. In other words, equality and freedom are in critical opposition (Blanc 2010).

C.4 <u>Arguments for and against integration policies</u>

Galster (2013) affirms that the case of social mix can be justified for two goals; for equity, in order to improve the well-being of the poor, avoiding their concentration and promoting diversity; and for efficiency, in order to improve the well-being of all society, but only with low percentages of poor population in mixed areas. In addition, Deluca and Rosenbaum (2010) argue that policies that have tried to improve the conditions of people remaining in the same neighborhood, have often failed.

It is important to note, first, that the integration policies in the US have actually been policies of desegregation. That again poses an interesting conceptual paradox, because the same could be said inversely; policies of desegregation have been intended as integration policies. Then, one of the main arguments against integration efforts is the exclusive focus on locational changes. Many authors explain how simply providing spaces for diverse social groups to encounter one another will not make a substantial difference (Karp, Stone, and Yoels 1991). They stress the importance of combining housing opportunities with investments in social services, education, transportation, job readiness, training and placement (Joseph 2006).

A different type of criticism is outlined by Young (1999) with her idea of 'together-in-difference'. She points out the possibility of people coexisting in a common polity, but locally differentiated into group affinities. In this case, the stress is on the movement of resources-to-people rather than people-to-resources (Young 1999) and on the ability of households to reside in particular locations to maximize their opportunities (Galster and Killen 1995). However, this ideal urban space of differentiation without bordered exclusion (Young 1999) seems to overlook capitalist constraints of power and economic inequalities, highlighting only the positive outcomes of segregation. As I have mentioned, simply conceiving segregation as a result of the need for integrity and continuity for communities is to ignore its major social consequences.

Other arguments against integration highlight the previously mentioned contradictions. Integration has been for many people mere assimilation combined with the loosening of attachment to the original culture (Bolt, Özüekren, and Phillips 2010). This has frequently involved the accommodation of blacks to the lifestyle of middle-class whites (Cashin 2004, Goldberg 1998). In the name of integration then, poor people have been forced—or at least expected to—assimilate external behaviors. In either case, the intention of integration programs has been questioned on the basis that assimilation is neither possible nor desirable.

Moreover, the policies of dispersion have represented atomization, and a breaking of ties that helps maintain unequal systems. And this is more disintegration than integration. That line of questioning is the basis for social capital arguments around dispersal strategies. Authors have criticized dispersion, arguing that the supposed increase in social capital does not consider the social costs of moving. In many cases, social capital is diminished, not enhanced, because de-concentration is said to

destroy the root systems of relationships that residents have with each other and with local institutions (Greenbaum 2008).

Other authors have also deplored the need for social interaction in mixed environments as a means to deal with a generalized lack of communal ties. However, if one assumes that friendship does not work easily even in homogeneous settings, why could it work in forcedly integrated neighborhoods where a common ethos is more difficult to build? People do not need to seek unnecessary ties of friendship. But social interaction is still necessary for the achievement of more relevant goals: stability, coexistence, and the negotiation of differences in relatively equal environments (Cashin 2004).

C.5 <u>**Summary: concepts, assumptions and knowledge gaps**</u>

Integration policies have been based on several assumptions. From the study of segregation, there is the social disorganization paradigm, poverty concentration and neighborhood effects. And from the theorization and study of integration, there is the contact hypothesis, social networks, social control, role models and geographies of opportunity. As an incentive for future studies, Sarkissian (1976) summarizes the challenges of social mix research in the following questions:

1. Are individuals in mixed communities moved to improve their condition by a 'spirit of emulation'?
2. Do people (as opposed to planners) regard diversity in their area as a positive element in their standard of living? If people in mixed areas are more satisfied than those in unmixed areas, is mix the reason for their satisfaction?
3. Do people in mixed areas engage in common cultural and social pursuits? To what extent? Do they regard these common activities as preferable to the traditional communal life of homogeneous areas?
4. What real additional opportunities are provided for underprivileged individuals and groups in residentially mixed areas? Do some opportunities exist in unmixed areas that would be destroyed by mix?
5. Does residential propinquity actually lead to greater interaction among dissimilar people and greater tolerance for social differences?
6. Does middle-class leadership in mixed areas produce any positive benefits for other residents?
7. Are services more efficient, less costly, and more available to underprivileged groups in mixed areas than in unmixed areas?
8. Which groups tolerate mix best? Under what conditions can people mix safely and happily?
(Sarkissian 1976, p. 244)

D. Partial conclusions: problems, further debates and knowledge gaps

After this extensive review, I can say that two broad problems cross the dominant literature of segregation and integration: an excessive fixation on spatial causes, and a belief that social problems are based on individual circumstances. From the literature on segregation, the emphasis on concepts like poverty concentration and neighborhood effects, leads to an inevitable assumption that the problem is essentially spatial, and that the solution should be designed accordingly. From the literature on integration similarly, the importance of ideas like social networks, social control and role models, leads one to think that once physical proximity between groups is achieved, individual relationships will help the poor in overcoming their own problems.

Thus, there are two common factors at play. First, there is an underestimation of power relationships: race/class divisions or the actions of public and private actors in the urban realm. Here, the implicit or explicit acts of 'blaming the victim' when making theoretical constructions, erase the structural constraints that poor individuals face in their everyday lives. And second, there is an excessive reliance on physical proximity, either as a direct cause of social pathologies (when segregated), or as a trigger for positive functional and relational interactions (when 'integrated'). In other words, physical proximity is presented as an end in itself; that is, as an equalization between propinquity and integration. I illustrate this excessive reliance on physical proximity (or even physical determinism) in Figure 1.

THE VICIOUS CIRCLE OF SEGREGATION

1 → Spatial concentration & enclosure **2** ↓

Prejudice, discrimination

Social Dislocations

↑ **4** Stigma ← **3**

THE 'VIRTUOUS' CIRCLE OF SEGREGATION

1 → Social control **2** ↓

Physical proximity

Appropriate behavior

↑ **4** End of prejudice, social acceptance ← **3**
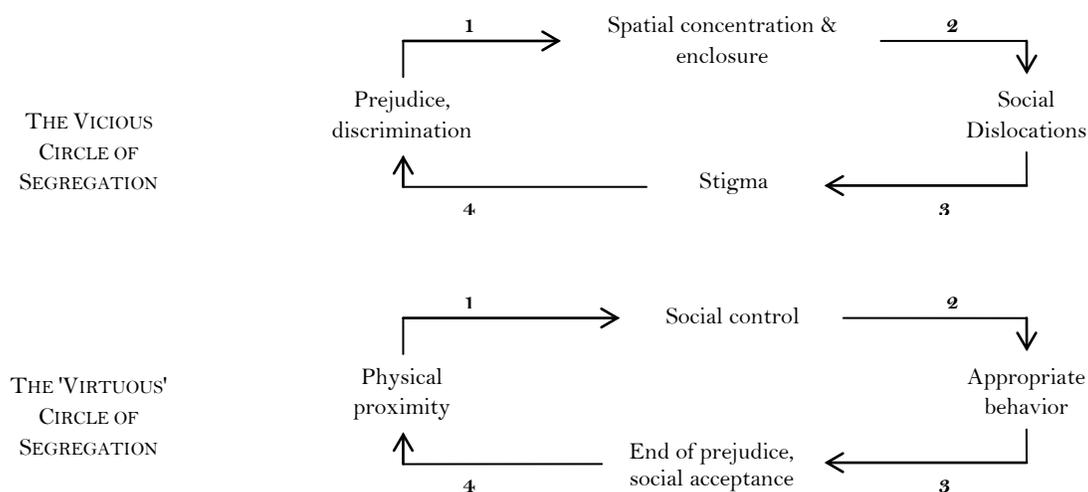
Figure 1: The vicious circle of segregation and the 'virtuous' circle of integration
SOURCE: Ruiz-Tagle (2013)

As a final summary, the interrelated literature on segregation, integration and social mix present the following knowledge gaps. First, regarding the study of unplanned diversity, the two defined models (ecological-demographic and politico-institutional) are just focused on the emergence and maintenance of diversity. But as mentioned, they do not deepen into how integration operates or what this slippery concept actually connotes. Second, in terms of the study of planned mixed-income developments, there is a wide dispersion of topics, which illustrates how social mix has been proposed for different (sometimes isolated) goals, and not in a comprehensive way. There are no studies on the symbolic dimension, and most importantly, there are no studies interrelating the four dimensions of socio-spatial integration. In other words, socio-spatial integration has not been taken exhaustively in its complexity. Third, the studies in Chile (about gated communities invading poor areas of social housing) show a tendency to equate physical proximity with integration. That is, there is an overestimation of functional exchanges, concealing other problems of segregation in other spheres, and persisting

inequality. Finally, throughout the history of the idea of social mix (both in theory and practice), there

has been very little evidence. The idea of mixed-income communities relies on a modest set of

theoretical and practical claims, which of course requires more social science research.

III. COMPARATIVE FRAMEWORK

Some authors have questioned the appropriateness of the term 'residential segregation' for the case of Latin America, arguing that the concept was developed primarily to refer to racial and ethnic segregation in cities of the northern hemisphere (A. Varley, personal communication, December 2009). In Latin America and in Chile instead, researchers have highlighted the predominance of class segregation (Rodríguez 2001, Sabatini, Cáceres, and Cerda 2001). This is just one of the aspects that differentiate the cases of Chicago and Santiago. Comparative analysis calls for the continuous questioning of concepts and theoretical constructs, since each case has its own particularities and its own manifestations of the problems under study. Consequently, the variegated meaning of concepts, like segregation, encourages the search for theories to account for it (Rose 1991).

Latin American researchers have arrived late to the study of segregation in their countries, have concealed the existence of racial distinctions (except in Brazil), and have not questioned the established theoretical constructs coming from US academia. In this Chapter, I argue that Latin America does not need different terms for describing a problem that supposedly has a marked class character. Instead, what we need are clear definitions of the specific causes, dynamics and consequences of residential segregation for different contexts. The main goal of this Chapter then, is to describe and analyze three structural factors of contextual variation, comparing Chile with the US (Santiago and Chicago are shown specifically for each case). The first factor is the systems of social stratification in each country, as the main force producing segregation. Social stratification refers to the number, strength, and importance of horizontal and vertical lines of inequality in each society (i.e., race, ethnicity, class, and so on), which creates a system of social relationships. The second factor is what I call the 'political

economies of neighborhood change' (or housing allocation systems) that describe the dynamics in which residential segregation is materialized in each context. This refers to the particularities of each country or city in terms of residential mobility, the functioning of the housing market, policies for affordable housing, and so on. And the third factor is social welfare systems in space, which is the main force that worsens the consequences of segregation in Chile and the US from recent decades. Appearing with the neoliberal structural adjustments of the 1980s, the problems of social fragmentation in Latin America (Prévôt-Schapira 2001) and of advanced marginality (Wacquant 2008) or new urban poverty[1] in the US, describe a generalized and multi-dimensional force of social exclusion, and include residential segregation as part of it. Then, the role played by the state in each society not only has an important influence on social stratification and housing allocation systems, but also on the institutional context that surround socially homogeneous, poor neighborhoods. Figure 2 summarizes the relationship between the structural factors of contextual variation and the five moments of segregation defined in the theoretical framework.

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[1] See for example, the special issue of the International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, September 1993, Volume 17, Issue 3, pp. 319-470.

FIVE MOMENTS OF SEGREGATION   STRUCTURAL FACTORS

1. Exclusionary spatial separation

2. Spatial concentration   Social stratification systems

3. Semi-conscious self-selection   Housing allocation systems

4. Concerted disinvestment   Welfare systems in space

5. Reconstruction of stigma
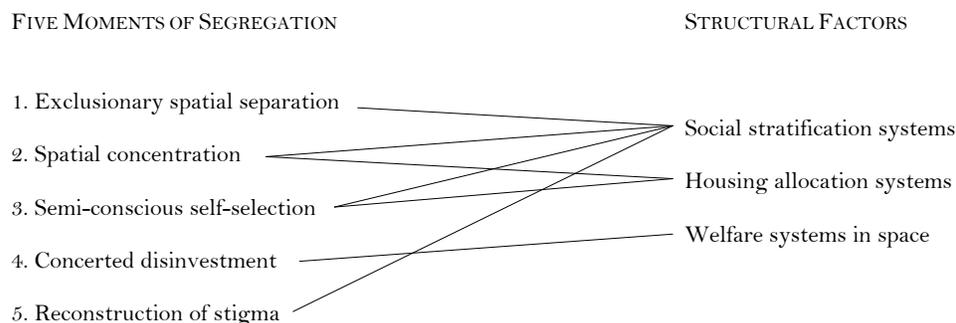
Figure 2: The moments of segregation and the structural factors influencing them
SOURCE: self-elaboration

With such purpose in mind, I organize the chapter as follows. In the first section, I describe the characteristics of the social stratification systems of Chile and the US. In the second section, I describe the housing allocation system of each country, paying particular attention to the historical development of Chicago and Santiago, respectively. In the third section, I describe the last transformations in the social welfare systems in space, with special emphasis on the institutions that have a direct impact of each local territory. I finish with some partial conclusions in terms of the challenges that this comparison entails.

A. **Social stratification systems: race and class on both sides of the equator**

The US is an Anglo-Saxon developed country, mainly divided by lines of race. In turn, Chile is a Latin American developing country, mainly divided by lines of class. Both can be taken as perfectly opposite examples of race and class discrimination respectively, and the comparison contributes in extracting its main components and its influence in producing different forms of segregation and inequality.

In historical perspective, both countries experienced racism before any major class divide, and this began with colonialism. First, natives were exterminated by wars, invasion and diseases, and then brought to 'civilizing' projects of assimilation. While both the British and Spanish colonial empires were projects of economic expansion, they differ in their religious ambitions. While religious and ethnic heterogeneity (including separation and persecution) was the characteristic of the British in the US, the establishment of Catholicism in Latin America was part of a major project of Catholic spread into the New World (by a Vatican decree). And this marked a major difference in terms of how indigenous people were treated afterwards and how each society evolved with them. In the US, most natives were exterminated or pushed to reservations, and not many relations were established with the colonizing, and later established, white Anglo-Saxons. In Latin America and in Chile, most natives were confronted in war, but also included in subordinated positions as slaves or as cheap labor, and then forced to become part of *mestizaje*[2] (interbreeding) through rape, concubinage or through simple economic pressure (to avoid tribute payments).

The history of slavery in both countries also had some common characteristics until they became independent. While the US brought thousands of African slaves for the cotton industry and several other occupations, Chile participated in slave routes between Peru and Argentina, using slaves for domestic service, the military, mining, agriculture, and working in ports. During colonial times thus, privilege was given to white European descents, establishing caste societies of social and legal discrimination to black slaves in the US, and to slaves, *mestizos* and natives in Chile. But after their independence, the history of both countries diverged strongly. In the US, slavery was transformed into de-jure racial segregation, mainly in the south, separating whites from blacks in housing, schools, jobs and public space, providing inferior treatment and accommodation, and increasing the power gap

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[2] *Mestizaje* means interbreeding and *mestizo* is the name given by the Spanish colonizers to individuals of Spanish-indigenous mixture.

between both groups. In Chile instead, the majority of people of African descent migrated to Peru, and with the few remaining, there was a widespread strategy of assimilation, whitening and invisibility, becoming also part of the large project of *mestizaje*.

Although the US part of the story is well known, the Latin American and Chilean part is not, which is why I extend a little bit more on it. The phenomenon of *mestizaje* in Latin America, a practice that eroded the rigid notion of pure races, has had a complex trajectory. The term *'mestizo'* was originally associated with illegitimacy. However, since *mestizos* became the majority of the population by the time of independence in the 19th century, their identities in the nation-building period took a very different character (Smith 1996a). This more positive view of racial mixture is widely known as *'the myth of mestizaje'*: an intentional and symbolic idea of racial homogeneity, created by the cultural apparatus and public intellectuals of each country, for the construction of a nationalistic identity (Alvarado and Fernández 2011, Smith 1996a, Waldman 2004). In Chile, the cultural apparatus created the image of an exceptional and privileged race. The archetype of the Chilean *mestizo* was a synthesis of two patriarchal and warrior races (Swedish immigrants to Spain and *Araucano* indigenous), which was whiter than in other Latin American countries. This new race became part of a modernization project, a symbol of nationalist ideology, and a source of popular culture (Alvarado and Fernández 2011, Garabano 2009, Gutiérrez 2010, Subercaseaux 2007). Two forces were important in this social construction: the pressures to build a national identity based on racial homogeneity in the newly emancipated country, and the recent currents of scientific racism from Europe relating biology to upward socio-cultural development (Gutiérrez 2010, Subercaseaux 2007). However, the myth of *mestizaje* concealed its main purposes of whitening, improvement of inferior races, dilution of minorities, policies of extermination, and selective immigration policies (i.e. bringing more Europeans and fewer blacks). *Mestizaje* became then, a national project of biological upgrading (Dulitzky 2005, Gutiérrez 2010, Richards 2010, Smith 1996a). In general terms, the endurance of the myth has led to a broad

denial of racial discrimination in Latin America and in Chile, raising the virtues of *mestizaje* with nationalistic pride when compared to the strict segregation and lack of interbreeding in the US.

At present, the racial divisions of the US and Chile are marked by the evolution of two different trajectories: the post-Civil Rights Movement era in the US, which replaced explicit racism with symbolic racism; and the *mestizaje* project in Chile, which was later naturalized into a rigid class system. In the US, after the legal gains that the Civil Rights Movement brought to the lives of millions of African Americans, the narrative of race changed into an ideology of color-blindness, moving from overt to covert forms of racism and discrimination (Bobo, Kluegel, and Smith 1997, Smith 1995). That is, racism remained in the basic principles that individuals use to make sense of social reality (Bonilla-Silva 2001). This symbolic racism operates in a way in which there is rhetoric support for equality but increasing opposition to implement programs for this principle (Sears and McConahay 1973). Paradoxically, after the Civil Rights Movement, there has been less segregation in several spheres, but racial inequalities have been expanding together with growing income inequalities (Betancur and Herring 2013). In addition, the generalized and historical lack of racial interbreeding will still be marking a color line rather than a color continuum. And even after increasing interracial marriage, the color line is still socially constructed by the persistence of the anachronistic 'one-drop' rule, which is institutionalized in the US Census. In 20th century Chile, the high levels of mixture gave the impression of a racial continuum (Álvarez 1951, Beals 1953), but great socioeconomic differences with the 'pure' elite were maintained, and later expanded with the neoliberal reforms of the 1980s. But despite the salience of class issues, and beyond the individualization of pure indigenous, several studies have noted that differences in skin color, facial traits, hair color, height, talking style, place of origin, and first names and last names, still give way to discrimination in diverse spheres (Aguirre and Castro 2009, Merino, Quilaqueo, and Saiz 2008, Núñez and Pérez 2007, Waldman 2004). Table IX shows an example

of the origin of last names by socioeconomic strata, taken from schools in lower and upper classes, which

has a crucial influence in further prejudice and categorization.

Table IX: ORIGIN OF LAST NAMES BY SOCIOECONOMIC STRATA IN CHILE

LAST NAMES[a]	SOCIOECONOMIC STRATA	
	LOW	HIGH
2 foreign	1.3%	26.0%
1 foreign	11.9%	46.0%
2 Chilean	84.5%	28.0%
1 indigenous	1.9%	0.0%
2 indigenous	0.4%	0.0%

[a] In Chile, personal appellation consists of a given name (first name) followed by two family names (from father and mother).
SOURCE: Zemelman et al. (2002)

As I mentioned, the main barrier to social mobility in Chile is placed below the elite. And this

barrier has an important significance for the levels of interbreeding above and below; there are relatively

homogeneous white elites above, and there are racially heterogeneous *mestizos* below. According to

genetic studies, due to the segregation that exist from colonialism, upper classes have 20% indigenous

genes and lower classes have up to approximately 56% (Rocco et al. 2002). But despite this, there is not

much racial self-identification. A recent survey showed that 59% of Chileans identify as white, 25% as

mestizo and 8% as indigenous (Corporación-Latinobarómetro 2011). Figure 3 shows an example of skin

pigmentation for upper and lower classes, taken from schools in each group. Although the differences

may seem lower than in other countries, there are some disparities that have opened room for

discrimination.
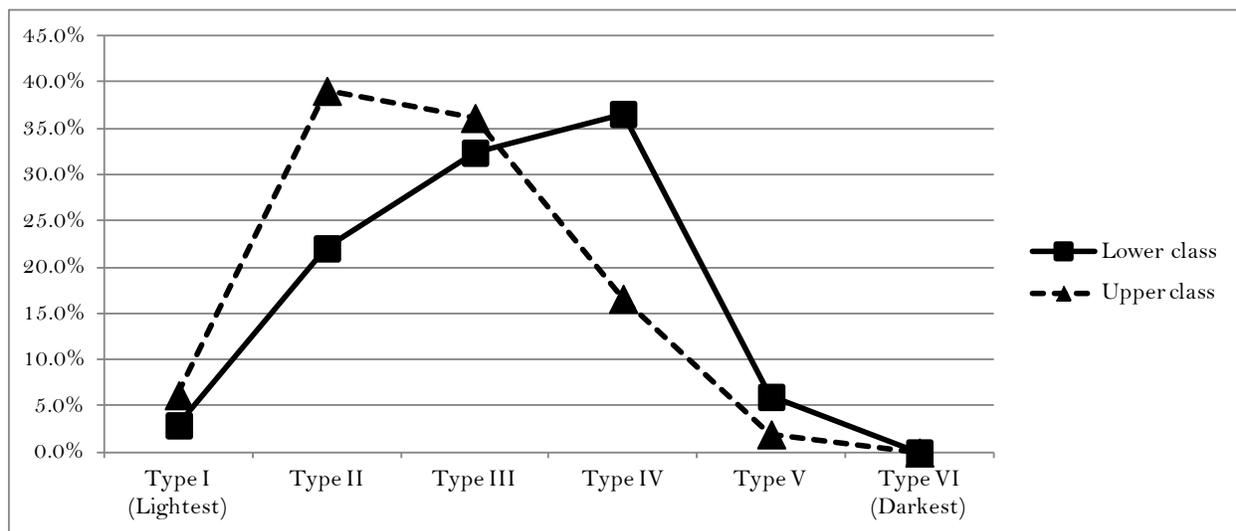
Figure 3: Distribution of skin pigmentation for upper and lower classes in Chile
SOURCE: Self-elaboration from Zemelman et al. (2002)

The development of classism in both countries is shorter, but not less important. Classism is not the same as class differences or class inequalities. Classism is a system of sophisticated symbolic mechanisms to define group membership, social differentiation, borders and distances (Stabili 2003, Contardo 2012). Classism operates through different distinctions, like hair and skin color (inherited from racial segregation), last names, school, religiosity, wealth, club membership, neighborhood, voice, status of certain friends and acquaintances, and the use of different words to establish differences from the others. And recently, it has been related to consumption, abuse of the socially inferior and even physical reform through surgery. Classism is a remnant of a semi-colonial, politically incorrect world, which operates against justice, progress and meritocracy: basically, it is a powerful mechanism to prevent upward mobility. Within this 'game' of credentials, upward mobility is not a symbol of pride and hence, social origin is something to be hidden. In this context, the upward mobile has to learn how to perform to be accepted by the elite, because any error will reveal his/her origin. And for the elite, the

process and wish to arrive to upper positions does not depend on wealth or achievements, but on blood and lineage.

In the US, despite the predominance of race divisions, a closed upper class did exist (Kerbo 2012). This small group was circumscribed to white Anglo-Saxon Protestants (WASPs), who established a strong social solidarity through specific institutions. From the 60s however, this upper class waned in favor of a corporate class, and does not have much role in government as it had before (Kerbo 2012). In fact, the US could be said to be a country in which classism (as above defined) does not exist anymore. In relative terms, it is a highly mobile society[3], and does not have a clear national aristocracy. Indeed, one of its most highly valued beliefs is the so-called 'American Dream', which puts great significance on upward mobility, and which is not seen as highly problematic for the established elite. Furthermore, the growing income inequalities make this dream more appreciated to some extent; that is, social disparities are legitimized by the potential prize of an increasingly larger socioeconomic leap (Kerbo 2012). Moreover, this ideology is supported by conservative sociological currents, like the 'culture of poverty' and its strands, emphasizing beliefs in individual overcoming of problems (e.g role models) rather than structural transformations.

In Chile, classism was created and established by the elite after the independence. Elite members proclaimed themselves as the makers of the political history of the country, participating in the creation of several types of public and private institutions. Their power resides in agricultural property, but they live and study in Santiago, without competition from another city. They have a powerful sense of group, different physical traits from the majority (given the mentioned *mestizaje* below the elite), and pride for their last names (Contardo 2012). This classist structure divides the country in three broad categories: i)

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[3] This, of course, has its racial nuances: for blacks, there is much less mobility (especially below the poverty line), and more vulnerability when they are in upper classes.

the elite, already described, ii) the people (working class, peasants, domestic service), with low aspirations and a sense of submission, and iii) a blurry territory in the middle, with a fragile identity, trying to assimilate and to be accepted by the elite. But somewhat as in the US, the power of this old elite waned in favor of a corporate class, especially after the agrarian reform of the 70s, which transformed their main place of power (Stabili 2003). Classism today seems less strict than before. The neoliberal reforms brought fast economic growth but more inequalities. Presently, Chile is one of the most unequal countries in the world, mainly due to the gaps between the elite and the rest in terms of income, wealth, vulnerability, and barriers to mobility (Álvarez 1951, Barozet 2011, Espinoza and Barozet 2009, Espinoza 2010, Contreras et al. 2005, Torche 2005, 2006). After the neoliberal reforms then, Chile passed from the rule of aristocratic classism to current claims for meritocracy, brought by center-left and center-right intellectuals, in the sense of a true liberal economy. Currently, there is a strong criticism to social inequalities, and there are desegregation proposals for both education and housing[4]. But despite these changes, classism still operates as a mechanism for the reproduction of an oligarchic social and political structure, and for extreme economic inequalities.

Making comparisons between race and class then, one can see how classism forces class placement to operate by 'ascription' (hereditary), rather than by 'achievement', similar to what happens with racism. Likewise, the experience of race in the US is marked not only by ascription, but also by self-identification (Saperstein 2012), which includes personal history, ancestry, and socialization, making it very similar to the experience of class in Chile. But classism operates through symbolic, rather than visual, mechanisms. The social position of an individual becomes evident with a CV (in labor relations), and with the quality of the house and neighborhood (in urban relations), as I show in the case study on La Florida in Santiago.

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[4] On housing see Sabatini, Edwards, et al. (2010), and on education see Waissbluth (2013).

B. <u>**Housing allocation systems: 'political economies of neighborhood change' in Chicago and Santiago**</u>

The idea of 'political economies of neighborhood change' (or housing allocation systems) refers to the main forces that drive the dynamics of residential segregation. That is, even if the impulse of race or class discrimination is fixed, the form in which this is translated to the urban space takes shape through specific institutional arrangements that influence the different manifestations of segregation. Thus, the ways in which housing is allocated in the US and in Chile, or in Chicago and Santiago to be more specific, marks a wide difference between both contexts.

I will start describing some general axis of difference. First, the historical location of social groups marks a distinction between Anglo-Saxon and Latin American cities. In Chicago, the historical growth of the city marked a socio-economic gradient from poor industrial zones in the center to rich peripheral suburbs (Burgess 1928). In Santiago, upper classes (smaller in size than in the US), are settled in a triangle with its apex in the city center and the base to the periphery. Middle classes use other peri-central spaces, and the poor occupies the large periphery (Borsdorf 2003). Second, in terms of housing, the relation between new-home sales and existing-home sales defines another stark difference. While in the US, the relation between new-home and existing-home sales is 7%-93% (National-Association-of-Realtors 2012, US-Census-Bureau 2012b), in Chile that relation is 55%-45% (Cámara-Chilena-de-la-Construcción 2012). This means that the US housing market is a market of used housing structures, while in Chile the majority are new structures. Third, housing tenure differs greatly from city to city as well. In Chicago, the rate of homeownership is 44.4% (US-Census-Bureau 2012a), while in Santiago that rate is 73% (Instituto-Nacional-de-Estadísticas 2002). Thus, Chicago is a city of majority renters, and Santiago is a city of a wide majority of homeowners.

Fourth, one of the main differences between both contexts is that of mobility rates. The mobility rates per year are 15.4% in the US and 16.4% in Chicago (US-Census-Bureau 2012a). In turn, these rates are 2.7% in Chile and 4.4% in Santiago (Instituto-Nacional-de-Estadísticas 2002). Why do Chile and Santiago have so low rates of mobility? I suggest that residential mobility is influenced by three general factors; i) decentralized labor and educational markets, ii) relatively homogeneous housing and neighborhood quality, and iii) high-class outmigration triggered from discrimination. Regarding decentralization, Santiago concentrates a large part of Chile's population (38.4%), economic activity, education and cultural production, which reinforces the regional immobility of its inhabitants. In the case of the US, education and job markets are spread throughout a large territory and in a big number of cities. Regarding housing and neighborhoods, in Chile there are big differences in terms of space, construction standards, and quality of services between neighborhoods of different classes, which make more difficult the free choice and mobility of individuals. This means that, in strictly physical terms, neighborhoods are not suitable to house different social groups. In fact, an important part of the social construction of neighborhood identities in Chile is based on the appearances of the physical space. In the US instead, just the high-rise public housing projects have that level of physical stigma. But there is not much external differences in rented units (due to historic turnover), and differences are marked in terms of the internal quality and space per unit. And regarding high-class outmigration produced by discrimination in Chile, this has not been a major problem. The 'worst case scenario' for higher classes has been the construction of social housing projects in vacant lands near wealthy housing developments, but never in their own neighborhoods. Since the market is highly segmented, poor people would never afford to buy or rent houses that are not targeted to them. In the US and Chicago in turn, there are well documented (and massive) cases of white and middle class flight triggered by race and class discriminations.

Fifth, another important axis of difference is the institutional framing of social housing. In the US, the rationality of social housing is that of a temporary settlement for the poor, who rent their housing unit. Since poverty is thought to be a transitory state, social mobility is expected to get the poor out of subsidized developments. Most poor people rent with some state aid, which comes in a one-by-one basis (vouchers), and recipients have to look for housing on their own. This allows some possibility of choice, but is of course subject to race and class discrimination. In Chile, social housing is a permanent settlement for the poor, based on homeownership. The social housing policy is based on the construction of large projects, in which the state hires developers and gives them subsidies for each beneficiary. Since subsidies are fixed, the location of those housing projects is defined by land price, and consequently relegated to the poor periphery. Thus, housing subsidies in Chile have two objectives for the state: overcoming basic unmet needs of poverty (shelter, drinking water, electricity, sewage, etc.), and fueling the construction industry[5].

Finally, the actors of housing markets are different in each context. In Chile, the housing market is dominated by Real Estate developers and the state. And the important point here is the segmentation within the Real Estate industry: that is, some companies develop and build social housing and other companies build housing for the middle and upper classes. In the US, the housing market is dominated by Real Estate brokers, banks, 'thrifts' (savings and loan associations) and the state. And although it has some racial differentiation between actors (e.g. brokers for white or black residents), it is a more continuous market. After reviewing all these aspects, I can summarize the characteristics of neighborhood change in Chile in terms of its slow pace, long term and large scale of developments. Neighborhoods are transformed by the construction (and reconstruction) of new housing, instead of tenants' turnover, as in the US. In other words, the Chilean type of neighborhood change has a 'discrete'

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[5] The construction industry in Chile employs an important part of the economically active population (8.7%) and represents an important part of the GDP (7.4%).

character, absolutely opposed to the 'continuous' or 'organic' character in the US (small scale, fast pace, and short term). Then, these characteristics have led studies to focus more on land rents and state deregulation. Table X summarizes the discussed levels of analysis.

Table X: LEVELS OF ANALYSIS TO DESCRIBE HOUSING ALLOCATION SYSTEMS

	CHILE (AND SANTIAGO)	US (AND CHICAGO)
HISTORICAL LOCATION OF SOCIAL GROUPS	Higher classes settled in a triangle (apex in city center, base to periphery). Middle classes in other peri-central spaces, and the poor in large periphery (described by Borsdorf (2003))	Socio-economic gradient from poor industrial zones in the center to rich peripheral suburbs (described by Burgess (1928))
NEW-HOME V. EXISTING-HOME SALES	55% - 45% (Cámara-Chilena-de-la-Construcción 2012)	7% - 93% (National-Association-of-Realtors 2012, US-Census-Bureau 2012b)
HOMEOWNERSHIP	72.5% (Instituto-Nacional-de-Estadísticas 2002)	65.1% (US-Census-Bureau 2012a)
MOBILITY RATES	2.68% in Chile, 4.35% in Santiago (Instituto-Nacional-de-Estadísticas 2002)	15.4% in the US, 16.4% in Chicago (US-Census-Bureau 2012a)
RATIONALITY OF SOCIAL HOUSING	Permanent settlement for the poor, who own their housing units	Temporary settlement for the poor, who rent their housing unit. Since poverty is thought as a transitory state, social mobility is expected to get them out
SOCIAL HOUSING POLICY	Construction of large social housing projects, in homeownership. State hires developers. Location defined by land price	Most poor people rent with some state aid, which comes in one-by-one basis (vouchers). Recipients look for housing on their own (subject to race/class discrimination)
MAIN ACTORS	Real Estate developers and the state. Segmented market (some companies build social housing, others for the rest)	Real Estate brokers, banks and thrifts, and the state. More continuous market
SELECTION AND MAINTENANCE OF LOCATION FOR THE POOR	Poor people do not choose their place and are condemned to live in homogeneous, high poverty neighborhoods	One-by-one system allows some possibility of choice (but subject to race/class discrimination). Renting is subject to gentrification and eviction
QUALITY OF POOR HOUSING AND NEIGHBORHOODS	High difference with the rest (reflects SES of families). Low quality, lack of maintenance, lack of appropriate spaces for some activities, low quality of services	Just high-rise public housing has physical stigma. Not much external differences in rented units (due to historical turnover). Internal quality and space per unit mark differences

SOURCE: self-elaboration

But *political* economy is an approach that aims to counteract the beliefs of an 'emergent' or 'natural' segregation. This is an institutional framework that focuses on the intentional measures of powerful actors producing the movement of social groups through metropolitan areas. In other words,

even if the dynamics of segregation in Chicago have a 'continuous' or 'organic' character (mostly when observed exclusively by statistics), these dynamics are influenced by specific actions, motivated by discrimination and/or by profit seeking. Here I divide segregation practices by state policies, private actors and civil society. First, regarding state policies, the US and especially Chicago, suffered from exclusionary zoning, racial segregation of public housing, support for out-migration and homeownership of white middle-class, urban renewal, and slum clearance (Hirsch 1998, Massey and Denton 1993). In Chile, there was de-jure racial segregation during colonialism (Mörner and Gibson 1962), urban plans separating the rich from the poor, shantytown eradications during the 1980s dictatorship, and mass production of segregated social housing (De Ramón 2007, Sugranyes 2005). Second, regarding profit seeking actions by private actors, the US suffered from redlining by banks, racial steering and blockbusting by Real Estate brokers, and gentrification by developers (Massey and Denton 1993, Smith 1996b). In Chile, developers have played the major role. They have created residential homogeneity and exclusivity, land speculation, and pressures on the location and construction quality of social housing (Sabatini, Cáceres, and Cerda 2001, Sugranyes 2005).

Finally, there have been self-conscious actions from specific communities in both contexts. The US has suffered from white flight movements, preferences of blacks (due to discrimination and white hostility), racial violence, neighborhood improvement associations, and restrictive covenants (Krysan and Farley 2002, Massey and Denton 1993). And in Chile, there have been opposition to penetration of social housing, explicit measures when social housing projects have been built (i.e. walls and fences), and self-segregation of elites (De Ramón 2007). Table XI summarizes the practices leading to residential segregation in Chile and in the US (Santiago and Chicago specifically), divided in three groups; public policies, profit seeking and purposeful actions.

Table XI: SEGREGATION PRACTICES IN CHILE (SANTIAGO) AND THE US (CHICAGO)

	CHILE (SANTIAGO)	US (CHICAGO)
PUBLIC POLICIES BY THE STATE	De-jure racial segregation during colonialism, urban plans separating the rich from the poor, shantytown eradications during the 1980s dictatorship, and mass production of segregated social housing (De Ramón 2007, Mörner and Gibson 1962, Sugranyes 2005)	Exclusionary zoning, racial segregation of public housing, support for out-migration and homeownership of white middle-class, urban renewal and slum clearance (Hirsch 1998, Massey and Denton 1993)
PROFIT SEEKING BY PRIVATE ACTORS	From developers: creation of residential homogeneity and exclusivity, land speculation, and pressures on location and construction quality of social housing (Sabatini, Cáceres, and Cerda 2001, Sugranyes 2005)	Redlining by banks, racial steering and blockbusting by Real Estate brokers, and gentrification by developers (Massey and Denton 1993, Smith 1996b)
PURPOSEFUL ACTIONS FROM CIVIL SOCIETY	Opposition to penetration of social housing, explicit measures when social housing projects have been built (e.g. walls and fences), and self-segregation of elites (De Ramón 2007)	White flight, preferences of blacks due to discrimination and white hostility, racial violence, neighborhood improvement associations, and restrictive covenants (Krysan and Farley 2002, Massey and Denton 1993)

SOURCE: self-elaboration

Thus, the major difference is that in the US, most practices (excepting public policies) are enforced to provoke movements at the individual level. That is, even if there is white flight en masse, the decision always remains individual. Thus, the ideal type for this 'continuous-individual' segregation would be the struggles around the color line in the south side of Chicago, prior to the Civil Rights Movement (Massey and Denton 1993). In Chile, the practices with more powerful consequences are enforced to provoke collective movements, like the construction of gated communities or large social housing projects. Thus, the ideal type for this 'discrete-massive' segregation would be the *Bajos de Mena* housing project in Santiago, called the *"largest ghetto in Chile"* with 25,000 units (4,300 of them built in just one year). These distinctions then, reassert the difference between 'continuous' and 'discrete' dynamics of segregation in Chicago and Santiago, respectively.

C. <u>**Welfare systems in space: territorial distribution of opportunities and resources in Chile and the US**</u>

As I have mentioned, the idea of welfare systems in space refers to the role played by the state in each country regarding its influence on the institutional context that shapes poor areas. Both countries have had similar trajectories, since changes in welfare protections have been strongly tied to the establishment and development of neoliberalism. The US welfare state began with Roosevelt's 'New Deal', was later expanded with Kennedy's 'New Frontier' and Johnson's 'Great Society', and provides aid in food, shelter, education, healthcare and money to US citizens. Different from traditional European welfare states, it was not designed to provide redistribution, but it is more motivated by reciprocal altruism. Between the Great Depression and the Civil Rights Movement, rights to welfare protection grew alongside (white) middle class wealth. With the establishment of neoliberal governments, while the economy was deregulated, welfare protection was criticized, triggering a general retrenchment of the state. Thus, welfare spending today represents 21% of the GPD, which is below the OECD average of 25%. The trajectory of welfare protection in Chile had similar timings. Before 1920, there was a republican state dedicated solely to preserve the public order, without intervention in social and economic issues. From 1920 to 1975, there was a somewhat 'social state' dedicated to planning and promotion of the economy, and ensuring rights for labor, social security, healthcare and education. And from 1975 to present, the neoliberal reforms encouraged economic deregulation, municipal decentralization and devolution, and privatization of basic services. The democratic governments after the military dictatorship (1973-1990) promoted the growth of the social spending, which was the main factor behind the reduction of poverty from 45% to 11%, between 1987 and 2011. But even with this increment, welfare spending today in Chile represents around 16% of the GDP, way below the 25% OECD average.

The most important process to describe here is how the neoliberal transformations modified welfare protections, which in turn had specific consequences in the development of poor neighborhoods. For the US case, the spatial effects of neoliberalization can be summarized in five points. First, the criticism to welfare protection ended in the welfare reform of 1996, under the Clinton administration. The reform separated the poor between 'deserving' and 'undeserving', cutting several social programs, destroying the safety net, increasing poverty, lowering income for single mothers, and increasing homelessness (Edelman 2001). From 1996 to 2006, there was a 60% decrease in the number of people receiving welfare benefits. In addition, non-profit organizations devolved public responsibilities to lower levels of government in a business-oriented approach, which failed to serve as public safety net, losing its public character (Alexander, Nank, and Stivers 1999). Within the welfare reform, social service organizations started to leave some neighborhoods because of low funding and low population density, producing what some authors call 'institutional desertification' (Wacquant 1996a). Second, public housing also changed dramatically during these years, deteriorating and demolishing existing projects and transferring new projects to the market. In the first case, Goetz (2013) stresses the staggering mismanagement from local housing authorities and other institutions that led to a concerted effort of failure in public housing projects, especially in Chicago. One example was the practice of what he calls 'de-facto demolition', by which housing authorities left units unoccupied to increase deterioration. At the same time, new programs were emerging with the implicit goal of privatizing the provision and management of public housing, like Inclusionary Housing, Mixed-Income Housing, and so on.

Third, as a result of the deindustrialization of the US economy, the so-called spatial mismatch emerged as a 'big city problem'. This suggests that the historical residential segregation is aggravated by the suburbanization of jobs, creating a deficit of labor positions in inner cities, where the poor African American population is concentrated. But this is not only a question of physical accessibility, but also a problem of lack of information for distant jobs and job discrimination by suburban employers (Ihlanfeldt

and Sjoquist 1998). Thus, the scarcity of welfare benefits and the suburbanization of jobs left poor neighborhoods even more disadvantaged. Fourth, at a more local level, the Chicago Public Schools' reform has created severe consequences for poor neighborhoods. Gutierrez and Lipman (2012) summarize these problems in three Ds: *destabilization, disinvestment and disenfranchisement.* This characterization explains how the school reform is impacting minority areas creating exclusion by gentrification, and de-democratization and privatization of public institutions. The emergence and lack of choice in educational options (as it also happened in Chile, see below), has contributed even more to the segregation of public schools. And fifth, also at a local level, the management of TIFs (Tax Increment Finance) in Chicago has ended in politically discretional projects in areas that are neither poor nor blighted, while at the same time affirming that schools need to be closed because of low funding.

Similar to the US, I can summarize the spatial effects of neoliberalization in Chile. As I have mentioned, the worsening of the consequences of residential segregation from the 1980s has been summarized in the term 'social fragmentation' (Prévôt-Schapira 2001). This is described in Latin American cities as a multi-dimensional problem that comprises; i) historical urban dispersion and the end of city unity, ii) political disorganization due to a lack of metropolitan authorities, and due to privatized and segmented services, iii) resource targeting ending with universal policies of welfare, iv) dualization of the social and spatial structures due to globalization forces, and of course, v) widespread class residential segregation.

Then, beyond the distribution of housing for different social groups, it is important to question the politico-institutional arrangement that impacts the territory and that is largely a responsible for the creation of the Chilean version of ghettos. And here I summarize the effects of neoliberalization in space in four points. The first and most important, is the process of decentralization and municipal devolution.

During the dictatorship, the obligations and functions of municipalities were changed under a model of decentralization that has increased territorial inequalities. Municipal services, with very low resources and very low efficiency (Larrañaga 1996), now present broad differences of quality compared to private services, generating a strong segregation in education and health assistance. Within this, the severe school segregation in Chile reproduces inequalities through the separation of networks, the distribution of expectations and symbolic credentials, and reduces the impact of policies to alleviate poverty (Puga 2011, Valenzuela, Bellei, and De los Ríos 2008). Indeed, the causes of school segregation are strongly related to residential segregation, due to the possibilities of selection according to place of residence and social position. This school segregation, one of the main motives for the struggles of the Chilean Students' Movement from 2011, is summarized in Figure 4.
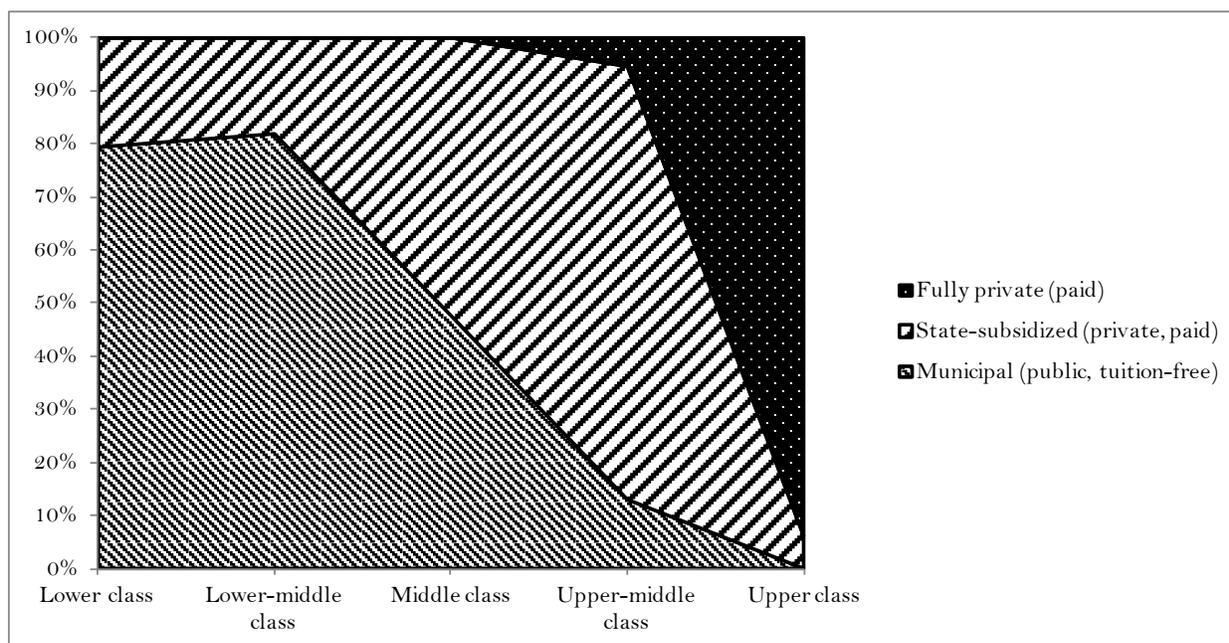
Figure 4: Primary and secondary education by income strata in Chile (% of total enrollment)
SOURCE: self-elaborated referential figure based on Montt et al. (2006)

Similarly, the health system was fragmented in the 80s after decades of free national coverage. On one hand, the primary health system was devolved to municipalities to assist the poor (with a reduced spending), and on the other, a private health system was introduced for higher classes (Gideon 2001, Homedes and Ugalde 2002). The results of this process show a deficient financial and human resource capacity of municipalities, and an inappropriate separation between primary and secondary attention (Gideon 2001). With this municipal devolution, many public services of education and health operate today under deficit, which has to be balanced by the municipality proper, competing with other items of their scarce local budget. Thus, although decentralization and privatization have brought a generalized extension of the coverage of basic services, strong differences of quality have appeared compared to private services, generating harmful consequences in poor neighborhoods.

A second effect of neoliberalization in space refers to the transformation of social policies from the 80s, which passed from universalism to resource targeting (Barozet 2011). Welfare in Latin America and in Chile suffered from important transformations on its social assistance programs. The household, instead of communities, became the focal point. And not any poor household, but the poorest, in a rationalization of social spending that is thought to be more successful (Palma and Urzúa 2005). An important example of this resource targeting is the Chilean housing policy itself, which separates the poor from the rest, establishing a discrete division in the housing market. The housing policy also prevents collective action and the development of social capital, emphasizing stratification, reinforcing vulnerability to market forces and undermining social trust (Posner 2012). As a contrast, housing programs in Europe are designed to include a much broader socioeconomic spectrum of assisted population; two to three times what is usually included in countries like Chile and the US (Nivola 1999). A third effect is the property tax system in Chile, which is problematic by itself. Property taxes represent 4.3% of the national revenue and 50% of municipal revenues. There are re-appraisals every five years, but these new values are always below market values. But the most problematic characteristic is that low-value properties are exempted of paying taxes. And this not only includes social housing, but many middle class housing units as well. In fact, 63% of properties are exempted nationally. As a result, municipalities composed of segregated poor population will have inevitably a poor tax base[6], which in turn carries problems for the quality of education, health, some social programs, and the maintenance of public space.

A fourth effect, strongly tied to the tax issue and more local, is the territorial fragmentation of Greater Santiago. In 1981, the administrative subdivision of Greater Santiago passed from 16 to 34 municipalities, under a criterion of social homogeneity, and without relevant authorities to govern

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[6] This is especially true for the city of Santiago, which is fragmented in 34 municipalities (widely different in socioeconomic terms, see below).

metropolitan areas. This created richer and financially-independent municipalities on one hand, and poorer and financially-dependent municipalities on the other (Rodríguez and Winchester 2001). Figure 5 is an attempt to show the extent of this transformation.

16 MUNICIPALITIES   34 MUNICIPALITIES

POOREST   RICHEST
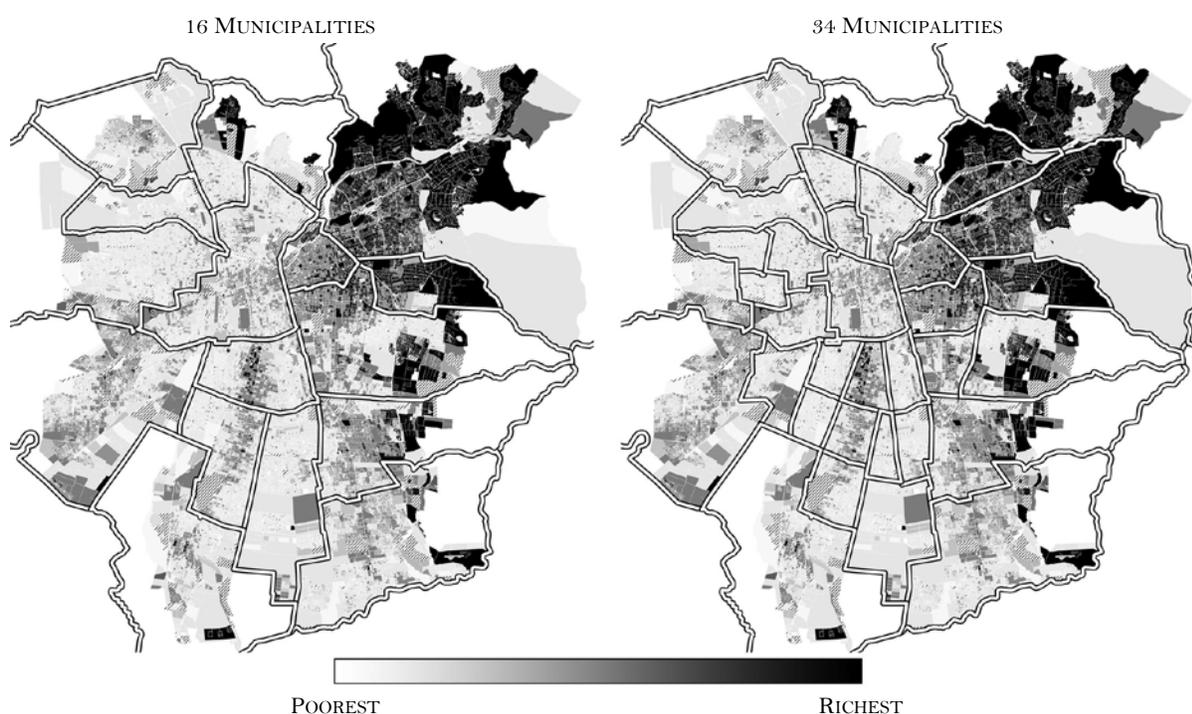
Figure 5: New municipal division of Santiago in 1981 under criteria of social homogeneity
SOURCE: self-elaboration based on Narbona (2006)

And a final effect has been the transformation of social service organizations and their work in poor territories. With the arrival of democracy in 1990 and the positive macroeconomic figures of growth in the 1990s, there has been a steady withdrawal of international cooperation, which was the main source of funding for Chilean NGOs. At present, NGOs in Chile are mere executors of neoliberal

public policy, accessing government funds for social investment, which are assigned on a competitive basis (Gruninger 2003). Both the ideological and practical work of the NGOs then, have ended up instrumentalized by the state. As a consequence, poor neighborhoods have lost important supports for independent community development, and have been forced to chose between two paths; competition for government funds (mainly focused on physical improvements), or an even more impoverished autonomy.

5. PARTIAL CONCLUSIONS

The task of defining the structural conditions that influence segregation should be done understanding the particular forms of action of each context. In this respect, Bourdieu (1990) idea of fields becomes very helpful. This means not analyzing contexts exclusively in terms of class and race, but understanding the structured social spaces in their own rules, schemes of domination, legitimate opinions, and so on (Bourdieu 1990). Then, cities should be seen as particular fields in which specific interactions of race and class develop, in which specific forms of housing allocation are established, and in which specific public programs impact poor territories. The field of segregation, as I argue, is defined by these three structural factors of contextual variation: systems of social stratification, housing allocation systems, and welfare systems in space.

Regarding *social stratification systems*, the historical racial differences in Chile became institutionalized within the class system, and were consequently naturalized. This conception of class differences as more natural than race differences comes from an increasing meritocratic ideology imposed with the neoliberal reforms of the 1980s, and carries the problem of a decreasing state protection, as it has happened recently in the US (Smith 2010). In Chile therefore, with a notion of color continuum, and a segregation operating through the action of powerful actors coupled with other factors of social fragmentation, research has emphasized class segregation, enforced more from the

capitalist system than from voluntary actions. But *in historical perspective, race has not reinforced class*. The differences of class, as accumulated disadvantage, have reinforced the initial racial separation in Chile. But later, the intense racial interbreeding below the elite made us believe in a pure class segregation.

An important learning here is that residential segregation is not exclusively produced by race, nor exclusively produced by class. That is, *pure class and pure race segregation have never existed as such*. The ideal type of pure race segregation would be between middle class whites and blacks in the US, who supposedly should not have expectations of deviant behavior. However, the class background and class position of these groups, mostly in terms of wealth accumulation and low inheritability of status, is highly different (Kerbo 2012, Oliver and Shapiro 1995). That is, they are also highly differentiated in terms of class prospects. Likewise, the ideal type of pure class segregation in Chile would be between rich and poor European descendants, or between rich and poor *mestizos*. But this seems to be extremely unlikely given the strong barriers around the elite, and the perpetuation of homogeneous racial traits within this group.

Another point is that Chile does not recognize racial differences in the census, which results in a major problem for segregation studies when they are based exclusively on class. Unlike racial attributes, which do not change unless a major shift in its social construction occurs, class attributes do change during the life-cycle. Despite barriers to mobility, people can pass from poor, to rich, to middle-class situations. And this is what Pierre Bourdieu (1984) calls 'class trajectory', which racial structures do not have. Consequently, due to the usual mobility of young families through different parts of metropolitan areas, class segregation in Latin America has always yielded lower scores than racial segregation in the US (see Aliaga-Linares and Álvarez-Rivadulla 2010, Rodríguez 2001, Rodríguez and Arriagada 2004,

Sabatini, Cáceres, and Cerda 2001). Clearly then, *one cannot compare class and race segregation directly, and different measures should be built to distinguish them*.

In the case of the US, residential segregation has been transforming in last decades, with important implications for comparative studies. Some authors have shown a decreasing preponderance of race divisions, and the institutionalization of segregation into legitimized land use policies (Massey, Rothwell, and Domina 2009). Indeed, recent studies have exposed how segregation is increasingly having more class than race character[7], but this is happening just above the poverty line, since poor black neighborhoods show persisting and even increasing homogeneity. That is, *there is increasingly more class than race segregation above the main barrier of stratification, but almost complete racial segregation below it*. Then, one can see an interesting parallel between the main barriers of stratification and the levels of racial segregation between the US and Chile. In Chile, the main barrier for social mobility is between the elite and the middle and lower classes, which in turn set a division between racial homogeneity above it and racial heterogeneity below it. In this case, the difference is mainly on the types of racial interbreeding. In the US instead, the main barrier for social mobility is the poverty line, which in turn sets a divide between a racial segregation below it, and an increasingly class segregation above it. In this other case, this is mainly a difference on the types of residential segregation. Figure 6 summarizes the parallel between both systems of stratification, and its levels of segregation and interbreeding.

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[7] Logan and Stults (2011) have shown that black-white racial segregation, although still high, is lowering at a slow pace. In turn, Reardon and Bischoff (2011) have shown that socioeconomic segregation, although much lower than racial segregation, is increasing in almost all US metropolitan areas.
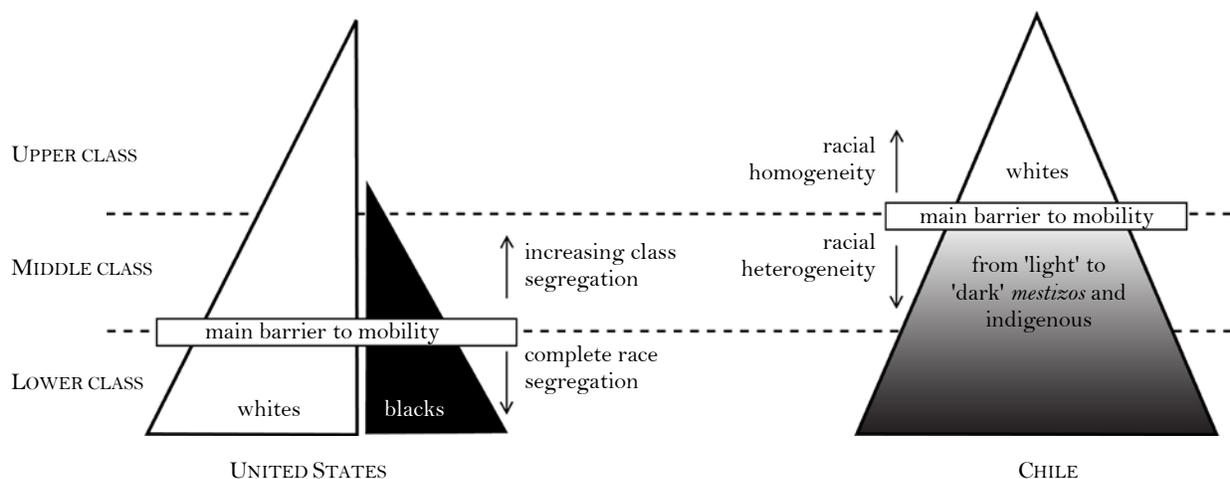
Figure 6: Race/class stratification, barriers to mobility and differences around them
SOURCE: self-elaboration

It is important to note, that stratification systems work for the maintenance of the status quo, either through legitimization or through naturalization of differences (Kerbo 2012). Thus, if race is not possible to be enforced as difference, then class becomes the best dividing line. But as forces to create inequality, these two categories have never worked in a separate fashion. Sometimes more interbreeding or better institutional treatment has helped to disconnect race from class, as it is in some sense in Chile, but this separation has never been complete. And this point reveals *two persistent problems for US research*. First, there is some *incapacity to recognize the racial differentiations within African-Americans*, probably due to the use of statistics that still rely on the 'one-drop rule'. And second, there is some *inability to acknowledge the class components of racial discrimination*, maybe because only racial discrimination is socially condemned, while class is naturalized in a meritocratic system.

Regarding *housing allocation systems*, one can see how different institutional arrangements work for the perpetuation of inequalities. As I have shown, the spatial materialization of social

differences has a strikingly different character in Chile, compared to the US. While neighborhood change in Chile has a discrete character (slow pace, long term, and large scale), in the US is more continuous (fast pace, short term, and small scale). And this has crucial implications for the study of segregation in Latin America and Chile: that is, there are not much dynamic phenomena like gentrification, white flight, racial turnover, typing points, invasion-succession, neighborhood stabilization, and so on. ***This does not mean that what happens in Chile is not segregation*** (opposed to a 'classical' race segregation in the northern hemisphere), but just that ***its dynamics are different***, and most importantly, that ***its study requires specific theoretical models***.

Finally, it is the ***welfare systems in space*** that present the higher similarities in both countries. For Chile and the US, one can see how welfare distribution in space has been modified by the neoliberal transformations through privatization, deregulation, and retrenchment of state protections. And these situations are in part responsible for the naturalization of class segregation. Inversely, a context of universal policies can make socioeconomic segregation less likely, less harmful, and even undesirable. In Europe for example, there has not been too much evidence of the so-called 'neighborhood effects', due to the leveling role of the welfare state in the territorial redistribution of resources and opportunities (Kauppinen 2007, Musterd 2005, Oberwittler 2007).

In terms of the trajectory of segregation, the common factor in recent decades for both countries has been the increasing isolation of the poor. In this regard, Sabatini, Wormald, et al. (2010) have showed that in the case of Chile, even though the elite tends to concentrate more than any other group (measured by dissimilarity), the poor is the most isolated group (measured by exposure). In fact, it is this dissociation between both indexes (dissimilarity and exposure) that mark the specific characteristics of a predominantly class segregation; that is, although wealthier groups are concentrated and separated from the poor, there are some important levels of heterogeneity in their neighborhoods. In the US case

in turn, Massey and Denton (1993) have shown the historical persistence of a correlation between all indexes of segregation, which they call 'hypersegregation', because the color line has been pervasive at all class levels. However, the mentioned recent evidence could mark some new patterns that change some of the existing conditions. Then, one can see how ***concepts are not rigid theoretical constructs***, but they are changing over time with social circumstances. In the US case, segregation for the first years of the Chicago School was referred to ethno-racial and national-origin segregation (Irish, Jews, Italians, African-Americans, etc.). Later, from the 1930s to the 1950s, segregation converted to signal specifically white-black segregation, marked by the great migrations, big riots and white flight after World War II. Finally, after the transformations of the industrial into a post-industrial economy, and the withdrawal of the welfare state, segregation converted again to mean a mixture of race and class separation, and was later replaced by the idea of 'concentrated poverty', as mentioned in the theoretical framework. And in the case of Chile, although residential segregation was practiced with a strict racial character during colonialism, researchers only began to pay direct attention to this problem in the neoliberal era, assuming an exclusive class component and forgetting its racial nuances.

In the end, the characteristics of the three structural factors explained here for Chile and the US (stratification, housing and fragmentation) are tied in some way. While systems of social stratification are quite different, they have been following similar trajectories; that is, from race to class. In the case of neighborhood change, the differences between Chile and the US are so wide that it is difficult to foresee some convergence in the future. But in terms of welfare systems in space, one can observe an interesting resemblance. In other words then, the problem of residential segregation in Chile and the US has very different causes, highly different dynamics, but somewhat similar consequences. Therefore, ***we should expect the term 'residential segregation' be used for many contexts, although accounting rigorously for specific factors of variation.***

IV. THEORIES OF SEGREGATION AND POLICIES FOR INTEGRATION: TRAVEL OF IDEAS AND CONCRETE CONSEQUENCES

The legacy of the Chicago School has marked the study of residential segregation in the US, and consequently, has inspired most policies for integration in this country, promoting the dispersion and displacement of poor families to higher-status areas. In Chile, a country that has been open to intellectual flows from Chicago since the 1970s, the recent study of segregation has adopted the dominant US methodological and conceptual frameworks. Although policies for integration have not been implemented massively yet, the attention of public policy debates has been monopolized by the assumptions of 'neighborhood effects'. This way, urban policies of dispersion and public housing demolition are also being outlined as a nostrum to solve the problem of ghettos. Today, integration (or desegregation) policies are part of the toolkit of most local and national governments, or at least are under intense academic and political debate. However, not much is said about how these policies were framed, and in which theoretical frameworks are grounded.

Chile and the US have been strongly connected by the establishment of neoliberalism. In this chapter, I show how this historical connection maintains its influence in terms of the design of neoliberal urban policies. As a theoretical and political transfer, it is important here to see the relation between cultural backgrounds and socio-political contexts, at national and transnational levels. In the next two sections, I describe the theory-policy trajectories in the US and in Chile through their most important milestones, following the way in which intellectual circumstances interacted with political circumstances, opening room for specific public policies. The idea for the US case is to describe the theoretical framing of a policy and the process to become dominant enough to be exported, transferred

and/or mobilized. And for the case of Chile, the idea here is to describe the creation of the political and intellectual context that received, adapted and implemented certain kinds of policies.

A. **United States: conservative academia, reactionary policies, and social resistance**

    A.1 **The Chicago School and its far-reaching influence on the study of residential segregation**

The Chicago School laid the foundations for an individualist, functionalist, and positivist urban sociology, both quantitative and qualitative. This approach, referred also as Human Ecology, was influenced mainly by the work of Emile Durkheim on the division of labor and his empirical-positivist methods (Saunders 1986), and by a Social Darwinist understanding of competition, dominance, and subordination (Flanagan 1993). This approach is widely recognized for the connection of social phenomena with spatial patterns, the interactionist perspective studying emergent forms of association, and the study of the role of individual attributes explaining urban problems (Gottdiener and Hutchison 1994). The human ecology framework was focused on two levels of association (Gottdiener and Hutchison 1994, Saunders 1986). On one hand, there was a focus on symbiotic associations, in terms of organization and competition for land, which influenced the branch of factorial ecology and the use of quantitative methods. On the other hand, there was a focus on social associations, in terms of symbolic and psychological adjustments and consensus, which influenced symbolic interactionism, community studies, and the use of qualitative methods. In addition, the Chicago School relied heavily on the social disorganization paradigm (Carey 1975): the inevitable influence of urbanization on human beings, resulting in decreasing influence of existing rules of behavior and the breaking down of attachments (Burgess 2008, Carey 1975, Gottdiener and Hutchison 1994, Park 1915).

The explanation of segregation from these scholars is the well known assumption of a 'natural' phenomenon. Segregation is said to be a mere incident of urban growth, locational changes and urban

metabolism; a condition that the city inevitably produces in a context of competitive cooperation, and as normal elements of city life (Burgess 1928, Park 1915, 1926). However, this account of segregation has been criticized on three aspects; the ecological fallacy, the positivist emphasis, and the overlook of political-economic factors (Flanagan 1993, Gottdiener and Hutchison 1994, Saunders 1986). In other words, they did not provide an analytical model to explain the 'natural' occurrence of segregation, they did not address class and racial oppression, and the use (and overuse) of the social disorganization paradigm became a morally charged and ethnocentric viewpoint to separate the normal from the pathological. In terms of intellectual circumstances, the Chicago School was the dominant and unquestioned paradigm of urban sociology until the writings of Marx (and Marxists scholars) were introduced to the US audience in the 70s, which influenced the incipient approach of Urban Political Economy. And in terms of objective circumstances, US cities were heavily divided by racial lines until the emergence of the Civil Rights Movement. Thus, the studies on residential segregation used the methodological and conceptual tools of the Chicago School and focused exclusively on racial and ethnic segregation across class lines (see for example, Johnson 1943, Taeuber and Taeuber 1963).

A.2 Culture of poverty and its influence on reactionary reports

The idea of a 'culture of poverty' (Lewis 1959) proposes that poverty persists after the implementation of public programs due to the individual characteristics of poor people. Beyond the lack of resources, it is the value system of an autonomous subculture in which children and youngsters are socialized that perpetuates an inability to escape the 'underclass' situation. Lewis (1959) emphasizes the feelings of marginality, detachment and a lack of class consciousness. Even though the 'culture of poverty' idea was largely discredited in following decades, the concept was highly persuasive to some politicians in the 1960s. First, it directly influenced the Moynihan (1965) report, a document directed to President Lyndon Johnson which proposed that a destructive ghetto culture led to a rise in single-mother families, thus obstructing economic and political equality. Second, and more generally, both

'culture of poverty' and the Moynihan Report were highly influential in the construction of the 'War on Poverty', a legislation introduced by Lyndon Johnson in response to elevated poverty rates.

A.3 Social resistance and incipient housing dispersal programs

The Civil Rights Movement had been growing for several years and peaked in the 1960s, struggling to abolish all forms of racial discrimination against African-Americans in two ways: through racial integration and through self-determination (or black power). During those times, documents like the Moynihan Report were criticized by progressive scholars for 'blaming the victim' (Ryan 1976); an ideology used to justify racism and injustice, thus diverting responsibility for poverty from structural factors to the cultural patterns of the poor. In other words, the cultural explanation of poverty worked more to serve the interests of political and scientific groups wanting to keep the low wages of the poor, rather than to describe poverty (Stack 1974). This harsh criticism led academia the discredit the idea of a culture of poverty and to recognize racism and isolation as the main factors. Another milestone in this line was the so-called Kerner Report (US-Riot-Commission 1968), which was requested by President Lyndon Johnson to investigate the causes of the race riots in 1967, and which provided a powerful explanation: *"our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white – separated and unequal"*. In other words, it was an urgent call for diversity and desegregation (Betancur and Herring 2013). However, Johnson ignored the report and rejected its recommendations. The times of the Civil Rights Movement also marked a first generation of housing dispersal programs; the first public policies that directly addressed residential segregation. According to Goetz (2003), the end of the 1960s was marked by the open housing movement and fair housing policies, which aimed at reversing past discrimination, creating a unitary housing market and promoting integration.

A.4 <u>Decreasing power and the reappearance of the poverty-culture relationship</u>

Although the Civil Rights Act, the Voting Rights Act and the Fair Housing Act brought a formal relief to centuries of exclusion and discrimination, several mechanisms of resource distribution and accumulated disadvantage continued marking differences (Betancur and Herring 2013). The white population of inner cities escaped through suburbanization, and thousands of black workers became unemployed through deindustrialization. Thus, the incipient progress achieved after the Civil Rights Movement stopped and declined, and poverty in recent decades grew deeper and more marked by racial lines. The problem of segregation persisted but in a new fashion: the strict racial barriers that enclosed multi-class ghettos waned slowly, black middle-classes moved to the suburbs, and inner cities became the space for the most disadvantaged poor blacks. In this context of decreasing power, William Julius Wilson, a connoted black researcher, resumed the poverty-culture relationship in his book *The Truly Disadvantaged* (Wilson 1987). This book marked the reappearance of the term 'pathology' and 'underclass' to describe the specific culture and behavior in ghettos (Small, Harding, and Lamont 2010), reestablishing a connection with the social disorganization paradigm. Thus, a new wave of research on residential segregation emerged, now focused on 'concentrated poverty' as a new problem. Two additional books can be highlighted in this phase: Massey and Denton (1993) *American Apartheid*, and Paul Jargowsky (1997) *Poverty and Place*. Within this dominant literature, the Chicago School account of the causes of segregation as something 'natural' was decidedly rejected, which could be an achievement of Urban Political Economy. But the consequences of segregation were explained in a way that aligned with the Chicago School tradition, inaugurating a new 'cottage industry' of research (Slater 2013): 'neighborhood effects'. Neighborhood effects refers to an analytical tool aimed at explaining the additional social problems generated by the physical aggregation of poor individuals; basically, that *"where you live affects your life chances"* (Slater 2013).

A.5 **New round of public reports and reactive policies**

The reemergence of the poverty-culture relationship opened room for more attacks on the poor with a questionable sociology: the description of a self-perpetuating culture of poverty, and a self-fulfilling prophecy of social atomism, community disorganisation and cultural anomie (Bennett and Reed 1999). Two attacks are important to highlight here; first, Robert Putnam (1995) assertion that the poor lack social capital, thus suggesting that physical proximity to upper class neighbors will enhance the quality and quantity of social networks (DeFilippis and Fraser 2010); and second, Galster and Killen (1995) notion of 'geography of opportunity', assuming (as natural) that services and resources are not well provided in poor neighborhoods, which in turn shapes life decisions. In the same vein, and more on the public policy front, public housing was attacked for its design (height and number of units) vacancy rates (above 15%), and household composition (families with children). Again, a national report marked the public debate (National-Commission-on-Severely-Distressed-Public-Housing 1992), but this time, with much more concrete consequences: the result was a widespread policy of public housing demolition, specially targeted to African American communities (Goetz 2013). In this context, a second generation of integration policies emerged (Goetz 2003): at the end of the 1970s, taking concentrated poverty as a new problem, public policies emphasized residential mobility and the redevelopment of public housing with socially mixed projects. In the words of Iris Marion Young (1999) then, this represents moving 'people-to-resources' (i.e. addressing the symptoms) instead of moving 'resources-to-people' (i.e. addressing the causes).

Social mix policies have emerged at particular times in history (Arthurson 2012, Sarkissian 1976); in mid-19th century Britain under utopian visions of reunification; under egalitarian ideals after WWII; and recently to address the social problems of concentrated poverty. Within this, mixed-income

housing[1] emerges as an idea that encompasses four major assumptions (Joseph 2006): i) social networks and social capital, ii) social control and social organization, iii) role models, and iv) an improved political economy of place. After the trajectory I have presented so far, it is not difficult to see where these assumptions come from (DeFilippis and Fraser 2010): the first from Putman's conception of social capital, the second and third from Wilson's underclass and Lewis' culture of poverty, and the last from Galster and Killen's notion of geography of opportunity. The second generation of integration policies not only included mixed-income housing, but mostly mobility programs like Moving to Opportunity. Then, either in mixed-income housing or mobility programs, the idea behind is that dispersion will solve the problems of poverty concentration, an idea that (Steinberg 2010) criticizes for not separating the structural forces that creates poverty from the spatial clustering of poor individuals. In summary, *four persistent ideas* have become the foundation for recent desegregation policies; i) the portrayal of ghettos as pathological social forms (see Jargowsky 1997, Massey and Denton 1993, Wilson 1987), ii) the link between poverty concentration and social problems or 'neighborhood effects' (see Sampson, Morenoff, and Gannon-Rowley 2002, Sampson 2012), iii) the implicit suggestion that geographies of opportunity follow the more powerful groups and trickle-down to the rest (De Souza Briggs 2005, Galster and Killen 1995), and iv) the assumptions that socially mixed environments would create a virtuous circle of social networks, social control, and role models (see Joseph 2006).

A.6 <u>Discussions on urban design and its potential influence on collective behavior</u>

The discussion of design principles is a foundational theme in normative-deterministic theories of urban design. These principles work as prescriptions intended to address aesthetic and efficiency issues, but also to solve some social problems. Then, urban design theory became in some sense a theory of social control by the environment, where the use of concepts and ideas taken from social sciences becomes highly controversial. Three of the major problems addressed by these theories are *design for*

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[1] Mainly within the Hope VI Program.

human contact (Alexander 1972), *design for vitality* (Jacobs 1961, Whyte 1980), and *design for the defense of space* (Newman 1972). An example of a comprehensive set of ideas taking most urban design prescriptions and generating their own ones is New Urbanism. This movement created prescriptions regarding physical design, land use, transportation measures, safety measures, architectural symbolism and demographic diversity (Congress-for-the-New-Urbanism and HUD 1996, Duany and Plater-Zyberk 1993, Lennertz 1991). One of the main arguments for the application of New Urbanist principles for the HOPE VI program in the US[2], is that according to experience, socioeconomic development and urban design cannot work separately to prevent the formation of ghettos (Congress-for-the-New-Urbanism and HUD 1996). But these set of theories were widely criticized for their physical and architectural determinism; that is, because designers believe that spatial configurations determine human behavior and could alleviate social problems, underestimating the complexity of social processes (Brown, Burton, and Sweaney 1998, Grant 2006). Moreover, since these theories are based on common sense, some of their prescriptions reproduce racism and discrimination, like the proposal of racial quotas below the traditional tipping points[3].

A.7 <u>Advance of neoliberalization process and its impact on housing policies</u>

From the 1970s, to the 1980s and 1990s, there is a general retrenchment of the state in the US; the wage-labor relationship is fragmented, poor neighborhoods are disconnected from national and global economies, and the welfare state is reconfigured in polarized cities (Wacquant 2007). While the economy was increasingly deregulated, the welfare state was increasingly criticized. The ideological pressure to reduce assistance to the poor led to a reform that *"ended welfare as we know it"*, as President Clinton described in 1996. This welfare reform cut funding for several social programs and worsen the

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[2] The main program creating mixed-income housing.

[3] The so-called tipping points in urban sociology, have been commonly used in the US to denote the maximum percentage of blacks (around 30%) after which whites escape from a neighborhood.

situation for many poor neighborhoods (Edelman 2001). During these years, public housing also suffered dramatic changes, either through intentional deterioration of existing projects (Goetz 2013), or through the transfer of provision and management to the market.

This long process of interaction between intellectual and political circumstances, here briefly sketched in seven steps, *led directly or indirectly to policies of public housing demolition and poverty dispersion*. These policies were intended to break with social isolation and poverty concentration, and to improve the behavior and interaction of the poor without more state intervention, providing social buffers against disorganization. But so far, research has shown that this strong rhetoric has not met reality, which I confirm in the following chapters.

B. <u>Chile: flows from Chicago, spread to Latin America, influence on new policies</u>

B.1 <u>Foundational paradigms of Latin American urban studies</u>

The trajectory in Chile is less extended in time, but not less intense. Between the 1920s to the 1970s, like in many Latin American countries, Chile experienced a process of inward growing, widening the role of the state, and opening to citizen participation. In economic terms, Import Substitution Industrialization was the term to call the state-led promotion of inward development aimed at reducing foreign dependency. Sociology in those times was centered in the question of underdevelopment, and the study of it was led by international institutions and research centers, creating some development recipes (Dockendorff 2007). In terms of urban studies, there were two broad research paradigms in Latin America during the twentieth century (Carrión 1991). On one hand, there is a generalizing paradigm that did not present much territorial differentiation. Two approaches are important here. First, there are Latin American functionalism and marginality theory, which were highly connected with the work of the Chicago School (particularly Louis Wirth's) and with Lewis' culture of poverty (Germani 1969, 1988b, a). And second, there are the authors working on Dependency Theory, influenced by Marxism

and World Systems Theory, which despite their overgeneralization were highly influential even out of Latin America (Nun 1988, Quijano 1968, Singer 1988, Slater 1988). And on the other hand, there is an empiricist paradigm, represented by ecological, demographic, anthropological and cultural works, somewhat influenced by the Chicago School. The main approach here was the collaborative efforts of many authors working under the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (CEPAL, in Spanish). The works of CEPAL took modernization theory, created the Latin American developmental paradigm, and were the main influence for the impulse to the process of Import Substitution Industrialization (Prebisch 1986, Williams 2006). The extension of this second paradigm, though evolved in a different way, would mark the first step in the theory-policy trajectory in Chile.

B.2 The forced arrival of neoliberalism and the growing influence of the US

The general process of inward development and import substitution industrialization came to a peak with Salvador Allende's government (first Marxist democratically elected in the world) and his social and economic reforms. But all of this was rapidly and violently stopped by a coup d'état in 1973 and a long military dictatorship, financed and supported by the United States. Initially, the military operated as the armed forces of the economic elites, trying to recover their lost power. But they were in need of a major ideological input, which came from Chicago. Thus, the foundational step in theoretical transfers for Chile, whose influence is more alive than ever today, was the work of the so-called 'Chicago Boys'; a group of young Chilean economists, most of them trained at the University of Chicago under Milton Friedman. The training was part of the 'Chile Project', organized in the 1950s by the US Department of State to influence Chilean economic thinking, which became influential right after the military coup as a reaction to the process of state growing. Then, before the United States with Ronald Reagan and before the United Kingdom with Margaret Thatcher, Chile became the laboratory of a new economic model: neoliberalism. The Chicago Boys' ideas were condensed in a book called *El Ladrillo*

(The Brick: De Castro 1992), becoming the basis for Pinochet's neoliberal economic policy, and reasserting Friedman's neoclassic approach.

From the second half of the 1970s, polices were implemented to create rapid and extensive privatization, deregulation and reductions in trade barriers. Thus, the role of the state was increasingly reduced, and competition and individualism were encouraged for labor relations, social security, health and education. Seven years after the coup, in 1980, a new constitution was imposed by the armed forces. This constitution promoted individual liberties and individual achievement over any social right. But the pure monetarist experiment lasted until 1982, when a deep economic recession forced the military government to change the course, passing to a more pragmatic phase with less power of the Chicago Boys. The IMF and the World Bank pressed for structural changes, like they did in several Latin American countries. While the original idea of the Chicago Boys was to give no role to the state, an important ideological concession after the crisis was to create the basis for a more subsidiary role.

B.3 <u>Neoliberalization process in the urban realm during the military dictatorship</u>

The initial vision for this came from major changes in urban legislation. The new National Policy of Urban Development, in 1979, was intended to achieve goals of urban development mainly through the functioning of the land market, complemented with some public investment on infrastructure and facilities. The main assumption here, was that free competitiveness in space will efficiently assign activities and define the urban-rural transition, regulating the growth of cities (Trivelli 1981). In other words, there will be no urban boundaries set by legislation, but by the 'natural' functioning of the land market. Another substantial transformation was the changing definition of 'social housing' through the different governments in the last 40 years (Bravo 1992). Eduardo Frei Montalva's government (1964-1970), leaned to major social reforms under his slogan of 'revolution in liberty', defined social housing as a *"…necessity good to which every family has a right, giving preferential*

assistance to the poorest and stimulating self-construction". Salvador Allende's government (1970-1973), promoting a 'Chilean (or pacific) Way to Socialism', defined social housing as an *"… inalienable right that the state has to provide for the people, it cannot be subject of profit, but of necessity".* Finally, the neoliberal reforms left the most enduring legacy from Pinochet onwards. Social housing was defined then, and it is still defined that way today, as a *"… good that is acquired with the efforts of the family for savings, and with contributions from the state through a subsidy".*

It is the production of housing indeed, where the neoliberalization process left one of its biggest legacies. A policy of mass production of social housing was introduced, with the supposed imperative of reducing housing deficits, based on a set of subsidies from the state to support the demand. But the subsidies ended up being more helpful for big Real Estate companies (i.e. subsidies for supply), in a powerful alliance with the state to fuel the economy (Sugranyes 2005). According to this policy, urban land is assigned to social housing projects if it is cheap enough to fit the value of the subsidy (less than U$45 per square meter, approximately). Thus, social housing projects were built in massive volumes (over 300 units), with very low standards of construction and urbanization, and in the least desirable places of Chilean cities, extensively increasing the levels of residential segregation. In addition to this, the military government executed major plans of squatter clearance and resettlement, in which extremely poor families were forcefully moved from high-income neighborhoods to the poor peripheries (Sugranyes 2005). But there is still more. Several changes in the functioning of some key institutions, part of the neoliberal project, had a drastic impact on the urban realm; i) policies of decentralization devolved public education and health to municipalities, while at the same time allowing profits (Gideon 2001, Larrañaga 1996, Puga 2011, Valenzuela, Bellei, and De los Ríos 2008), ii) the territory of Greater Santiago was subdivided under a criterion of social homogeneity (Rodríguez and Winchester 2001), and iii) social policies passed from universalism to resource targeting (Barozet 2011).

B.4 <u>Ideological processes: political groups and their changes after the military</u>

    <u>dictatorship</u>

Allende's government and the following military dictatorship were part of the Cold War. The coup d'état against Allende meant a victory for the US influence over Chile, as with several dictatorships in Latin America (i.e. the US 'client states'). But the development of the Chilean dictatorship was more complex for the US. While the macroeconomic changes and neoliberal reforms were viewed as something positive, the human rights situation drew increasingly less support. In addition, the science of neoliberal economics was being taught in all universities, and political economy was eradicated from all curriculums, thus spreading the legitimization of the model. Critical authors were persecuted, and some of them killed, tortured, or exiled. Moreover, some schools were closed, and some universities completely intervened. During the dictatorship then, the struggle and the recovery of democracy was studied by a marginalized and militant sociology, settled in some NGOs or in exile (Dockendorff 2007). Conservative thinking (mainly influenced by Anglo-Saxon academia) started to predominate in several areas of knowledge and political discussion. Under internal and external pressures, and due to the decline of socialist regimes, the political left was divided between radicals, who wanted to return to socialism and emphasized confrontation, and liberals, who negotiated a transition to democracy without touching the funding pillars of the neoliberal project. The 'restoration of democracy' was planned in the 1980s constitution, providing several undemocratic stipulations to protect the economic model until these days. Thus, with the support of the international community (including the US), liberal, center-left political forces took office in 1990, and continued the expansion of the so-called social market economy. The radical left was excluded through their decrease in numbers (disappeared or exile) and through their exclusion by the binomial voting system, which promotes negotiation and consensus between large opposing sides of government and excludes small forces[4]. The end of the Cold War, concurrent

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[4] The Chilean binomial voting system resembles very closely the two-party system of the United States or the UK.

with the end of the Chilean dictatorship, reinforced the influence of the US over the Chilean economy, academia, and culture.

B.5 Political contingencies: the 'transition to democracy' and the current situation of Chile

The four administrations that followed the military rule were part of *Concertación*, a large political coalition that includes center-left to right-wing political parties. Their main goals were economic growth and poverty reduction, which are indeed their main achievements. Growth in real GDP averaged 8% from 1991-1997, decreased a little after that, and then kept around 5-7% over the past several years. Poverty decreased from 45.1% in 1987 to 11% by 2011 (mainly through increases in social spending). But the achievement of these goals came at the price of preserving stability, according to what they defined as possible. In a restricted democracy, full of authoritarian enclaves inherited from the dictatorship and its 1980's Constitution, the discourse of 'growth with equality' degenerated in the achievement of the first at the expense of the second. The so-called social market economy (or 'Third Way'), did not change the macroeconomic policies, and reduced poverty while maintaining, and even increasing, income inequalities. In addition, social policies made their social spending more efficient by defining vulnerable groups and targeting their resources, thus creating artificial divisions within the Chilean society, ending with universalism and promoting competition. In this context of post-dictatorship, the return to democracy was studied by a practical sociology, which promoted problem solving and was instrumentalized by the state (Dockendorff 2007). Universities and research centers were more concerned with professionalization than research, emphasizing consulting work in several areas of development. In addition to this, new theoretical currents were embraced in Chilean sociology, like systems theory and postmodernism, not necessary linked to critical stances.

From 2006, Chile has the highest nominal GDP per capita in Latin America and has recently been recognized as a high-income economy by the World Bank: GDP per capita went up from $4,500 in 1985 to U$22,655 in 2013 (Durán and Kremerman 2013). But the flip side of this is social inequalities. The richest 5% have an income that is 260 times the poorest 5%, and this gap has grown 100% in the last 20 years (Durán and Narvona 2013). Between 2007 and 2012, Chile appears as a strange case in which both employment and inequalities are increasing (Durán and Narvona 2013). In historical and comparative terms, when developed countries had the size of the present Chilean economy (U$22,000 per capita, approximately), their minimum wage was between 1.4 to 4 times Chile's minimum wage (Durán and Narvona 2013). However, after 20 years of 'neoliberalism with a kind face' (the center-left who maintained the economic model), the true colors of right-wing politics appeared when they took office in 2010. Then, the almost inexplicable legitimization of this highly unequal model started to wane very fast: there was an explosion of social movements in education, regional development, ethnic issues, environment, labor, and so on. And their expectations increased from short-term demands to the ambitious goal of a constitutional assembly. In this context, today's Chilean sociology shows the presence of two old traditions in Latin America: a conservative sociology -or science of crisis-, and a critical sociology -or science of change (Dockendorff 2007). On one hand, the science of crisis defines a society that is subjected to the evolution of economic structures; an example of this is a Chilean sociologist who explains current social movements as post-material demands, after reaching a GDP of U$15,000 per capita. And on the other hand, the science of change explains the social as self-determined by the actors and pressure groups, building conditions for a new society: this is illustrated by two other thinkers who explain the actual moment as a 'pre-revolutionary state', emphasizing the new meaning of politics during the so-called 'Chilean Spring'.

B.6 <u>The study of residential segregation in Chile</u>

Empirical studies on segregation in Latin America just appeared in the late 1990s (Schteingart 2001). But, why researchers did not take this topic before if the problem of segregation was present from a long time ago? Three reasons explain this late arrival. First, there was (and there still is) a lack of data at a disaggregated level, which has been one of the main reasons why social science in the 50-60s was so generalist and structuralist. Second, Marxist scholars were persecuted and censored during the 70s and 80s, leaving the continent almost devoid of critical thinking, and with an imposed anti-Marxist and pro-US ideology. And third, the neoliberal crisis and its consequences in cities during the 1980s and 1990s, were studied under the new theoretical flows from the US (like Jargowsky 1997, Massey and Denton 1993, Wilson 1987). And these new flows were congruent with the less critical scholarship that was encouraged before. Then, if the two mentioned research paradigms coexisted during the 50s, 60s and 70s, the Marxist approach almost disappeared after the persecution of critical thinkers. Thus, the empiricist paradigm evolved as a more positivist approach, and predominates today in segregation studies, highly influenced by US theoretical frameworks (for Chile, see Rodríguez 2001, Rodríguez and Arriagada 2004, Sabatini, Cáceres, and Cerda 2001). That is, the theory and methods of the dominant US literature of the 1990s, were embraced by liberal scholars under a neoliberal center-left government. Indeed, the empirical studies produced in Chile, by a particular group of researchers, was very influential in several Latin American countries, reproducing many questionable theoretical constructs like 'underclass', 'social disorganization', 'geography of opportunity' and 'neighborhood effects', without much debate and criticism. In any case, despite the reduction of poverty from the 1990s, the problems of extreme, chronic and concentrated poverty became the center of their analysis. The term 'ghetto' and the processes of ghettoization became part of the academic debates, as a recent phenomenon. Using the tools of 'neighborhood effects' research (mainly statistical correlations) and systems theory, these Chilean authors introduce the problem of ghettos as follows:

…urban ghettos of poverty and discrimination. It is observed that the 'emergence' of important phenomena take place in them, which are not reducible to people or the activities that configure those neighborhoods. (Sabatini, Wormald, et al. 2010, p. 24)

B.7 A particular academic-political campaign for poverty dispersion policies

From the second half of 2000s, the same group of influential scholars studying segregation, embarked in a campaign to influence public policies. Beyond research projects and papers circulated in different circles, they organized conferences, seminars and talks in which they included both the public sector and the private sector: that is, politicians and developers. Their goal was to introduce the idea that *"residential integration is possible and compatible with Real Estate business"* (Pro-Urbana-PUC 2008, Sabatini, Brain, and Mora 2013). For them, developers are the big problem. According to the dynamics that were installed during the neoliberal reforms, land for social housing projects is assigned through the land market (the cheapest lots). And within this context, developers try to maximize their profits, separating social classes as much as they can. Developers defend themselves blaming their middle and upper class customers, who supposedly would only live with their peers, based on the old classism that has divided Chilean society. Against this belief, the mentioned group of scholars moved their entire research agenda from the study of residential segregation to the study of the potential coexistence between different social groups: that is, a forced research plan against the classism of developers (see Sabatini and Brain 2008). The problem here is that they do not question the functioning of the neoliberal housing market or the neoliberal reforms that had influence in socio-spatial differentiations. They just try to sustain that *"social integration does not mean quitting the Real Estate business"* (Sabatini, Brain, and Mora 2013). This is due to the mentioned theoretical grounding in US conservative research, and to the direct sponsorship and influence of specific neoliberal institutions, like the US' Lincoln Institute of Land Policy.

Thus, the research of these scholars emphasizes the attraction of Real Estate investors for mixed-income projects (Brain, Cubillos, and Sabatini 2007), and the disposition of social groups to live together (Sabatini et al. 2012). As an empirical subject to base their proposals, they have committed to study the situation of wealthy gated communities that have been built in poor areas; the only cases of spontaneous diversity that have been observed in Chilean cities. The appearance of these cases has been explained in terms of the dispersion of elites through a particular mechanism done by developers; that is, buying cheap land in poor peripheral areas and building closed neighborhoods (Sabatini and Salcedo 2007). However, the Chilean authors studying gated communities in poor areas (Sabatini and Salcedo 2007, Salcedo and Torres 2004) tend to reify these cases as the only dynamic that is actually reducing socioeconomic segregation, and as the only (possible) examples of diversity, falling in the same problem (observed in the US) of equating physical proximity with integration. They insist in highlighting the idea of a geography of opportunity, referring to the informal functional exchanges between classes (mainly domestic work) occurring in these spaces of encounter. But they do not acknowledge that these gains in informal employment are just a comparative advantage for being a minority among the poor. In other words, if all the poor are dispersed throughout the city, the general levels of unemployment will not necessary change (Ruiz-Tagle and López 2014). In addition, they almost do not discuss that the opportunities for effective social mobility of the poor are almost unmodified in these areas; that is, subordinate contact does not necessarily imply better relations, or better possibilities for upward mobility. Based on these cases and on the dominant US literature, this group of authors have sustained that there are only two ways to create urban social integration (Pro-Urbana-PUC 2007): through colonization of low-income areas by high-income projects (already happening with gated communities), and through the inclusion of low-income families into mixed-income projects or by simple poverty dispersion (Sabatini, Edwards, et al. 2010).

B.8 <u>Launching and application of new policies: the Chilean version of Mixed-Income</u>

   <u>Housing</u>

At the end of 2000s, partly influenced by the mentioned scholars and their academic-political

campaign, two types of legislation were proposed by the government. First, there is a proposed

legislation (bill) that would create an obligation for developers to assign 5% of land for social housing

projects (following the French system of 20%). But there has been strong opposition to this bill, and the

idea has been almost discarded. And second, and most importantly for this research, the government

created a new type of housing projects for social integration, which is **the closest situation in Chile to**

the mixed-income housing policy in the US[5]. Patricia Poblete, Chile's Secretary for Housing and

Urban Development (MINVU), said the following at the launching of the social integration projects in

September 2007:

> *Through these new urban requirements, common good will be protected and more efficient and*
> *balanced cities will be designed, under the premise that urban segregation is an attack against*
> *social cohesion and stability, which tarnishes our democracy and our successes in economic*
> *matters. It does not mean that the new real estate projects will be in charge of solving the*
> *problems of urban marginality, but, to the extent that they configure the city, they can incorporate*
> *minimum conditions of social integration* (MINVU's Secretary, Patricia Poblete 2007).

The *proyectos de integración social* (social integration projects) are defined as housing

developments of a maximum of 150 units, comprising a minimum of 30% of social housing units (for the

poorest 2 income quintiles), and a minimum of 30% of middle class units. Projects are designed,

managed, and built by private companies. The incentive for the mix, is an additional subsidy for the

middle class units, which is why it has been called a 'subsidy for tolerance'. No other social or economic

measures are planned for these projects, unlike the HOPE VI policy in the US, which includes some

plans for employment and social development (at least on paper). The underlying assumption thus, is

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[5] This type of projects could have been the perfect comparison with Cabrini Green, but as I explain in the Research Design
chapter, the projects are too new, not much statistical information is available to collect, and not much literature is available to
discuss.

that the mere proximity between different social groups will bring *"probabilities of upward social mobility, of curbing the trend of ghetto formation and promoting a more harmonic urban development of cities, avoiding social segregation"* (del Campo and Tokman 2013, p. 301). And of course, the expectation is also that these projects do not harm the housing market, because they are said to *"promote a more harmonic urban development, avoiding social segregation,* **without affecting the surplus value of** [the surrounding middle class] **housing"** (Brain 2013, p. 9, emphasis added). To date, there have been just 9 projects built in the entire country, and they were started to be open from 2012. As one of the researchers participating in the mentioned campaign for dispersion policies says: *"this program still plays a very weak role, and* **the key in the future will be to make this not the exception but the rule within the housing policy"** (Brain 2013, p. 9, emphasis added). Indeed, the current right-wing government has supported these projects and expects to build them across the entire country.

B.9 Intense debates, theoretical assumptions, and policy transfers

With the arrival of the right-wing government in 2010, the urban debate was monopolized by the assumptions of 'neighborhood effects' research. That is, it was clear for a large group of scholars and policy makers that the problem of Chilean ghettos is a problem of physical concentration which, as in the US, deserves brick and mortar solutions. In this context, an influential right-wing think tank, based on what had been studied on segregation, wrote a report on Chilean ghettos, highlighting *"the largest ghetto in Chile"* (Atisba 2010). Then, like in the US, the trajectory from a report to a new public policy was very fast. First, sensationalist TV shows were broadcasted about the situation of these ghettos. Although these TV shows had been stigmatizing poverty in all its forms from the last decade (mostly stressing the issue of crime), this time they were more explicit. And second, a presidential committee was appointed for the creation of a new National Policy of Urban Development[6], and some the main

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[6] With the participations of professional associations, political representatives, developers, and deans of schools of architecture and planning.

measures to be taken after the committee were: demolition of large social housing projects and dispersion of poverty. To this day, again like the US, the program that has worked faster is social housing demolition. But this program, called '*Demolition of blocks: second chance'*, already raises several doubts. First, it just represents a physical intervention, aimed at lowering density and creating green areas. Second, it does offer any assurance to prevent gentrification. Third, it does not ensure that the new location offered to the displaced residents would be better than the existing. Actually, residents are already complaining that the money offered to them is not enough to buy a decent new home[7]. And fourth, it is based on the same system of subsidizing developers, in an incipient example of creative destruction.

This extensive process of interaction between intellectual and political circumstances, here summarized in nine steps, also **led to policies of dispersion and demolition**. The Chilean government commented that these policies have been successful in Europe and in the US, and that it was time to practice them in Chile. Therefore, the right-wing government obtained the best tool to impose their terms (demolition and poverty dispersion) and to criticize 20 years of massive public housing construction of the former center-left governments. Thus, the policies of social housing demolition and dispersion have acquired certain level of support and consensus in Chile. But this nearly hegemonic influence is highly problematic; first, because its assumptions are founded in questionable premises; and second, because most of its empirical grounding does not belong to the Chilean context, but to the United States. In other words, the so-called 'dispersal consensus' (Imbroscio 2008) has arrived to Chile, but with even less debate than in its origin.

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[7] The Chilean housing policy works on homeownership, so subsidies are given to buy a house.

C. Summary: different processes, similar results and the rhetoric of social mix

In order to summarize the two national theory-policy trajectories, figure 7 shows the process in the US and figure 8 shows the process in Chile.

SOCIAL PROBLEMS   INTELLECTUAL INPUTS   POLITICAL TRANSFORMATIONS

Segregation —————— Chicago School

Urban poverty ———— Culture of poverty ⟨ Moynihan report / War on Poverty

Social resistance ——————————————— Housing dispersal programs

Decreasing power & further impoverishment, marginality ———— Reappearance of culture-poverty relationship ⟨ Public reports / Reactive policies

Neoliberalization process

Housing policies: DISPERSION AND DEMOLITION

Urban design & behavior ——————— Housing policies: DISPERSION AND DEMOLITION

Figure 7: Theory-policy trajectory in the US
SOURCE: self-elaboration

SOCIAL PROBLEMS   INTELLECTUAL INPUTS   POLITICAL TRANSFORMATIONS

Marginality   —————— L.A. empiricist —————— Inward economic and social
Segregation   paradigm (CEPAL)   development

           Growing US —————— Arrival of neoliberalism
           influence
                    Urban neoliberalization
           Ideological changes
                    Transition to democracy
           Study of segregation
Ghettoization
           Campaign for —————— Social integration projects
           dispersion policies
                    New right-wing government
           Privilege to
           'neighborhood effects' Policies of DISPERSION AND
           research   DEMOLITION

Figure 8: Theory-policy trajectory in Chile
SOURCE: self-elaboration

In addition, the Tables XII, XIII, and XIV (respectively) summarize three factors that are crucial for the analysis of the cases and the following comparison: the problem to be solved, the mechanism to implement the social mix, and the expectations (or rhetoric).

Table XII: PROBLEM TO BE SOLVED

	UNITED STATES	CHILE
ACADEMIC DEFINITION	*…it is the growth of the high- and extreme-poverty areas that epitomizes the social transformation of the inner city, (…) the non-poor black middle and working classes tend no longer to reside in these neighborhoods, thereby increasing the proportion of truly disadvantaged individuals and families* (Wilson 1987, p. 55)	*Residential segregation is today recognized at an international level as a phenomenon linked to the formation of urban ghettos or "neighborhoods in crisis", this is, with the advance of violence, urban crime and social disorganization, all ills that affect contemporary cities* (Sabatini, Wormald, et al. 2010, p. 10)
POLICY DEFINITION	*We risk a societal collapse by the first decade of the next century if we tolerate racism and the economic isolation of millions of people* (Henry Cisneros, quoted in Allen 1993)	*…urban segregation is an attack against social cohesion and stability, which tarnishes our democracy and our successes in economic matters.* (MINVU's Secretary, Patricia Poblete 2007)
OPERATIONALIZATION	*…severely distressed public housing as that housing exhibiting the presence of one or more of the following conditions: families living in distress, rates of serious crimes in the development or the surrounding neighborhood, barriers to managing the environment, [and] physical deterioration of buildings* (National-Commission-on-Severely-Distressed-Public-Housing 1992, Appendix B, p. B-2)	*…ghettos (...) [are] spatial units of large size, homogeneously poor, far from [city] centers and with a low supply of services, which generates phenomena of exclusion and marginality* (Atisba 2010, p. 7)

SOURCE: self-elaboration

Table XIII: MECHANISM TO IMPLEMENT SOCIAL MIX

UNITED STATES	CHILE
MIXED-INCOME HOUSING: Housing developments comprising three type of units: public housing (PH), affordable housing (AH), and market-rate units (MR). In Cabrini Green, the proportion has been 25% PH, 25% AH, and 50% MR. In addition to the housing mix, some social and economic services are proposed (at least on discourse), like the Family Self-Sufficiency Program (for building financial assets), FamilyWorks (for employment and education), Section 3, etc.	SOCIAL INTEGRATION PROJECTS: Housing developments comprising a minimum of 30% of social housing units, and a minimum of 30% of middle class units. No other social or economic measures are planned for these projects.

SOURCE: self-elaboration

Table XIV: EXPECTATIONS OR RHETORIC

	UNITED STATES	CHILE
ACADEMIC RHETORIC	Four mechanisms through which mixed-income housing works as strategy to alleviate poverty: social networks, social control, behavioral modification (by role models), and political economy of place (by others called 'geography of opportunity') (Joseph 2006)	*The households that reside in a social housing located in a socially diverse environment, as time goes on, face processes of upward social mobility, due to: i) more proximity to job sources and networks, and ii) better municipal services. This is explained for the presence of different social groups in the surroundings of the social housing development* (Brain 2013, p. 11)
POLICY RHETORIC	*When public housing residents are integrated into mixed-income communities, those communities can fulfill multiple roles that are crucial to the urban workforce, to the housing mission of cities, and to the metropolitan economy. Well-planned mixed-income communities can become the focal point for the essential progress of our cities and our nation* (Cisneros 2009, p. 13)	*Through these new urban requirements, common good will be protected and more efficient and balanced cities will be designed…* (MINVU's Secretary, Patricia Poblete 2007)

SOURCE: self-elaboration

D. __Partial conclusions: policy transfer in a context of constant socio-cultural assimilation__

The two trajectories outlined so far shows how academia has influenced policy in different contexts. Thus, once some concepts are put forth by scholars, politicians find it easy to further attack low income areas, with several objectives: reactivate capital (creative destruction), gentrify neighborhoods, blame the poor for their problems, leave the solutions to the trickling-down of resources from higher-income residents, and continue with the retrenchment of the state. In addition, these trajectories show how national politics shapes the limits of academia, so as to maintain the status quo, like the training of the Chicago Boys and the persecution of radical scholars during the Chilean dictatorship. The case of the US illustrates how pervasive has been conservatism in both academic and political debate, influencing theory and policy. But the case of Chile is not just about the influence of internal conservatism, but also about cultural neocolonialism and policy transfer from the US.

The US has acted as a hegemonic power, exerting some sort of cultural imperialism, 'invading' with cultural products and 'conquering' Third World's local cultures (Alexander 2003). Cultural influences are established for economic reasons, reflected in the control of values and perceptions through the media, language, education and religion. Regarding language for example, the supremacy of English can only be understood by the influence of the British Empire from the 18th century, and the US neocolonialism since the mid-20th century. The simultaneous (and usually forced) usage in economic, political, military, scientific, cultural and colonial relations led English to be the language of international discourse and communication. Something very similar happened with the practice of science. After World War II, the US became not only an economic and military superpower, but also a scientific one (Krige 2006). Together with Cold War's political and ideological agenda, financial and political support was given to science in order to model practices and institutions. This scientific dominance operated as a form of consensual hegemony, with the help of local elites, not just for the postwar reconstruction, but also as a way of maintaining US leadership (Krige 2006). Sciences thus, and mostly hard sciences, merged in the US way and practices, influenced by power relations. And this, coupled with the supremacy of English and the large US university system, established a hierarchical system for the production of knowledge that works as a virtuous cycle; i) the more predominance of English, the more importance for Anglo-Saxon academia, ii) the more importance of Anglo-Saxon academia, the more scholars want to study, research and publish in English, and iii) the more scholars involved (directly or indirectly) in Anglo-Saxon academia, the more important the cultural hierarchy. Moreover, the flow of international scholars leaving the United States and returning to their home countries adds the complexity of what Appadurai (2008) calls semantic and pragmatic problems; semantic, in terms of the difficult translation of concepts along different contexts, and pragmatic, in terms of the different conventions and meanings that words represent for each public politics. Therefore, the world is not only forced to speak the same language, but to do research and to think in the same parameters.

Beyond cultural neocolonialism, policy transfer refers to the process in which ideas on institutional arrangements are used to shape institutions and policies in other political contexts. In general terms, Latin America could be said to be built in terms of policy transfers (or 'policy mobilities'). Different models of development have always arrived late, from a different context, and brought by certain type of elite. But as I have shown, neoliberal policies have not always followed top-down trajectories (i.e. developed to developing country). And this case is not unique, since other scholars have shown how policies have travelled in more complex ways (Peck and Theodore 2010). From Chile to the US, macroeconomic policies were influential in a general sense. Chile was used as a laboratory by a transnational elite of Chilean and US scholars and policy makers, to introduce and test policies of labor relations, social security, health and education. And from the US to Chile, the flow has been equally important in terms of urban theory and urban policy.

Political contexts offer fertile grounds to receive certain theoretical flows. The beginning of the Chicago School would have not been possible without the confluence of theoretical flows from Europe (Simmel from Germany and Durkheim from France) and the local beliefs of Social Darwinism and the search for scientific laws of behavior (Carey 1975). Likewise, the arrival of the Chicago Boys to Chile would have not been that 'successful' if there were no elites, eager to recover their economic and political power. Theories and policies travel in a way that is similar to how a paradigm becomes dominant; their journey is shaped by the cultural background of a community and by the socio-political context of a historical moment. And both forces have local and global circumstances.

V. RESEARCH DESIGN

> *It might be argued that the choice between positive and reflexive methods turns on the problem being studied –positive methods are more appropriate to the study of enduring systemic properties, while reflexive methods are better attuned to studying everyday social interaction; positive methods for the objective and reflexive for the subjective. Such an instrumental view of method misses deep differences between the two conceptions of science that orient us to the world we study –to stand aside or to intervene, to seek detachment or to enter into dialogue.* **Usually, it is not the problem that determines the method but the method that shapes the problem.** *Our commitment to one or the other model of science, it turns out, endures across the problems we choose to investigate.* (Michael Burawoy 1998, p. 29-30. Emphasis added)

The present research represents a comparative case study between two cases; each case in a different city, a different country, and consequently, a different cultural and socio-political context. The choice of methods, as the quote from Burawoy says, was purposeful, in order to get a comprehensive picture of the complex problem being studied; that is, segregation and integration in diverse areas. In any case, several measures were taken when designing the research, and during data collection and data analysis, so as to ensure scientific trustworthiness.

In this chapter, I describe extensively the steps taken to perform this research, following the design planned in the dissertation proposal. I do it in eight sections. First, I summarize the knowledge gaps and present the purpose of the study and the research questions. Second, I present some basic definitions of this research. Third, I describe the process of selection of cases and their representativeness. Fourth, I operationalize the variables studied and the type of evidence sought. Fifth, I describe the data collection methods. Sixth, I describe the data analysis rationale and mechanics. Seventh, I provide some measures to ensure trustworthiness. And eight, I finish with some notes about

the significance of the study. In addition, I present all data collection materials as appendix (interview questionnaires, instructions for field observations, etc).

A. <u>Knowledge gaps, purpose of study and research questions</u>

There are several knowledge gaps *from the theoretical framework*, as I have shown. There is no clear definition of what integration means, just some explanations of how some neighborhood become socially diverse. Furthermore, there is a dispersion of topics in the study of mixed-income environments, revealing the lack of clarity for the idea of social mix and the lack of comprehensive studies. Moreover, there is some equalization between physical proximity and integration, overestimating small benefits and overlooking persisting problems of segregation and inequality. Finally, there is little evidence to support the idea of social mix, revealing the need for more studies.

Likewise, there are several problems and knowledge gaps *from the comparative framework*. There should not be drastic distinctions between race and class segregation, since there is no ideal type of pure race or pure class segregation. Regarding the research in Chile, there is a problematic comparison of segregation indexes between class and race segregation, ignoring that each problem has a different life-cycle for individuals. Regarding US research, there is not much racial differentiation within African Americans, and not much acknowledgement of class components within racial discrimination. Forth both contexts, Chile and the US, the dynamics of segregation are widely different, which requires specific theoretical models for its study. Finally, the concept of segregation has been used for different contexts and with different nuances, so it is crucial to account for those differences in a comparative study.

As mentioned, some studies of diverse neighborhoods have focused on the causes (i.e. the emergence and maintenance), while others have focused on the consequences (i.e. perception of residents). Figure 9 shows my research concerns in terms of the most related literature.

US: *How diversity emerges and is sustained over time?*
(Ellen 2000, Nyden, Maly, and Lukehart 1997)

CHILE: *How positive are gated communities?*
(Sabatini and Salcedo 2007, Salcedo and Torres 2004)
US & CHILE: *What's the impact of diverse neighborhoods on residents' lives?*
(Joseph and Chaskin 2010, Rosenbaum, Stroh, and Flynn 1998, Sabatini and Salcedo 2007, Salcedo and Torres 2004)

CAUSES   NEIGHBORHOOD DIVERSITY   CONSEQUENCES (INTEGRATION?)

CHILE: *Is diversity possible or an utopia?*
(Sabatini, Cáceres, and Cerda 2001)

MY CONCERNS:
What happens in diverse neighborhoods?
Does physical proximity leads to integration?
Why should diversity be desirable?
What are the symbolic and instrumental benefits?

Figure 9: Research concerns and related literature
SOURCE: self-elaboration

In summary, several authors have studied the emergence of diverse neighborhoods and several issues happening in mixed-income environments. In addition, there are policy makers and some scholars believing that mere physical proximity between groups would create a virtuous circle of several benefits for the poor. *However, the problem is* that there is no clarity about the complexity of comprehensive processes of integration, and consequently, the idea of social mix still relies on modest theoretical claims. Then, *the purpose of this qualitative study* is to understand and describe the interplay

between multiple social relationships of integration and spatial proximity, for neighborhoods having a mixture of different social groups, both in Chicago and Santiago de Chile. In other words, I study the extent to which spatial configurations of physical proximity between different social groups intervene in processes of socio-spatial integration.

The central questions that I plan to answer in this research are:

Q1: *How do excluded groups experience living in proximity to higher status neighbors?*

Q2: *How does this experience __affect__ their socio-spatial integration?*

And some sub-questions are:

SQ1: *How should the __coexistence__ of segregation and integration in urban areas of demographic diversity be interpreted?*

SQ2: *How does this coexistence __vary__ across contexts?*

SQ3: *How can policies for integration be framed from a __multi-dimensional perspective__?*

Accordingly, specific objectives for this project are:

SO1: *Study relationships of segregation and integration in a comprehensive way, covering different dimensions: physical, functional, relational and symbolic.*

SO2: *Use qualitative methods to capture everyday social interactions, but complement it with quantitative descriptions of systemic properties.*

SO2: *Compare and contrast two cases, in order to extract differences and similarities between them.*

The case-study approach, as I describe it below, operationalizes 'how' and 'why' questions by converting them into 'yes'-'no' research propositions about the object of study. And these propositions act as the case-study equivalent of hypotheses (Yin 1994). Consequently, a preliminary proposition for this study was:

RP1: *Increased physical proximity between different social groups cannot positively modify other dimensions of integration as long as other processes of exclusion and fragmentation of the social milieu remain unchanged. Then, neighborhood diversity should lead to incomplete outcomes of integration for marginalized groups.*

B. The proposed research: general definitions for this study

B.1 Methodological definition

As stated before, the aim of this study is to understand the variegated processes of segregation and integration happening in urban areas of demographic diversity. To achieve this, I developed a *comparative qualitative case study* in Chicago and Santiago de Chile, using in-depth interviews as the primary research approach. First, this study is *qualitative* because I conducted a close observation (using qualitative methods) of a not clear phenomenon: that is, the influence of proximity on further processes of integration. The intention was to penetrate more deeply into relations of subordination, conflict and negotiation of difference. Qualitative research assumes that reality is complex, socially constructed and ultimately subjective (Morse 1994). Qualitative epistemology is interpretive and naturalistic; naturalistic, because it privileges the study of phenomena in natural settings; and interpretive, because interprets phenomena from the point of view of actors and the meaning for them (Denzin and Lincoln 2005). The main research goal of qualitative studies is description, not prediction (Clair and Wasserman 2007). Qualitative research makes use of several data collection techniques like case studies, life stories, interviews, participant observations, photographs, visual texts, and so on. This

approach has the advantage of a better and deeper grasp of the subject matter, and a useful fluidity and adaptability to various contexts (Clair and Wasserman 2007, Denzin and Lincoln 2005).

Second, this study is **_comparative_** because I compared two neighborhoods in two different cities and countries. But, <u>why is important to study a US case for a Chilean audience</u>? It is crucial because questionable theories and policy strategies are being imported and transferred from the US, as an expression of scientific and technical dependency, as I described in Chapter 4. Thus, a study that shows the differences between US and Chilean cases, contributes to expose the problem of easily transferring concepts and policies, and to create specific theoretical propositions and policy prescriptions based on those differences. In turn, <u>why is important to study a Chilean case for a US audience</u>? The main potential comes from the fact that Chile represents an example of more class than race segregation, which could be a near future for the US case, given recent changes. The Chilean case presents more issues related to land markets regulation than mere racial integration; an idea that seems incipient in the US, in the framing of 'mixed-income' communities, instead of 'mixed-race'. This way, the Chilean case shows an interesting example of how race was naturalized into class (as it is somewhat starting to happen in the US), in a neoliberal context without limitations for class discrimination. Thus, for both audiences, the framing of policies could be enriched with a comparative study that uncovers critical issues that were not visible enough before; that is, imported policies in Chile and race naturalizations into class in the US.

<u>Why study Chicago</u>? This city has been a symbol of industrialization, immigration, racial struggles, and high residential turnover. Chicago has been and continues to be one of the most segregated cities in the US, and in which several waves of integration policies have been implemented. <u>And why Santiago</u>? This city has suffered deeply from neoliberalism and globalization, and presents a strong and historical pattern of class segregation. Santiago also has recently experienced the

introduction of wealthier gated communities within impoverished areas, leading authors to think that this is some form of integration. Besides, Chicago and Santiago are historically connected by the implementation of neoliberalism. And each city represents a different stage in terms of the introduction of integration policies, which is an important factor for political and socio-cultural comparisons. In a more theoretical level, the main goals of comparative research are exploring diversity, interpreting cultural and historical significance, and advancing theory (Ragin 1994). In addition, Dogan and Pelassy (1984) affirm that comparative studies encourage self-reflection and prevent ethnocentrism. Thus, the comparison between these two countries is expected to enhance the theoretical understanding of segregation and integration, observing common patterns despite their differences, and overcoming ethnocentric barriers in the framing of policies. Thus, the comparison provides the basis to understand segregation and integration under three categories of differentiation; specific combinations of race and class, the political economies influencing neighborhood change, and the territorial influences of welfare distribution.

And third, <u>this</u> research is also a ***case-study*** because the phenomenon of interest presents particular processual character, causal complexity, and influence from the context. Within qualitative methods, case studies have several elements of definition. In terms of the phenomenon to be observed, case studies look at bounded and spatially delimited phenomena (Gerring 2007). Regarding the number of cases or observations, case studies look intensively at single or few cases, but include multiple observations of the different instances of social relationships (Gerring 2007, Orum 2013). In terms of data collection, case studies are distinctively characterized for a detailed, close and careful observation of behavior in natural settings, offering unique detail and depth (Gerring 2007, Kaarbo and Beasley 1999, Kennedy and Luzar 1999, Orum, Feagin, and Sjoberg 1991, Orum 2013). Regarding methods, case studies use mostly qualitative techniques and collect extensive data from several sources, building a holistic picture for heterogeneous causal relationships (Collier and Mahoney 1996, Kennedy and Luzar

1999, Orum, Feagin, and Sjoberg 1991, Orum 2013, Yin 1994). In terms of time and history, case studies observe either single points or periods of time, but frequently deepen into issues of stability and change of patterns (Gerring 2007, Kennedy and Luzar 1999, Orum, Feagin, and Sjoberg 1991). And regarding their usefulness, case studies present numerous advantages. First, they are helpful for new hypothesis, for study of processes ('how' and 'why' questions), and to overcome biases of secondary literature. Second, they offer more depth of analysis and much more internal validity. Third, they are better suited for causal complexity and concentrated good-quality evidence, providing grounded and contextual complements to statistics. And fourth, they are useful when there are no clear boundaries between context and phenomenon (Gerring 2007, Kennedy and Luzar 1999, Orum, Feagin, and Sjoberg 1991, Yin 1994).

However, case studies have frequently been criticized for being historically specific, lacking control, not offering enough data points, having a suspicious interpretive character, and lacking representativeness (Kaarbo and Beasley 1999, Kennedy and Luzar 1999). Indeed, a critical issue in case study research is its level of representativeness, and consequently, its ability of generalization. Case studies are aimed at a micro-macro link, in which the knowledge from a key part is intended to offer some insights to a larger set of similar cases, regarding a particular phenomenon (Gerring 2007, Orum, Feagin, and Sjoberg 1991, Orum 2013). Some authors, from a more positivistic perspective, criticize the deliberate choice of cases and the consequent problems of selection bias (Collier and Mahoney 1996). Thus, the problem of representativeness and case selection cannot be overlooked if one wants to do some kind of generalization (Seawright and Gerring 2008).

The usual response from case study researchers, is that a perfect model of science and a perfect method do not exist, and that the choices are always trade-offs between different analytical issues. Michael Burawoy (1998), in his extended case method, explains this in terms of the tenets and the

effects of positive and reflexive sciences. Positive science is said to be based on neutrality, reliability, replicability and representativeness. But in its application through survey research, positive science suffers from the context effects of interview issues, reactions to standardized questions, political and socioeconomic issues surrounding the interview, and the lack of space for meaning. In turn, reflexive science is affirmed to be based on intervention, process, structuration (of social forces affecting local settings), and theoretical reconstruction (more than representativeness of the case). But in its application through ethnographic methods, reflexive science suffers the power effects of domination, silencing, objectification, and normalization. Then, the most important for this research is a rejection of a dichotomy between extreme 'particularism' (pure context) and extreme 'generalism' (pure abstraction). Case studies then, represent a dualism between situational groundedness and theoretical generality (Harper 1992). Cross-case research is more representative and better for causal effects, but relies on within-case assumptions, underestimates the importance of main causal factors, and has a detached observation of settings. In turn, case studies are better for causal processes and strong causal relations, and are more valid. But they rely on cross-case assumptions, overestimate the importance of extreme cases, and have limited comparative power (Collier and Mahoney 1996, Gerring 2007, Harper 1992).

B.2 Paradigm definition

I see this study as a *critical qualitative research*. I affirm that the study of problems that involve relationships of subordination, conflict among unequal actors, and negotiation of difference, should be better tackled from a critical paradigm. The aim of critical theory is the establishment of descriptive and normative bases for social inquiry in order to decrease domination and increase freedom (Cannella 2007). It is critical because it is constructed through critical reason, against the empirically given (Langman 2007). Critical theory must be *explanatory, practical and normative* at the same time. It *"must explain what is wrong with current social reality, identify the actors to change it, and provide both clear norms for criticism and achievable practical goals for social transformation"* (Bohman 2005). For Patricia

Hill Collins (1998), critical theory must move the epistemological focus from truth to the development

of self-reflection, which involves the contextualization of truth in power relationships. Besides, critical

theory does not intend to fall in a detached objectivity, and assumes that reality depends on several

values, and that it is crystallized over time.

Similarly, Bourdieu (1990) emphasizes the break of the objective-subjective antinomy of the

social sciences. He seeks to combine the subjective knowledge of practical activity with the abstract

knowledge of objective forms. Bourdieu (1990) suggests that any research endeavor should be composed

of two stages. The first stage is intended to grasp the objective structures surrounding actions. And the

second stage involves a subjective analysis of the actors' perceptions, understandings, and dispositions

resulting from their experience within the structure. In this sense, qualitative analyses have the role of

enlighten the subjective understanding of individuals living within defined objective structures. And

according to Cannella (2007), ***critical qualitative research*** challenges the construction of critical truth,

outlines a self-conscious criticism, deconstructs the boundaries of traditional disciplines, hears and

respects diverse voices, is open to several theoretical views and methodologies, and is never apolitical. I

discuss below (in data analysis) the importance of this paradigm for this specific study.

C. <u>Selection of cases and its representativeness</u>

As mentioned before, the subject of interest for this research is neighborhood racial and

socioeconomic diversity (or physical proximity between different groups) and its consequences for other

dimensions of integration (functional, relational, and symbolic). Thus, using logical-positivistic

language, neighborhood diversity would be the independent variable, and actually the only known

variable, since the research is exploratory in terms of studying the unknown consequences of this type

of urban arrangement. Then, in this research I study two diverse neighborhoods; one in Chicago and

one in Santiago. In ***Chicago***, the selected case was ***Cabrini Green***, a neighborhood with a long history

of diversity, segregation, racial struggles, and recently socially engineered integration (through mixed-income developments) and the erasure of its history. There have been several engineered neighborhoods in Chicago, but Cabrini Green stands as the most controversial for its placement in the affluent area of Near North Side, its wide range of racial and socioeconomic diversity, and its paradigmatic past of stigmatized high-rise public housing. In *Santiago*, the selected case is *La Florida municipality*[1], a peripheral area of social housing combined with an old middle class, now inundated by wealthier gated communities as well[2]. Some of the residents of the new gated communities are upward mobile households that emerged from the old local middle class. In this case also, there have been some benefits from the mixture for the general population (compared to other 'colonizations' of gated communities), in terms of more urban infrastructure, more amenities, more jobs, etc. Figure 10 and Figure 11 show the location of the cases in Chicago and in Santiago, respectively.

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[1] Santiago was originally the name for the historical downtown area, but the term refers to what is commonly known as 'Greater Santiago', which is subdivided into 34 municipalities. Each municipality, with its own major and city council, has an approximate size of two Chicago's community areas. La Florida is one of those municipalities.

[2] As explained in Chapter 4, the most 'comparable' situation to mixed-income communities in Chile would have been the new 'social integration projects. However, these are too new to study as a case; projects started to be opened in 2012 and only 9 projects have been built in the entire country. Besides, there is no census information about the demographic change (since it is all new), and there is almost no literature to discuss. The case of La Florida was an area of poverty that was surrounded by wealthy new developments. In that sense, it is more comparable to Cabrini.
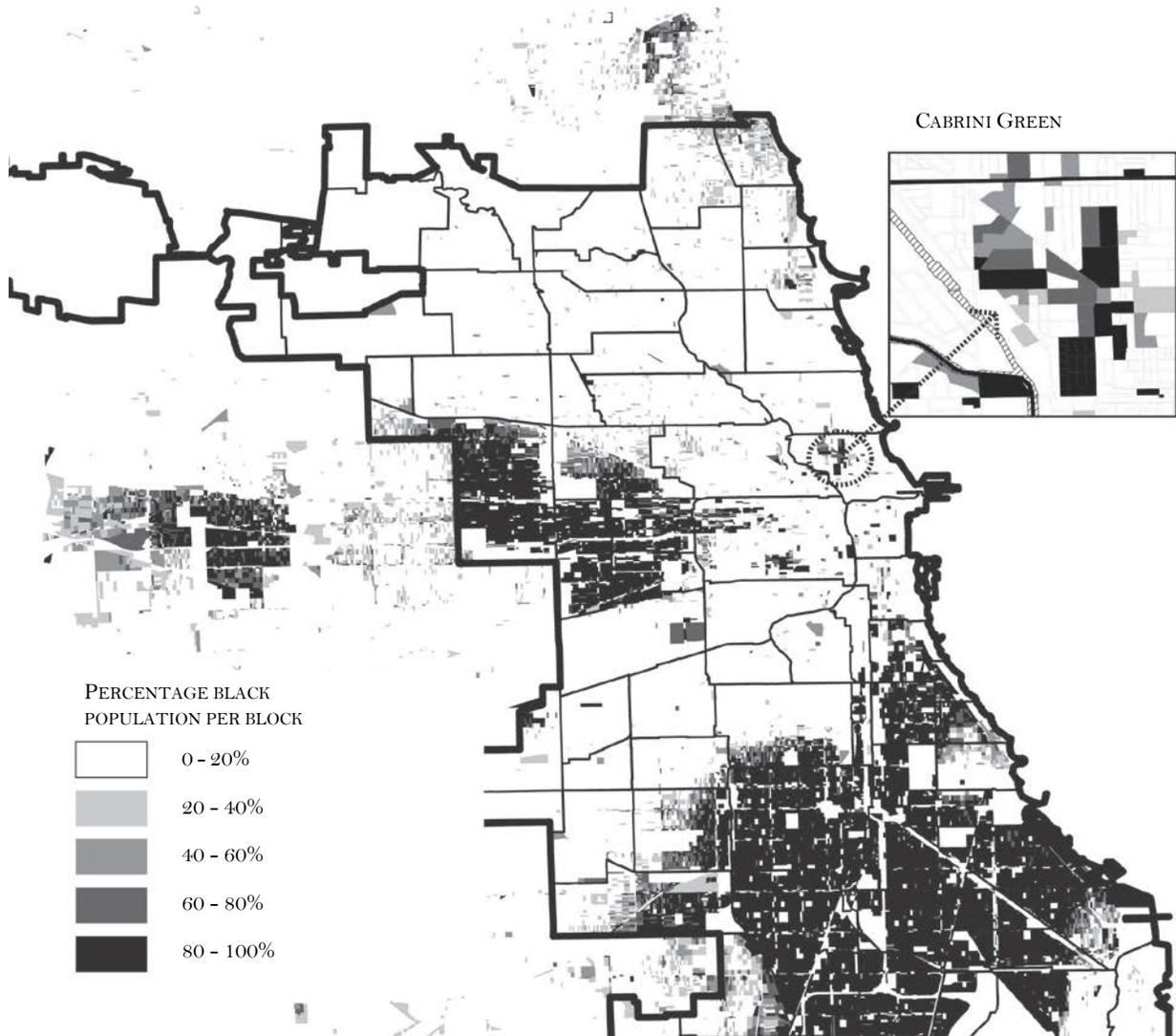
Figure 10: Location of Cabrini Green in Chicago
SOURCE: self-elaboration

PREDOMINANT SOCIOECONOMIC
GROUP PER BLOCK

Poor

Lower-middle class

Middle class

Upper-middle class and
upper class
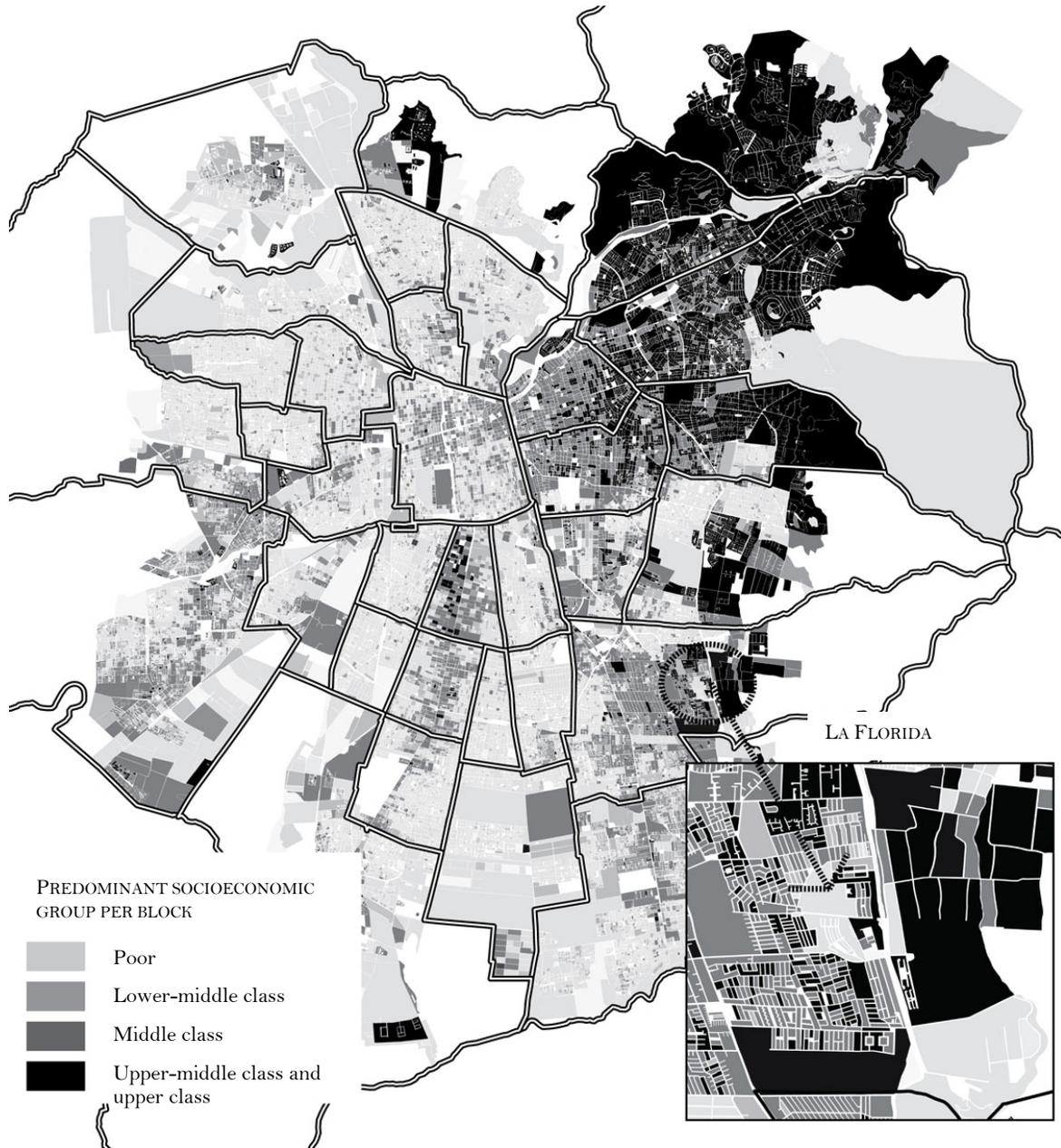
LA FLORIDA

Figure 11: Location of La Florida in Santiago
SOURCE: self-elaboration

Then, if all neighborhoods of Chicago and Santiago are considered in terms of demographic diversity, ranging from complete segregation to complete diversity, the selected cases (Cabrini Green in Chicago and La Florida in Santiago) are considered for their extreme values, and representative as such to the general population of neighborhoods. Several names have been used for this; 'negative' or 'deviant' cases (Sjoberg et al. 1991), 'archetypical' or 'unique' cases (Brenner 2003), 'extreme' cases (Seawright and Gerring 2008), and the like. According to Seawright and Gerring (2008), extreme cases present the highest values in the independent or dependent variables, are unusual or rare, allow the violation of the idea of selecting cases based on the dependent variable (Collier and Mahoney 1996, Dion 1998), and represent a purely exploratory and open-ended method. To measure neighborhood diversity then, I created the **Index of Neighborhood Diversity (IND)**:

$$\textbf{IND}: \frac{|P_a - P_b| + (|50 - P_a| + |50 - P_b|)}{2}$$

Pa: % population group A
Pb: % population group B

The Index of Neighborhood Diversity (IND) measures 'diversity' as the closest situation of a neighborhood to a 50-50% demographics between the two most opposed groups (by power and status) in a city. The main assumption (or omission) here is that groups in the middle could be easily included in diverse neighborhoods, therefore is not necessary to account for them. The index ranges from 0 to 100, where 0 represents the highest diversity of a neighborhood (or lowest segregation), and 100 the lowest diversity or highest segregation, of either poor or rich residents. This 50-50% situation would represent a relatively more equal share of power between the extreme groups. It is not related to the total group population in the city (as it is used in the Index of Dissimilarity)[3], because in the US case this assumption often implies that the excluded poor would be a minority. For the US case as well, this

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[3] It is important to note here that both Ellen (2000) and Nyden, Maly, and Lukehart (1997) use the Index of Dissimilarity to define diversity. Thus, their "diverse" neighborhoods are those which most closely resemble the demographics of the city (e.g. for the Chicago Metropolitan Area, that would be a neighborhood having 55% whites, 21% Latinos and 17% blacks). Under these criteria then, a 50-50% neighborhood (between whites and blacks) would be considered 'segregated'. In addition, Maly (2000) suggests an index of neighborhood diversity (ND), but also compares tracts' percentages with cities' percentages.

50-50% situation resembles the preferences of blacks to live in those neighborhoods (Krysan and Farley 2002, Schelling 1971). Using the IND then, the figures below show the position of each case (Cabrini Green and La Florida) in the histogram of neighborhood diversity in each city, and the location of each neighborhood in a map of diversity[4]. To deal with extreme cases, some authors recommend using 'negative' or 'background' cases as contrast, in order to compare the case with the inverse phenomenon (Collier and Mahoney 1996, Seawright and Gerring 2008). Figures 12, 13, 14 and 15 below show the position of the cases and also a 'negative case' and a 'typical case' in the diversity map and its histogram.

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[4] For the case of Chicago, the units of analysis were census tracts, and for the case of Santiago census zones ("zonas censales"), which are similar in size (the average area of census tracts in Near North Side (Cabrini Green's community area) is 53 hectares, while for census zones in La Florida is 61). In terms of stratification, the case of Chicago was analyzed using **percentages of white and black population** from Census 2010. In the case of Santiago in turn, I used a **marketing methodology of socioeconomic classification** (ESOMAR) with data from Census 2002. The data coming from this methodology, although highly questioned, was the only information at hand at the moment.

CABRINI GREEN: Selected area and IND scores
(Average IND for selected area: 0.19)

LINCOLN SQUARE
IND: 0.63 ('typical' case)

ENGLEWOOD
IND: 0.97 ('negative' case)

INDEX OF NEIGHBORHOOD
DIVERSITY

0.0 – 0.2

0.2 – 0.4

0.4 – 0.6

0.6 – 0.8

0.8 – 1.0
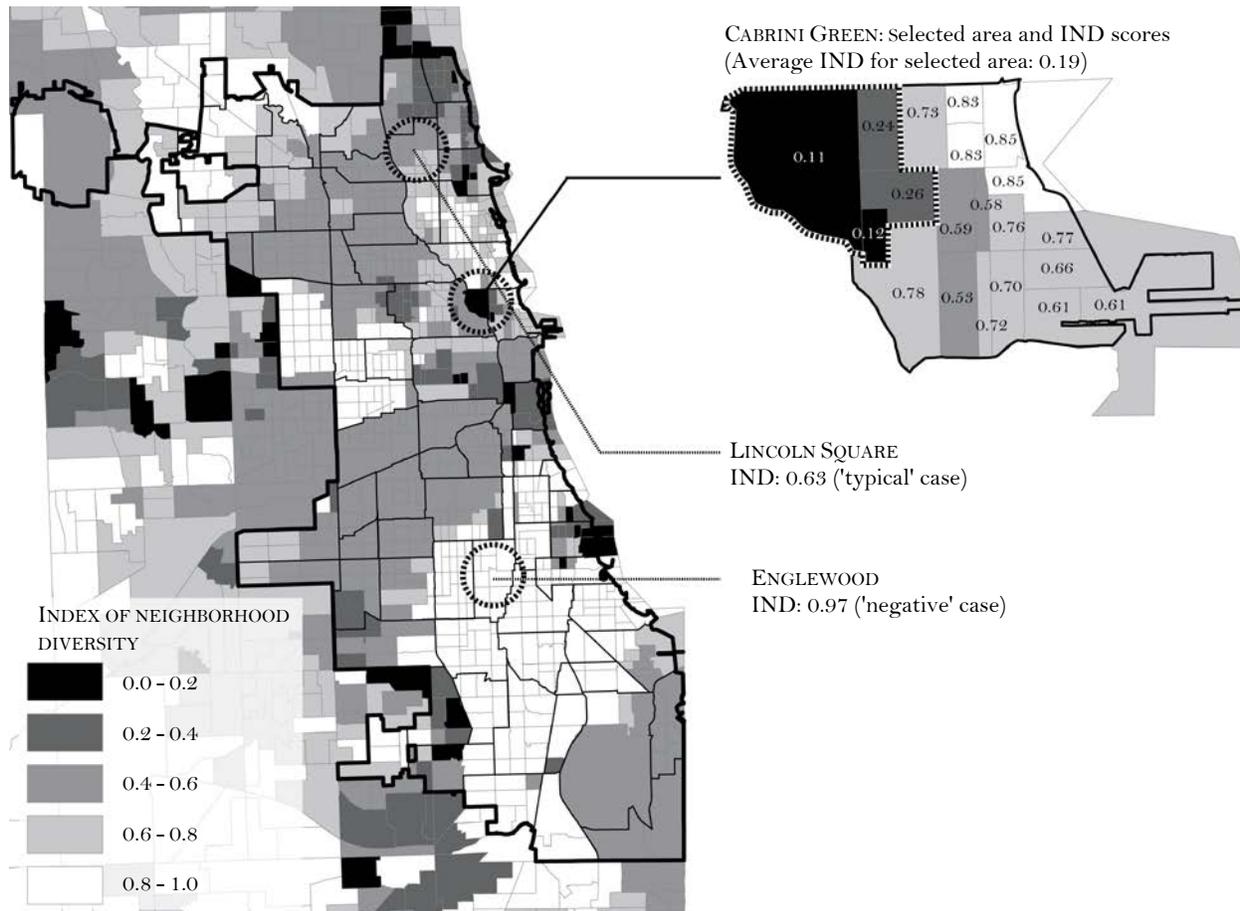
Figure 12: Map of neighborhood diversity (IND) in Chicago and selected case
SOURCE: self-elaboration from Census 2010
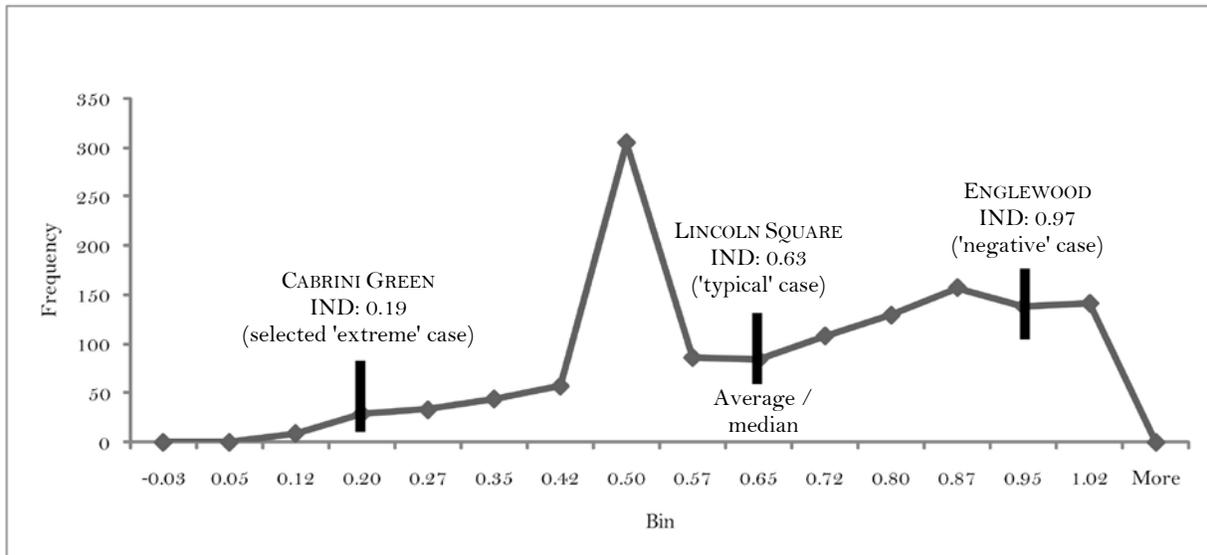
Figure 13: Histogram of the Index of Neighborhood Diversity (IND) for Chicago
SOURCE: self-elaboration from Census 2010
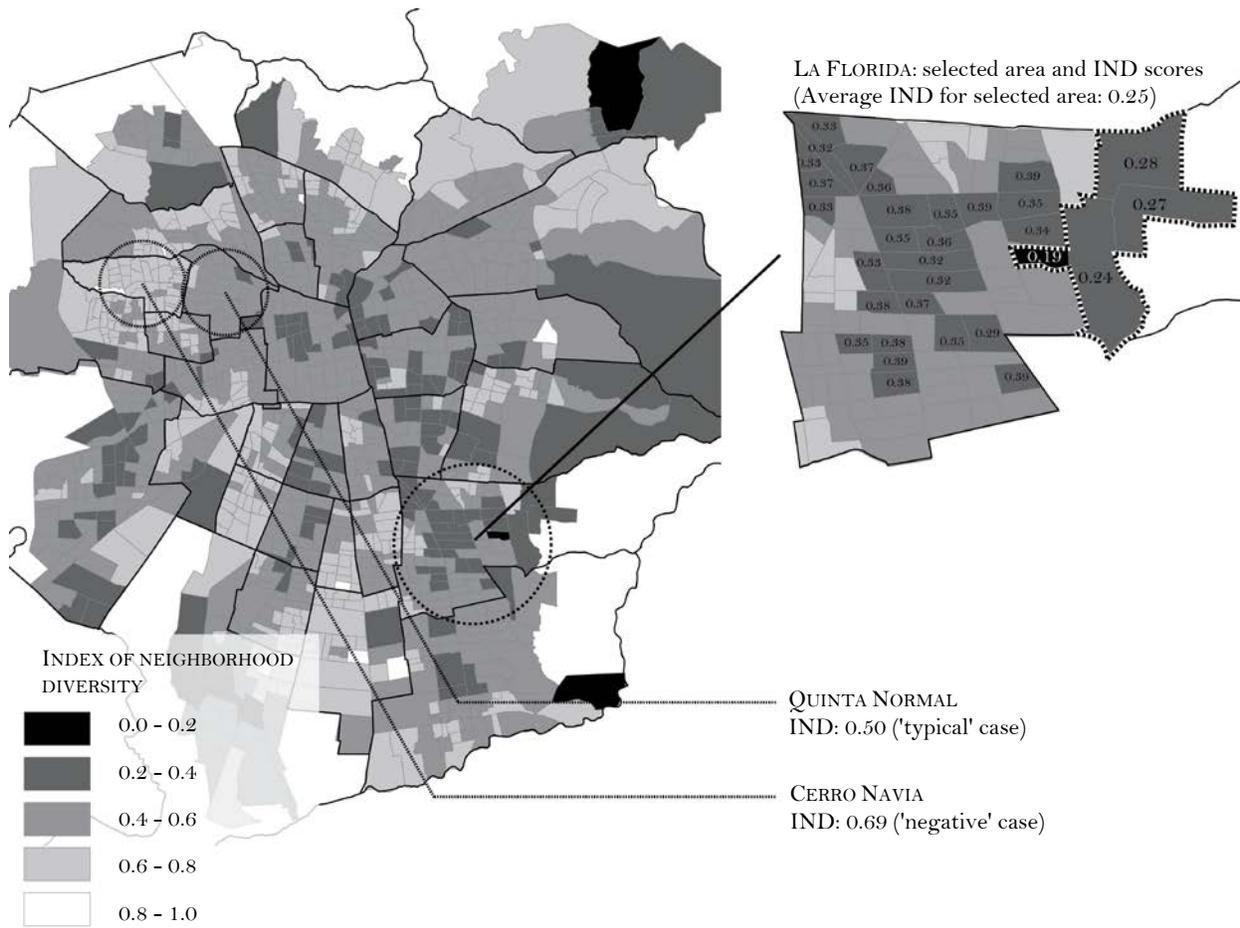
Figure 14: Map of neighborhood diversity (IND) in Santiago and selected case
SOURCE: self-elaboration from Census 2002
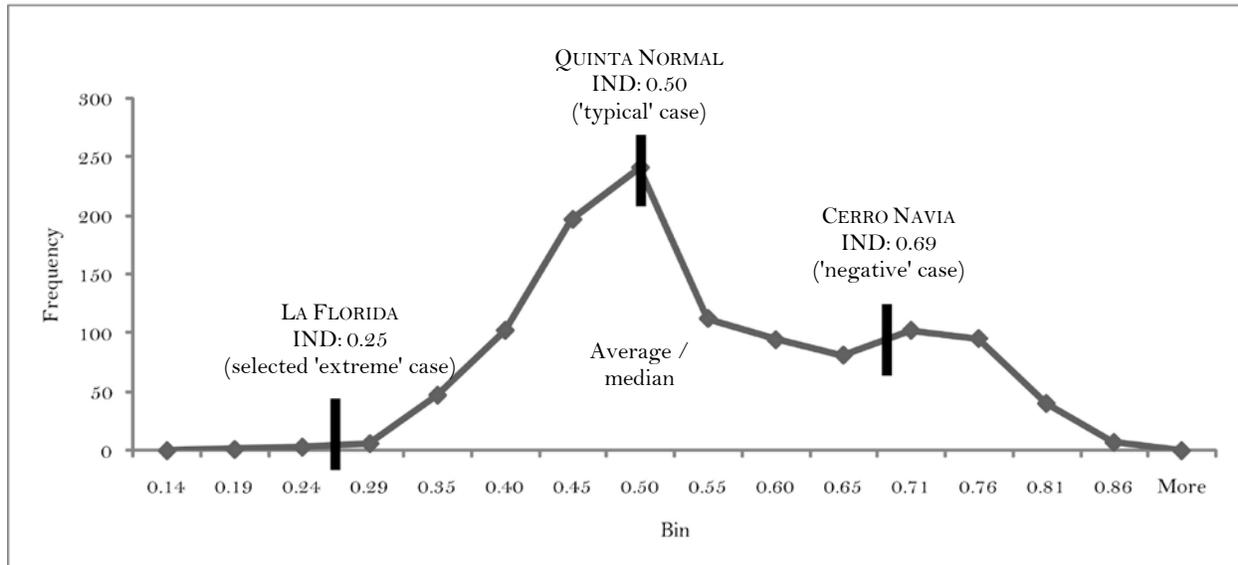
Figure 15: Histogram of the Index of Neighborhood Diversity (IND) for Santiago
SOURCE: self-elaboration from Census 2002

At first glance, one striking difference between Cabrini Green and La Florida, which undermines their comparability, is their relative position in the metropolitan area and their consequent urban and suburban nature. Cabrini Green has an urban character marked by multi-family buildings, commercial stores, and leisure infrastructure. In turn, La Florida has a suburban (or peripheral, in Chilean jargon) character marked by a majority of single-family housing, gated communities and shopping malls.

However, the urban and suburban density in both countries is particularly different. Given the amount of public space and non-residential areas, Santiago presents much higher densities than Chicago, in both central and peripheral neighborhoods. While the Near North Side (Cabrini Green's community area) has a density of 116 inhabitants per hectare, the selected area of Cabrini Green has only 37. And

while La Florida has a density of 116 inhabitants per hectare in most areas, the selected area has 48[5].

Besides, as Gans (1994) sustains, the socio-cultural differences in 'ways of life' between inner-city neighborhoods and suburbs are sometimes overestimated. In any case, this urban-suburban difference does not prevent the existence of neighborhood organizations, or the influence of social and political institutions. But beyond this difference, it is important to remark that the key common feature of both neighborhoods (Cabrini Green and La Florida) is their racial and socioeconomic diversity. It is the recent dynamics of this diversity which has profoundly altered the lives of poor residents in both areas, improving some situations and at the same time threatening their stability with the ghost of gentrification. And in particular, both cases represent examples of old sites of public housing that are now inundated by high-value Real Estate investments. Clearly, the playing fields for problems of segregation and integration are located in different parts in Chile (periphery) and in the US (inner cities). Then, beyond the urban-suburban location, the most important point is a particular struggle that cannot be easily found in other places.

The specific neighborhood boundaries of each case where defined in terms of some focal points of urban institutions and amenities (local schools, parks, supermarkets, etc.), encompassing an area that contained highly dissimilar groups in terms of power and status. No ideal type of community or neighborhood was sought, taking into account that generally, the poor are characterized by more reliance on the local community, while upper status residents have more spatially extended networks (Gans 1994).

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[5] However, the 4 selected census zones have highly variable densities: from 268 inhabitants per hectare in areas of predominant social housing to 22 in areas of predominant gated communities.

D. <u>Operationalization of socio-spatial integration and evidence sought</u>

To operationalize the research, I disaggregated several variables that are part of each of the defined dimensions of socio-spatial integration. In addition, I specified the type of evidence that was sought for each variable. First, Table XV defines variables and evidence for the Physical Dimension.

Table XV: VARIABLES AND EVIDENCE SOUGHT FOR THE PHYSICAL DIMENSION OF INTEGRATION

VARIABLES	EVIDENCE SOUGHT
Spatial configuration of exclusion / coexistence	Physical limitations for movement and access between the spaces of each group: analysis of urban layouts
Spatial distance between groups (clustering)	Observation of distances (or clustering) between groups, relative to other neighborhoods
Spatial isolation of groups	Observation of isolation between groups, relative to other neighborhoods

SOURCE: self-elaboration

As shown in the figure, the variables defined in this dimension demanded the use of spatial analysis and simple description from observations. Second, Table XVI defines variables and evidence for the Functional Dimension.

Table XVI: VARIABLES AND EVIDENCE SOUGHT FOR THE FUNCTIONAL DIMENSION OF INTEGRATION

VARIABLES	EVIDENCE SOUGHT
Spatial distance to opportunities and services	Perceptions of distance (physical, temporal or economic) to specific opportunities and services (jobs, schools, health services, public and private services, etc.), which can be within or out of the neighborhood
Quality of opportunities	Perceptions of the quality of those opportunities, and the potential accessibility for different groups (i.e. some may be targeted to specific groups)
Public and private institutions	Perceptions of the action and influence of public and private institutions within the neighborhood

SOURCE: self-elaboration

In this case, the variables defined demanded the use of qualitative methods, given the open-ended character of the evaluations, the need to explore these relationships in detail, and the particular meaning they could have for different people. Third, Table XVII defines variables and evidence for the Relational Dimension.

Table XVII: VARIABLES AND EVIDENCE SOUGHT FOR THE RELATIONAL DIMENSION OF INTEGRATION

VARIABLES	EVIDENCE SOUGHT
Hierarchical and non-hierarchical relations	Perceptions (and public display) of the level of subordination in the relationships maintained between different groups
Community organizations, political participation and leadership	Perceptions of the role of community-based organizations in dealing with the issues of inter-group coexistence and local politics
Cultural exchange and assimilation between groups	Perceptions (and public display) of the cultural assimilation (or exchange) between groups, based on their close coexistence
Social capital and social networks	Perceptions of intra- and inter-group social networks of support and advancement within the neighborhood

SOURCE: self elaboration

In this case, the variables also demanded the use of qualitative methods, for the same reasons of the functional dimension, and for the need to observe some relationships in real life situations (public display). And fourth, Table XVIII defines variables and evidence for the Symbolic Dimension, which also demanded the use of qualitative methods.

Table XVIII: VARIABLES AND EVIDENCE SOUGHT FOR THE SYMBOLIC DIMENSION OF INTEGRATION

VARIABLES	EVIDENCE SOUGHT
Symbols of identification	Perceptions (and public display) of symbols of identification (places, cultural activities, language, etc.) for different groups, being these convergent or divergent
Real and imaginary boundaries	Perceptions (and public display) of existing spatial boundaries for the activities of each group (not limited to housing)
Identity and differentiation	Perceptions (and public display) of group identity and group differentiation, being these convergent or divergent
Power from prior or projected cohesion: established v. outsiders, secure stability v. threatened stability	Perceptions of power differentials between those established and those that have arrived recently, or projected power between those with a secure stability and those with a threatened stability
Common perceptions about the neighborhood	Perceptions about the neighborhood regarding safety and attractiveness, being these convergent or divergent
Belongingness	Perceptions of belongingness (or rootedness) to the neighborhood among different groups
Symbolic presence of each group	Public display of the symbolic presence of each group: territoriality, spatial appropriations, etc.

SOURCE: self elaboration

E. **Data collection methods**

This research involved three stages of data collection: the first two collecting secondary data, and the third, and most important, collecting primary data.

First stage: *collection of case-history material* for each selected case. This provided a general background for data analysis in terms of the general and historical processes occurring in each neighborhood, and also their respective cities and countries.

Second stage: collection *quantitative spatial and socioeconomic information* from each neighborhood. This provided the basis for a brief neighborhood profile (see data analysis). Spatial data includes road accessibility, land uses, vacant land, and the location of different social groups at the block level. Socioeconomic data includes information about poverty, employment, occupation, income, educational attainment, overcrowding, single-parent families, housing rent burden, and housing and/or land value.

Prior to the third stage, an 'institutional inventory' was conducted, in order to learn -from key informants- the main institutions that have influence in each neighborhood. This was very important for the selection of institutional actors, for the questionnaires to residents, and for a further institutional analysis.

Third stage: *urban case studies*. Here I employed three data collection techniques: i) in-depth interviews, ii) field observations, and iii) spatial inventories. Instead of a single method, several techniques were used in order to avoid idiosyncratic findings.

First, *in-depth interviews* were directed primarily to lower status and upper status residents (the dissimilar groups), and secondarily to actors representing the main institutions involved. Interviews to residents were intended to discuss their local opportunities and functional exchanges, their relationships with 'their own' group and 'the other' group, and the identity, symbolism and attachment to their neighborhoods. Interviews to institutional actors provided an external account of the opportunities, relationships and identities expected and observed in the neighborhoods. In addition, interviews to these actors were crucial for evaluating the role of institutions in the maintenance or disruption of diversity over time; that is, a connection with the local political economies. In terms of

quantity, for each neighborhood I interviewed 20 lower status residents, 20 upper status residents, and 10 institutional actors, totaling 50 interviews.

Second, *field observations* were used to study individual and/or group behavior in key places of inter-race or inter-class contact, like schools, parks, local shops, etc. The idea here was to observe how social hierarchies and powerful identities are deployed in real-life situations. In terms of timing, for each neighborhood I conducted 20 observation sessions to key sites of 3 hours each one, totaling 60 hours of observation.

And third, *spatial inventories* of environmental elements in each neighborhood were conducted in order to understand how residents use and transform their space, and how they display their identities in the spaces they occupy. With these inventories, I observed spatial traces of the symbolic presence of each social group. In terms of timing, for each neighborhood I conducted 10 visits of 2 hours each one, totaling 20 hours of inventories. The main difference between these last two data collection techniques, is that field observations were aimed at observing and recording peoples' activities (through written field notes), and spatial inventories were aimed at observing and recording spatial and environmental elements (through mappings, annotations and photographs). Tables XIX, XX, and XXI below show the data collection times completed for each neighborhood, and for the entire fieldwork.

Table XIX: NET TIME SPENT IN DATA COLLECTION (PER NEIGHBORHOOD)

METHOD	VISITS	DESCRIPTION	TIME PER VISIT/SEARCH (HRS)	TOTAL TIME (HRS)	%
INTERVIEWS	50	Conduct of in-depth interview	1.5	75	48%
FIELD OBSERVATIONS	20	Observation in key sites	3	60	39%
SPATIAL INVENTORIES	10	Walking inventory	2	20	13%
NET TIME OF DATA COLLECTION (PER NEIGHBORHOOD)				155	100%

SOURCE: self-elaboration

Table XX: FIELDWORK TIMEFRAME PER NEIGHBORHOOD

ACTIVITY		TIMING
In-site data collection		155
Preparation time (2/3 data collection)[a]		103
Transcription of interviews		
Number of interviews	50	
Time for transcription (hrs)	4.5	
Total time transcription		225
First-round data analysis (1/1 data collection)		155
TOTAL TIME PER NEIGHBORHOOD (HRS)		638
Days *(8 hours per day)*		80
Weeks *(5 days per week)*		16
TOTAL MONTHS *(4.348 weeks per month)*		3.7

[a] Considers times moving to the site, contacting interviewees, printing material, unexpected issues, etc.
SOURCE: self elaboration

Table XXI: TOTAL TIME SPENT FOR FIELDWORK

COUNTRY: CITY	TIME PER NEIGHBORHOOD (HRS)	DEDICATION (PART-TIME, FULL-TIME)[a]	TOTAL TIME (HRS)	TOTAL TIME (MONTHS)
USA: Chicago	638	50%	1,277	7.3
Chile: Santiago	638	100%	638	3.7
Total time for fieldwork			1,915	11.0

[a] Due to teaching assistance commitments at UIC, I had part-time dedication in Chicago (50%), but full time dedication when in Chile (100%). Thus, the fieldwork in Chicago took longer, which is also positive considering that case studies began here.
SOURCE: self elaboration

In addition, Figure 16 establishes the relationship between the variables within each dimension of integration and the strategies of data collection.

VARIABLES   DIMENSIONS

D A T A   A N A L Y S I S

URBAN CASE STUDIES

HISTORIC MATERIAL

SPATIAL AND SOCIOECONOMIC INFORMATION

Institutional inventory

IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS

FIELD OBSERVATIONS

SPATIAL INVENTORIES

Spatial configuration of exclusion/coexistence
Spatial distance between groups (clustering)
Spatial isolation of groups

PHYSICAL DIMENSION

Spatial distances to opportunities and services
Quality of opportunities
Public and private institutions

FUNCTIONAL DIMENSION

Hierarchical and non-hierarchical relations
Community organizations, participation, leadership
Cultural exchange/assimilation between groups
Social capital and social networks

RELATIONAL DIMENSION

Symbols of identification
Real and imaginary boundaries
Identity and differentiation
Power from prior or projected cohesion
Common perceptions about the neighborhood
Belongingness
Symbolic presence of each group

SYMBOLIC DIMENSION

Figure 16: Relationship between variables and methods of data collection
SOURCE: self-elaboration

E.1 Eligibility criteria (and vulnerable populations)

The selection of subjects included lower status and upper status residents, and institutional actors. To be considered for participation, residents had to be living in the neighborhood for more than five years. 'Poor' or lower status residents, were selected differently in each country. For the US, I considered residents below the 'low income' limit (80% AMI), according to the income limits set by the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) for Cook County, Illinois (Department-of-Housing-and-Urban-Development 2012). For Chile, I considered residents ranking as group D or E in the socioeconomic scale of Adimark[6] (poorest 45% of Santiago's population). For both countries then, I considered poor and excluded residents (and minorities, for the US case) as vulnerable populations, since

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[6] This is a marketing methodology of socioeconomic classification (based on ESOMAR) with data from Census 2002. The classification of groups using this methodology, although highly questioned, is the only information at hand at this moment.

they are the most important groups for which integration should work. Upper status residents were selected differently in each country as well. For the US, I considered residents with a household income above $125,000 (richest 12.3% of Chicago's population). For Chile, I considered residents ranked as ABC1 in the Adimark scale (richest 10% of Santiago's population). Regarding institutional actors, for both countries this category included personnel from the local government (and specific subdivisions), local schools, Real Estate companies, chambers of commerce, banks, the local police, social service organizations, etc. To be considered for participation, institutional actors had to have more than five years of experience with issues related to the neighborhood. I did not interview elected officials, just technical and administrative personnel.

E.2 Selection of subjects, recruitment and informed consent

In-depth interviews were the only activities requiring the voluntary participation of subjects. To reduce the possibility of selection bias, prior to the selection of residents for interviews, some profiles were created to start with at least three resident types in each group and to represent their variety. These profiles were based on age, income, and household size. Then, residents were accessed from local organizations: community-based organizations, parents' organizations at local schools, religious organizations, municipal committees, etc. I requested these organizations the contact of residents who match the specific profiles. After accessing at least three resident types in each group, I followed the 'snowball technique' (or chain sampling); that is, I asked my interviewees for more referrals with similar characteristics in their local networks. Thus, the elaboration of different profiles within each group was crucial to reduce some biases, since the success of the snowball sampling depends heavily on the initial contacts and connections made.

Regarding institutional actors, the first step was to conduct the mentioned 'institutional inventory'. To do this, I contacted different local organizations and asked them about the main

institutions having influence in the neighborhood, especially regarding their role in the maintenance or disruption of diversity. Besides, I asked these organizations a specific contact in each institution, if they have it. The idea was to obtain a sample of organizations from the three sectors; the state (first sector), the market (second sector), and the civil society (third sector). Once these institutions were defined, I contacted them by email and/or phone, starting from the contacts given by local organizations.

As a general rule, interviews were conducted in a place selected by the interviewee. Prior to all interviews, I presented a letter of informed consent to the interviewees, let them read the information carefully, and offered clarifications in case of doubts before agreeing. The letter included general information about the institutions involved, the research goals, the content, length and indirect benefits of the interview, the protection of anonymity, and the possibility of refusing questions.

E.3 <u>Overall study management</u>

As mentioned, the present research comprised three steps of data collection: i) review of case-history material, ii) collection of spatial and socioeconomic information, and most importantly iii) urban case studies (including in-depth interviews, field observations, and spatial inventories). Table XXII summarizes the primary and secondary inputs, and the raw products for each method of data collection.

Table XXII: DATA COLLECTION METHODS, INPUTS AND PRODUCTS

METHOD OF DATA COLLECTION	PRIMARY DATA	SECONDARY DATA	RAW PRODUCT
COLLECTION OF HISTORIC MATERIAL	None	Public use academic material on the history of each neighborhood	Processed text
COLLECTION OF SPATIAL INFORMATION	None	Public use GIS data on road accessibility, land uses, vacant land, and location of different social groups at the block level	Processed GIS data
COLLECTION OF SOCIOECONOMIC INFORMATION		Public use information on poverty, employment, occupation, income, educational attainment, overcrowding, single-parent families, housing rent burden, and housing and/or land value	Processed quantitative information
IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS	In-depth interviews to residents and institutional actors	None	Audio files (recorded interviews) + text files (audio transcriptions)
FIELD OBSERVATIONS	Observations of individual/group behavior in places of inter-race/class contact	None	Text files (field notes)
SPATIAL INVENTORIES	Observation of environmental elements (inventory of uses of space)	None	Image files (photographs) + processed GIS data

SOURCE: self elaboration

In summary, there were two general types of data: public use data and primary data collected in the selected sites. As known, the public use data does not need to be protected since it has had measures that control its publication. However, primary data is subject to protection through some basic measures. As the table shows, there were four specific types of primary data: audio files, text files, image files, and processed GIS data. Thus, here I detail some general and specific measures taken, in order *to ensure subject safety* and *to protect confidentiality of data*.

E.3.1 General measures

All pieces of information were transformed into a digital format. Interviews were recorded in MP3 format, transcriptions were typed in DOC format, field notes were typed in DOC format, photographs were stored in JPG format, and spatial inventory information was stored in Shapefiles (GIS). All hard copies were destroyed (e.g. jotted notes and inventory maps). Since all raw products were digital files, they were stored in an external hard-drive of my own. This external hard-drive did not have remote access to the internet and was handled solely by me.

E.3.2 Specific measures

First, for in-depth interviews, after checking for possible mistakes, all audio files were deleted from my database. Next, actual names of interviewees were changed for nicknames in the transcriptions. Just one file was stored with the match of real names and nicknames. For any type of publication, only nicknames were (and will be) used, and descriptions of individuals ensured the protection of their identities. Individual files of interviews (DOC) were stored with consecutive numbers as the file name. Second, for field observations, in the writing of definitive field notes, there was no mention to specific places, and no mention to specific individuals that frequent those places; just general characterizations or fictitious names. Besides, to prevent adverse reactions, local organizations were notified of my presence in the field for field and spatial observations. And third, for spatial inventories, no pictures were taken to people. Inventory information did not contain any name or reference to some individual's home.

E.3.3 Multi-site issues

Since this research was conducted in two different countries, some additional measures were taken. First, in both countries, all information was stored in a fixed place, in which I was living during

fieldwork. In the case of Chicago, that place was my apartment, and in the case of Santiago, that place was my parent's house, in which I was staying for my entire stay in Chile. Second, when I was in the field, I was not carrying information older than one day. That is, all notes, pictures and recordings of interviews were stored at the end of every day of fieldwork (thus preventing any loss or theft), and all recording devices (notebook, tape recorder, camera, etc.) were emptied. And third, during the trips to and from Chile, I included an additional measure (besides the external hard-drive) to protect the information; all fieldwork data was uploaded to a web-based file hosting service (Dropbox), protected by a password, and to which I was the only person having access to it. After each trip (Chicago to Santiago, and Santiago to Chicago), I erased the information from the file hosting service.

F. **Data analysis: rationale and mechanics**

F.1 **Rationale for data analysis**

A first issue in the rationale for data analysis is a conception of neighborhoods as conjunctions of three interrelated components: a physical space, a social space, and a politico-institutional space. To analyze these three components, three types of analysis were interrelated; i) spatial analyses (evaluation of constraints or results from behavior), ii) analyses of residents (evaluation of their opportunities, relationships and identities), and iii) institutional analyses (local political economies, incidence of institutions in local issues).

A second issue was the framing of context. Here, context was provided by the articulation of three levels; a micro-level of the neighborhood, a mid-level of the city, and a macro-level of the country (Wacquant 2009). Specific problems to connect at these two upper levels were the influences of the combinations of race and class, the political economies influencing neighborhood change, and wider forces of fragmentation (welfare distribution in space). The most important data type at this level was the historical data, and the constant revision of related literature. Figure 17 shows the relationship

between types of data, neighborhood components, and levels of context. And Figure 18 shows the

connection between the data collected and the main research question.
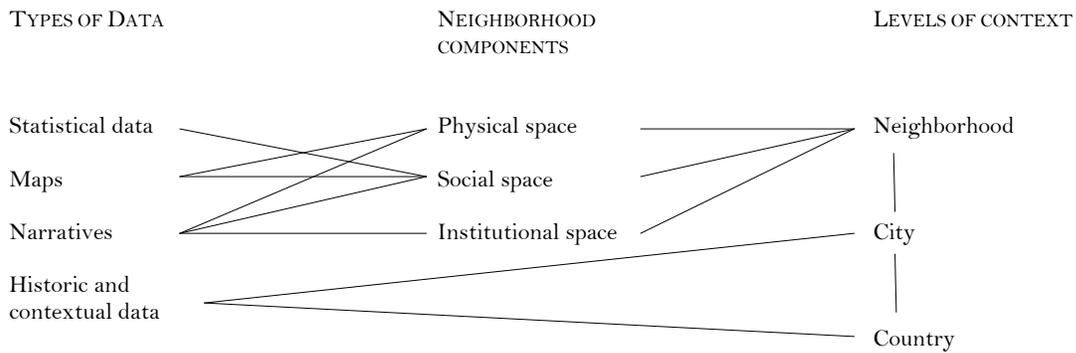
Figure 17: Relationship between types of data, neighborhood components, and levels of context
SOURCE: self-elaboration
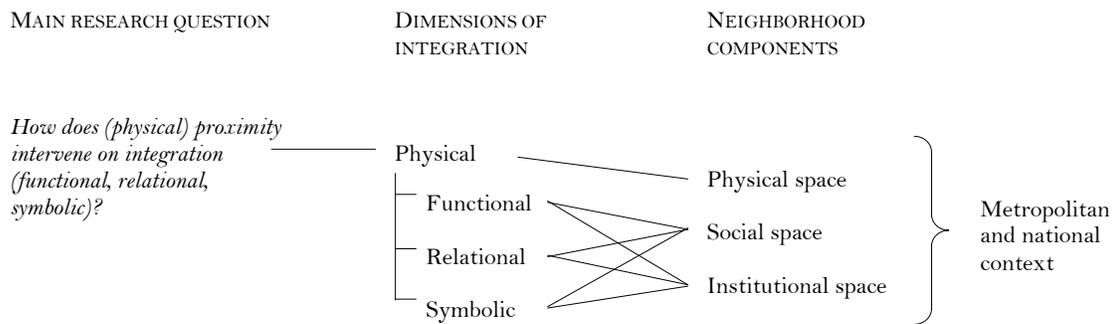
Figure 18: Connection between data and main research question
SOURCE: self-elaboration

A third issue in the rationale for data analysis was the intention to build a critical ethnographic case study. In this respect, Wacquant (2002b) observes three general problems in recent urban ethnographies in the US: a move from morality to moralism, the use of folk categories of perception as categories of analysis, and subservience to policy prescriptions. As I have mentioned for the study of gated communities in poor areas in Chile, a similar criticism could be applied to them as well. In a general critique to grounded theory approaches, Wacquant (2002b) comments on the empiricist separation between ethnography and theory in which, given the absence of links to material constraints and symbolic power, analysis is reduced to colloquial notions extracted acritically from subjects. Here, one can connect this with the role of interpretation in critical theory. Critical interpretation assumes a normative perspective; that is, practices are not only described as meaningful, but also as correct or incorrect. These interpretations criticize the reflexive knowledge of actors, and they do not simply repeat their explanatory understandings (Bohman 2005). Then, the critical ethnography that I tried to develop could be summarized in five ideas (Wacquant 2002b, 2009); i) connect the ethnographic work with theory and history at all stages, ii) approach the field with openness to learn, but with theoretical and methodological tools to construct the object, iii) connect micro-situations with macro-structural constraints (i.e. 'sociological imagination'), iv) take the understanding of actors in a critical way, and v) question all categories in use, separating colloquial from analytic categories. Similarly, as I mentioned from Burawoy (1998), there are four tenets of a reflexive science; intervention, process, structuration (of social forces affecting local settings), and theoretical reconstruction (more than representativeness of the case). To minimize the 'power effects' that usually threaten qualitative methods (Burawoy 1998), this study also made use of positive methods with basic spatial and socioeconomic information, strengthening the qualitative inferences.

And a fourth issue for the data analysis rationale was the challenges of the comparative method for this study. The comparative method encourages the exploration of diverse cases, examining different

forms, and explaining phenomena in terms of the causal complexities of each case (Ragin 1994).

Comparative research starts with previously identified categories, then observes emerging patterns of

similarities and differences among cases, and then revises analytic frames based on evidence (Ragin

1994). Thus, the understanding of individual cases was a crucial base for theoretical assertions, and

then, the specific patterns emerging from each case were contrasted between countries.

F.2 Mechanics of data analysis

The analysis of data involved five steps, two during fieldwork and three after fieldwork.

First step: creation of brief *neighborhood profiles* (during fieldwork). I used the spatial

components of this profile to describe the urban layout of the neighborhoods, with special attention to

the location of racial and/or socioeconomic groups, their distance, clustering, forms of enclosure,

accessibility, and their distance to specific local opportunities. I used the socioeconomic component of

this profile to describe the social and economic situation of the residents of each group with special

attention to issues marking their differences in power and status. Quantitative data here was processed

using statistical software (SPSS 17.0, MS Excel) and GIS software (ArcGis 10.0). The general idea of

the neighborhood profiles was to complete the 'objective' stage of a research outlined by Bourdieu

(1990); the idea of grasping the objective structures surrounding actions.

Second step: *first round of qualitative coding, writing of field notes and store of spatial*

data (during fieldwork). The first round of coding was intended to remain actively engaged with the

emerging themes of discussion, which is why it is important to conduct it during, and not after,

fieldwork. The coding began from the coding categories suggested by Saldaña (2009): descriptive

coding and in-vivo coding, separating different actors by categories (i.e. lower status, upper status,

institutional). Codes were theoretically-driven, but patterns of data suggesting new categories were

actively sought as well. All interviews were coded using qualitative data analysis software (Atlas.Ti 5.0).
Besides, field observations were written into completed field notes, classifying observations in
chronological order and using a third-person point of view. Finally, this step also included the store of
spatial data (from spatial inventories) into a single GIS project.

Third step: *second round of coding and spatial visualizations* (after fieldwork). In the second
round of coding, I coded the field notes (joining them to the interviews) and collapsed the excess of
codes into a more manageable number. Then, I created outputs from every code in Atlas.ti, and with
these outputs, I summarized the ideas present in every quote, so as not to lose richness of data. The
product of this was a written output (with bullet points and quotes) for each code in the analysis. And in
the spatial visualization, I created simple layouts from the categories appearing in the spatial
inventories.

Fourth step: some *analytic manipulations* based on Miles and Huberman (1994) (after
fieldwork):
   i) Putting information into different arrays. These different arrays were the three types of data
   that was collected (historical data, statistical data, maps and narratives).
   ii) Making a matrix of categories -for each case- and placing the evidence within such categories.
   These categories were the four dimensions of socio-spatial integration (physical, functional,
   relation and symbolic).
   iii) Creating data displays -flowcharts and other graphics- for examining the data. This acted as
   an index for the content of each dimension.

Fifth step: *theory building and reconstruction*, based on Yin (1994) general strategies for
analyzing case studies (after fieldwork). Here I started describing the cases in their main characteristics

using both qualitative and quantitative data. I contrasted qualitative findings with census, surveys, and case history. Then, I began to reconstruct theory from the literature review, the research questions and the research propositions, always trying to examine rival explanations. Finally, both cases (and both countries) were compared in their main themes, trying to account for differences, similarities and their specific causal complexities.

F.3 Limitations and delimitations

Limitations. Limitations are shortcomings, conditions or influences that cannot be controlled by the researcher, and that place restrictions on the methodology and conclusions (Denzin and Lincoln 2005). For this study, it may be evident that the findings could not be directly generalized to the entire population of US and Chilean cities. Given the particularities and specificities of Chicago and Santiago, other cities could not present the same problems, discourses and policy responses regarding segregation and integration.

Delimitations. Delimitations are choices made by the researcher and describe the boundaries set for the study (Denzin and Lincoln 2005). In this case, I did not study a single variable in depth. For example, a study of inter-race or inter-class friendship in mixed-income environments could have encouraged an entire dissertation. Instead, I preferred to make a comprehensive study taking all variables involved in neighborhood diversity and related to mixed-income policies.

G. Trustworthiness

Issues of validity and reliability are very important for qualitative research, but they are treated differently. Lincoln and Guba (1985) affirm that *trustworthiness* defines the scientific standard for qualitative research, in order to evaluate its worth. Compared to the four conventional terms of validity

and reliability in positivistic research, Lincoln and Guba (1985) propose equivalent terms for interpretive inquiry (see Table XXIII below).

Table XXIII: CRITERIA FOR TRUSTWORTHINESS IN QUALITATIVE STUDIES

CRITERION	POSITIVIST TERM	INTERPRETIVE TERM	DESCRIPTION
Truth value	Internal validity	Credibility	Confidence on the 'truth' of the findings
Applicability	External validity	Transferability	Show that the findings have applicability in other contexts
Consistency	Reliability	Dependability	Showing that the findings are consistent and could be repeated
Neutrality	Objectivity	Confirmability	The extent to which the findings of a study are shaped by respondents and not the researcher's bias

SOURCE: Lincoln and Guba (1985)

For this research, I took several measures to increase trustworthiness and to minimize common threats to validity. First, my mother language is Spanish and I am a native Chilean, so interviews in Chile were grounded in a prior understanding of contextual issues. Likewise, my life and studies in Chicago for almost five years, have given me enough knowledge of local problems and specific language usages. Second, data analysis was performed in the language of each country, and just the final selected quotes were translated to English. Thus, the traditional 'rich descriptions' of qualitative research were tied to the local language as much as possible. Third, I selected neighborhoods where none of the important actors knew me, to minimize threats to validity arising from personal bias toward participants or individuals named by them. Fourth, using multiple data collection strategies (triangulation), the project minimized idiosyncratic findings. Fifth, partial results were discussed with

local experts, in Chicago and Santiago, in order to check for possible contextual misunderstandings (i.e. peer debriefing). Table XXIV summarizes the measures taken in this study to ensure trustworthiness.

Table XXIV: CRITERIA FOR TRUSTWORTHINESS IN QUALITATIVE STUDIES AND MEASURES TAKEN

INTERPRETIVE TERM	MEASURES TAKEN
CREDIBILITY	Knowledge of cases: native Chilean and living in Chicago for 5 years Selection of neighborhoods were nobody knows me Triangulation Peer debriefing Search for negative cases and develop alternative explanations
TRANSFERABILITY	Rich description Analysis in local language 'Decentralized snowball sampling' Descriptive statistics
DEPENDABILITY	Peer debriefing Triangulation
CONFIRMABILITY	Peer debriefing

SOURCE: adjusted to my project from Erlandson et al. (1993)

H. Partial conclusions: significance of the study

In the United States, residential segregation has been one of the most enduring problems of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. While it has adopted different forms over time, the forces that produce social exclusion and unequal opportunities still persist. Moreover, the policies implemented in the name of integration have had a profound impact, changing the very meaning of the word. As a result, the exclusive focus has been on spatial proximity, dispersion practices, and the domination of behavior and culture. The situation in Chile reveals a different stage of development. Over the past 30

years, the major Chilean cities have grown with a remarkable pattern of residential segregation and poverty concentration. The imperative to overcome the housing deficit introduced a system of subsidies for housing supply and an increasing liberalization of land markets. In this context, the Chilean government has gradually begun to acknowledge the emergence of this new problem, and consequently, to assume new challenges for housing policy, as a response to various academic studies and the demands from civil society. While this seems to move towards social integration, it still does not have adequate tools for effective achievements. As a result, there is a strong possibility to experience the same problems revealed in the United States. Therefore, for both countries is important to think in a comprehensive and critical framework to develop integration policies that go beyond mere residential proximity. And most importantly, a comparative theoretical framework of socio-spatial integration is needed in order to prevent policy transfers that are neither culturally sensitive nor relevant.

VI. THE CASE OF CABRINI GREEN-NEAR NORTH IN CHICAGO

At Eva's Café, a non-chain and upscale coffeehouse at Sedgwick Street, upper-middle class, white yuppies sit with their Apple laptops on cushy chairs, in front of a fireplace. The cozy atmosphere allows young professionals to look at the winter storm through the large windows. But what you can also see is the perfectly opposite situation by the other side of Sedgwick; one of the two prison-like entrances of Marshal Field Apartments, a large subsidized housing project, inhabited by approximately 1500 poor African Americans, who are harassed by the police and avoided by whites when they go out.

This snapshot shows the reality of what most demographic analyses would classify as *'integrated neighborhoods'*; people from highly different backgrounds, racially and socioeconomically, sharing the same geographic space. But in sociological terms, this is far from representing integration. The two groups in this case are worlds apart; they do not go to school or church together, walk in different sidewalks, frequent different public spaces, and when they meet in front of each other, they hardly say 'hello'. In the words of an interviewee, they live *"geographically close, but realistically very far"*. Wealthier residents in this area have established as outsiders, but had gained enough power to further stigmatize the poor population, and exert pressures to prevent the construction of more affordable housing.

This chapter describes the case-study developed in Cabrini Green-Near North in three sections. First, I describe the Cabrini Green-Near North area in Chicago, in terms of historical and socio-demographic aspects. Second, I describe the opportunities in this area in terms of job prospects, the role of key institutions and the local political economies driving neighborhood change. Third, I show the

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established intergroup relationships, the use of public space and issues of safety. And I finish with some partial conclusions on the mentioned four dimensions of socio-spatial integration (physical, functional, relational and symbolic), and on the discourses of diversity.

A. The Cabrini Green - Near North area

As an example of urban diversity I chose the Cabrini Green-Near North area in Chicago; delimited by North Avenue on the north, Chicago Avenue on the south, Sedgwick and Orleans streets on the east, and Halsted Street on the west[1]. Figure 19 shows the limits of the area and the location of different types of affordable housing.

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[1] The area of the neighborhood is approximately 132 hectares, and the present density is approximately 69 inhabitants per hectare.
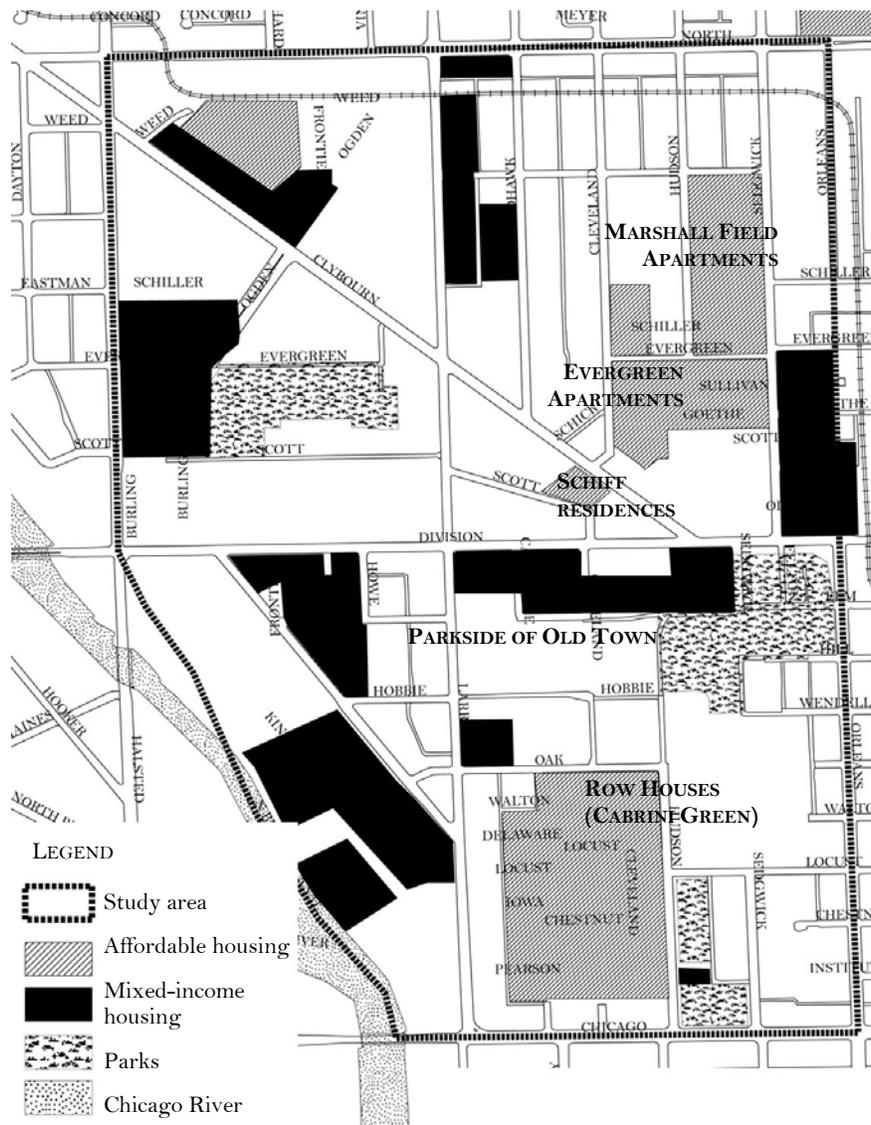
Figure 19: Limits of the studied area and different types of affordable housing
SOURCE: self-elaboration

Cabrini Green was a huge public housing project within the wealthy Near North Side, inhabited

by a wide majority of African-Americans. The project was developed in three stages; the Frances

Cabrini Homes ('the row houses', low rise) in 1942, Cabrini Homes Extension ('the reds', mid and high

rise) in 1957, and the Green Homes ('the whites', high rise) in 1964. From a highly diverse population in

the beginning, Cabrini Green later became an almost 100% black area. Several milestones marked its

development, like the riots after the assassination of Martin Luther King in 1968, the murder of two

policemen in 1970, the stay of Major Jane Byrne for a few weeks in 1981, and the murder of a 7 year old

in 1992. Between 1994 and 1995, the City of Chicago received Hope VI grants and started the

demolition of some parts of the project to open room for mixed-income housing. In 1997, The Near

North Redevelopment Initiative is presented (master plan for demolition of Cabrini Green) and two

years later the CHA announces its Plan for Transformation, including Cabrini as one of the main focus.

Although the row houses still remain[2], the last high-rise building was demolished in 2011. Figure 20

shows the evolution of the black and white population through all these changes.

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[2] The row houses are used in less than 20% of their capacity, in a row of rehabbed units on Cambridge street. There is a controversy right now, whether the remaining units (vacant and not rehabbed yet) are going to be reoccupied as mixed-income (the position of the CHA) or as 100% public housing (the position of the Cabrini Green's Local Advisory Council).
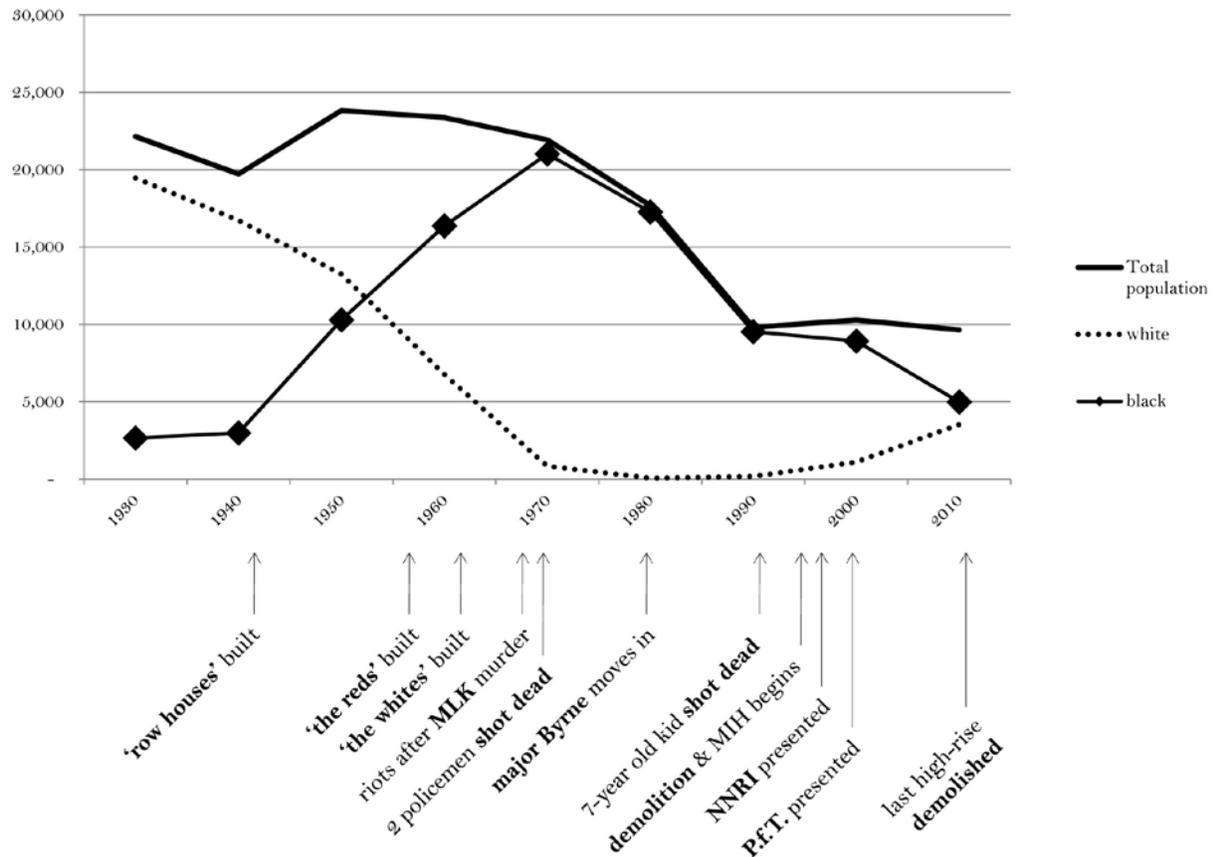
Figure 20: Historical population change, 1930-2010
SOURCE: self-elaboration from Oxford-University-Press (2010), and University-of-Minnesota (2005)

Thus, after decades of concerted efforts of social, economic, and political disinvestment (Goetz

2013), Cabrini Green is being transformed into a diverse area colonized by new-urbanist, mixed-income

developments, raising the threat of gentrification. Cabrini Green and the neighborhood around it

present a long history of diversity, segregation, racial struggles, and recent attempts to erase its history

(Bennett and Reed 1999, Pfeiffer 2006, Whitaker 2000). At present, many old residents are displaced

(because of the demolitions), waiting with their 'right to return' for the construction of public housing

units within mixed-income developments (which in turn is stagnated since the last housing crisis in 2008). The old Cabrini residents have struggled and resisted with several lawsuits against the CHA and the City of Chicago, with arguments based mostly on their 'right to the city'; a right to stay in the neighborhood in which they have spent most of their lives (Pfeiffer 2006). Anyway, the rationale to create a mixed-income project in Cabrini Green could be summarized in the words of a Chicago Housing Authority's (CHA) public official:

> *The general idea of mixed income is to discontinue the isolation of low income families in high density housing,* **attract higher incomes** [people]**, which would attract services and business to areas that might <u>not normally</u> come**, *and opportunities for growth…* [emphasis added]

There have been several socially engineered neighborhoods in Chicago, but Cabrini Green stands as the most controversial for its placement in the affluent area of Near North Side, its wide range of racial and socioeconomic diversity, and its paradigmatic past of stigmatized high-rise public housing. While there are some organizations working towards social cohesion, several individual, collective and institutional forces maintain poor blacks and upper status residents living in a *"diverse and dissected"* environment, as one black activist told me in an interview.

At present, holding a population of almost 10,000 people within the mentioned limits, this area presents racial, socioeconomic, and housing diversity. In racial terms, the main groups are blacks at 52% and non-Hispanic whites at 37% (the same groups were 87% and 10% in 2000, respectively). In socioeconomic terms, 54% of households are part of the lowest and second income quintiles (of Chicago MSA), and 36% are from the fourth and fifth quintiles (the same groups were 71% and 20% in 2000, approximately). But this does not mean that all blacks are poor in this neighborhood; 15% of black households are part of the three upper quintiles (similar in 2000). Figure 21 shows a map of the

percentage of black population in the studied area. Table XXV shows a summary of demographic
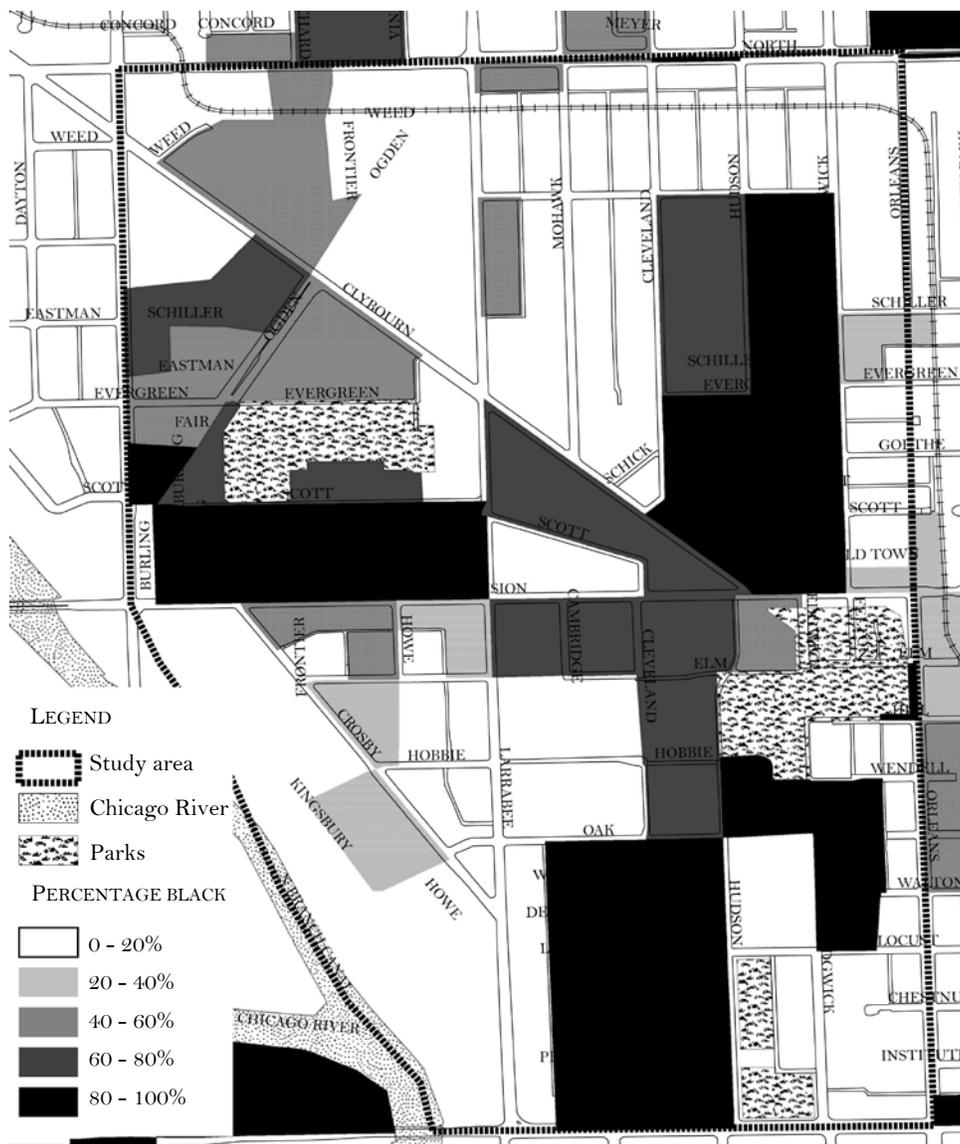
changes.

Figure 21: Percentage of black population per block
SOURCE: self-elaboration from Census 2010

Table XXV: DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGES IN THE CABRINI GREEN – NEAR NORTH AREA,
2000-2010

	2000	2010
Total population	10,290	9,645
Percentage black	86.7%	51.7%
Median income (in 2011 dollars)	$24,450	$32,500
Percentage with income over $50,000 (in 2011 dollars)	27.7%	44.9%
Percentage homeowners	12.1%	27.8%
Percentage of families that are poor	54.3%	42.4%
Total housing units	4,455	5,558
Average housing value	$388,695	$526,817
Average housing rent	$222.00	$745.39

SOURCE: self-elaboration from US Census 2000 and US Census 2010

Regarding housing, there are a number of situations. For the poor population, there are public housing units (the remaining Cabrini Green row houses), CHA units in mixed-income developments (in CHA land or in private projects), section-8 units in non-governmental projects (Marshall Field and Evergreen), and an SRO building (Schiff residences). And for the middle and upper-middle class population, there are affordable housing units and condo units in mixed-income developments and in other multifamily housing, and single family units. Table XXVI shows the changes in subsidized housing, highlighting the displacement of low income black population. Figure 22 shows the old Frances Cabrini Row Houses (still existing) and the new Parkside of Old Town (mixed-income).

Table XXVI: CHANGES IN SUBSIDIZED HOUSING, 1998-2008

	1998	2008	DIFFERENCE
Occupied units	3,736	2,305	1,431
Public housing	1,970	918	1,052
Others (S-8, S-236, LIHTC, etc.)	1,766	1,387	379
Population in housing	10,715	5,134	5,581
Black population	10,181	4,866	5,315

SOURCE: estimation from Department-of-Housing-and-Urban-Development (1998-2008)

Figure 22: Row Houses on the left and Parkside of Old Town (mixed-income) on the right
SOURCE: Author's photographs.

The data for this chapter is based on eight months of qualitative research. As mentioned in the Research Design chapter, I used three types of qualitative information: i) interviews to lower status

residents, upper status residents, and key local institutions[3], ii) field notes from meetings of the Near North Unity Program (NNUP)[4], observations of several spaces of inter-group encounter[5], and a thanksgiving joint celebration that joined 10 local churches, and iii) 'spatial inventories' in which I located and mapped traces of the symbolic presence of each group. Among interviewed residents, I assume three axes of differentiation; i) established/newcomers, ii) low-income/higher-income, and iii) black/white. The first two axes were overlapped. On one hand, established people pertained to the old community of low income housing developments (Cabrini Green, Marshall Field, Evergreen, and Schiff), with many of them born and raised in the area. On the other hand, newcomers were all middle and upper-middle class looking for a good housing deal in this prime real estate land. But the third axis was less strict; while established low-income residents were almost 100% black, the better-off newcomers were majority white, with a sizeable black component, as I have mentioned.

I started doing observations and spatial inventories to get a grounded knowledge of the territory. Then, my first interview was with a local leader for public housing, who introduced me in the Near North Unity Program (NNUP) meetings. And it was in these meetings where I got the majority of my contacts for interviews. The NNUP meetings were definitely a space of open conflict, where the most opposite positions clashed. For that reason, attendance to these meetings was composed of 'regulars' and 'visitors'. 'Regulars' were active residents from both groups who were highly committed to the(ir) community and attended almost all meetings, and 'visitors' were residents from both groups who, seeing either the conflicts or the vagueness of the call for social cohesion, attended just one time. I

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[3] I conducted 20 interviews to lower status residents (100% black), 20 interviews to upper status residents (21% black, 79% white), and 10 interviews to key local institutions (2 schools, 2 churches, 1 alderman, 1 social service organization, Police Department, Park District, 1 developer, and 1 representative from the CHA).

[4] A partnership among Chicago's 27th Ward, neighborhood leaders, community residents, local schools, businesses, faith leaders, community organizations, Chicago Park District, Chicago Housing Authority and others with support from the Local Initiatives Support Corporation Chicago (LISC). Although conflictive, this was the only instance in which low income and higher income people met and discussed community issues during my fieldwork.

[5] Starbucks, Seward Park, Stanton Park, Dominick's, Public Library, Subway and nearby stores, and a specific sidewalk between an old liquor store and an old grocery store (both targeted to poor blacks).

got the rest of the contacts in places of intergroup encounter, like the Dominick's supermarket, and those interviewees ended up being less active and more disconnected.

B. Opportunities: the feeling of being pushed out from every space available

B.1 Job Opportunities

In a cold day of February, I was trying to recruit my last interviewees from a public space. I went to Dominick's, a supermarket located in the middle of the neighborhood. It is placed on an upscale shopping mall (Old Town Square), where the old Cooley High School (the one from the movie) was located, and later demolished and its students transferred to other establishments. Since I was interested in the opportunities that the changes in the neighborhood have provided to residents, I was looking for some employees at Dominick's that were also residents in the area. In several interviews I was told that Dominick's was one of the main employers for the area, and that at least at the opening (early 2000s) most employees were residents. Trying to check that, I started to ask, one by one. To my surprise, although all employees were black, none of them were living in the neighborhood, just one woman that lived there until 2005. Even the management personnel were surprised.

Continuing my search, I went to an upscale Starbucks coffee shop on Clybourn, within the same shopping mall. The employees were changing the shift; a pair of white young guys were leaving, and a pair of young black guys were arriving. None of them were residents, and after asking, I learned that none Starbucks' employees live in the area. I was running out of time, since I arranged an interview at Mercy Housing, a new single-room occupancy (SRO) housing development comprising 96 units, which is occupied mostly by poor African-Americans. My appointment was with Rodney, a 40 year old low-income African American man, who received me in one of the meeting rooms of the building, and brought some friends to share their experiences. He and his friends showed me how optimistic they were about the commitment that the alderman got about bringing 75 jobs for residents from a new

Super Target that is being built on Larrabee and Division. Figure 23 shows the construction of the new store.

Figure 23: Construction of new Super Target
SOURCE: author's photographs

These new openings seemed to give them hope for their future. But the reality of a 29,6% of unemployment for blacks in the neighborhood (compared to a 1.9% for whites), illustrates a very

different picture. Table XXVII shows the changes in unemployment rates, and Table XXVIII shows the race of individuals employed in the Cabrini Green-Near North Area.

Table XXVII: UNEMPLOYMENT RATES BY RACE, CABRINI GREEN-NEAR NORTH AREA, 2000-2010

	2000	2010	DIFFERENCE
Total area	21.8%	12.5%	-9.3%
Whites	1.7%	1.9%	0.2%
Blacks	28.4%	29.6%	1.1%

SOURCE: self-elaboration from US Census 2000 and US Census 2010

Table XXVIII: JOBS BY WORKERS' RACE, 2009-2010 (EMPLOYED IN THE AREA)

	2009	2010
Whites	73.80%	75.20%
Blacks	18.30%	17.50%

SOURCE: US-Census-Bureau (2013)

One of the main assumptions of mixed-income housing, and of demographically diverse neighborhoods in general, is that there will be more and better opportunities for the lower-status

population, as the CHA official describes above. The assumption is that, without any institutional change in the allocation and redistribution of resources, the mere arrival of upper-income neighbors would bring a virtuous circle that would offer low-status people an expanded 'geography of opportunity' (Galster and Killen 1995). However, the reality could not be farther from that. The majority of the jobs available in the neighborhood are service industry jobs; Dominick's, Starbucks, Subway, Panera Bread and many other stores that have been established in recent years, due to the arrival of upper-income residents. However, the percentage of the workforce living and employed in the Cabrini Green-Near North area is extremely low; it fluctuates between 2.5% to 4.5%, or between 114 to 166 people (US-Census-Bureau 2013). Then, the 75 job positions offered by Target would increase in 1.6% the workforce living and employed in the area (US-Census-Bureau 2013), and decrease the unemployment of low income blacks in 4% (from 29.6% to 25.6%). But even with this addition, the differences in amount and quality of employment are wide, and have not changed since the arrival of upper status residents. Marquis, a black low income organizer explains how promises have not really been met:

> *…according to the Section-3 Federal guidelines… that people… when is public housing communities (…) this was supposed to be a priority in a hiring practice… but we don't always see that… you know, we see a development like Target going up in this community… and we make up less, 0.5% in the workforce, not even 1% in the workforce (…) so where there should exists opportunities, there is not…*

Aisha, a black local leader of Cabrini Green also comments on the general past and present opportunities.

> *…there used to be opportunities here… we used to have more after-school programs, we used to have more training programs… used to be more training for adults… everything used to be more welcoming… and it's not as welcoming as it used to be… and the area it starting to… like blacks are the invisible people… but they're not!...*

And Marquis continues, with other barriers interwoven in the lack of improved employment:

…the CHA in most of its projects, got to have to honor and respect the project labor agreement… that's in place in the City of Chicago, pertaining to the union… and if you're not a union card carrying member… you could not get access to these jobs and opportunities, although you're staying at the community (…) like, we have so many laborers in the community… but nobody is going to hire them… because they haven't worked (…) in a year or two… and if you haven't worked in a year or two, it's going to be pretty hard to keep up with the $1,000 union fee…

The availability of service jobs as the only opportunity for low-income residents is clearly part of the general trend of bifurcation between standard and non-standard jobs, or 'primary segment' and 'secondary segment' jobs (Kalleberg, Reskin, and Hudson 2000). Keisha, a low income black resident describes the low quality of this type of employment:

…for low-income or anyone at this point in the market… the only jobs that seem to be available are service jobs… and service, I mean… at any grocery store, a little restaurant, or something… are the jobs which would not afford anyone to come up… **the jobs that teenagers used to have as part-time jobs, are now being held by adults, and even elderly***… or just say older workers, so… no, I don't think, in this area (…) anyone to find any really good paying job…* [emphasis added]

Minny, a black resident of the row houses also describes the difficulties of getting a service job.

I think it's really hard… you have to know somebody, and most of the diversity is a closed… closed type of community… whereas they [new stores] brought all their workers with them (…) they're not very good… they're barely buy-type jobs… people have to work long hours to make… and the rents are based on your income…

To make things worse, service jobs rely strongly on communication skills, especially after the so-called Great Recession. This hinders the possibility of low income blacks to get included because of their segregated socialization, and the discrimination from upper status residents to their language usage and self-presentation. Thomas, a white condo owner describes this from his viewpoint:

*…I deal with a lot of people, and people… they're very… (…) most of the people I meet here…
are poor Africans Americans here… most of them have very poor social skills… (…) they can't
even speak clearly or dress in an appropriate manner… or have characteristics that a lot of the
people here expect from, even the service industry… (…) it's very difficult because now you're
looking for jobs where they're not… customer facing (…) so, a lot of people need to be training in
like how to… like customer services, or people aspects…*

But on the other side, Candice, an SRO resident, complains how discriminatory these requirements are for blacks, making the comparison with immigrants, like Indians or Chinese:

*…I'm an African American, I'm black… I can't work in a decent establishment without speaking
correct English, without sounding, without people understanding me… otherwise they say "well,
you won't fit in here"… but everybody else can come and speak all crazy, and then they say… "oh,
they're acceptable though"… but we're not… you know what I'm saying?*

Most upper-income residents believe that the changes in the neighborhood are bringing more opportunities to low-income blacks. They reproduce the same discourse of the CHA that high income people will bring resources for the lower classes, and once opportunities are there, it is only the individual's responsibility to take them and meet the American Dream, as some upper-middle class residents reported to do during their lives. But they are not aware of all the mentioned barriers, and not aware of all the opportunities that were removed with the demolitions. Low income interviewees reported how Cabrini Green itself, as a massive housing development, provided several jobs for resident assistance, janitorial services, outreach workers, etc. Moreover, several social service providers were assisting the population in the past, but now most of them are gone. The alderman, an old Cabrini resident, describes this situation:

*…Cabrini Green doesn't qualify as a needed community anymore, because incomes [in the
overall area] are too high… and so, it's no under those designated areas that qualify for a lot of
different low-income services, because the majority of the people aren't low income anymore…*

This illustrates how a housing policy like social mix, is disconnected from other policies targeting poor areas. And this can have two different readings. One possibility is that some time is needed to adjust the territorial distribution of the work of social service providers given this new, less segregated scenario (at least in demographic terms). And another is the implicit assumption that if welfare benefits and services are decreasing, it is the middle class, living in proximity to the lower class in mixed-income neighborhoods, which will be in charge of providing more opportunities either directly by new social networks, or by mere trickling-down.

The narratives about where to find employment, from both groups of residents, also contradict the presuppositions of mixed-income policies. On one side, low income blacks claim that they can find employment anywhere in Chicago, not necessarily in the Cabrini Green-Near North area. Aisha, a black local leader, says people can work everywhere.

> Javier: *these examples that we were talking about, like people employed at Dominick's for example… before, they didn't have those opportunities… or they have others?*
> Aisha: *they can work in the Dominick's in Chicago…. They work in Jewel's… they work at any store in the area that they want to make it… because they decide that they will get up and they will go to work, and do as all Americans do…*

On the other side, upper-class residents think that low income blacks demand jobs for which they are not qualified. David, a white condo owner explains this:

> *…everybody that I've met there* [NNUP *meetings*], *that spoke up… want something because they're black, not because they have skills… and I think that's the problem, is that you can be black…* **but you've got to have the skills that other races have gone for***…*
> [emphasis added]

B.2 Education Opportunities

Local schools are also a vital part in the existing opportunities for low-income blacks. However, schools have operated in such a way that have pushed this group out from every space available, and have maintained and even increased their segregation. Although most upper-income residents do not have school age children, most of those who have, put their kids in private, selective enrollment, magnet, or charter schools. In other words, they have avoided neighborhood schools, whose students are almost 100% black, and almost 100% low income (Chicago-Public-Schools 2013, Illinois-State-Board-of-Education 2013, National-Center-for-Education-Statistics 2013). In the times of Cabrini Green, there were five neighborhood schools receiving the children of its residents: Truth, Schiller, Byrd, Manierre and Jenner. Truth School was closed and its students were put into Schiller. Then, Byrd was closed and its students were transferred to Jenner. Next, Schiller was closed and its students were put into Jenner. And during this year's campaign to close more schools in Chicago, Manierre is scheduled to be closed and merged into Jenner; the only neighborhood school remaining, and whose new building was part of the Plan for Transformation[6]. Moreover, the building structures of these schools have been converted into private, selective enrollment and charter schools, leaving just a few options for Cabrini residents. Figure 24 illustrates the transformations of elementary schools and their building structures.

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[6] At present, according to Jenner School's staff, about 50% of students come from out of the neighborhood. That is, given the displacement and their persisting willingness to return, parents have kept their children enrolled at Jenner.
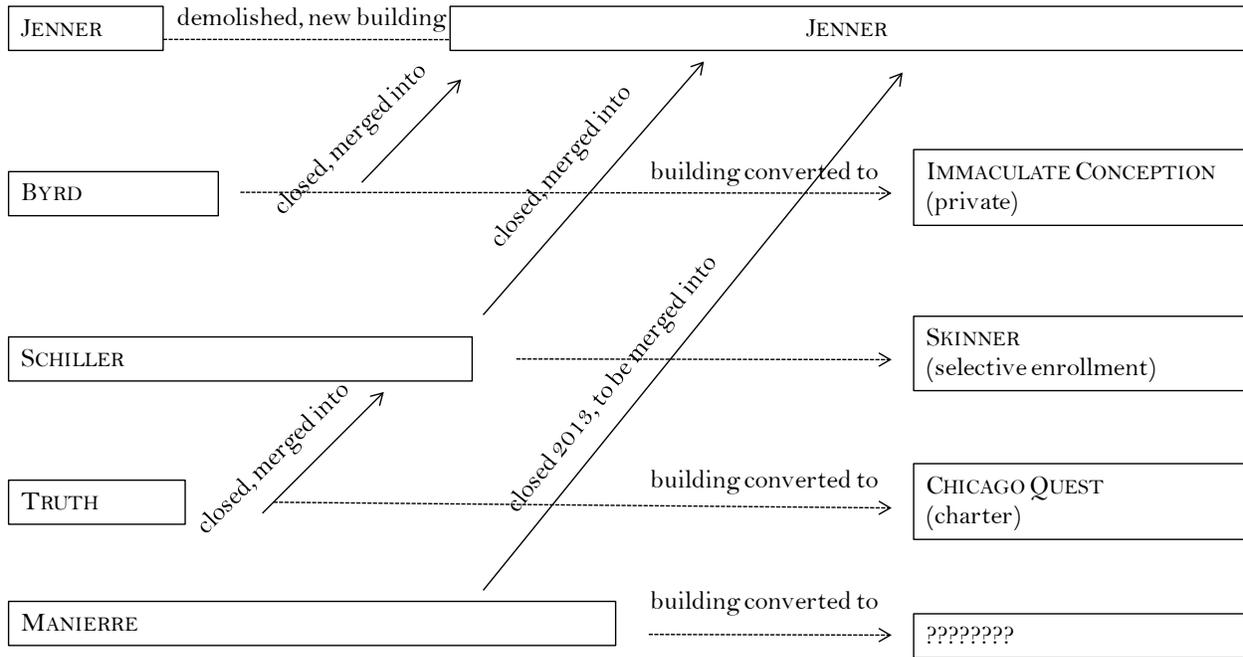
Figure 24: Closings and merging of neighborhood elementary schools
SOURCE: self-elaboration

A similar story happened with local high schools. Colley High School was closed, its students put into Near North Career Metropolitan (NNCM) and its building structure demolished and turned into the Old Town Square shopping mall. NNCM was later closed, its students sent to Wells, Lincoln Park or the successful (but selective enrollment) Walter Payton, and its structure temporarily used as a police and fire fighter training site. Figure 25 illustrates the transformations of local high schools.
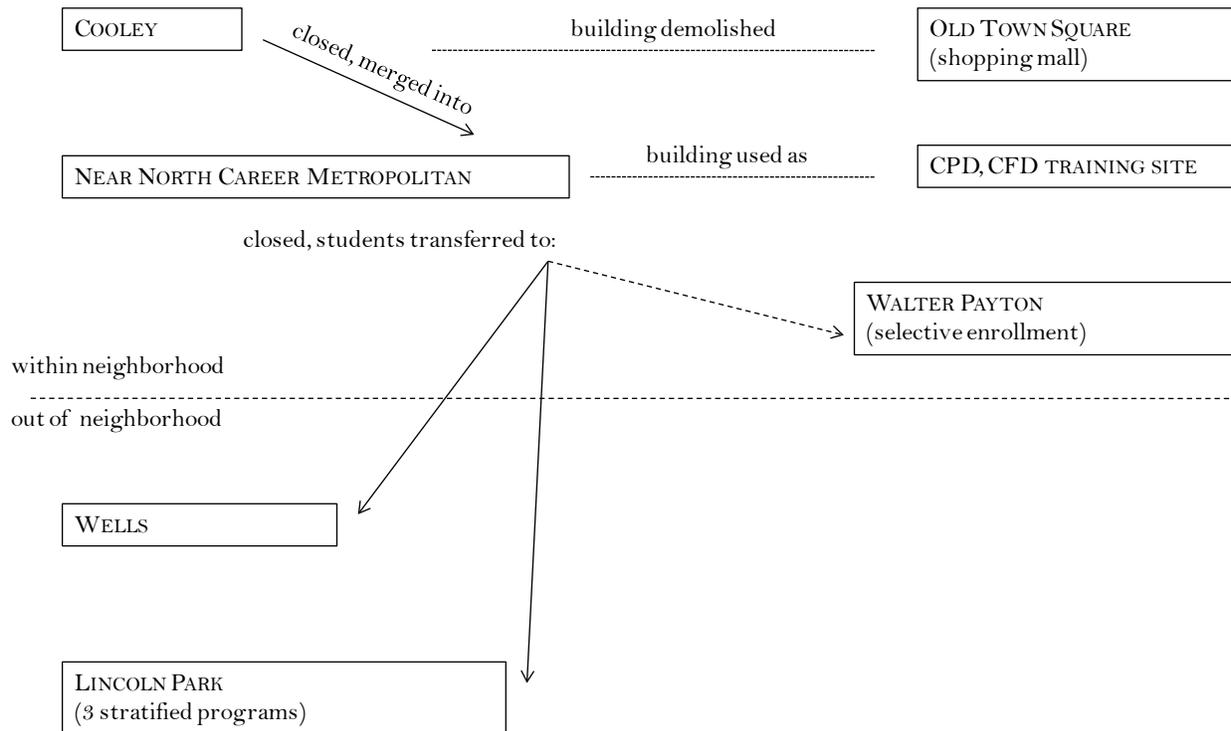
Figure 25: Closings and movement of students among local high schools
SOURCE: self-elaboration

Within all these changes, Lance, a black professional captures the feeling of the community:

…they closed Schiller… but they reopened it [as a selective enrollment school]*, and brought all young white kids… and told the kids that were still living in the building (…) that they can no longer attend that school (…) they remodeled the school, they fixed the school up in the inside… all the staff had to go… and they brought new staff… (…) they gave them the funding as if it was a new school (…)* **if you can do it for those kids, why couldn't you do it for the kids that were indigenous to the area?** [emphasis added]

Aisha, a black local leader, comments in the same vein.

...they close down Schiller, and they opened a classical school called Skinner… you have to test to get in there, so… I think the Alderman's children go there (…) the children who live in the public housing, they put them out of the schools, and told them they're closing the school… because the City wanted to close it… but then the City wants to open schools to certain class of children… that's not fair… so, things like that happen… what is that telling to our children?... what is it telling neighborhood moms and?… who don't have the resources or the resolution to fight and to know actually… to know when, your human rights are violated… some people just say "this is so bad", but they keep going…

In terms of some basic facts, the remaining neighborhood schools, like Manierre and Jenner, have low and decreasing levels of occupation (30-40%), low performance (50% meeting or exceeding state standards), and a high percentages of black (97-98%) and low income students (96-99%). In stark contrast, schools like Walter Payton (selective enrollment) and Franklin (magnet) have high levels of occupation (93-100%), high performance (93-97%), and low percentages of black (24-35%) and low income students (30-40%). Furthermore, private schools like Immaculate Conception or and Catherine Cook have very low percentages of black (2-5%) and low income students (1-5%).

A basic problem with schools in the area is the traditional resistance of whites to be outnumbered. If this does not happen in the residential realm, then it is even more complicated at schools. Cashin (2004) explains this is her book *"The Failures of Integration"*:

…a lot more integration between the races would occur if whites experienced being outnumbered more frequently and were therefore forced to adjust to and learn about people who may or may not be very different from them… (Cashin 2004, p. 14-15)

A white woman in her 40s (anonymous), somewhat reaffirms the latter assertion at an NNUP meeting.

I have two children and I feel that… I live there but spend most of my time outside of the neighborhood… and I think that's very unfortunate… I also have great concerns about the quality of the public school that serves our neighborhood (…) I have serious concerns about leaving my child at the current schools… it's very underperforming…

But the big problem with all these closings and merging, is a long chain of 'unintended' consequences that the neoliberal policy of mixed-income housing has created. First, affordable housing provision is left to the market through mixed developments. Second, the housing market cannot act counter-cyclically and it is hence limited by economic crises (i.e. after the 2008 crash). Third, with no public housing being built and the low-income population already displaced, there is no timely replacement of units, which causes depopulation of low-income blacks. Fourth, this depopulation forces low rates of enrollment in neighborhood schools. Five, the low enrollment forces schools to maximize their resources, leading them to lower their quality. And six, the low rates of enrollment and the low quality creates the perfect mixture for Chicago Public Schools to close these institutions. Marquis, a black local leader, summarizes this situation.

…they're basing their… reasons for closing the school on low enrollment… so, we went several years ago, and say "look… the only reason why… enrollment is low… is because development has been slow"… another reasons is that, (…) when they built this mixed-income development, (…) they thought… that… building a new school would offer an opportunity for the upper income folks who move to the neighborhood…

And as a postscript, there is some fresh news about the area. Mayor Rahm Emanuel has just announced the construction of the Barack Obama College Prep, a new selective enrollment high school, which will become the 11th selective enrollment high school in Chicago, and built just a few steps from Walter Payton school. The school will be located on the land of Stanton Park, which will be closed as a green space, and behind Skinner school (another selective enrollment). Ironically, before becoming president, Barack Obama used to work in and for the South Side of Chicago, and this new school (with his name) is going to be placed in the wealthy Near North Side. According to the current plans, the enrollment in

the school will be 70% test based, and 30% will be for neighborhood students. Coincidentally, the famous 30% of tipping points and of maximum public housing units on mixed-income projects appears again. However, nothing ensures that the mentioned 30% seats will be filled by poor blacks, since local upper status residents (especially wealthy whites) can also claim spaces for their children.

B.3 Housing and Political Economy

The general opportunities in the neighborhood are also highly tied to the development of its future transformations, which is still uncertain. The Chicago Housing Authority (CHA) is not clear about future planning in the area, and there are pressures from both fronts (low-income organizations and the now empowered condo owners) on the construction of more public housing. Given the lack of housing construction since the 2008 crisis, many plots present temporary land uses, like the CPD-CFD training site and urban farms, and many other are just vacant. In addition, the CHA is selling land for non-residential uses, like the new Super Target, which is being built in the site of the Cabrini Green high rises. The CHA president commented on this when he was invited to a NNUP meeting.

> *the Target groundbreaking… that was just not about housing, for me… it's not just about housing for the CHA… even though that's our main goal… we know that our residents are the top priority and are the primary customers… but,* **we have to be pragmatic and realistic about this situation**… [emphasis added]

In addition, due to the lack of demand for condos, developers have been forced to rent their units, either to market rate or to affordable housing. Figure 26 shows an area of Parkside of Old Town that was left unfinished since 2008.
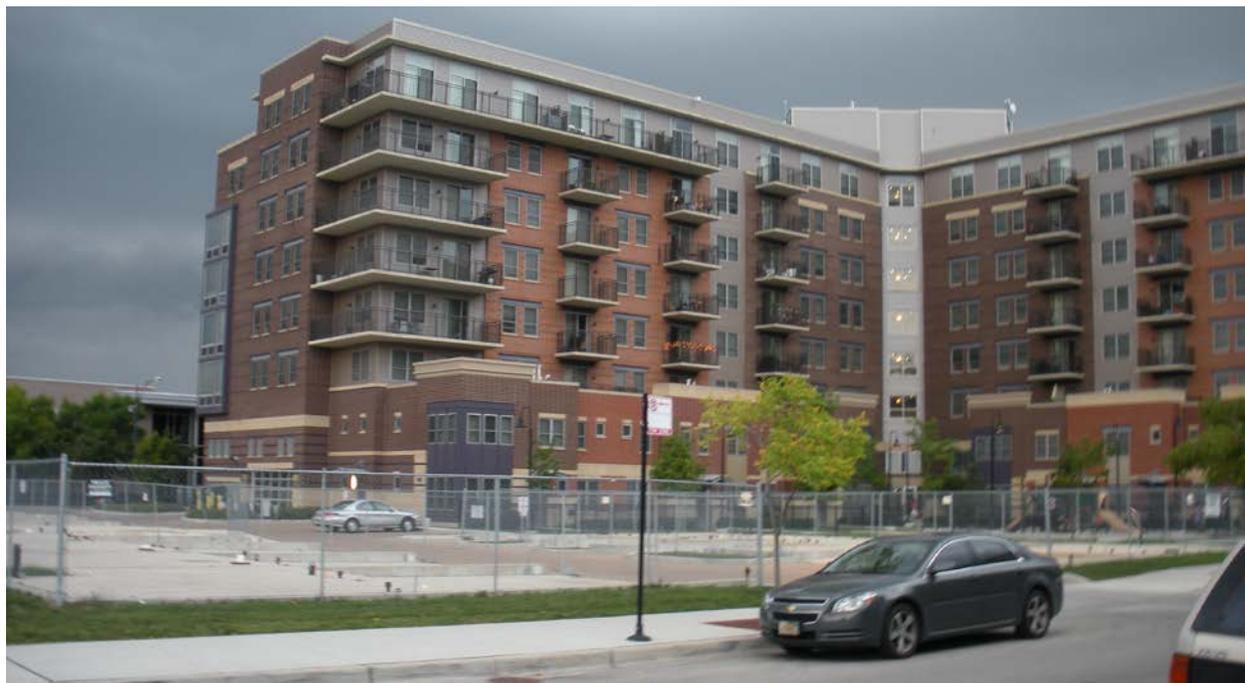
Figure 26: Unfinished area of Parkside of Old Town
SOURCE: author's photographs

Contrary to the common sense of most developers, the business of building more public housing

seems to be more stable, secure, and most appropriate for these times. Ronald, a major developer in the

neighborhood, explains the business of mixed-income housing for its good price-quality relation, and the

benefits of having a captive low-income market:

> Javier*: but maybe you can sell the units faster… because you have at least 30% of the units that will be bought by the time you open the building…*
> Ronald:*you have a nice… it's a nice pre-sale… of accomplishment… that you know that a bunch of the units are basically pre-sold… the lenders actually wanted us to be pre-sold about 85% before they let us move our way to the other buildings but… but yes, some of the… some of the units are already sold… it's just that the overall profit is less… and it's a lot hard to manage…*

This uncertainty about the future is an issue that has both groups under a high level of stress, and for quite opposite reasons. Upper-class residents want the Row Houses to be demolished as the rest of the Cabrini Green buildings, and would want less public housing units being built, all of them under the current mixed-income scheme (30% or less CHA units). In this regard, the main problem for high-income residents is that of getting 'trapped' by the drop in housing prices. That is, they could not be able to move elsewhere. Ronald, the developer, explains this:

> *…the [economic] crash… made movement very difficult to owners… ah, not only that they lose their equity… that makes them mad… now they can't sell… because they… they're below their mortgage, or there's other problems and they can't sell (…) now they can't go, now they're really mad… so it's a problem… I think that's creating some of this prejudice too… I mean, not being very nice… you know, their mobility has been taken away, hopefully temporarily… and they're stuck… and it's like, they're not happy about that…*

David, a white condo owner mentions this mixture of economic and social failure.

> *…I mean, where I'm right now… right now my house is worth twice what the mortgage is… and I'm just waiting until I pay off the mortgage, once the mortgage is paid off, I'm out… I just can't take it anymore…*

On the other hand, low income residents want more public housing being built (for the displaced), less non-residential projects, and for some of them, more units in non-mixed-income schemes, due to the mentioned pressures of rules and regulations. Aibileen, a historic black local leader describes the opposition to the mixed-income situation.

> *…we're fighting against that… because being mixed-income takes away… well, let me say this… it depends on… ain't depend on the mix… because the reason they want to call a mixed-income… it takes away the right to organize… and right now we got a Local Advisory Council, that's the governing body for this community… those rules and regulations that pertains to HUD… we're supposed to be part of whatever happens… and being in a mixed-income, you're not allowed to do that… and we're not… we're going to fight to stop it from being a mixed-income… not necessarily stopping from being, you know (…) we don't care what races are here as long as… we are able, like I said… to be able to make to make a decision about where we stay*

*at… and with the mixed-income community concept… CHA has gotten a waiver… against them [*public housing residents in mixed-income developments*] having a Local Advisory Council… and we're not going along with that… we're not, we really not… so… we're fighting… and we got enough condos in this neighborhood, so… why not just have low income and affordable…*

There is a critical shortage of public housing, the displaced CHA residents are struggling to return, there is a lack of new developments, and an uncertain income mix for the few coming ones[7]. On June 2013, the CHA released its Draft Development Zone Plan and a Preliminary Unit Count Study to the Near North Working Group[8] (part of the Cabrini Green Redevelopment Plan). The Local Advisory Council of Cabrini Green (historical public housing organization), responded to these documents proposing the following (Cabrini-Green-Local-Advisory-Council 2014):

1. Rehabilitation of the row houses as public housing, to ensure replacement and not depending on market conditions.
2. Inform about the progress of the Plan for Transformation
3. Provide the 1,800 committee replaced units (present Draft Plan falls in more than 300 units short)
4. Expedite return of public housing residents, who are losing contact and dropping off their right to return
5. Encourage lower density development with larger units (current units target single individuals and couples without children)
6. Allow larger families above the third floor
7. Prevent street extensions, which would entail demolition of row houses' units
8. Extend Stanton Park to Clybourn street
9. Not using the Lower North Center for redevelopment, since it is being used and under lease

In summary, low-income blacks have the sense of being pushed out from every space available. Some of them have been forced to leave the neighborhood, with or without rights to return. The

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[7] Projected developments for the area are: the Super Target (under construction on Larrabee and Division), the New City YMCA (retail plus housing -30% affordable-, on Clybourn and Halsted), a mixed-use, mixed-income building (50% market rate, 25% affordable, 25% public housing, on Clybourn and Division), a new phase of Parkside of Old Town (mixed income, 50-25-25%, on Larrabe and Oak), and a large mixed-use development that will replace Atrium Village with five high rises (housing and commerce, some affordable units, on Division and Wells).

[8] The Near North Woking Group (NNWG) was legally mandated after a lawsuit and is composed of low income leaders, representatives of Holsten Real Estate, and public officials from the CHA and the City of Chicago.

remaining ones struggle to stay put under the strict control of the police and the condo associations, and have seen their children displaced from one school to another. And in terms of jobs, they have seen several new positions opened for outsiders, and a few lucky ones have been placed in substandard jobs, without many possibilities for upward social mobility.

C. Relationships, encounters and the social construction of 'the other'

C.1 Intergroup relationships

In a (still) warm September afternoon, I was sitting between the basketball court and the baseball field in Seward Park; an old relic from the times of Cabrini Green that is now remodeled to fit the gentrified identity of the neighborhood. The attendance to this park is highly diverse, low income blacks of all ages, and middle class young adults with their children. The police are an official constituent of this space too; most of the time, at least during warm days, there is a police car parked in the middle of the park with two policemen. While playing basketball, a group of 15 low-income black kids started to play like a fight; simulating martial arts, but not really fighting. Two seconds after that, the policemen, watching them closely from their car, sounded their sirens. The kids looked at the police car and went back to play basketball as if nothing happened. Some minutes after that, several white adults started to arrive to the baseball field; it is an organized league with four or five teams. Besides their equipment, these adults brought several boxes of canned beer, which they drank every time they were not actually in the baseball diamond, without even covering the cans in a paper bag. The policemen in this case, at the same distance they were from the black kids playing basketball, limited themselves to watch and enjoy the game, overlooking what is evidently an illegal conduct in public space.

Snapshots like this illustrate, besides the different police treatment, how different groups in this area interact mostly with their own. Low-income blacks use public space to socialize and meet new

people. On the other hand, upper income residents not only avoid blacks whenever possible, but also use public space with pre-existing networks of friends, coming from their extended networks. In other words, public space in this neighborhood is not an instance of socialization for the two groups. In more controlled and domesticated spaces, like coffee shops, restaurants and supermarkets, high-income people represents the majority, and there are some casual encounters. While in more open and freer spaces, like the parks, low-income blacks are the majority, although under severe police control. During my observations of Seward Park for example, I never saw any white person using or entering the field house (even the staff from the Park District is 100% black).

This use of public space is also indicative of the way both groups interact with each other. During my interviews, I observed a generalized sense of ignorance and distrust of 'the other'. Low income blacks feel that their upper status neighbors are bringing resources to the neighborhood, but they do not feel the benefit. Figure 27 shows new amenities and private services that have arrived in the neighborhood (including the new Park Community Church), either following or attracting upper-middle class residents.

Figure 27: New amenities and private services
SOURCE: author's photographs

On the other hand, several upper status residents think that low income blacks are going to be gone sooner or later, based on general trends of gentrification, or even on direct information transmitted from brokers. Charlotte, a black professional working for the Near North Unity Program (NNUP), describes this situation:

11 years ago… 10-11 years ago… when the Plan for Transformation first started being implemented (…) people where told "get in now, rock bottom pricing!!!… these people will be gone in 5 years!!!"…

This social program (NNUP) indeed, the only instance in which low-income and upper-income people met and discussed community issues, was the main place to observe how conflict was deployed in real life. The NNUP program, created by the Alderman (an old resident of Cabrini Green), was thought to bring unity and social cohesion to this diverse area, and in some sense it has served at least to sit highly different people around the table to discuss local issues. However, this has been the place where distrust, ignorance, resentment, and anger have unfolded in overt and subtle ways. And these conflicts are of course crossed by the issue of race. Blacks socializing in the neighborhood are generalized as criminals and loiterers, and upper status residents are generalized as republicans, just concerned with the protection of their property values. Figure 28 shows one of the NNUP meetings.

Figure 28: Meeting of the Near North Unity Program (NNUP)

<u>NOTE</u>: The guest for this meeting was the President of the CHA, Mr. Charles Woodyard. Interestingly, people were segregated in their tables (upper status and lower status tables, just a few mixed). There were many critical voices (from low income and high income people, in contrasting opinions), but since the new plan was not ready, Mr. Woodyard was very ambiguous in his answers.

SOURCE: Author's photographs

A public discussion between Rachel, high-income white, and Aisha, low-income black, in one of these meetings summarizes this mistrust:

<u>Rachel</u>: *there's a liquor store that we've been trying to close down (…) and they're still dealing drugs and stuff by there (…) when you try to get rid of them… that's an enormous thing that literally took years to get rid of that (…) why can't CHA (…) do something to get rid of the Row Houses and get rid of the… to do something that help the police with the crime…*

> Aisha: <u>Aisha</u>: *(…) the people that who are staying in front of the liquor store, of course they're selling cigarettes!… and not drugs!… get to know your community a little bit!…*

As it is manifest here, the use of language from upper status residents is highly polite when referring to race issues, while blacks are more vocal. Robert, director of City Engagement at Park Community Church, describe the ambiance at NNUP and the politeness of discourse.

> *…the alderman was at that meeting, residents from CHA were there, the Holsten group… and I watched it, got a little bit prickly… kind of, you know… people were trying to chose their words wisely, but there were some long time residents who had come in…*

In these different forms, conflict stresses the atmosphere and influences racial antagonisms. In the intimacy of interviews though, there were some upper-income whites that talked more openly and even recognized a sense of racism. Diane, a white woman in her 40s describes this situation:

> *…to be honest with you… I never was very racist, but I feel, living in this neighborhood… I've become very racist… I mean, I think it's not a very nice thing to say about people… because it's not something I'm proud of, but… people are kind of lazy… I'm not saying all low-income people are lazy or whatever… but here you see a lot of laziness, and you don't see people for… like a better work… they're hostile…*

David, a white condo owner, was one of the most extreme cases among upper-income residents. When I contacted him at a NNUP meeting, he was talking to Aisha (black local leader) about organizing tutoring programs from the condo owners to help low income people, which I found very progressive from his part. During the interview, he also showed some progressive ideas, like supporting a global social assistance package for the 'deserving' families, and the idea of having a multi-ethnic Alderman that represents the current diversity of the area. However, he gave some extreme commentaries when talking about gang issues.

> *…the row houses, is just disgusting that they're still there… because where all the crime is coming from… it's coming from there and it's coming from Marshall Field (…) you know, in a perfect world* **you wish that somebody would just go down there and blow the shit out of that place, and make it not be there anymore***… because the city is not doing anything about it, you know… it's going to end up happening… it's one of those gangs… is going to injure somebody that happens to be in a terrorist cell… and they're not going to realize if they rob somebody, that's of Muslim descent… and not everybody that's Muslim is a terrorist… I have Muslim friends… but they're going to rob somebody and they're going to rob the wrong person, and it's going to activate the sleeper cell and* **they're going to blow the living crap out of Marshall Field Garden Apartments… and the Cabrini Green Row Houses…** [emphasis added]

But the most complicated racial position is that of the black middle class. They have a sense of racial solidarity on one side, but a strong push for class differentiation on the other. The most difficult situation for them, which arises frequently in this diverse neighborhood, is when high-income whites take them as CHA residents or are afraid of them as potential criminals. In those situations, they show solidarity with low-income blacks in their perception of whites, but at the same time, they try to reaffirm their class position and take distance from the stigmatized ones. Lance, a black professional somewhat involved in the community, portraits this issue:

> *…everybody has a right to live… they need to learn to respect each other… they need to learn to understand that… like black connotes fear, so does dogs… you know, with people… grabbing your purse when you see me walk pass… "could you think I'm going to just rob you… who told you I was going to rob you?... I could buy your ass!!!... why would I want to rob you?"...*

In terms of group solidarity, established low-income blacks have the advantage of being more integrated due to their long stay in the area. They feel somewhat united by their past history, present constraints, and uncertain future. Latreese, a black local leader, describes this situation. Below, Figure 29 shows how the old Cabrini Green community honors its past.

> *…this is my neighborhood!, that's why I'm here… if I feel like I don't belong I wouldn't be here (…) you know, but I'm committed to the residents in this community, and the youth in this community… and that's why I live here… (…) so yeah, I'm comfortable… this is my*

neighborhood, this is where I grew up… I love… I have an immense love and respect for this community… because it helped to shape me…

Figure 29: Honoring the past of Cabrini Green
<u>NOTE</u>: on the left, N Cleveland Avenue, named Dantrell Davis way, in honor to the 7-year old boy who was shot in 1992. On the right, N Sedgwick street, named Walter "Wally" Hunter way and Marion Nzinga Stamps street, in honor to these two historical local leaders.
SOURCE: author's photographs

In contrast, high-income people do not have a common history, and have a very disconnected present. Most of them have extended networks, with their friends, family, and colleagues out of the neighborhood. For example, there is a league of softball that uses Stanton Park during spring and summer (the individual participation fee is $105). However, through these NNUP meetings, high-income residents have been gaining power, knowledge, and cohesion. Indeed, thanks to the networks established at NNUP meetings, a group of upper status residents is forming an additional organization, called Near North Community (NNC), because they feel they do not have enough power in the decision-making process. Kevin, a white condo owner who has been very active, describes this.

*Kevin: …it just started a couple of months ago… but we're trying to decide whether, you
know… what steps we're going to take (…) I think the idea is to form a community… to give us
a stronger voice, to… find out information… the problem is that… we can't have an opinion…
on anything, based on the information we gathered…
Javier: are there low income people participating?
Kevin: yeah… there are some…
Javier: people from the Marshal Field or Evergreen apartments…
Kevin: we haven't really ventured in there to get people… there is one person from that area…
a couple of people… but we really haven't ventured in there yet…*

And indeed, they can turn the same claim of low income blacks ('right to the city') into their own

claim; a right to stay and decide about the future of their neighborhood. Kevin also refers to this feeling.

*I don't think anybody owns the neighborhood… which has been a little bit a problem at… with
some of the… older Cabrini Green… people… who are like… this feeling of… something they
own… and… I don't… I… I don't think that's the case (…) there's a feeling of "I've been here
longer"… and I think they have to accept the diversity in the neighborhood… once again… (…)*
you're living there one day or 100 years, you have the same rights… [emphasis
added]

Despite these stark differences however, there are notable exceptions, like Emily. She is a white,

middle class, 40 years old resident. She has college education, works in several things (mostly in the

community), and has three children in her own house with her husband, where she has been living for

18 years. She has been the most impressive upper status person I have interviewed. Her sense of

community across racial and socioeconomic borders was really authentic to me. That is why she was the

only white receiving a prize for the 'heroes and advocates' of the community, an activity organized by

NNUP to close the year 2012. She is really involved and prefers not to know about crime and stuff like

that, and instead working for positive things with all types of residents. She was also critical about the

attitude of other middle-class people for not involving themselves, and not looking at black people as

human beings:

*…I do feel different… I feel that sometimes people miss the point… some of our friends… would
say, you know… "oh, they just got rid of the gangs… they got rid of the gang activity"… and I*

say "don't you understand that 'gang' is a word, and there's actual people and faces that go to that?"… and others looking for its community, and that's their way to have community… because if they don't have community, they just meet someone to show them another way… so, just getting rid of the gangs… that's not possible… and it's not very humanitarian!... it's not very thoughtful…

C.2 <u>Churches and their role on relationships</u>

As institutions working in the development of intergroup relationships, the local churches could play an important role for this increasingly diverse neighborhood. However, the supply of different churches in the area is overwhelming. There are nine churches for a territory of ten thousand people. There are five churches that were deeply involved in the old Cabrini Green community and whose congregation is almost one hundred percent black; St Mathews, St Luke, Union Baptist, Holy Family Lutheran, and Wayman AME. These churches still offer some services to the low income population, like after school programs. In other group, there are some old churches –LaSalle Street Church, Fourth Presbyterian Church, and St Joseph Church- that were part of the immigrant community before Cabrini Green (mainly Italians), and that now attract residents from the nearby Gold Coast, upper class residents in mixed-income projects, and some black residents. Finally, the newest institution is Park Community Church, a wealthy church that is explicitly *"heavy on young urban professionals, singles primarily (…) almost entirely Caucasians"*, as one of its members described. This saturation of churches, and their different congregations, has detached them from a relevant role of social cohesion in the neighborhood. In fact, some residents think of churches as the most segregated institution, as Lance, a black professional describes:

…church is so segregated… you can see it if you walk in the buildings… you can just see it… it's a black church… what do you mean by that?... everybody in there is black… white churches, everybody in there is white…

In last years however, the local churches have created the Near North Ministry Alliance, trying to do some activities together. Those activities, like a joint thanksgiving celebration, have created

authentic 'moments of integration', but have been no more than the moment. In fact, most of the congregations come from out of the neighborhood, due either to the displacement of low-income blacks, or simply to a choice of a particular denomination or community. Besides, they have passed from the protection of the established community against demolition and gentrification, to a conflict with their funding sources, and even to an overt participation in development businesses with their properties in the area. Marquis, a low-income black organizer portrays this situation:

> *…once upon a time, they* [the churches] *played an active role in trying to stop the demolition of a lot of public housing… but certain churches… you know… couldn't stay… couldn't stick to that mandate because they receive city, county, state or federal funding… and they were afraid to lose their funding… if they supported grassroots organizing against development…*

And their role in land development, as Kevin, a white condo owner explains:

> *…he's* [member of X church] *doing a very good job in NNUP… but,* [X] *church is the owner of a 500 unit development… that's going to be built right across the street… we didn't heard anything about it… 500 units… 4 high rises… a major, major deal…*

C.3 <u>Crime and safety</u>

The issues of crime and safety are other aspects that complicate intergroup relationships even more. The problem of security appeared everywhere, even without asking for it. However, this is crossed by a major racial difference: blacks of all classes do not feel unsafe at all, while all upper-income whites feel unsafe in the neighborhood. Darnell, a black middle class (and gay) resident of Parkside of Old Town, describes his own feelings of safety.

> *I'm a 6'2"* [1.88 meters] *black guy, so… you know… even if I feel uncomfortable, I rarely feel unsafe (…) a lot of people talk about walking from the brown line… the Sedgwick brown line to Division and crossing Marshal Field apartments… a lot of people talk about feeling unsafe doing that… there was a shooting at the corner store, a couple of months ago… but I might feel a little uncomfortable, because I feel sometimes the way I dress and the way I walk… that it's pretty*

obvious that I'm an outsider… I don't ever feel unsafe… I feel able to look somebody in the eyes and say "hey, what's up?"… as I'm walking… but I think that's because of the skin I'm in…

The most problematic issue in the everyday life of upper status residents is black people standing in sidewalks. Most middle class individuals I interviewed referred to this situation as if blacks were dealing drugs, robbing people or intimidating them. David, a white condo owner portrays this feeling:

I don't feel safe walking down the street, even if I stand on the opposite side of the section-8 housing… I still don't feel safe… I'm afraid of being mugged, I'm going to get stabbed… because there's loitering… the loitering drives me nuts!, it's just the hanging outside… it's like "sit on your damned porch!", you know, "sit in your house… go to a park, don't be hanging out on the street corner!"… because that's just makes people uncomfortable… "maybe it's your way of life, but you know what?… **you've got to start changing your way of life!"***…* [emphasis added]

The role of the police dealing with crime also worsens these relationships. As I mentioned with the situation between basketball and baseball players in the park, there is a very different treatment for blacks. In fact, Chicago's hot spot policy is severe in this area, with 9 areas that cover every place in which low income blacks live and hang out. This policy has been criticized for its association with stop and frisk tactics, where police detain and pat down individuals they deem to be suspicious, and its disproportionate impact in minority groups. Molly, white officer of the 18th district, explains this policy for the Cabrini Green area.

<u>Molly</u>: *basically, if an officer sees that there's a group of individuals just loitering, standing around… they can tell the individual to disperse… and when they tell the individual to disperse, they're supposed to make a contact card, which gives us information, like the name, address… what they're wearing… and they're told that they can't come back for 8 hours… and if they come back in that particular area… then, they're subject to arrest… so…*
<u>Javier</u>: *and what happens if they're residents… of buildings just in front of that space… I'm thinking in the row houses and Marshal Field…*
<u>Molly</u>: *well, but they're still not supposed to be standing on the public way… because if they're standing… if they're standing in a group, and they're standing on the sidewalk… then they're on*

city property… if they're standing on the property itself, then that's completely different… all
these areas here are actual city… it's city property… so, there are actual sidewalks or streets…

Because of the constant harassment in public space, most blacks laughed when I asked them about the role of the police. Latreese, a lower-middle class black leader describes this:

Javier: *what do you think about the role of the police here?*
Latreese: *ha-ha-ha-ha-ha… I think that the 18th district, specifically… has the worst police in*
the City of Chicago… I have a case now against the police from 18th district (…) I think our
police officers are horrible… and I think that they perpetuate the crime and the bad behavior in
this neighborhood…

In the same sense, the police are criticized for their lack of preventive work. Dustin, a white condo owner describes this:

Javier*:   how do you see the role of the police in this neighborhood?*
Dustin*: ah… reactive… as opposed to proactive… ah… by which I mean… they're not doing a*
lot preventively… they're just containing the crisis… not much foot activity… they're in cars…
almost all the time (…) they don't really have much of relationship with the community…

But the problem of crime in this area has been receding. The peak of crime for the 18th District was in the 1990s, when the rate of index crimes[9] per 1,000 people was about 160, while in the City of Chicago was about 116 (Chicago-Police-Department 2013a). Today, the rate is 73 for the 18th District, 77 for the Near North Side community area, 93 for the Cabrini Green-Near North area, and 56 for the City of Chicago (Chicago-Police-Department 2013a). Even though 93 is a high rate for the Cabrini Green-Near North area, the wide majority of these are property index crimes, which are 106% above Chicago's rate per 1,000 people (violent index crimes are only 4,5% above). Other non-index crimes, like drug abuse, fall below Chicago's rate in 3 of the 4 census tracts of the Cabrini Green-Near North area,

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[9] The Chicago Police Department considers 9 situations as index crimes, classified under two groups: i) violent index crimes: homicide, rape, robbery, aggravated assault, and aggravated battery, and ii) property index crimes: burglary, theft, auto theft, and arson.

and it is only higher in the Cabrini Green Row Houses (Chicago-Police-Department 2013b). Figure 30 shows the evolution of the rate of index crimes per 1,000 in the Near North Side and in the City of Chicago from 1998 to 2010.
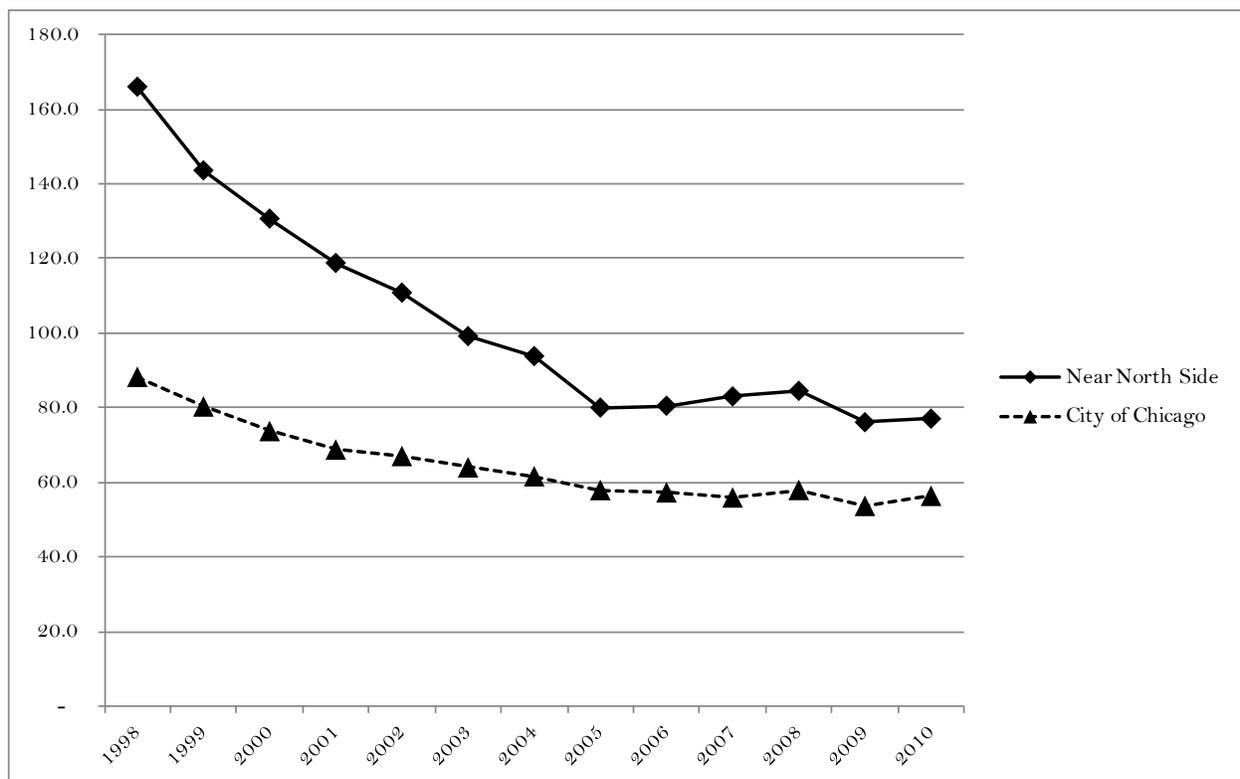
Figure 30: Evolution of index crimes per 1,000 in the Near North Side
SOURCE: self-elaboration from Chicago-Police-Department (2013a)

Now, this does not mean that residents in the area are criminals or drug dealers. Cabrini Green has been always a site where drugs have been traded, even considering the decrease in last decades. But many residents affirm that both sellers and buyers are not from the neighborhood, and most

importantly, that not all of them are black. In any case, the decrease in crime in present decades could be attributed mainly to the gentrification processes and the consequent demographic changes. But again, this does not mean that the reduction of low-income blacks means less crime or less drug abuse. It just means that the present community is more aware about crime, and mostly, that there is more reporting, which is definitely crossed by distrust among races. Indeed, the row houses remain like a low income gated community, with just one entrance on the north (Oak Street and Cambridge Street) and one exit on the south (Cambridge Street and Chicago Avenue), and with security booths and police cameras everywhere. Figure 31 shows the security measures in the row houses.
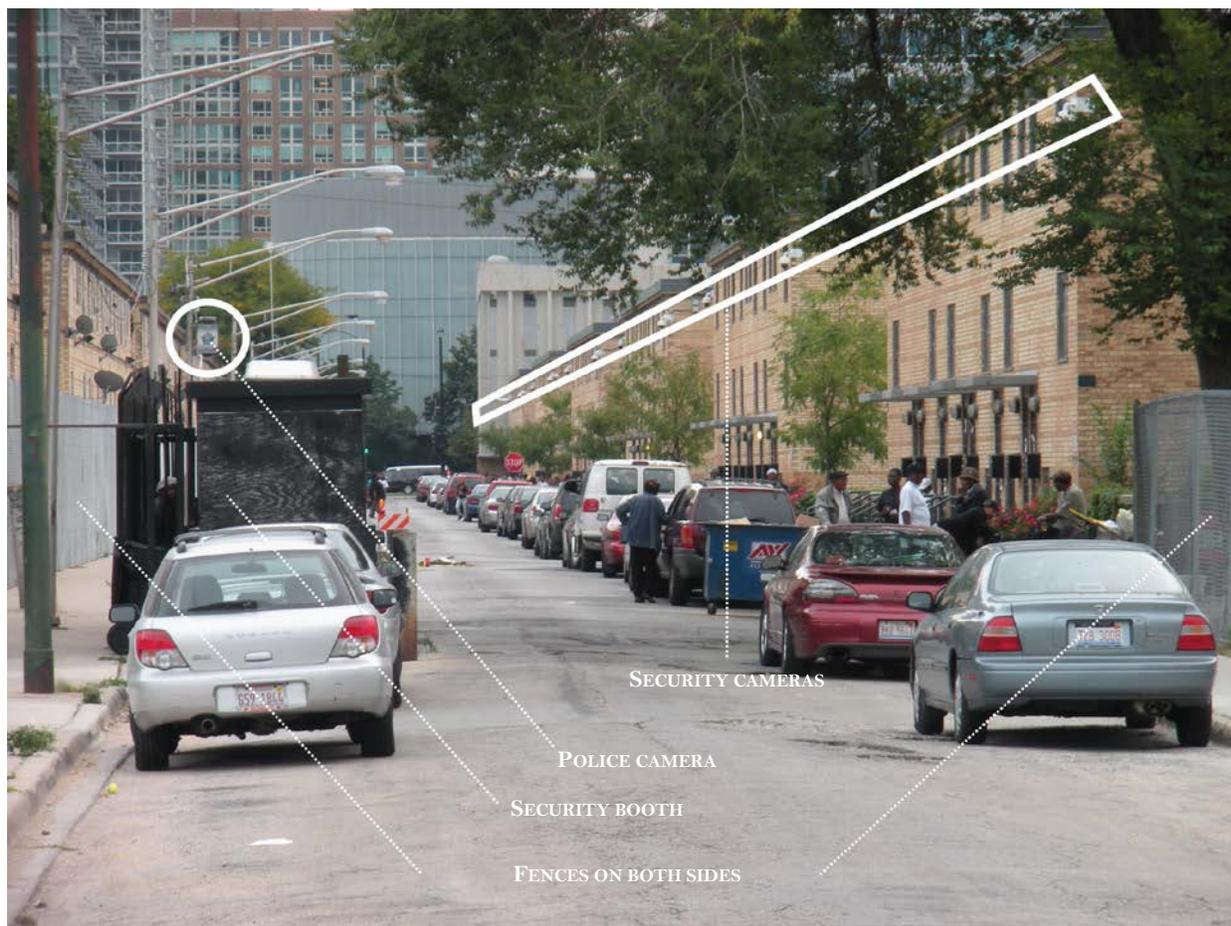
Figure 31: Security measures in the row houses
SOURCE: self-elaboration from author's photographs

Several low-income residents stress how upper-class residents participate in drug consumption, and how different is the treatment for them, especially in mixed-income developments. Condo owners can smoke marijuana, and at most, they receive a fine. But when CHA residents do something of lesser gravity, they are evicted. Rules and regulations in mixed-income projects are set by the developers and then redone by the condo owners associations. And this is where most of intergroup problems emerge,

with very imbalanced power relationships. Janice, a public housing resident in one of the new mixed-income buildings, describes this one-sided enforcement of rules:

> *…so many rules… things you can't do… like, I can't barbecue in front of my house (…) but you can… if I'm playing loud music, I'm out for eviction… if you're playing loud music, you get a fine… if the company complains about my neighbors… I'm out for eviction… you'd get a warrant… if someone leases my unit and get arrested, and they say he was visiting me… I'm out for eviction, you're not…*

Thus, the unwritten objective of these rules and regulations is to keep low-income blacks under the strict moral mandates of the middle class (recall David saying *"you've got to start changing your way of life!"*). In other words, if these upper status residents were to buy a housing unit there, sharing several spaces with low-income blacks, it was because they were aware of the severe screening processes that public housing residents had to endure, and because they knew they will have the power to create and enforce various rules and regulations to supervise the behavior of their lower status neighbors.

D. <u>Partial conclusions</u>

I frame some of the final reflections under the four mentioned dimensions of socio-spatial integration; i) physical (proximity between groups), ii) functional (access to opportunities), iii) relational (non-hierarchical relations) and iv) symbolic (common identification). In terms of the ***physical dimension***, it can be said that this case presents almost no segregation at housing, by traditional measures. However, there is high segregation at schools, public space, public meetings, churches, and so on. In other words, this means that policies of social mixing could be shifting the mechanisms of low interaction from neighborhoods to other spheres of human relation. The physical proximity acts less as a mechanism for social cohesion and more as a mechanism of atomization and control, from the upper-classes and relevant institutions. Only the persisting efforts of a few committed neighbors run against these forces. In terms of the ***functional dimension***, the changes in the neighborhood are bringing

amenities for upper-class residents, but not necessarily more jobs, which have remained relatively stable in the past decade. In other words, there is not an increased material justice or equality emerging from these demographic changes. It has been the arrival of upper-class residents that has put pressure on institutional changes, like schools, the police, and even the functioning of the CHA. Thus, all of this raises some obvious questions: why were these institutions not working like that when Cabrini Green needed it the most? Why then make public housing a concerted failure?

In terms of the **_relational dimension_**, there seem to be two opposed cultures, none of them willing to be enriched by the other. If social control works, as it is expected by the advocates of mixed-income housing, it is by the imposition of very strict, and one-sided, rules and regulations. Thus, the only clear gain of these transformations is having a safer environment in which to live. Besides, there is a sense that low-income blacks are getting isolated and losing power, due to their displacement and atomization. On the other hand, upper-income residents have been exercising power individually (to police, through condo boards, etc.), and more recently, gaining power as a group. In any case, there is a generalized anxiety for the uncertain future on both groups.

And in terms of the **_symbolic dimension_**, this type of socio-spatial environment provides the strong symbolism of a desegregated place, especially after decades of poverty concentration and disinvestment. However, there is more conflict than pride of living in diversity. Upper-class residents are not willing to change their way of life for living in diversity, and think that low income blacks are the ones that have to adjust and *"abide by the rules"*, as a white condo owner expressed. Many interviewees, on both sides, reported the existence of two separated communities, divided between established and newcomers. While the established low-income community is still very united and depends on local networks of support, the upper-class newcomers have extended networks and their house is just an investment in a neighborhood where they do not have much attachment. Moreover,

there is a fragmented identity of the neighborhood, illustrated by the competing names associated with it: 'Cabrini Green' for established low-income blacks, and 'Near North', 'River North' or 'Old Town' for new upper-income residents. In addition, there are not much common interests to create a community. There is not much recognition of the contribution of 'the other', although upper status residents admire blacks' sense of family and community, and low income blacks admire their upper status neighbors for their capacity of effective organization.

Diversity has become one of the most enduring discourses of an era of structural racism (Betancur and Herring 2013). It has been evident from this case how superficial and how limited of a significant involvement is this discourse. Both groups, low-income and high-income residents, talk extensively about diversity, but they are not working much for it, and not understanding the outcomes. Denisha, a black professional staff at a charter school describes this situation:

> *I think that we talk a lot about diversity but we don't really… we're not active around how we can actually benefit from the diversity we have (…) I think in the community I would say, just based on what I've heard on those meetings [NNUP], it's probably similar… where someone might, like… if they are owners, might feel really proud that they chose to buy here… and they're different, they're like mavericks… and they might be different from their friends who chose to live in Lincoln Park or… or like River North… but that might not be indicative of, you know… they still might not know their neighborhood is black…*

Moreover, the pride about diversity emerges only if there are no issues. On the side of high-income residents (either white or black), it can be argued that there is a high degree of self-selection. That is, the ones that arrive in the neighborhood are not the worst racists or classists. However, their expectations are very different from what they are actually experiencing. Thus, they want to change everything to their way of life, and they are having a feeling of failure for their investment. On the side of low-income blacks, there is a high appreciation for diversity, but the actual conditions they have to bear for it in the neighborhood are not very attractive. Indeed, some low-income blacks would prefer to

live more segregated (united and free), than in diversity (isolated and constrained). The sense of being pushed, screened and controlled everywhere is highly pervasive.

VII. THE CASE OF LA LOMA-LA FLORIDA IN SANTIAGO

The hilly geography of La Loma, an old squatter settlement in La Florida, allows a local leader to show me the new landscape of her surroundings: a high standard urbanization like never before, plagued with gated communities with their own common spaces, new stores, private schools, and police and private security cars everywhere. Besides, with the construction of gated communities, their own streets were closed as cul-de-sacs, leaving just one street to enter to this old squatter, and separating them with a wall from the nearest park. This settlement, whose residents passed rapidly from agricultural work to domestic service and construction, remains isolated and with its past almost erased. Like in the Cabrini Green-Near North case, this also describes what demographic analyses classify as *'integrated neighborhood'*: there is a significant physical proximity between highly different social groups. But they also live in an environment of extreme distrust and isolation.

This chapter shows the case-study developed in La Loma-La Florida in five sections. First, I describe the area around La Loma in La Florida (Santiago), in terms of historical and socio-demographic aspects. Second, I show the opportunities for the lower class in terms of work and education. Third, I describe the relationships between groups and the prevailing classism. Fourth, I show the problems of crime, security and the use of public space. And fifth, I finish summarizing the issues related to the four dimensions of socio-spatial integration (physical, functional, relational, and symbolic), and commenting on the existing literature on diverse neighborhoods in Chile.

A. <u>The area around La Loma in La Florida</u>

I chose to develop a case-study in La Florida municipality (Santiago) for being this *"a mirror of Chile"* (De la Jara 2003) in terms of its social, cultural, economic and urban transformations, accelerated in last decades by the force of the economic model. La Florida was founded in 1891 as an agricultural and livestock area, accessible by a train from downtown Santiago. From the 1940s it became a zone of urban expansion, and in the 1960s began a massive construction of *villas* and *poblaciones* (housing settlements) for middle and lower-middle class residents. From 1968, La Florida received large social housing projects (some in self-construction, others built by the state). Until 1990, it grew quickly as a 'dormitory' municipality (limited to residential land use) without much planning. From that date began a strong commercial and residential Real Estate development led by private investments, and oriented mostly to the demand of the middle classes (De la Jara 2003). This way, large shopping malls appeared, as well as public services, private schools, and private health. And with the arrival of a new metro line, La Florida began to consolidate as the center for the south-east part of Santiago. Figure 32 shows the new metro station and the main shopping mall.

Figure *32*: Metro station and shopping mall in La Florida
SOURCE: Plataforma Urbana (www.plataformaurbana.cl), Creative Commons' license

In socio-spatial terms, La Florida grew fragmented between a south-west sector that received the large majority of social housing, and an east sector, formerly semi-rural, that received middle class *villas* (single family housing). Its present configuration then, has strong contradictions: large real estate projects (commercial, residential, educational, health, etc.) on one hand, and poverty and deficits of urban amenities, on the other. As an example of these two worlds, and as an example of socioeconomic diversity, I chose the area around La Loma, limited by Gerónimo de Alderete on the north, Rojas Magallanes, Quiula and Domo on the south, El Hualle, Las Araucarias and the San Carlos channel on

the east, and Araucanía and Boris Bravo on the west[1]. Figure 33 shows the limits of the selected area and the location of different settlements of social housing and gated communities.
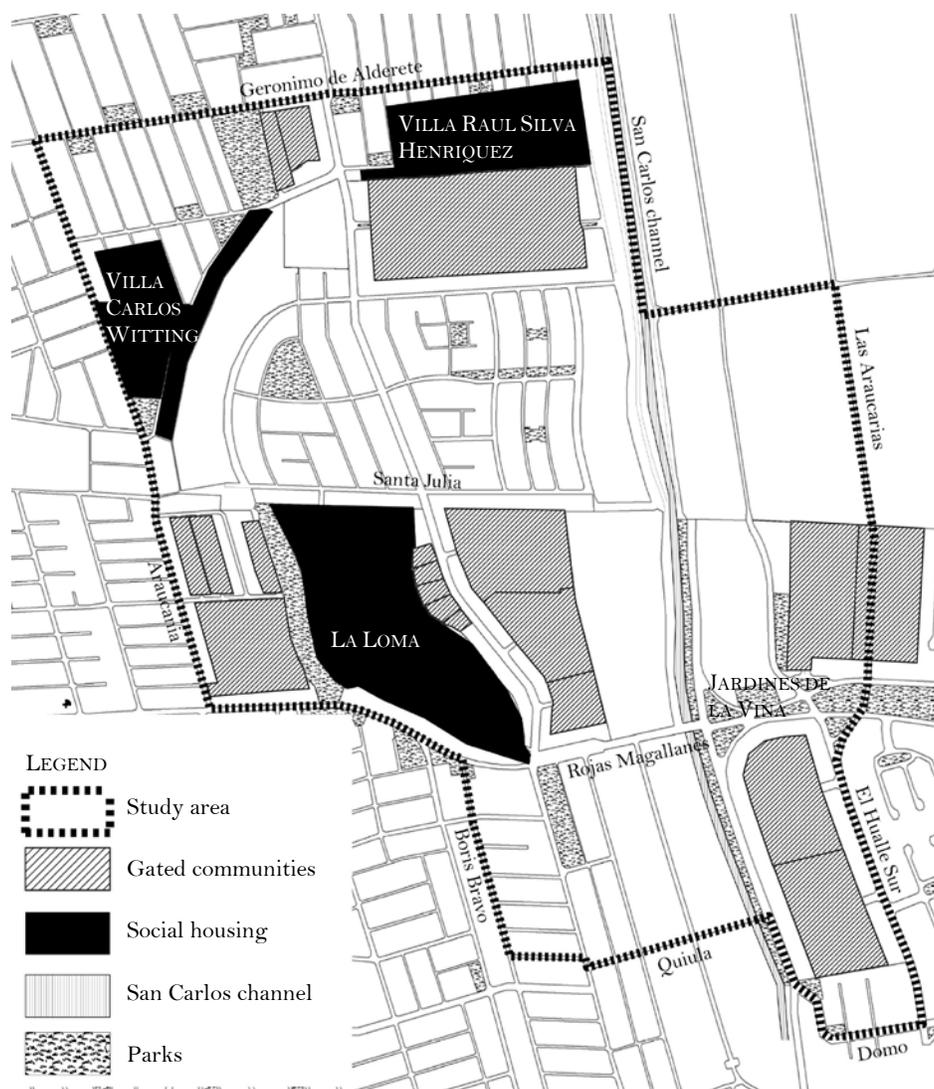
Figure 33: Limits, social housing settlements and gated communities
SOURCE: self-elaboration from field observation

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[1] The surface of the neighborhood is 133 hectares, and the current density is 80 inhabitants per hectare, approximately.

The area surrounding La Loma began to be populated more than 50 years ago. Neighboring settlements of Lo Cañas and Santa Sofía were established between the 1940s and 1950s, as semi-rural settlements of an emergent and progressive middle class. In 1970, the agricultural workers of the semi-rural lots and the vineyards located east from the San Carlos channel, and residents of nearby streets, grouped together in a 'committee of the un-housed' *(comité de los sin casa*, i.e. doubled-up people), part of the urban movements of Allende's Government, and decided to take over the land of La Loma, which up to that date remained vacant and without any use. For a long time, the settlements of La Loma and Lo Cañas were the only ones in the area, and several ties of solidarity and labor were established among them, despite socioeconomic differences. One of the basis of that relationship was the local school, which received children from both settlements, an issue that marks a big contrast with the present reality. With the pass of time, the residents of La Loma, most of them relatives and kin, divided lots, built their own houses, resisted the military dictatorship, and established their own kindergarten. In 1995, and with the help of the Catholic Church, they could obtain sewage, electricity, and most importantly, property deeds. From the 1980s and 1990s, the expansion of the city arrived to the surroundings of La Loma, with single-family housing for middle and lower-middle classes. Thus, while agricultural employment was decreasing, males switched to construction and many females to domestic service, two of the main sources of employment for the lower classes.

But from 2000 onwards a major transformation occurred: gated communities for upper status families started to be built, which has drastically changed the quality of public and private services in the area, and mostly, the relationships with neighbors and with the Municipality of La Florida. In fact, the presence of these wealthier families has generated different problems: from the closing of streets, the construction of walls, to a strong opposition against the construction of a new social housing complex in the area. At present, with a population of almost 10 thousand people living within the mentioned limits, this area presents socioeconomic and housing diversity. In socioeconomic terms, 33% belongs to the

richest income decile of Chile, and 18% to the four poorest income deciles. Figure 34 shows the

socioeconomic distribution of the area.
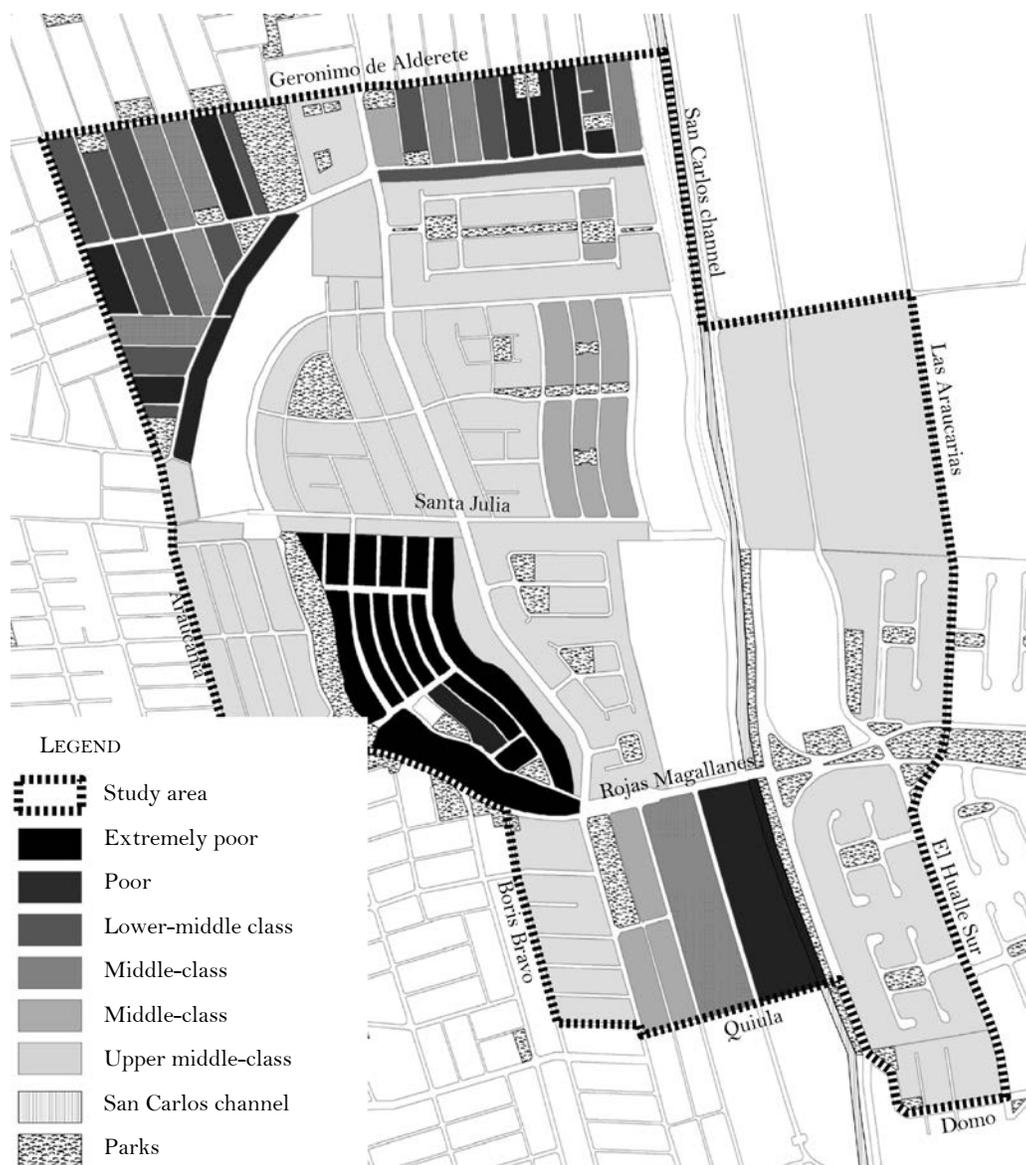
Figure 34: Socioeconomic distribution
SOURCE: self-elaboration from Census 2002

Regarding the types of housing, there are several different situations. First, there is La Loma, an old squatter settlement, now formalized. Then, there is Villa Raúl Silva Henríquez and Villa Carlos Witting, built in the 1980s as social housing. From the same time is Villa Jardín Alto, but for middle and lower-middle classes. In the 1990s different *villas* were built (e.g. Jardín del Eden), targeted to middle class groups. And from 2000 onwards several gated communities and all new neighborhoods were built for upper-middle class, such as Llanos de Lo Cañas, Villa Parque Las Mercedes, and the most upscale: Jardines de la Viña. Figure 35 shows some pictures of the area, and Table XXIX shows a summary of the demographic changes.

Figure 35: Pictures of the different residential and commercial developments in the area
SOURCE: author's photographs

Table XXIX: SUMMARY OF DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGES IN THE LAST DECADE (2002-2013)

	2002	2013
Total population	8,871	10,656
Area (hectares)	133.11	
Density (inhabitants/hec)	66.65	80.07
Extreme poverty	3.7%	2.7%
Poor	18.0%	14.8%
Lower-middle class	18.4%	15.9%
Middle-class	34.6%	33.7%
Upper-middle class	25.3%	32.9%

NOTE: Information for 2013 is a self-estimation. I used census information at the level of blocks from 2002, and due to the problems of Census 2012, I elaborated an estimation for 2013 making the following steps. First, I measure socioeconomic and demographic change in the area, just from new blocks and new housing developments (taking into account the low levels of residential rotation in Chile). Second, I based on a cartography and information from Census 2002, with details of socioeconomic groups per block. I assumed then, that the number of lots in the map is the same as the number of households, and that in the blocks that are maintained from 2002 to 2013, the distribution of socioeconomic groups and the population is the same than in 2002. Third, I elaborated an updated map from the land use map of La Florida, Google Earth and observations in the field. Fourth, I counted the number of lost per block, according to the updated map, obtaining thus the current number of households (assumed). Fifth, I used the average household size per socioeconomic groups (income deciles, from the National Institute of Statistics). Sixth, according to observations in the field, I imputed the percentage distribution of socioeconomic groups for the new blocks, from similar blocks. And seventh, to obtain the total population per block, I divided the total number of households by the sum total of the quotients between percentage of socioeconomic groups and household size per group.

SOURCE: Census 2002 and self-estimation

The data for this chapter is based on five months of qualitative fieldwork, between May and September of 2013. As mentioned in the Research Design chapter, I used three types of qualitative information: i) interviews to lower class residents (20), middle class residents (17), and key institutional actors (10)[2], ii) field notes from observation in key places of intergroup encounter[3], and iii) 'spatial

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[2] The institutions selected were the following: Escuela Lo Cañas (Municipal, tuition-free school), Colegio Quinto Centenario (state subsidized, private school), Tenencia de Carabineros Los Jardines (local police station), Department of Community

inventories' in which I mapped traces of the symbolic presence of each group. I assume three axis of differentiation between the residents: i) established/outsiders, ii) low occupational status/middle to upper-middle occupational status, and iii) low housing-neighborhood standard/higher standard. I can say that for middle and upper-middle class residents, the three axis are overlapped; they are all new in the neighborhood (no more than 10 years), have a professional status, and the standard of their housing and neighborhood is fairly high in terms of general levels in Santiago. However, for lower and lower-middle classes, the situation is a little bit more complex; although they are all established (have been there for more than 10 years), not all have low status occupations, and some do not have too low housing and neighborhood standards. Despite this variety, they all feel a difference with the new residents. In terms of entrance to the field, I first established contacts with poor local leaders in December 2012. Second, in May 2013, I got contacts of lower class and middle class residents, from the initial contacts. And third, I got contacts of middle class residents in their own small grocery stores (to be discussed below).

B. <u>Opportunities: work and education</u>

B.1 <u>Work opportunities for the lower class</u>

> <u>Javier</u>: *Are there maids coming from other neighborhoods?*
> <u>Angélica</u>: *Yes, yes. You just see them in the morning, in the bus… many maids get off, from different parts…*
> <u>Javier</u>: *so, is not that all of them are from…*
> <u>Angélica</u>: *No, no. Actually, many people that lives in the 'villas'* [meaning middle class developments]*, bring their own maids*

Participation (La Florida municipality), Department of Housing (Municipality of La Florida), Regional Housing and Urbanization Authority (SERVIU, in charge of Las Tinajas project), Carlos Montes (La Florida Deputy –congress representative), San José de las Mercedes church, Municipal Organization of Doubled-up residents (Unión Comunal de Allegados), Environmental Organization (Red de Defensa de la Precordillera)

[3] Different commercial spaces, squares and parks, bus stops, and one municipal rally (march).

The majority of lower class residents have employments of domestic service, low scale commerce, exchange occupations, and low skilled jobs (within and outside the neighborhood). Those jobs vary in a continuum between formality and informality, from signed contracts to clandestine businesses. The quotation from Angélica, who works in a small grocery store in her sister's house in La Loma, shows two things. On one hand, that as other research have shown in poor neighborhoods close to gated communities in Chile (Sabatini and Salcedo 2007, Salcedo and Torres 2004), there are opportunities for working in domestic service. This means a gain for both parties: workers spend less time commuting, and employers save the money that should be paid for workers' transportation. But on the other side, I have observed several nuances that put into question the high benefits of social proximity. First, and as the quote from Angélica points out, many domestic workers that are employed in the neighborhood, come from other areas of Santiago. Second, many residents that work as domestic workers, have their place of employment out of the area, and out of La Florida. And this happens not only because there are more jobs outside, but also because of their personal choice. Many domestic workers say they prefer to work in the *'barrio alto'* (high class areas) because of a better status, a better wage, and a better treatment. Here, it is worth to remember that the Chilean higher class inherited a closer relationship with lower classes from the master-and-peasant relationship of the agricultural past. Then and now, social positions are well established. But the middle class in turn, pejoratively called *siúticos*[4] by the elite, takes exploitation as a symbol of status (Contardo 2012, Stabili 2003). Josefina, a leader in a very small social organization in Villa Raúl Silva Henríquez describes these situations.

> *There are very few that work here… very few. I would say counted with the fingers… all work in La Dehesa, in Las Condes, Vitacura* [upper class municipalities in Santiago]*… I worked all my life up there as well… I, never, ever… look how I am… I would never work for people like this* [referring to her middle class neighbors]. *(…) I, since I arrived here… because I'm*

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[4] Derogatory word created by the elite to designate the upstart, socially climber that hides his/her social origin, and is always caught by some detail in his performance (lacks enough refinement and does not really belong to the elite). It is also used by middle and lower class groups, in order to describe the aspiration, ostentation, upstart behavior, and indebtedness of some middle class individuals that want to assimilate to the elite, instead of being proud of their peers.

used to other environment all my life… since I came from Osorno [Chilean city in the south], when I was 17 years old… I was lucky to get to places that not all people go…

Third, there is certain reluctance from the local middle class for hiring lower class neighbors. And this is connected to a general distrust towards them, and to the need to establish a larger social and physical distance with their employees. José, a middle class resident that dares to criticize his neighbors, portrays this.

Is very difficult that this person hires (…) someone from here, for the prejudice... One, because it's close from where I live (…) Two, that supposedly it's not at his/her socioeconomic level, socio-cultural… to establish a relationship with them… So, if the person… If I live here (…), and my employee lives in La Pincoya [stigmatized lower class area]… for me, supposedly, that would be the ideal employee, because lives far from my environment… my relationship with him is just the job…

Fourth, many middle class households do not have domestic service, as Catalina, who lives in Villa Parque Las Mercedes (middle class), describes.

At least what I know, all this block, each one manages to… because, if you think, this is a dormitory-'villa'… everybody leaves at 7am and everybody comes back by 8pm, at night… And those who have children, go with their small children, they take them. Then nobody stays. Then, I believe is just a bunch… counted with the fingers… the people who have employees…

Fifth, the possibilities to find domestic service employment in the neighborhood are different between the various social housing settlements. They depend much on the internal cohesion of these developments and the social networks that are established. In the case of La Loma, the circulation of information and employment referrals is much more dynamic and effective than in the Carlos Witting and Raúl Silva Henríquez *villas*. And sixth, at a more general level, the proportion of residents that commute to other municipalities in Santiago has increased. According to the Origin-Destination Survey, in 2001 the residents that worked in La Florida were 42%, versus 58% working in other municipalities. But for the 2006, the ones working in La Florida decreased to 9%, versus 91% working outside.

Another issue highlighted by the existing literature is the benefits of having a market with a higher purchasing power for the small grocery stores (in the houses of poor residents)[5]. But this argument is also mediated by several nuances. First, in the large majority of poor neighborhoods one can find these type of establishments (I asked the interviewees about this), so this is not a unique characteristic of socioeconomically diverse neighborhoods. Second, several middle class residents have their small grocery stores in their own house. On Jardín Alto street for example, in a space of three blocks (between Rojas Magallanes and Santa Julia), there are five small grocery stores in houses that qualify for the richest 10% of the population. In other words, low scale commerce is not a unique asset of the lower class. And third, many middle class residents prefer to avoid lower class areas (which I will discuss below), so the economic benefit of social diversity is not that high. Figure 36 show pictures of small grocery stores in lower class and middle class housing.

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[5] It is very common in lower class neighborhoods in Chile, and in many Latin American countries, to have small stores in their own house. It is a form of self-employment, with or without municipal permit, which is relatively easy to implement.

Figure 36: Small grocery stores (lower class on left side, middle class on right side)
SOURCE: author's photographs

Generally speaking, the levels of employment for lower class are very high, but this is more related to the historic economic moment in Chile than with proximity to higher status neighbors. Many interviewees said *"everybody here has something to do"*, but at the same time complain for the low wages and labor precariousness (lack of contracts, seasonality, etc.), that has been the characteristic of employment creation in the last years. Moreover, employment for young people is of low quality and brings low prospects for upward social mobility. That way, some youngsters decide to immerse

themselves in drug dealing. Figures 37, 38 and 39 below, show the variation of unemployment, domestic work and self-employment, respectively. To give some reference, according to the CASEN National Survey, the percentage of self-employed workers in Greater Santiago (metropolitan area), grew from 21.4% to 25.5% from 2000 to 2009. Likewise, domestic workers grew from 2.9% to 4.7% in the same period. As can be seen in the figures below then, the observed changes respond to major trends, and not to a specificity of the neighborhood.
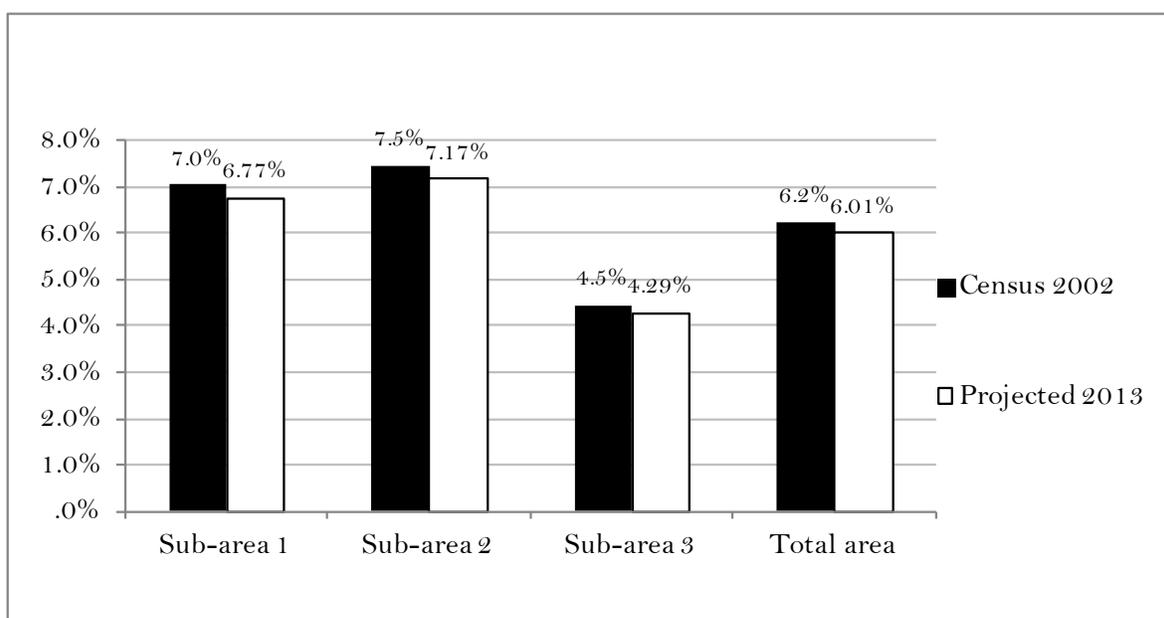
Figure 37: Variation of unemployed between censuses
SOURCE: self-elaboration from CASEN National Survey
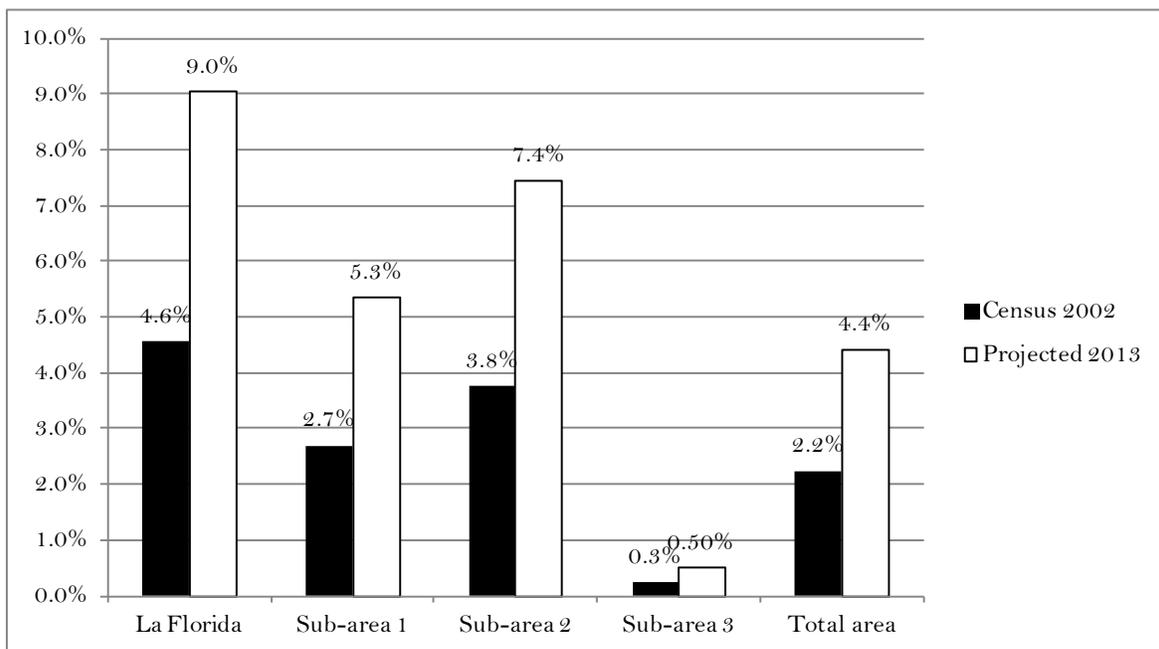
Figure 38: Percentage of domestic workers in the area (lower class strata)
SOURCE: self-elaboration from CASEN National Survey
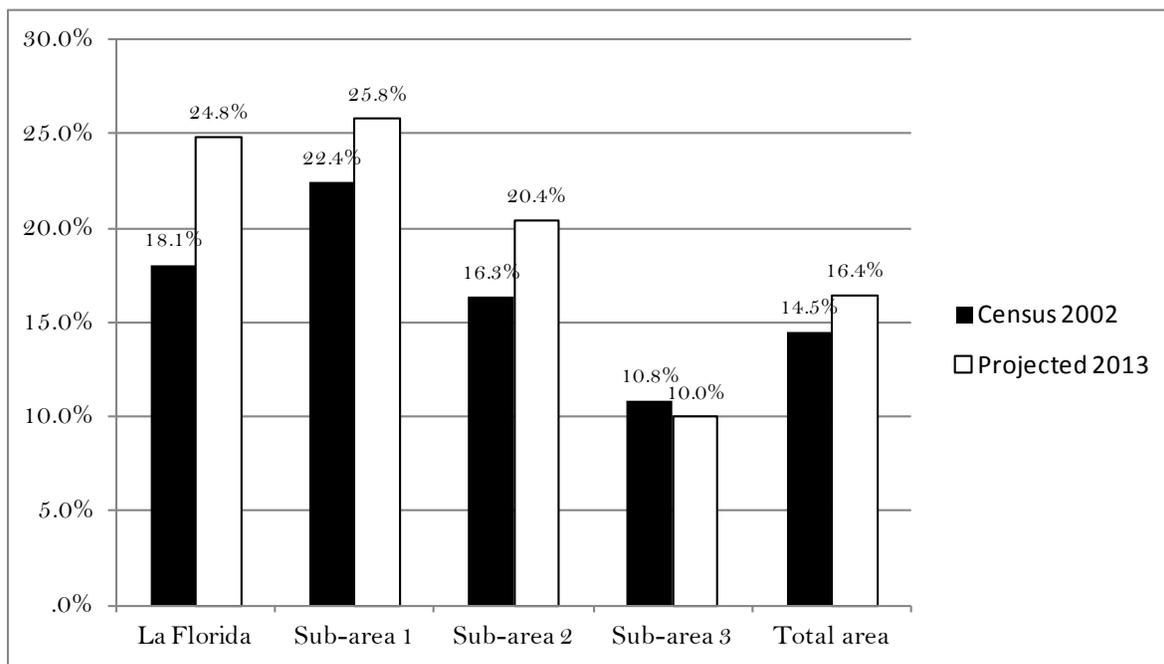
Figure 39: Percentage variation of self-employed workers
SOURCE: self-elaboration from CASEN National Survey

B.2 <u>Education opportunities</u>

The possibilities that the neighborhood offers for social mobility and intergroup relationships

are limited by the strong school segregation that exists in Chile. And this has been put under debate in

recent years by the Students' Social Movement. Although the Chilean school system does not mandate

to enroll in the same neighborhood that one is living, the majority of residents in the area have their

children in 12 establishments that are within or around the studied area. In other words, there is no

territorial conflict for schools, and the formation of groups (without a territorial anchor) responds more

to an idea of a 'floating community'. There are four tuition-free municipal schools: Bellavista, Maestra

Elsa Santibáñez, Santa Irene and Lo Cañas. There are five state-subsidized private schools, charging

U$50 to U$100 for monthly tuition: Atenas, Contémpora, Raíces de Altazor, Quinto Centenario and

Alicante. And there are three fully private schools, charging more than U$200 for monthly tuition: Santa María de Lo Cañas, Pablo Apóstol and American British. In terms of quality, the average score in the Simce test[6] (8th grade, reading and mathematics) of the area, per type of schools, is the following: 248 in municipals, 267 in state-subsidized, and 276 in private, while the national average is 242, 262 and 305, respectively (Agencia-de-Calidad-de-la-Educación 2013). Regarding income per social group, the payment of tuition to these establishments represents between 15% and 40% of household income. The setting up of tuitions, the main mechanism of economic segregation, is done in a very arbitrary way, following the socio-demographic changes in the neighborhood. Gonzalo, administrator of a state-subsidized private school explains this.

> *Javier: How do you define, here in this school, the cost of tuition? You told me that it's between U$80 and U$140… is it for the neighborhood? for the income level?...*
> *Gonzalo: No, there is nothing scientific like that, we guide more by competition… it's what other schools charge (…) but I haven't done any analysis of the purchasing possibilities of anybody… we suppose that all can pay that, because all charge the same…*

By this way, school segregation divides families of the neighborhood between the different establishments. From the lower class, the majority attends municipal schools (tuition-free), and some others attend state-subsidized schools, with a state scholarship. Despite this, those schools only have 10% to 15% of students with scholarship, which Laura, a 60 years old resident of La Loma, describes.

> *There are several schools (…) private, but then people can't access those benefits… more expensive. Now, thus, in all private schools there are opportunities for scholarships… but for that… it's very difficult to find scholarships…*

Among middle class residents, all attend state-subsidized private schools and private schools. And most importantly, is that they naturalize school segregation as something 'normal'. Carolina and Rafael, both middle class, demonstrate this naturalization in their discourse.

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[6] Standardized test for education quality in Chile.

Javier: there are not much children from La Loma in those schools…
Carolina: in those schools here no. No, because **they have a municipal school**, *the one from Lo Cañas… they have a bus… that is elementary, and then, they pass to Elsa Santibáñez.* **And they have a technical one**, *the Benjamín… Vicuña. It's on the 14 [paradero 14,* center of La Florida]*… then from this one, they move to that one.* [Emphasis added]

Javier: And lower class people from the neighborhood (…) Do they go to these schools (…)?
Rafael: No, no, they don't. To these schools in La Florida that are paid?... no, no. No, because I'm talking of schools that at least, should be above the U$200 monthly, and I don't think that they can pay that…
Javier: ok… so, they are attending just the municipal ones?
Rafael: **of course, absolutely** [Emphasis added]

Is in state-subsidized schools then, that one could find higher levels of social mixture. However, there is some discrimination towards lower class children (La Loma kids are pejoratively called *los lomitos*), and middle class parents have very low participation and involvement. An opposing example is a kindergarten that exists in La Loma, which was self-constructed and formalized by their organizations. There are middle class children attending this establishment, but many are sent on school buses (though they live just a few blocks away), and some parents have preferred to send their maids to parents' meetings. In general, there is more socioeconomic diversity in establishments that are under a model of competition (selection and/or ejection), but this increases segregation and differences of quality. And at the level of all La Florida municipality, and as an allegory of what is happening in the country, there are municipal schools being closed, and a massive migration to state subsidized establishments. For some organizations in La Florida, this would respond to a general strategy from the current major of restricting lower class residents and promoting the arrival of more middle and upper-middle class residents.

At the higher education level finally, this diverse neighborhood is not generating better possibilities of social mobility for youngsters beyond what has been the structural change in Chile: a

massive increase in enrollment[7], but with huge differences of quality. There are some young people that have entered college, but none to 'traditional universities'[8], and most of them to technical programs. Laura, a resident in La Loma whose spouse is a micro-entrepreneur, describes this situation.

> <u>Javier</u>: *Do you know if some here make it to the university?*
> <u>Laura</u>: *very difficult… a few. Just a few…*
> <u>Javier</u>: *and how do you evaluate the quality of (…) Quinto Centenario school?*
> <u>Laura</u>: *that is good, because I have my elder granddaughter, that is 24 years old, she… she graduated from that school too and… later she continued doing a course in Santo Tomas… Santo Tomas Institute* [low quality, private university]*… and she also graduated, no problem… and she is working now…*

C. <u>Intergroup relationships and classism</u>

C.1 <u>Intra-group and intergroup relationships</u>

> *They believe they are exclusive, that they are professionals… sort of… owners of cars, owners of this… then, there is much negative things from them to us (…) I mean, they say like 'the criminals of La Loma'… while not all people is criminal…* [Agustina, La Loma resident]

> *The surroundings are just 'villas', wealthier people, and we're all here humble people. People that live from a wage, from a job, and we feel… well, we here, the family… a little uncomfortable if you say, because many times people from the surroundings look us as a rare thing. Because they, being all 'villas' and we… they have even said that there is like a 'bad apple' here...* [Laura, La Loma resident]

Lower class residents in the study area in La Florida, feel a sense of general discrimination from the middle class. Despite them being the established and the middle class being the outsiders, lines of difference and stigmatization have already been determined. It has been said, here and in numerous studies, that there are exchange relationships between social groups in these diverse neighborhoods (domestic work, selling of goods and services, etc.), in a wide spectrum from the formal to the informal.

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[7] In Chile, the rate of students in higher education to the total population passed from 1.3% in 1992 to 5.53% in 2012.

[8] Group of publicly-oriented and high quality universities, existing before the university system was opened to the market and to profits in the 1980s.

However, relationships between groups do not advance beyond that, and they fail to have a meaningful importance. As Louis Wirth (1927) said, referring to the classic Jewish ghetto, *"trade relationships are possible when no other form of contact between two peoples can take place"* (p. 60). Benjamín, one of the founders of La Loma, describes his personal situation.

> *Look, I'm going to tell you the truth: I don't relate with anybody. Why would I lie to you? (…) I work with people… gosh, with Jardín Alto, over here, over there, but I don't relate with them (…) I have people that consider me as their friend. From the 'villas'. "You're my friend", they say to me (…)* [but] *we know each other so little…*

If groups are observed separately one can distinguish other details. Lower class settlements present an important social cohesion: for their work in establishing the different housing complexes (squatters, subsidies, property deeds, etc.), and for their needs of making ties of subsistence. The neighborhood is very important to them, and large part of their social networks is circumscribed to this territory. However, and as it has been a trend in La Florida, institutions and organizations have been losing strength. *Juntas de Vecinos* and *Juntas de Adelanto*⁹ are operating just for physical improvements, and there are no institutions working for poverty, with the exception of the limited work of the *Previene* Program (focused on drug prevention). Moreover, there is a new model of 'enterprise-like municipality' in La Florida (De la Jara 2003), which establishes individual relationships with residents, discriminating their own forms of community organization and promoting their de-politicization. Several times, leaders of *Juntas de Vecinos* and *Juntas de Adelanto*, work for applying to a specific project of physical improvement (e.g. housing expansion subsidies, from the Regional Housing Authority), but after that they quit. As a counterpoint, two aspects augur for a better future. First, the community of La Loma has been the most active of all, going beyond the requests for specific state benefits, and doing a proactive work for the recovery and transmission of their history with younger generations. And second, at a

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⁹ Territorial associations, mandated by law. *Junta de Vecinos* is the most important, fulfills some legal functions, and needs a high quorum of residents to be formed. *Junta de Adelanto* is smaller, does not need high quorums, and is generally formed for specific projects.

municipal level, in line with the critique to representative politics from the new social movements in Chile, a new territorial assembly has emerged. This assembly is struggling for issues of public health, housing, urban freeways, education, and green spaces in La Florida. And one of their achievements has been to stop the closing of two public schools, passing them to the control and management from parents.

The middle class in this neighborhood is a case apart. One of the most shocking issues in this case is the intense apathy, distrust and lack of participation from the middle class. Despite they have been living for several years in this area, the level of mutual knowledge is extremely low, and the level of trust is almost zero, even if their neighbors are from the same status. The only source of community ties are the different schools, but since they are 'floating communities', there is almost no intersection with a territorial group that identifies them. Francisca, an upper-middle class professional that lives in Jardines de la Viña, describes this.

> *I know people, but because they were parents from the school… but, like a friendship, no… I know them just because we were parents at the same school, the same class (…) here in this sector, let's say, this 'kidney' basically [her gated community], I know the neighbors (…) but the people, let's say, from the square on the other side, I don't know them…*

Likewise, Francisca also narrates the nostalgia for her childhood neighborhood and its community life, which abounds among middle class residents.

> *In turn, now here nobody knows each other… nobody knows each other (…) I think that we neither, in general… don't spend new year's eve here … Christmas we spend it here. But imagine, during Christmas nobody, never, has arrived to ring the bell, to greet us for Christmas, neither children, nor adults…*

The great exception to this lack of social networks is the middle-class owners of small grocery stores. Their everyday relationship with clients from the neighborhood gives them some more contact

among their peers. But the large majority of middle class residents live an isolated life, without friends

or incentives to spend their free time in the neighborhood. Rafael, resident in Llanos de Lo Cañas gated

community, despite his role as secretary and in charge of some domestic affairs, has this sensation of

isolation.

> *Neighbors are… there is no relationship… let's say it… like certain activities as group between neighbors, like visiting each other, no, no. Everyone maintains their life independently with its own people… respecting each other, but there is no social relationship of internal friendship, or instance of communication (…) one knows some people more than others, but is not a social network that is pointing to some objective…*

And beyond the lack of participation in any type of organization, middle class residents say they

do not need the local government of La Florida. They only demand security. Gabriela and Catalina, both

residents of Villa Parque Las Mercedes and leaders of a *Junta de Adelanto* formed to work on issues of

security, describe the situation.

> <u>Gabriela</u>: *people don't even open their doors… we have been informing about the meeting of the 'Junta de Adelanto', and they look us through the window, and don't open it for us. That's the level over there.*

> <u>Catalina</u>: *look, the neighbors… that's why I say to you, only this alley united, the rest… they're not even capable of paying the cent for registering…*

But all this apathy, distrust and lack of organization are reverted when middle class residents

see their property threatened in some way. Sometimes they react in individual ways, putting more

fences or appealing to the municipality, but other times they organize, like the mentioned *Junta de*

Adelanto. The topics that have managed to mobilize them have been mainly security and the

maintenance of common spaces. Two events have created higher levels of unity, although with opposite

goals and means. On one side, after the excessive installation of cell-phone towers, they even appealed to

La Loma *Junta de Vecinos* in order to have a higher impact with the municipality. And on the other side,

before the incipient construction of more social housing, they managed to have influence within high spheres of the Department of Housing and Urban Development, which I will show below.

Relationships between lower and middle class can be portrayed from the most opposite situations as well. When there are specific issues of crime, lower class residents are blamed immediately, and their spaces stigmatized. However, I could also observe the existence of some organizations with transversal participation, like an elderly group, and a group of married couples linked to the local church. Francisca, upper-middle class resident living in Jardines de la Viña, represents this important counterpoint. She is 40 years old and is a nursery teacher. She lives with her husband (also professional) and two children that are going to college. She participates with her husband in a religious group of married couples that is organized in La Loma, which she describes as one of the most important experiences of her life. There, they have relationships with many people of La Loma, and it has worked to take her fear and prejudices out. But on the other side, she strongly criticizes middle class people that does not know each other and do not participate. Regarding the group of married couples, Francisca says.

> *Friendship is preserved though… fraternity… Yes, I have very… the truth is… I would say I have good friends there, which are sisters and brothers, I mean… unconditional, absolutely unconditional…*

C.2 Social differentiation and classism

> *…the people from Jardines de la Viña are so 'siúticos' [upstart]… look, I'm going to talk bad about this people, even though I have some friends (…) the profile of this people next door is… the young professional that normally comes from a status very… middle… middle, lower-middle, but that has managed to scale up, and immediately buys a huge SUV…* [Isidora, upper-middle class. Lives in Lo Cañas, is the president of the *Junta de Vecinos* there, and works against the advancement of Real Estate companies in the area and for the defense of the Panul woods)

Classism in Chile has not been very well studied, despite people talks openly about it, and despite it seems to be the major force dividing Chilean society (like is racism in the US). Classism is a system of symbolic mechanisms that operates against meritocracy (Contardo 2012, Stabili 2003). The quotation from Isidora (above), shows both the despise to the upstart middle class from upper classes, and an implicit description of how the middle class relates with the lower class. I have already mentioned that among the middle class abounds the apathy and distrust. Then, why living in a neighborhood like this? Rafael, a resident of a gated community that would prefer a homogenous neighborhood, could shed some light on this.

> *I insist, I think* **people look for their peers**, *and there are not many points in common… I mean, I don't see how there can be a form of relating better… there are different needs, there are different goals…* [Emphasis added]

To say that *'people look for their peers'* sounds almost like the title for this chapter, but its background is highly questionable. There are two arguments to criticize this argument. First, I have already described the low level of socialization among those middle class 'peers'. The very Rafael, as I have shown here, points out the extremely low levels of social relationships in his gated community. And second, if middle class residents had the opportunity of living in upper class areas, they would leave their 'peers' without any remorse. There is no attachment to the neighborhood neither as a physical space, nor as a social space. What is left then? In my opinion, the symbolism of their urban location: to be in the geographic place, and together with the neighbors of the highest status possible, for the maximum price that could be paid. The symbolic value of their 'peers' allows the neighborhood to act as a screen for the reassertion of their status. And they do not need to relate with their neighbors for that. It is enough with being there. Then, the value of the neighborhood for the middle class is not based on its functional importance, but on its symbolic importance, similar to what Savage (2010) calls 'elective belonging'.

But the lower class does not escape from classism or social categorization, within the possibilities of their little material progress. Lower status residents appeal to different arguments of aspiration, ostentation, upstart behavior, and indebtedness, to differentiate themselves from the middle class. Agustina, old leader in La Loma, is part of this discourse.

> *We… maybe we have a wooden house, maybe… but no, we are not debtors of anything. Because we have our lot paid, the house is by self-construction… then, there are no great debts… we are not indebted like them, because they owe… even the dress they're wearing!…*

Likewise, distrust and differentiation also appear among the lower class residents. A leader of the municipal organization of doubled-up residents told me how there has been opposition to the construction of social housing in poor neighborhoods in La Florida, even though these new neighbors would be from the same social origin. The only explanation for these cases is the intense stigmatization from the mass media, which establishes a symbolic power (Bourdieu 1991) to mark an internal dichotomist division between 'criminals' and 'hardworking people'. Class distinctions operate in a very complex way. In this case, it was highly difficult to decipher a 'class aspect'. Several variables are crossed here: skin color, clothing (price and taste), self-presentation (hair, teeth, glasses, etc.), and body expression (speaking, attitude, walking, gestures, etc). Then, in absence of wide physical differences, and in a context of mass access to consumption, it is difficult to tell 'who is who' in this neighborhood, which puts a strange nebula over class discrimination. Eduardo, middle class resident at Villa Parque Las Mercedes, brings this issue in his discourse.

> Javier: *And you in the school (…) do you meet with people from La Loma?*
> Eduardo: *ah… you know, it's difficult…*
> Javier: *difficult to see them?*
> Eduardo: *right, it's difficult… how can I say?... to tell "this yes, this no"*
> Javier: *mmm… hard to locate them?*
> Eduardo: *right, difficult… because they go well dressed though…*

Berta and her sister Angelica, both residents of La Loma, narrate something similar from their experience.

Berta: *many people don't know that we live here…*
Angélica: *we go shopping as everyone. People say "oh yes, bla, bla, bla"… and then "oh, you know what?... they robbed us, and I believe they were from La Loma". But I remain quiet, because one doesn't say…*
Berta: *after it, we tell them anyway… that we live there… that we're hardworking people, that we've sacrificed ourselves here…*

The element that does mark differences, and that becomes a tool of classification in contexts of dialogue, is the occupational status. Humberto, upper-middle class resident in Jardines de la Viña, brings good details of this differentiation.

Here there is a relatively consolidated environment (…) houses here are not cheap… in which the majority of houses have two cars and up… have good jobs, good economic situation, the majority… which doesn't mean anything, but there is a different training in those households… maybe 85%-90% of the people, of the families that, I don't know… mom, dad professionals, with children that they want to become professionals…

But the main difference, in the absence of dialogue (which is the majority of the cases), is the quality standard of housing and urbanization. Since housing in Chile is mainly in homeownership (in all socioeconomic levels), and due to the general low levels of mobility, differences of quality become a source of pride, fear, differentiation and spatial restriction. To the extent that some marketing studies use the housing façade and surrounding to obtain a more precise approach to the socioeconomic status of their inhabitants (the motto of that methodology is that *'housing does not lie'*). Figure 40 shows extreme examples of housing and urbanization standards, from lower class and upper-middle class areas.

Figure 40: Different housing and urbanization standards
SOURCE: author's photographs

José, middle class resident who is the attendant of his own small grocery store in Jardín Alto, describes how the standard of housing and neighborhood is the primary source of representation and knowledge about the 'other'.

You realize in your way, that there is a very large diversity… I mean, it's just a question that you… pick your car, go one block up, and you'll see other reality, which is totally different…

Then, the majority of interviewees recognize, when they are in the streets, not always knowing where their neighbors are from. But when they see their neighbors entering or coming out from certain

spaces, they build the prejudice and are able to categorize them. In some way, this is also linked to a racial substratum, which is not very linked to the physical, but more related with a prejudice regarding indigenous customs. When I asked about their position between Europeans and indigenous, middle class residents were more identified with Europeans, or simply with a Chilean ethnicity: reaffirming 'the myth of *mestizaje*', as some authors point out (Alvarado and Fernández 2011, Waldman 2004). In turn, lower class residents strongly identify with the indigenous, specifically *Mapuche* (main indigenous ethnicity in Chile), making reference to their recent rural past. From the middle class, and in some cases from the lower class, there is also a belief in a 'culture of poverty', associated with an indigenous origin. Leonardo, lower-middle class resident that use his sense of self-improvement to stigmatize and differentiate himself from the lower class, shows this socio-racial argument.

> <u>Leonardo</u>: *if we had more from the European we'd have another culture. You can tell the lack of culture…*
> <u>Javier</u>: *How do you feel this more indigenous part? Do you feel it in people's customs?*
> <u>Leonardo</u>: *customs, right, exactly. Customs, and many things that don't… I was in Europe for a while also, I was in Central America (…) For example, if you leave a bicycle outside in the US, out of a supermarket, nobody steals it. Here, you leave it outside a small shop, and they steal it…*

Contemporary classism and racism have a very important common element: it is highly difficult to recognize its open manifestation, and nobody acknowledges that he/she practices it. Several middle class residents mentioned the existence of much discrimination, but in turn they contradictorily defend themselves saying that they are not classists or racists. Eduardo, middle class resident in Villa Parque Las Mercedes fell in this type of contradiction.

> *No, I don't have that discrimination… neither for blonds nor for blacks. I'm not the type of person that can discriminate by color. Because we Chileans… we're racists, we're terrible. But me, fortunately no. However, I wouldn't marry to a black woman… maybe… no, no… it's not my taste. But no, I'm not like that…*

The historic element of classism in the Chilean middle class has been the concealment of the social origin, in a careful scenic performance aimed at gaining acceptance by the elite (Contardo 2012). When asked about the municipality of residence before arriving to La Florida, middle class residents gave confuse and vague answers, implicitly illustrating their concern for not showing their true colors (*mostrar la hilacha*). An attitude that could be considered a minority within this current was shown by a middle class customer (anonymous) in a small grocery store located in a social housing area. She tried to explain why she was not ashamed to buy groceries in these stores. Unlike her middle class neighbors, she does not bother to recognize openly her social origin, and more than that, to feel it like hers and coexist with it.

> *You know what I think? (…) that we all come from a root, and that root is here (…) because we came out from here… then, in the end we feel comfortable buying groceries in this shop (…) why do we come here from different parts?... because our roots are here…*

As I mentioned before, the most relevant upper middle class organization happened for a massive opposition to the construction of a new social housing project in the vicinity of the study area. The 'Las Tinajas' project, whose land was bought by the Regional Housing and Urbanization Authority (SERVIU) in 2009, is targeted for families from La Florida, and an important portion of those are young families from La Loma. Without much media exposure, upper-middle class residents have managed to put pressure in every step of the process, even freezing the direct decision from the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development (MINVU). Figure 41 shows a march in Santiago's downtown (close to MINVU headquarters), in which social housing applicants of La Florida were protesting for the delays in the project.

Figure 41: Protesters complaining close to MINVU's headquarters

<u>NOTE</u>: On the back, *"Proyecto Las Tinajas La Florida: de La Florida somos… y en La Florida nos quedamos"* [Las Tinajas Project La Florida: of La Florida we're… and in La Florida we'll stay]. On the front, *"Trabajando para Construir!! Unión Comunal de Comités de Allegados de La Florida"* [Working to build!! Municipal Organization of Doubled-Ups in La Florida]

SOURCE: courtesy of La Nación

A web post in www.reclamos.cl (website for general claims), describes the position of the most reactionary middle class residents.

> *Don't buy YOUR HOUSE in Jardines de la Viña, project located in Av. La Florida [sic, it's actually in Rojas Magallanes] with El Hualle. Soon there will be social housing projects in adjacent lots to the communities. The construction and real estate companies didn't inform us about this situation when I bought about a year ago, them knowing about this situation. If you buy, your property will be devaluated, there are high risks of crime, you will have to build walls and put protections in doors and windows. The outcome; what you bought as a life project, will be screwed up… because of a real estate company that doesn't give the correct information…*

Prior to this organization, there was a little demonstration in a supermarket in Rojas Magallanes with Sánchez Fontecilla (the commercial center of Jardines de la Viña, inside the study area). They were motivated by the fear coming from rumors saying that residents from the emblematic *Toma de Peñalolén* (largest squatter settlement in Santiago in the 1990-2000s) will be sent to this neighborhood. And more recently, an alderman of La Florida, resident of Jardines de la Viña, organized a meeting with upper-middle class residents. For that meeting, they asked to use the office of the *Junta de Vecinos* of Lo Cañas. But the leaders of that *Junta de vecinos*, who have a very good relationship with lower class leaders, invited other local actors to these meeting; among them, the leader of the municipal organization of doubled-ups (who organizes applicants for Las Tinajas project), La Florida Deputy Carlos Montes (congressman from the socialist party), and leaders from La Loma. Isidora, representative of the Junta de Vecinos of Lo Cañas, speaks about this situation with contempt to her upper-middle class neighbors.

> *Huge alarm you know! How all this 'riffraff' would come to live there? (…) we did the meeting there, and [Deputy Carlos] Montes and the president of the municipal organization of… of doubled-ups arrived, with several social housing applicants… And this 'riffraff' next door [upper-middle class neighbors] said this: "we don't want this 'riffraff' [lower class] coming to live by our side. Our children won't be able to walk in the streets! We'll be afraid that our children be raped in the very street! And now is full of heavy drinkers and drug addicts!" In front of this people! I was dying of shame… dying of shame, I swear it!!!*

As I have mentioned, the separation between middle and lower classes has its roots in historical classism. This is, in the need, from the middle class, to hide their humble origins to gain acceptance by the elite, and to use the exploitation of the lower class as a symbol of status (Contardo 2012, Stabili 2003). However, neoliberal policies have contributed a crucial factor, which Prévôt-Schapira (2001) calls 'social fragmentation'. Numerous studies on social stratification in Chile (Barozet 2006, Contreras et al. 2005, Espinoza and Barozet 2009, Espinoza 2010, Torche 2005, 2006) show the varied aspects that the middle class share with the lower class: similar levels of social mobility, vulnerability, consumption

capacity, and even the way of speaking. Nevertheless, the main difference that the middle class perceives is the lack of protection from the state. Neoliberal policies have contributed to a higher division between the middle class and the lower class from the establishment of targeted policies (Barozet 2011). These policies operate creating discrete cuts between poor and non-poor, thus generating large differences between the quality of the 'public-subsidized' and the 'private-with-no-aid'. And in this list we can put education, housing, health, and a several other services for collective use. The huge differences of quality, and the feeling of being unprotected, create thus a strong reluctance from the middle class to use, and even to visit, the spaces and the subsidized services for the lower class. Juan, middle class resident in Villa Parque Las Mercedes, portrays this resentment.

> *Actually we, ah… there, in La Loma, there is also… but is middle class downward, there is hardworking people as well, and other* **people that are used to receive everything**. *Here, outside, though… in this 'villa'… you, I don't know…* **when you pass, you noticed it right away**, *if you don't… have you gone to* [La Loma]*?* [Emphasis added]

D. Crime, security and public space

D.1 Crime and security

Catalina, middle class resident in Villa Parque Las Mercedes, was not comfortable at all when I requested an interview. I told her that a neighbor, and leader with whom she works, had given me her phone number, and one of her first reactions was to say quietly: *"I'll call her to chew her ass out"*. When I arrived at her house for the interview, there was a private security car in front of her front gate, with a man seated, like he was waiting for something. During the interview, her language changed radically, presumably because she was in front of someone of equal of higher status. After each phrase, Catalina repeated continuously the word *'catchai?'* (Chilean slang for "do you get it?"), pronounced in the way the Chilean upper class do. When I finished the interview and left her house, the private security car was still outside and the same guy in the driver's seat. While I was going away on foot, like half block, I heard Catalina going out of her house to talk with the security guy in the car: *"he didn't kidnapped me!"*,

said her with relief. Clearly, her concern for security had gone that far that she was even distrustful of a professional like me.

Fear of crime is the main worry of the middle class. Apathy and distrust in the middle class, as I have mentioned, comes to an extreme when related to issues of security. Basically, they know too few people, they do not trust anyone, and anybody could be a criminal. Francisca, upper-middle class resident in Jardines de la Viña, dedicated several minutes of her interview to describe an intense event that happened to her and her 16 year old son. Her son was running down by Rojas Magallanes to catch the bus, and in the middle he was trapped by a man from another gated community, who immobilized him. The man said *"where are you robbing asshole?, where are you escaping from?",* to which he responds *"no, I'm not robbing".* The man pushed him to the floor and said *"no asshole!".* Her son was even more unlucky that a vehicle from the Investigation Police (civil police) was just running around. The man stopped the vehicle and said to the police *"I found this asshole robbing, he was robbing".* Fortunately, says Francisca, a car from Carabineros (uniformed police) passed, they changed her son from one vehicle to another, and since he was not carrying his ID, they took him home to verify his address. When Francisca realized what had happened, she took his son and went to look for this man, found him in the supermarket and discharged all her mother rage against him. The explanation that was given to Francisca was that he had had bad experiences in his gated community, but her conclusion was that the man *"was kind of crazy because he was seeing criminals everywhere".*

Middle class residents spend lots of money in security, some of them express their will of leaving the neighborhood, and lower class neighbors are blamed every time there is an incident. Berta and her sister Angélica, both from La Loma, describe this persistent blaming.

> <u>Berta</u>: *they discriminate us though… they discriminate us a lot because…*
> <u>Angélica</u>: *everything that happens, let's suppose…*
> <u>Berta</u>: *there is a robbery in a house…*
> <u>Angélica</u>: *"they were from La Loma!"… or, "I think the pharmacy was robbed. I think they were from La Loma". Do you understand me? Then everything is us, us, us…*

Rafael, middle class resident in the gated community of Llanos de Lo Cañas, makes a direct relationship between social heterogeneity and more crime.

> *People that live here supposedly has better stuff, better income, better everything… then they are potential targets of an assault, and in that sense it affects me… that the security of people and houses increases when people around… when, ultimately, there's homogeneity in the surroundings…*

Besides, there are varied elements, external to the neighborhood, that have increased distrust among the middle class, in a context of low socialization: sexual abuse and domestic violence scandals, and the exploitation of crime from the media. In their words: *"there's so much things happening out there"*. For the middle class then, the construction of fear is related with their discrimination and prejudice against their lower class neighbors, and with their almost inexistent internal cohesion, which in turn influences their vulnerability to build reality from external stories. The comparison of these perceptions with actual levels of crime in the neighborhood gives support to this argument. In the study area, the index of most serious social crimes (DMCS[10]) per 1,000 residents has had an average of 16.9 in the last 4 years. In 2012, the same index was 22.2 in Greater Santiago (metropolitan area), and 37.8 in La Florida. Figure 42 shows the DMCSs in the study area.

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[10] From the Spanish: *delitos de mayor connotación social (DMCS)*
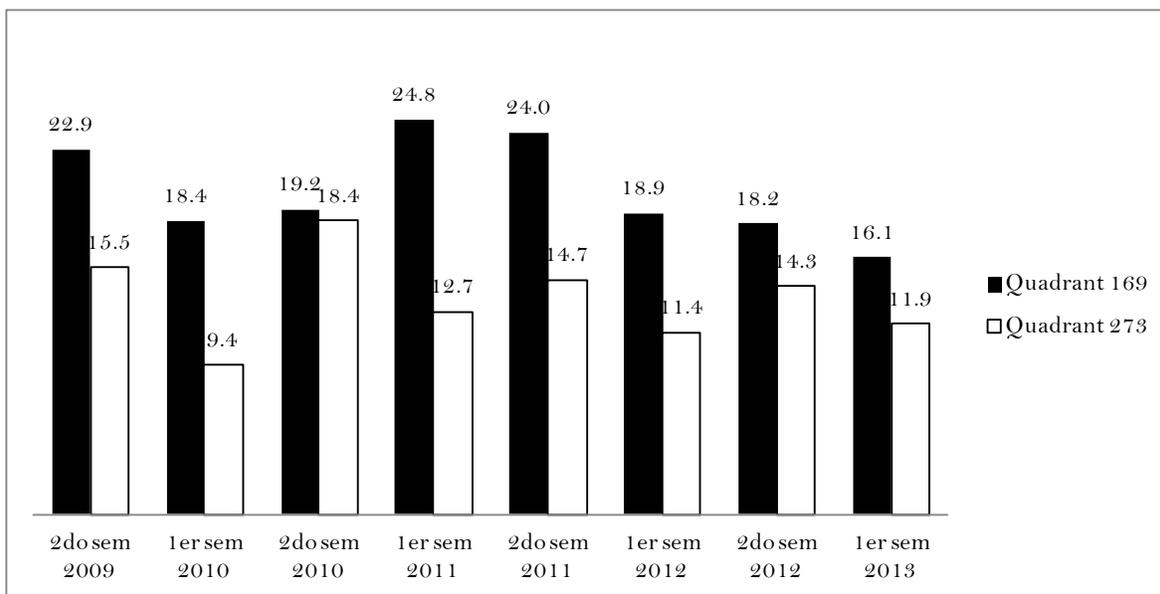
Figure 42: Evolution of DMCS per 1,000 for 169 and 273 quadrants[11] in La Florida
SOURCE: self-elaboration based on data from Carabineros-de-Chile (2013)

In fact, the middle class residents that have more relationships with the lower class, are the ones that report less fear to crime, although still live in gated communities or make high investments in security. Gabriela, who as a leader of the *Junta de Adelanto* of Villa Parque Las Mercedes (middle class) has had relationships with La Loma in several spheres, describes this situation.

> *They've told me "hey, be careful". "No", I tell them. "I don't have any problem". Sometimes my husband comes to pick me up. For example, the other day there was an activity in the church [small chapel in La Loma]… I left by 12am… 12:30am… Or when they come to activities here, the guys invite us for mother's day. And I have been at 1am… you know what happens? I think they already know me. Neighbors already know me because a lot of people already say hello to me, and I say hello to them…*

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[11] Quadrants: working areas for *Carabineros* (Chilean uniformed police)

On the other side, the perception of crime is the opposite among lower class residents. For them, the neighborhood is very quiet and peaceful, and that makes an important part of the attraction of living there. Lower class residents value the peacefulness of the area, although they do not relate it to the proximity to upper status groups. Esteban, officer at Tenencia Los Jardines (local police station) in La Florida, shares this perception of low crime from his experience.

Our area specifically, is not a dangerous place, is not a conflictive place. Is not a place for people to be afraid… to be everywhere… No, is not like that. Crimes that happen, as I said, are perpetrated by people that come from outside, nothing more. People can go around calm, go out with their children and their family, go shopping…

In any case, lower class residents also feel that is important to take measures to control the levels of crime, and in some way they understand their middle class neighbors, and some of their extreme concerns. Security then, could become a common aspiration, an interest that could be the base of a potential community, socially diverse. However, while crime events are imputed to lower class neighbors and there is high levels of distrust (intra and intergroup), that common interest would be far from becoming concrete.

D.2 Use of public space

As it can be deduced from the prior discussion, lower class residents develop their socialization in the neighborhood and with their neighbors, and use their public spaces frequently. One can see them easily interacting with acknowledgements and making new friendships. Middle class residents in turn, live mainly inside their house (the safest spaces for them), or go out of the neighborhood. That is, their social networks are outside (they do not have a territorial base) and their relationship with the neighborhood does not have a functional link, but merely symbolic. Therefore, their attachment is more to their house than to the neighborhood. Alejandra, middle class resident in a gated community in Araucanía street, describe these situations.

I don't do many things in the neighborhood, sincerely. Almost everything I do it far… just specific things (…) And simple things. Like, my mom go to the hair salon in Ñuñoa, or we go to the supermarket of the Florida Center [shopping mall], *which is inside La Florida, but is not like it's close…*

One of the few 'public' spaces that the middle class uses is the green areas inside gated communities, which are closed to external residents. However, the maintenance of these areas is still done by the municipality, which represents a privatization without liability. Rafael, from Llanos de Lo Cañas gated community, explains how this works.

Rafael: *the municipality sends a couple of guys, but they don't contribute much. We have our own gardeners…*
Javier: *ok, and for example, the water bill… do you pay that?*
Rafael: *we pay the… no… the electricity of the security kiosk, is ours… water, common spaces… is paid by the municipality. But they don't contribute much though…*

Regarding transit across spaces, the middle class do not pass through lower class spaces, but the lower class does pass through middle class spaces, with the exception of gated communities. Some middle class residents are even worried about lower class individuals walking close to their houses. Humberto, resident of a gated community in Jardines de la Viña, describes this situation from a doubtful distance.

There is a construction site over here, that I tell you many people are worried about… since many people is worried about Las Tinajas… because I understand it's by this very street, which is El Hualle, by the end of it… after this… that they're building. Then, the pass would be exactly by this street, by El Hualle… and here many people pass, people that arrive and that leave the construction site in the afternoon… and I tell you that many people complain about it, I mean… I don't know… here in the community you don't see people walking and spitting on the floor… but outside, you do see them…

Despite the high concern about crime and security, middle class residents in general do not avoid individuals on the streets, due to the difficult differentiation of a 'class aspect'. What they actually

do, and what they are really sure about, is to discriminate and avoid lower class places like La Loma, and

Carlos Witting and Silva Henríquez *villas*. Rafael, from Llanos de Lo Cañas gated community, is very

sincere in this.

> <u>Javier</u>*: so, you've never entered La Loma, nor passed…?*
> <u>Rafael</u>*: no, don't even think about it. I have entered. I have entered by car accidentally, but… I mean… I won't enter walking, we're not entering… I mean, I think nobody here does it…*
> <u>Javier</u>*: not even passing through Marcela Paz street [Villa Silva Henríquez]?*
> <u>Rafael</u>*: no, I mean, sometimes one… oh, I don't know… sometimes there are some people that do some short tasks or one wants to look for somebody who… a tailor or a shoe repair, but goes and returns… and I even think that very few (…) is not that there is a transit or a knowledge. No, I don't think. One goes to buy what one needs, if it's close… nothing more… and then return to their place…*

Moreover, squares and parks in the study area are too small, and do not offer any organized

activities. Figure 43 shows examples small parks in lower and upper status areas.

Figure 43: Small parks in the studied area

<u>NOTE</u>: On top left, Gerónimo de Alderete and Andrés Sabella (lower status area). On bottom left, Gerónimo de Alderete and Los Jardines (lower status area). On top right, Domo and Tromu (upper status area). On top bottom right: Sánchez Fontecilla and Domo (upper status area)

SOURCE: Google Street View (see copyright permission in appendix)

As a counterpoint, shopping malls, the quintessential 'public' space in La Florida (De la Jara 2003), concentrate all recreation and commerce. But those shopping malls, that attract thousands of La Florida's residents, are sometimes avoided by the middle class, as Alejandra points out, who lives with her parents in a gated community.

> Javier: *and on weekends, you don't go out to walk in the neighborhood?*
> Alejandra: *no, to other places… I mean, if we go to the mall, we go to Parque Arauco…* [shopping mall in an upper class area]
> Javier: *and why to Parque Arauco and not Plaza Vespucio* [main shopping mall in La Florida]?
> Alejandra: *my dad hates it, but because of some prejudice… he says to me: "I don't like it, it's full of people… everything is dropped on the floor, they don't assist you well"… and in Parque Arauco is not like that…*

D.3 Fences, walls and closures

Several problems have arisen in the use of public space in the study area. First, a couple of separation walls have been built: one separating La Loma from a park to the west, and the other separating this park from a gated community on Araucanía Street. Those walls have been erected several times, from the gated communities and with assistance of the municipality, but youngsters from La Loma have torn them down every time they can. Second, several streets have been left as 'cul-de-sacs', even if the Regulatory Plan of La Florida mandates that they should have continuity. Coincidentally, these 'cul-de-sacs' appear in border areas between different social groups. The best example of this is the northern exit of La Loma, by Antofagasta Street. When Villa Parque Las Mercedes was built in the 2000s, the construction company decided to leave this street closed, with the support of the new buyers, limiting the access to La Loma to a single street on the south (Lago Chungará, on the corner with Rojas Magallanes). However, the struggle of La Loma leaders in the municipality allowed them to reopen Antofagasta Street. Finally, gated communities themselves become areas of restricted access, even for middle class residents whose house faces an open street. Eduardo,

who has a house outside of the fence of a gated community, but which belongs to the same housing development, explains the situation he has suffered.

> *There are some that are discriminative (…) they are the ones inside the gated community with the ones facing the street. It's like… if my son goes to play with them, he's discriminated… not because we're different, with more or less resources than them… but they're like… they do their world apart. They believe the ones inside are different from the ones outside (…) when we bought our house, all these squares inside, the playgrounds… they were for all [of us], they were of the community. Can you see? Then, now if I want to enter, I'd have to have keys or have access…*

Finally, I make a commentary about fences and closures. According to my observations in the field, the degree of closure in the houses of this neighborhood presents certain homogeneity in small areas (block or housing development). And that closure responds to socio-spatial factors like: i) the socioeconomic situation of the small area (higher SES, more closure), ii) the size of the social area (smaller area of the same group –isolation–, more closure), and iii) proximity to lower status groups (more proximity, more closure). Likewise, this also responds to non-spatial factors, like the individual and collective perception of crime in the area. Figure 44 shows different types of fences among middle class housing.

Figure 44: Different types of fences among middle class housing
SOURCE: author's photographs

Sabatini and Salcedo (2007) point out that *"the existence of walls and fences is a much older phenomenon than the appearance and spread of gated communities"* (p. 588); that *"the existence of walls is just a normal reality"* (p. 593); and that *"security measures at gated communities are not intended to target"* (p. 593) lower class neighbors. It is important to recognize here that walls and fences exist everywhere in Chile and Latin America (Roitman 2011). However, there are fences and fences. This means, what happens in gated communities is not the same that what happens in other neighborhoods: that is why they are

called 'gated communities'. Here it is worth repeating one part of the posting from Jardines de la Viña's middle class residents, regarding the future of Las Tinajas project: *"there are high risks of crime, you will have to build walls and put protections in doors and windows"*.

It becomes necessary then, to distinguish what are the motivations from property owners to put their fences, and what the symbolic effects are for neighbors and passersby. Closures are used to protect residents, and the degree of closure generally signals how unprotected the owners feel. But fences also have a deterrent effect, as does any security device. And many times this effect is more important than the mere physical closing. The deterrent effect constitutes a specific message towards all strangers, regarding the owner's house. In the case of this neighborhood, if the middle class have almost no social networks, then not only residents from La Loma, Villa Carlos Witting and Villa Silva Henríquez are strangers. Everyone is a stranger and a potential criminal (like the son of Francisca), and the message of fences and security devices is aimed at all of them.

E. Partial conclusions

Here I summarize the findings in terms of the mentioned four dimensions of socio-spatial integration: i) physical (proximity between groups), ii) functional (access to opportunities), iii) relational (non-hierarchical relations), and iv) symbolic (identification with a common ground). In terms of the *physical dimension*, I can say that this case presents a high degree of physical proximity between different social groups. This is, the level of residential segregation is almost zero, according traditional indexes. Or of an *"astounding diversity"*, as a public official from La Florida municipality described it. Nevertheless, there is much closure, low collective use of public space, and a low territorial attachment in the social networks of the middle class. Thus, physical proximity in this neighborhood, makes other spheres of segregation to emerge, like education, recreation and public space, churches, etc. Luis, parish priest of San José de Las Mercedes church, and who knows both realities, summarize this problem:

"diversity is possible provided there are points of contact. A diversity bounded in gated communities, doesn't interest me at all". In terms of the **functional dimension**, despite the exchange of goods and services, many lower class residents do not feel the benefits, even emphasizing that the neighborhood would be the same with or without middle class residents. Lower class groups highlight the arrival of new amenities to the neighborhood (metropolitan scale commerce, private schools, better urbanization standards, etc). But they do not feel it as theirs and sometimes end up using their old infrastructure, like their own self-sufficiency commerce. And while the arrival of the middle class has brought some possibilities of employment for the lower class (domestic service, higher demand for their small grocery stores, etc.), this type of jobs is not generating enhanced possibilities for upward social mobility.

Regarding the **relational dimension**, I could see the existence of only one community, but which does not encompasses all residents: the established and cohesive lower class, since the middle class does not have a relevant organizational level. The social control from the middle class-an assumption emerged from the US literature-does not exist, since the middle class only exerts pressure indirectly (through the police, the municipality, the Regional Housing Authority, etc). For the lower class, the higher security of the neighborhood could be the main benefit of the socio-demographic changes, although at the expense of a higher stigmatization. And regarding the **symbolic dimension**, there is a not well defined identity of the neighborhood: the lower class feels that the changes are not for them, and the middle class feels that the neighborhood is not totally theirs. There is not much recognition about the value of 'the other', beyond more resources brought by the middle class, or the importance of the work done by the lower class. However, some middle class residents say they feel certain envy for the cohesion of the lower class, although this varies among the different social housing settlements. And within the field of the symbolic, the utilization of fences, walls, and security devices (cameras, security kiosks, security guards), sends hostile messages among the population and does not contribute to unlock the profound distrust.

This diverse neighborhood does not create the outcomes of integration policies (Joseph 2006), but instead a 'transformed poverty', with more amenities, more police surveillance, more local demand for domestic service, and possibly better social housing. The benefits of this are just an improvement in physical standards and a decrease in crime. And curiously, these are the two most disturbing factors for the economic-intellectual elite of Chile: neighborhoods that are accessible (able to be politically influenced) and more security. From these arguments, I can extract several critiques to the existing literature in Chile about integration in gated communities (Campos and García 2004, Morandé 2008, Sabatini and Salcedo 2007, Salcedo and Torres 2004). First, territorial dispersion is assumed as a priority way for the improvement of poverty. This is, only through land policies, instead of thinking in the territorial redistribution of resources and opportunities. Second, the land market is taken as a problem by itself (creator of segregation), and not as a result of a wider social process, like unequal investments and segregated schools. Third, diverse neighborhoods are assumed as positive by themselves, because of the functional interchanges, without taking into account the persistence of segregation and inequality. And fourth, it is proposed that the main problem to be resolved is the disposition of the middle class to live together with the lower class (Sabatini et al. 2012). Thus, they decrease the relevance of the opposite opinion: the disposition of the poor to live with higher status neighbors, and even more meaningful, the importance they assign to that possibility[12].

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[12] Recall that in this study, some lower class residents reported that the neighborhood would be the same with or without the middle class.

VIII. COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS: NEIGHBORHOOD DIVERSITY IN CONTEXTS OF GROWING INEQUALITIES

In the last two chapters, I have shown two cases in which extremely different social groups share the same geographical space, making demographically diverse neighborhoods. The diversity of the Cabrini Green-Near North case in Chicago, was created through a mixed-income housing policy established in the grounds of a large public housing project, which in turn is situated in the middle of an upper income area. The diversity of the La Loma-La Florida case in Santiago was created through the incursion of gated communities in a formerly poor area of land squatters and social housing projects. In both cases, lower status groups have been invaded by upper class residents, thus modifying the urban and social environment.

As mentioned in the Research Design chapter, one of the main goals of comparative research is exploring the variety of cases (Ragin 1994). This means examining different forms and explaining phenomena in terms of the causal complexities of each case. As Ragin (1994) suggests, comparative research comprises three general steps; identifying categories, observing emerging patterns of differences and similarities between cases, and revising analytic frames from the observed evidence. In this dissertation, the first step was developed in the theoretical and comparative frameworks, and the third step will be developed in the conclusions. The aim of this chapter then, is to analyze and discuss both differences and similarities between the Cabrini Green-Near North case in Chicago and the La Loma-La Florida case in Santiago. The study of differences helps in understanding the contextual specificity of residential segregation and socio-spatial integration, and in preventing careless theory and

policy transfers. The study of similarities in turn, helps in extracting common patterns of neighborhood diversity in contexts of growing inequalities.

In addition, when making comparisons between cases, the problems of external validity or generalizability become critical. External validity is defined as the extent to which the results of a study can be generalized to other situations and to other subjects. Although issues of validity and reliability are very important for qualitative research, they are treated differently. Lincoln and Guba (1985) affirm that *trustworthiness* defines the scientific standard for qualitative research, in order to evaluate its worth. Compared to the conventional terms of validity and reliability in positivist research, Lincoln and Guba (1985) propose alternative terms for interpretive inquiry, and in the case of external validity, the equivalent is 'transferability'. To improve this, they suggest developing thorough descriptions of the central elements of each context and its main assumptions, in order to facilitate a 'sensible' comparison.

With this purpose in mind, I organize the comparative analysis in two steps. In the first part, I analyze the differences and discuss their divergence in terms of the Three Structural Factors of Contextual Variation, outlined in the comparative framework. This would work as a 'generalization to context', in terms of identifying the contextual roots of the observed phenomena, and studying how specific problems develop in different urban and socio-political environments. And in the second part, I analyze the similarities between the cases and discuss their likeness in terms of a general theorization of segregation and integration. This would represent an exercise of analytical generalization, or 'generalization to theory' (Flyvbjerg 2006, Yin 1994). In the end, I finish with some partial conclusions for the comparative and theoretical frameworks, and on possible policy developments in the future.

A. <u>**Differences between cases: the importance of context**</u>

At a general level, there are several aspects that distinguish the Cabrini Green-Near North case in Chicago from the La Loma-La Florida in Santiago. First, in terms of the historic urban development, Cabrini Green was a huge public housing project, and was stigmatized at a national level, with major riots and crime incidents in its history. In turn, the social housing projects of La Florida are neither large, nor as closely stigmatized as Cabrini Green. In addition, none of the major social housing projects has been demolished, and they have not suffered a large depopulation process. The only similar occurrence in La Florida was the removal and relocation of a few shanty towns. But since residents of different social housing projects (at least in this area of La Florida) are not much connected among themselves, interviewees did not have special accounts about the lost population. As I mentioned in the Research Design chapter, it would not be possible to find in Chile an example of a large and stigmatized social housing project with a mixed-income housing plan going on. Nothing like that has happened yet. Second, in terms of visibility in the public debate, Cabrini Green has been at the center of discussions on public policy in Chicago and the US, and has been subject to several plans during the last decades. La Florida in turn, has not been under much political and media attention, and there are no redevelopment plans, displacement or lawsuits, as in Cabrini Green. The only exception is the recent incident regarding the new social housing project. However, the social mix happening between social housing and gated communities have received intense academic and political attention in the framing of new mixed-income policies, as described in Chapter 4. Figure 45 shows news from Cabrini Green and from La Florida.

Figure 45: News from Cabrini Green and La Florida
NOTE: On the left, Chicago Sun-Times' commentary about the shooting of Dantrell Davis in 1992. On the right, news on La Nación online newspaper about a march for the Las Tinajas project in Santiago's downtown in 2012.
SOURCE: courtesy of Chicago Sun-Times and La Nación

Third, regarding the location of the neighborhood in each metropolitan area, there are important differences. The neighborhood around La Loma is placed in an area of new construction, while Cabrini Green is placed in the inner city and experienced several rounds of construction and demolition (See Vale 2012, Zorbaugh 1929). The surroundings of Cabrini Green were always affluent. Around La Loma in turn, there were empty lots (used for agriculture) and with the new constructions in recent decades, there area has seen a sustained increase in average incomes. Figure 46 shows the location of Cabrini Green-Near North in Chicago and La Loma-La Florida in Santiago.
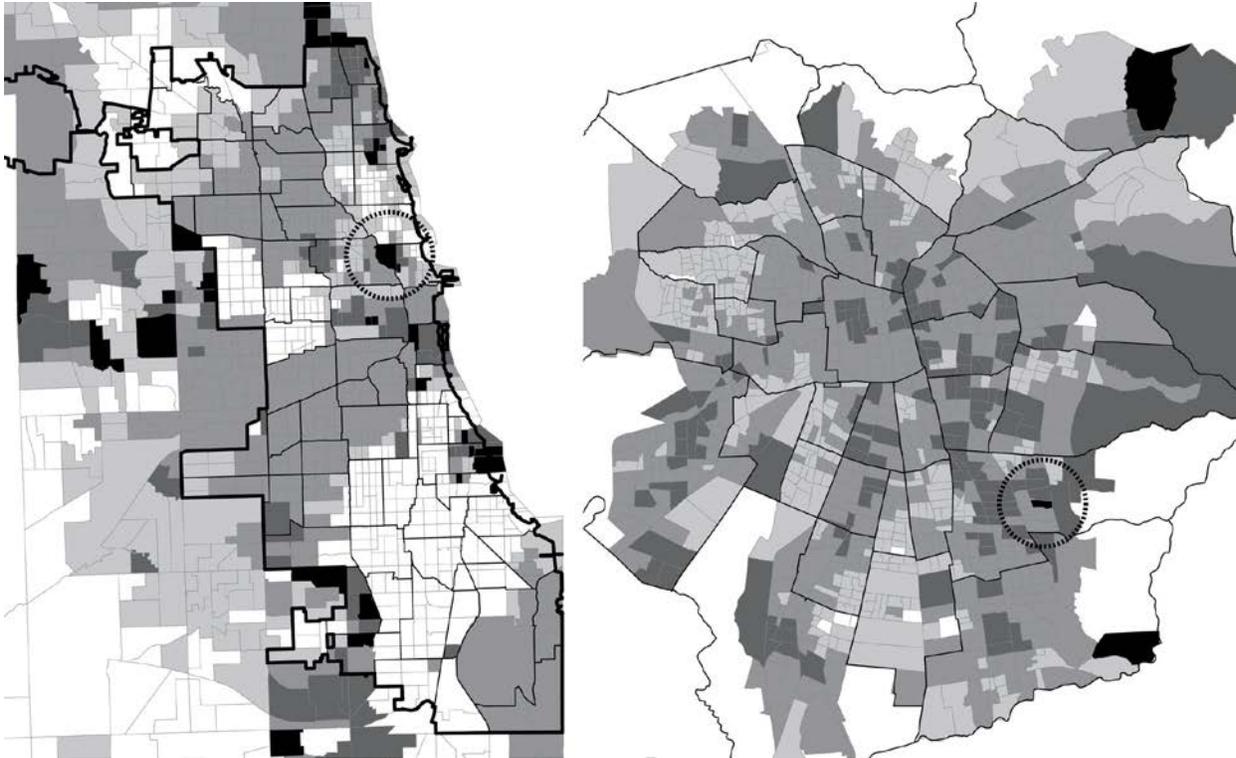
Figure 46: Location of the studied neighborhoods in their metropolitan areas
NOTE: As shown in the Research Design chapter, the two maps show the Index of Neighborhood Diversity in each city. The lighter colors show the most segregated areas (either upper or lower status) and the darker colors show the most demographically diverse areas.
SOURCE: self-elaboration from US Census 2010 and Chile's Census 2002

And fourth, there is an important difference in terms of residents' ages. In Cabrini Green, most upper status residents do not have school-age children, and lower class blacks have several. In that sense, there are different household structures that impact not only the school system, but the use of public space, competition in the labor market, the amenities present, etc. This age disparity is a factor that Nyden, Maly, and Lukehart (1997) include within the idea of *'laissez-faire diversity'*, which suggests that two groups could coexist with fewer problems when there is no direct competition for some collective goods. In La Florida in turn, the household structures are not that different; both groups have

school age children. However, family sizes are smaller in upper status groups, and there are more old households among social housing residents. In the following subsections, I show more specific differences between the cases and analyze them in terms of the mentioned three structural factors of contextual variation. These macro-factors distinguish the production, dynamics and consequences of residential segregation in different contexts, making reference to: 1.1) the social stratification of each society (and the cultural ethos evolving from it), 1.2) the characteristics of the housing system (or political economies of neighborhood change), and 1.3) the spatial distribution of welfare.

A.1 Social Stratification Systems: the influence of race and class on neighborhood diversity

As mentioned in the comparative framework, social stratification systems refer to the classification of people into groups based on inequalities and beliefs leading to differences of status, power or privilege. It works as a system in each society in the sense that establishes hierarchies and categories of people. In the two studied neighborhoods, the first and most obvious difference is that each of these cases represents a race-divided and a class-divided example for each national context. And both show the most significant extremes of their own social stratification. The Cabrini Green-Near North area is 52% black, 45% of residents have incomes over $50,000, and 42% are below the poverty line. However, there is a sizeable upper-middle class black population. The area around La Loma in La Florida, is 18% poor and extreme poor, and 33% upper-middle class. That is how, in the exercise of combining the stratification profile and the historical background of the population, I created two status groups in each neighborhood. In Cabrini Green, I distinguished one low status group as established, low income and all black, and the upper status group as newcomer, upper-middle income, and majority white. In La Florida in turn, I distinguished one low status group as established, low to medium occupational status, and poor to medium housing standard, and the upper status group as newcomer, professional status, and high housing standard. Thus, intersections of race and class can be found just in

Cabrini Green with middle class blacks, whose situation is highly complicated between racial solidarity and aims for social differentiation. In La Florida, the closest situation is the positive and negative self-identification with indigenous, among the poor and among the middle class, respectively. Table XXX shows the demographic changes in each neighborhood. Table XXXI shows the characteristics of status groups in each neighborhood.

Table XXX: DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGES IN EACH NEIGHBORHOOD

CABRINI GREEN	2000	2010	LA FLORIDA	2002	2013
Total population	10,290	9,645	Total population	8,871	10,656
Percentage black	86.70%	51.70%	Extreme poverty	3.70%	2.70%
Median income	$24,450	$32,500	Poor	18.00%	14.80%
Percentage with income >$50k	27.70%	44.90%	Lower-middle class	18.40%	15.90%
Percentage homeowners	12.10%	27.80%	Middle-class	34.60%	33.70%
Percentage of poor families	54.30%	42.40%	Upper-middle class	25.30%	32.90%

SOURCE: US Census 2010 and Chile's Census 2002

Table XXXI: CHARACTERISTICS OF STATUS GROUPS IN EACH NEIGHBORHOOD

	CABRINI GREEN - NEAR NORTH	LA LOMA - LA FLORIDA
LOWER STATUS	Established Low income All black	Established Low to medium occupational status Poor to medium housing standard
UPPER STATUS	Newcomer Upper-middle income Majority white (some black)	Newcomer Professional status High housing standard

SOURCE: self-elaboration

Regarding the type of occupations for the lower class, there are clear distinctions. In Cabrini Green, some residents have service jobs, some work for social service organizations (e.g. outreach workers), and some are simply unemployed and live on welfare benefits. In La Florida, low status residents work in domestic service jobs, low-scale commerce or informal or semi-informal occupations. The availability of these types of occupations could be explained by two aspects. First, the high rates of homeownership among the lower class allow the development of home occupations, either to produce goods (e.g. manufacture of furniture, food to sell in other places), or to use the house as the place of work and exchange (e.g. small grocery store, tailoring, show repair, etc). And second, there is an important degree of tolerance for informality among local authorities, either through facilitating the issue of municipal permits or simply doing less supervision and control. In the history of Cabrini Green, there were some accounts of home occupations (e.g. hair salon) and small shops owned or run by low income blacks (see Whitaker 2000). But in present days, there are no such occupations and no informal commerce. The only informal activity (and very marginal by the way) was the case of low income blacks selling cigarettes in a specific street corner. At a city and national level, there is a much smaller volume

of self-employment and domestic service in the US and Chicago[1]. The category of maids, for example,

accounts for 6% of the economically active population in Chile, and only 0.7% in the US (Instituto-

Nacional-de-Estadísticas 2002, US-Census-Bureau 2012a). The possibilities of working in the

neighborhood are much related to this. There are clearly more low income residents working in their

own neighborhood in La Florida, either as domestic servants (with or without contract) or in self-

subsistence occupations. But as I shown before, the chances of getting a domestic service job depend

heavily on the cohesion and the contacts among the local community (i.e. the specific social housing

development). In addition, many domestic servants (almost a half, according to their accounts) work

outside the area. In Cabrini Green, there are much more commercial establishments (due to its more

central location) in which low income people could work. But despite the efforts of the Alderman in

bringing jobs through the new Super Target, there are just a few residents employed in service jobs.

Other issue that is deeply crossed by race and class tensions is intergroup relationships. In

general terms, I could say that there is more ignorance and distrust of 'the other' in Cabrini Green, since

the racial and cultural differences (not only socioeconomic) between groups play important roles in their

social distance. Likewise, the sources of conflict and discrimination are different. I can highlight two

situations showing underlying prejudices and ignorance in Cabrini Green; poor blacks loitering and

middle class blacks identified as low income. In La Florida, even though clothing and ways of talking

could generate some concern, the housing and neighborhood quality are the main source of

discrimination. This distinction then, separates between two different types of stigmatization. Stigmas

focus on fixed categories, and accumulate over them (Goffman 1959). Then, the fixed category for class

divided contexts is just the territory, since their residents are able to modify their aspects. In racially

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[1] Street vendors, for example, are tolerated in New York City, but not in Chicago. However, Venkatesh (2006) has shown some informal activity in the south side of Chicago, where unregulated, unreported, and untaxed work is part of the daily life of poor urban neighborhoods. The learning then, is that in places like Cabrini Green, in the middle of the wealthy Near North Side, such informality would not remain unnoticed and would not be tolerated.

divided contexts in turn, territorial stigma overlaps with a human stigma over its residents (Wacquant 2007).

Intergroup relationships can also be separated between indirect and direct interactions. Indirect interactions between upper status and lower status residents in both contexts are highly hierarchical, and are established through external institutions. But the type of institutions are different. In Cabrini Green, the main entities mediating between middle class and lower class residents are condo associations, the police and the CHA. In La Florida, the main entities are private security companies, the police, the municipality and the Regional Housing Authority. Direct interactions are much more different between cases. In Cabrini Green, while there are some casual interactions at schools and at service jobs, the main place where differences and future plans are discussed is the NNUP (Near North Unity Program) meetings. And these interactions are relatively polite, and most importantly, relatively horizontal. In the absence of such groups in La Florida, the most common point of contact is the workplace, and within this, domestic service jobs, whose relationships are highly -and explicitly-subordinate. With this type of subordinate relationship thus, it seems difficult that some kind of coordinated efforts or negotiations be established. In terms of social differentiation for the middle class, the neighborhood and the house plays a different role in each site: it is a screen for the long term construction of status in La Florida, and it is a temporary investment in Cabrini Green. But the case of La Florida is the one that shows more situations of social differentiation through the neighborhood, like the widespread access to visible consumption goods (e.g. SUVs), or the institutional separation between lower and middle classes in terms of state protections. In Cabrini Green in turn, the strong racial divide discourage the establishment of more lines of differentiation. Therefore, racism in Cabrini Green is enforced through conflict and discrimination, while classism in La Florida is enforced mainly by efforts of social differentiation.

A separate issue that usually monopolizes all discussions and concerns in both places is crime, safety and the use of public space. The difference between the two sites here is paradoxical; Cabrini Green has higher levels of crime, but the perception of fear and the use of public space are less problematic than in La Florida. Although decreasing in both neighborhoods, the level of crime is still high in Cabrini Green; index crimes per one thousand is 93 in Cabrini Green (56 in Chicago), while in La Loma is 17 (22 in Greater Santiago)[2]. While the critical crime issue in Cabrini Green is low income blacks loitering, house robberies are the main concern in La Florida. Shootings do not happen in La Florida, but in Cabrini Green are occasional, but real, threats. Although the perception of crime among the middle class in Cabrini is high, there is not much additional investments in security (just more pressures on authorities and the police). In La Florida in turn, there is a more individual response, in terms of more intense investments in fences, walls, security cameras, private guards, electric security fencing, and the like. This higher level of fear among Chilean middle classes, is related to the lack of cohesion among them (from a long term individuation process, which I explain below), and an impotence of not participating in decision-making process (or low protection by the state). Another situation to highlight is the level of police harassment of the poor, which could be more related to the crime levels, but also to the 'human stigmatization' explained before. There is much more police harassment in Cabrini Green, which was supported by several accounts of racial profiling and unjust treatment. In the same line, there are more than twice the number of police in Cabrini Green (1 officer per 224 people) than in La Florida (1 officer per 574 people).

The use of public space is part of the mentioned paradox. Although middle class groups have extended networks in both places, the ones in Cabrini Green do use their public space intensively. The neighborhood for them, is a little bit more functional, and not just symbolic. The interactions in public

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[2] Measurements in both contexts are the same. Index crimes in the US consider the same than Most Serious Social Crimes (*delitos de mayor connotación social*, DMCS) in Chile: robbery, aggressive battery, theft, aggressive assault, burglary, criminal sex assault, and murder.

space show a clear class and racial divide. In Cabrini Green, groups interact with their own, using different parts of the same space. Low income blacks socialize and meet new people, while upper status residents bring their own networks to use their spaces. In La Florida, the lower class is a little bit more clustered in their own social housing projects, since public spaces are smaller in size and do not allow a wider use, which I explain below. Furthermore, middle class groups use different spaces in both sites. In Cabrini Green, they are the majority in paid spaces, like Panera Bread and Starbucks. In La Florida in turn, the middle class just use the grocery stores, their own gated communities or simply go out of the neighborhood. Figure 47 shows pictures of lower status and upper status places in each neighborhood.
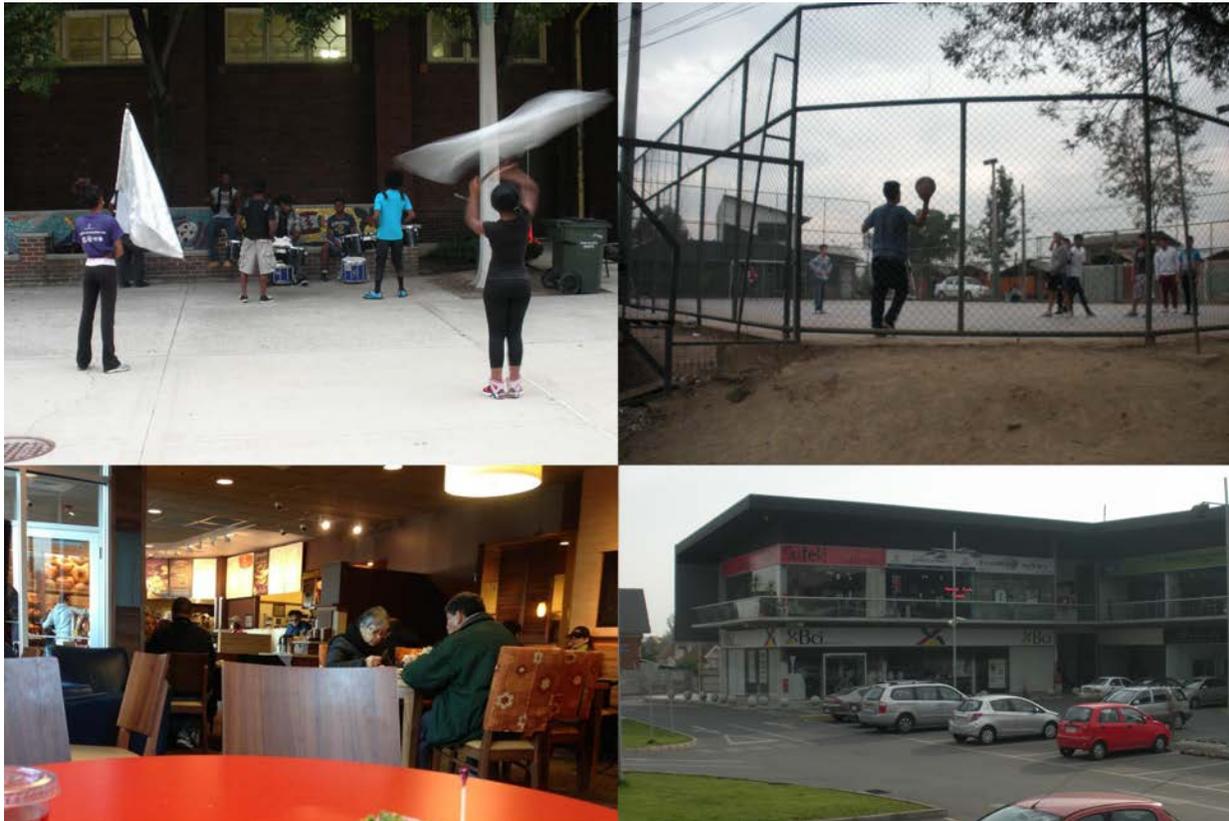
Figure 47: Lower status and upper status places in each neighborhood
NOTE: On the left (Cabrini Green), a group of young black drummers in Seward Park (top), and upper-middle income whites in Panera Bread (bottom). On the right (La Florida), youngsters playing football in La Loma (top), and upper-middle class cars outside the 'strip-center' with a sushi restaurant, a bank, a gym and several other stores (bottom).
SOURCE: author's photographs

Differences of race and class also mark the one-sidedness of institutional treatment in both places. In Cabrini Green, there is an intense feeling of a one-sided treatment from external institutions (police, city of Chicago, the media, etc.) between low income blacks and middle class whites. In La Florida in turn, with low racial differences, there is not such feeling, maybe because their behavior is not that intensely surveilled. The closest thing (which includes prejudice) is the resentment from middle classes to the benefits received by the poor. In both places, race and class are used as weapons of

categorization and differentiation from both groups (downwards and upwards). The only difference is that the racial discourse is much more concealed in Cabrini than the class discourse in La Florida. Classism in Chile is not as morally punished as racism is in the US. For example, the first anti-discrimination laws were passed just in 2012, including class discrimination.

Speaking exclusively of class, there are more issues to analyze. There is definitely more active participation and social relationships among middle class in Cabrini Green than in La Florida. And this is related to deep processes happening in the class structure of both countries in last decades. In the US, white middle classes are the heirs of the American Dream, but the high levels of social mobility that existed before have been waning. However, the accounts of middle classes in Cabrini Green still make reference to successful life experiences, putting them as part of a meritocratic and upwardly mobile culture. Rachel, a white middle class resident in the Cabrini Green area, describes this situation.

> *…nobody knows that my husband and I collectively… when I was working… my previous job worked 120 hours a week… I didn't just… neither one of us grew up with money… and how hard we worked to… you know, they just… make some assumptions that 'the haves' have always all… I think… I would guess that the majority of people that chose to live in this neighborhood… people who have money now… didn't know what is to have it, and they came from working class and first generation parents… went to college themselves… and they want a… they want to be a part of the community…*

From recent studies in social stratification in the US (Kerbo 2012), I can say that the residents in Cabrini Green are in the upper part of the middle class, at the top of the occupational structure (just below the corporate class), and working in jobs related to the service economy. The middle class in the US has been shrinking, but the upper-middle class in Cabrini Green does not suffer from the increasing labor precariousness that most of the middle class is experiencing. In any case, what studies of the US middle class have shown (Kerbo 2012), is that this group is more involved in community issues, have less reliance on the extended family, have more resources for participation, are more cosmopolitan and

are more pro-capitalism. And that description fits very well with the high levels of middle class involvement in the NNUP, the local schools, and other institutions and organizations. In Chile, the trajectory of the middle class has been completely different. From the socioeconomic deregulation that Pinochet's modernization initiated in 1976, middle classes passed from the state-public space to the private bureaucracy, influencing their deep individuation process. Between 1938 to 1973, the state had a clear public vocation that attracted the middle class to the public bureaucracy. That is why several authors affirm that the Chilean middle class is a byproduct of the state expansion between the 1950s to the 1970s. But from the mid 1970s, the state began to shrink, and middle class groups started to disaffiliate from the state apparatus. In addition, public wage-earners decreased with deindustrialization, and the military dictatorship imposed atomization processes. After this neoliberal modernization, the Chilean middle class showed a compulsive pattern towards consumption as a mean of socio-symbolic integration. Consumption credit replaced state employment and spending as vehicles of social mobility (at least symbolically). The middle class identity thus showed new symbolic patterns, post-material demands, and validation of the micro-entrepreneur as a new imagery of the consumption society (Angelcos, Pérez, and Sémbler 2006, Balbontín 2009, Barozet 2006, Espinoza and Barozet 2009, Moulian 1997). The traces of these processes are visible among the middle class in La Florida, in terms of their apathy, distrust, isolation, and lack of participation. The only examples of middle class participation are in issues not related to the state (private associations), or in reactions against more social housing.

The symbolic, rather than functional use of the neighborhood (or 'elective belonging', see Savage 2010) makes more sense in La Florida than in Cabrini Green, where status is much more important than any significant participation. In Cabrini Green, the middle class is claiming their own 'Right to the City' in a more comprehensive way than the complaints in La Florida. A right to participate in the decisions for the future, which is in hands of the so-called Working Group right now

(composed of low income leaders and public officials). The middle class in La Florida in turn, is opposed to more social housing in a more commodified way: that is, as a client who received a home in a supposedly homogeneous area, and that feels scammed. Thus, the claim is not for participation, but for some type economic reimbursement. In Cabrini, even though the feeling of not wanting more social housing could be present among the middle class, at least they know and respect the ways in which public issues are resolved.

Finally, the discourses of diversity are highly different in each context. The US has a long (and pervasive) history with discourses of diversity and race/class coexistence, which is reproduced by both low status and upper status residents in Cabrini Green. The long experience with integration policies and discourses on diversity among low income blacks, plus the more repressive environment in which they are, leads them to prefer segregated (united and free) than integrated (isolated and constrained) environments. In Chile, such discourses are just starting to appear (in a meritocratic, liberal sense), but just in higher levels of public debate, between liberal intellectuals and politicians. The experience of socioeconomic mix from the poor has not been long enough to make conclusions about it. So far, I can say that they report benefits and problems at the same time, and that they do not really care if middle classes are spatially closer to them.

A.2 <u>Housing Allocation Systems: the influence of political economies of neighborhood change on socially mixed environments</u>

As mentioned before, housing allocation systems (or political economies of neighborhood change) refer to the specific institutional arrangements that influence the different manifestations of residential segregation. This is definitely the most divergent of the Three Structural Factors of Contextual Variation, which poses important challenges for case comparison and theory building. The first and most obvious difference lies in the location of each neighborhood in its metropolitan region.

Cabrini Green is an inner-city neighborhood, located 2.6 kilometers away from downtown Chicago, and La Loma-La Florida is a peripheral neighborhood, located in the outskirts of Santiago, 13.5 kilometers away from its downtown. As explained in the Research Design chapter, inner-city areas in Chicago and peripheral areas in Santiago are the playing fields of each city in terms of new socially mixed configurations. And this is not an accident; this comes from the different historical patterns in which the poor established in each city (inner-city in Chicago, peripheries in Santiago). Given the recent location patterns of upper status groups, some of those places have been under intense demand from Real Estate developers and housing authorities. The type of housing developments marks another difference. The mix in Cabrini Green is between multifamily buildings, and just a few single-family ones. In La Florida, all housing units are single-family, and all households (regardless their income) have their own lot. In addition, in La Florida there are several upper-middle class gated communities, which is not the case in Cabrini. The only similar thing in Cabrini, are large housing complex with a single entrance and a single management: like Marshall Field for the poor, and Parkside of Old Town for middle classes

The demographic characteristics around each neighborhood are also different. The surroundings of Cabrini Green have been always upper-middle income, while the surroundings of La Loma-La Florida passed through three different phases: first, there were vacant lands used for agriculture while La Loma and Lo Cañas stood as the only settlements; second, middle to lower-middle income housing developments were built during the 1980s and 1990s; and third, upper middle income developments completed most of the vacant lands. In fact, the case of La Loma-La Florida is very special, because it has more poor population and more upper-middle class population than the surroundings. Residential mobility and population turnovers are critical characteristics of how a neighborhood changes over time. The case of Cabrini Green, mostly in the long run, exemplifies the 'continuous' character outlined in the comparative framework. It experienced intense population turnovers during its history, from mixed demographics, to all black, and mixed again. La Florida in

turn, has maintained its poor population, or at least their houses, for several decades. The only change is the new construction of middle class projects in vacant areas, specially gated communities. Regarding real estate demand, Cabrini suffered from severe processes of disinvestment for several decades, and is now at the center of speculations and private investments, especially because of its placement within the affluent Near North Side. La Florida in turn, was for long a marginal place without any significant investment, and now is the place for new residential and commercial projects. However, this new pressure only affects vacant lands, and there are no prospects for demolition or displacement.

The source of place attachment in each case is different as well. La Loma in La Florida, as a squatter settlement, generates a strong attachment to the place for the past history of its people as agriculture workers, and for the struggle of its residents to formalize their housing situation. In Cabrini Green, the attachment comes from various aspects: from the stigmatization and social, economic and political constraints, to the building of strong community bonds and new institutions. The type of neighborhood change also affects the uncertainty about the future. Regarding this, there is more uncertainty about the future in Cabrini Green, due to the rapid turnovers and unknown future projects. Thus, there is much more struggle from low income residents in Cabrini Green, whose situation is much more uncertain. In La Florida, although there is some uncertainty about the new social housing project, the situation is much more stable. And this comes from two interrelated issues that mark the major difference between both cases: the ***levels of homeownership and residential mobility*** across all income strata.

As explained in the comparative framework, Santiago is a city of homeowners and Chicago a city of renters. And more specifically, the majority of the poor in Santiago own their house, while in Chicago they rent. These levels of homeownership, coupled with the different rates of residential mobility (high in Chicago, low in Santiago), generate various implications for the dynamics of social mix

in each neighborhood. Regarding the stability of neighborhood diversity, this is relatively ensured in

Cabrini Green by the mixed-income projects, but several non-protected units in the area have suffered

from increases in rent price and were actually gentrified. But in La Florida, the stability is ensured by

the homeownership of the poor. In fact, public housing itself acquires a different meaning. In Cabrini

Green, if the poor experience upward mobility, they should leave the projects (at least in theory). In La

Florida in turn, they can stay if they move up in the social ladder, enhance their house, and even change

the demographics of the area.

Homeownership from the poor influences a particular relationship with the territory and acts as

a doubled-edged sword, with negative and positive consequences. A first negative consequence of high

homeownership is a more privatized relation with the territory, decreasing the relevance of public space.

In La Florida, given the privilege to individual property, there are several problems of spatial blockages

(cul-de-sacs, walls and gated communities) and appropriations, which are tolerated by the municipality

in a context of high fear of crime. Osvaldo, a public official in the municipality explains this underlying

tolerance:

> *When these housing developments are new, it's understandable that they want to close for security
> concerns. But there are also some ordinances indicating that no all streets could be closed (…)
> there are many places in the municipal territory (…) where neighbors organize in a way that
> nobody knows that gates are installed, and they work perfectly. Because nobody files a complaint,
> nobody has troubles with anybody, key are given to everyone who wants them [within the enclosed
> perimeter]. Then, they work flawlessly. Out of the norms. Nobody says anything, so nobody
> would complain. We understand it's a benefit, and we also understand that the criteria of closing
> an alley or a street is for security (…) as long as neighbors get along well, the ordinance can pass
> very unnoticed…*

This is also related with a widespread culture of fences in Latin America, rooted in private

property. As Setha Low (2006) explains:

The walling and gating of individual houses is ubiquitous throughout urban Latin America, and reflects Spanish and Portuguese architectural models built throughout the colonial period and the expansion of grid plan towns and cities in the later nineteenth century (…) Contemporary single family houses and family compounds are surrounded by high concrete block walls with broken glass or barbed wire on top in most urban environments.

Furthermore, these spatial separations are influenced by the institutional framework of planning and construction in Chile. For new housing developments, each developer builds their own street grid, and their own green areas, without planning from municipalities. The only legal mandate is a percentage of land assigned for public use. Then, there is often no coherence between the grids from one development to the other, especially when they are for different social classes, and green areas end up being dispersed, very small, marginal spaces. In Cabrini Green, the New Urbanist design of some developments has created some cul-de-sacs, preventing a freer circulation. And the issue of surveillance and fear of crime is also highly visible in the physical space, with several security cameras, some private security guards, screenings for 'prison-like' entrances to housing developments, etc. But the problem of walls and fences is much lower than in La Florida.

And a second negative consequence of high homeownership is the further complexities on maintenance and management. Many of the problems of large and dense social housing projects in Chile come from the lack of appropriate maintenance and management. When there is not enough organization, common spaces are appropriated and the few free areas are never maintained and are often unsafe. The low maintenance complicates the physical standard of houses and neighborhoods, which in turn increases their territorial stigmatization. In the case of La Florida, thanks to a good internal organization, and relatively good presence of the municipality and the police, the common spaces remain relatively safe and decently maintained. In Cabrini Green, the case of the Marshal Field complex has maintained the development in a better standing than the old Cabrini Green projects, due to its strict security measures. But the limits between security and maintenance on one side, and the disruption of

basic human rights on the other, are very difficult (especially when the maintenance comes from an external entity). Tyrone, a CHA resident in Cabrini Green told me how much better his experience was when the residents took over the maintenance of the red buildings for some time.

> *...the women at Cabrini Green extension run this like… like, with eyes fixed… we couldn't do anything… all we do at the school… we party and went to the house… when the… when the gangs came out and were trying to do something on the… at Cabrini Green extension… the mothers… they gave a fight to the gangs… my mother came out… my mother, my auntie, they went on the field… 'get your ass out of here!'… and they did it too… they did it… just while… just while there was so much happening… it was because of these women…*

On the positive side of high levels of homeownership, I can see three consequences. First, it allows the poor to decide and to invest in the maintenance and improvement of their own housing. Second, it allows for micro entrepreneurship with small shops and workspaces. However, this happens only if the institutional system tolerates this kind of ventures and if there are informal or small scale markets. And third, high homeownership allows for a more independent way of life. In Cabrini Green, there are building managements who judge what attitudes are acceptable for each group. But in La Florida there is no such thing; there were no strict screening processes to bring lower classes to the neighborhood, there is no strict enforcement of moral mandates, and consequently, not much power from the middle class to control the poor.

A.3 <u>Welfare Systems in Space: the influence of territorial redistribution and local state protections on neighborhood diversity</u>

The idea of welfare systems in space refers to the role played by the state in each country regarding its influence on the institutional context that shapes poor areas. In other words, this describes how opportunities, resources, and services are distributed in different neighborhoods, and how this increases or reduces the different sources of inequality. One of the main services that have an influence in a neighborhood is the school system, and here the studied cases show important differences.

Regarding the public school system, Cabrini Green shows a mixture between neighborhood, charter, magnet, and selective enrollment schools. From these, the only type that generates a territorial conflict in a socially mixed territory is neighborhood schools, because they receive students from specific boundary areas. The other three types (charter, magnet and selective enrollment), are open to students from the entire city. The public school system in La Florida, although receiving most of its students from nearby areas, remains open to individuals from any part of the city, generating 'floating communities' without a marked territorial anchor. Thus, given the described levels of distrust and apathy between groups in both cases, it would be difficult to maintain the social mix relying exclusively on neighborhood schools. In other words, the availability of schools for different groups (and their consequent race and class segregation), becomes a precondition for living in a diverse area. But there is an additional difference between public schools in Chicago and Santiago. Given the described tax system in Chile, small and poor municipalities (like La Florida was 20 years ago) are condemned to have a low budget for education, and consequently, their schools have a very low quality. La Florida experienced an urban development in which, as middle and upper classes were establishing in its territory, new state-subsidized and private schools were being built (following the residential demand). Then, the public school system, although receiving a little more revenue, was not significantly diversified as it was its municipal territory. The City of Chicago, in turn, with its large territory, its wide range of incomes and property values, and its relatively high percentage of public school enrollment, has more possibilities of providing a better quality of public education. Indeed, the differences of quality between neighborhood schools and charter, magnet and selective enrollment schools in Cabrini Green do not come from differences in revenue, but from other reasons. Marisha, Assistant Principal of Jenner School explains this situation:

> …it's our enrollment… simply because how many buildings were torn down… we don't have the students to fill the seats (…) as the numbers drop, the teaching positions… we lose teaching positions… so, you know… if our numbers continue to decrease, then we have a shortage of

teachers… which means larger classrooms sizes… which means, not the best setting for children…

The non-public school system is also different in both cases. In La Florida, there are several state-subsidized private schools and fully private schools; both are privately owned and run, but the first receive subsidies from the state and usually charge less than fully private schools. In Cabrini Green in turn, while neighborhood, magnet and selective enrollment schools remain fully public, charter schools have a particular situation. Their revenue comes from the state and the city (as public schools), but their curriculum is more independent. They could be the equivalent to state-subsidized schools in Chile, but they do not charge for tuition (at least in the studied area). And there are a couple of private schools in Cabrini Green as well, with a really exclusionary cost for tuition. The neighborhood change associated to schools in Cabrini Green has been more shocking. Schools have been closed in the redevelopment process and their building structures transformed into magnet, selective, charter and private schools. Since they are all public, the Chicago Public Schools can do it. Then, the sense of having much more public investments when middle classes arrive is much harder. In the studied area of La Florida in turn, no school has been closed. Just new schools have been built for upper status groups, and low income people have been migrating from state to privatized establishments. The investments that have brought change in recent years have been mostly private. The municipality has only opened room for them, but there are no new parks, no new public schools, and no public efforts to bring local jobs. The only public investment will be the social housing project, if they build it. Finally, some trends in higher education are also important to compare. In La Florida, some poor residents reported the feeling of upward mobility because of the expanded access of their children to higher education, relative to what they had in the past. As mentioned, this comes from a structural change in Chile regarding a massive access to higher education, but the growth has been highly precarious. In Cabrini Green in turn, without such macro-transformations, the perception of long term upward mobility is not present, and the hope of poor residents regarding their future is more pessimistic. In comparative terms, the change in the last

decades for both countries has been the following; in Chile, the rate of enrollment in higher education, relative to the total population, has grown from 1.3% in 1992, to 2.88% in 2002, to 5.53% in 2012(Aguayo and Gómez 2011); in the US, the same rate has increased from 5.54% in 1990, to 5.44% in 2000, to 6.8% in 2010 (National-Center-for-Education-Statistics 2012).

The role of institutions is also important in differentiating both places. Churches have been very important in the development of both neighborhoods, especially for the poor, but their role has been declining. For Cabrini Green, they are still relevant as a place of reunion, but there are four problems: first, there are too many different churches and denominations; second, churches are highly segregated by race; third, their congregations comes more from outside than from inside the neighborhood; and fourth, they have been detaching themselves from the defense of the poor community, and even some of them are now involved in real estate businesses. In La Florida in turn, the present role of the church is almost inexistent. They were important in helping the community of La Loma in formalizing their settlement, but presently they are not recognized as a significant actor by either lower class or middle class groups. Social service organizations are worth mentioning here too. In Cabrini Green, there are fewer organizations than in the past due to the demographic transformation of the neighborhood and its inconsistency with fund allocation frameworks. That is, mixed income areas like this, despite the existence of many poor people, do not receive many funds for social assistance. An important institution that still works in the area is the mentioned Near North Unity Program (NNUP), funded by LISC[3]. Despite the highly different life trajectories and the social distance set by racial differences, the NNUP group provides a space in which low income and upper status groups can meet each other. In La Florida, there is no such group, which makes the degree of knowledge about 'the other' even lower. The case there is different; there are no NGOs working for the poor, and there is no public institution directly concentrated on the issue of poverty due to the high institutional fragmentation. Thus, different

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[3] Local Initiatives Support Corporation Chicago.

institutions provide different types of assistance. The municipality brings physical improvements (e.g. new parks' furniture), the Regional Health Authority brings a new primary care facility, the Regional Social Development Authority brings some conditional cash transfers, and so on. And as Cabrini Green, despite the existence of poor families, the neighborhood is not a priority for any of these institutions.

The institutional framework defining public spaces also affects the local resources of a neighborhood. In both places there is a similar amount of public space per person; 7.5 square meters per person in Cabrini Green and 8.6 in La Florida. But there are two crucial differences. First, 18% of the green areas in La Florida are inside gated communities. And second, the average size of green areas in Cabrini Green is 1.8 hectares and in La Florida is 0.18; that is, 10 times smaller. This supports the idea than in La Florida, public spaces do not offer enough room to stay and to hang out. As I have explained before, the policy for housing developments only mandates a percentage of land assigned as green area. Then, all housing settlements have their own small plots of lands defined as green areas, and there are just a few large parks in the entire city. In Chicago, there are community parks, like Seward, Stanton and Durso Parks in Cabrini Green, but there are also large areas like Lincoln Park, Grant Park, Humboldt Park, Jackson Park, and so on. The equivalents to the parks in the studied area of La Florida are small playlots in Chicago, although with fewer amenities and less use. In addition, there are field houses in two of the four parks in Cabrini Green. The facilities concentrate organized recreation activities, which attract some intergroup interaction. In La Florida there is nothing like that. Facilities like the ones in Stanton and Seward Parks are either available in just 4 or 5 parks in the entire city of Santiago, or through private clubs and shopping malls. That is part of the explanation of why the middle class do not bring their extended networks to use their public spaces.

Finally, the welfare system also defines a particular relationship of residents with the state apparatus, mostly providing different forms of participation and involvement. In La Florida as

mentioned, there is no instance of encounter, debate, and negotiation like the NNUP. The only examples were the mentioned middle class meetings against social housing, to which some poor attended by chance. The difference thus, is not only the levels of organization of each group (the bottom-up explanation), but also the possibilities that the state apparatus opens to different groups to participate (the top-bottom explanation). That is, planning and public discussion seems much more open to the input of middle class citizens in Chicago. In Cabrini Green for example, some middle residents organized to put pressure in the closing of a liquor store and a grocery store targeted to the lower class, since they see it as a place of loitering and crime. Figure 48 shows these relics from the Cabrini Green times, which were closed at the same time and for unclear reasons.

Figure 48: Closed liquor and grocery stores

In La Florida, there is a similar case with a small sandwich shop that is open until very late at night, and which has been the place of some fights and drug dealing. However, the local government did not want to leave residents without a source of income. In Santiago then, the middle class does not have and does not feel any incentive to participate. Lower classes at least have projects and programs to which, if organized, they can apply and be benefited. In addition, La Florida has implemented an 'enterprise-like' model of municipality, creating individual-client relationships with residents, promoting de-politicization, discriminating existing organizations and privileging short term projects. In Cabrini Green in turn, the municipality and the CHA have worked with the LAC (Local Advisory Council; a recognized leadership for years), and have struggle with their demands and lawsuits.

B. **Similarities between cases: Learnings for segregation and integration theory**

In terms of socio-spatial urban development, there are three aspects to be highlighted. First, population density is similar in both contexts; 71.7 inhabitants per hectare in Cabrini Green and 79.1 in La Florida. Both are intensely populated areas, which support known claims saying that diversity is to some extent related to density. Dense areas are frequently more heterogeneous in land use, tenure, and have more intense redevelopment processes. Second, the demographic trend in both sites is leaning towards upper status. The percentages of whites and higher income and of upper class are increasing in both Cabrini Green and La Florida, respectively. However, different forms of socio-spatial pressures for land are occurring; the pressure in Cabrini Green is for redevelopment and the pressure in La Florida is for empty plots. And third, although there has been some displacement of poor population, through public housing demolition in Cabrini Green and through the removal of some shanty towns in La Florida, the stability of diversity in both cases is to some extent ensured. In Chicago, this works by the affordability and ownership of CHA units, and in Santiago, by the homeownership of the poor and middle class population. Then, it could be said that these are not cases of temporary diversity within a large process of gentrification. Although residents do not seek it self-consciously, it could be said that

stable diversity here exists. Following the themes observed in the individual chapters of each case, here I describe four areas in which the two cases are similar; 2.1) job opportunities, 2.2) education opportunities, 2.3) intergroup relationships, and 2.4) housing and political economic processes.

B.1 <u>Lower status groups in both cases have limited job opportunities</u>

In the Cabrini Green-Near North case, low income blacks suffer from a high scarcity of jobs (30% unemployment), and a few are relegated to the service industry, which does not provides real avenues of social mobility. Why does this happen? Because poor blacks are excluded from a deindustrialized and suburbanized economy, and the effects of the Great Recession are still alive. In addition, the fact of being in a neighborhood that has been increasingly dominated by wealthy whites creates even more exclusion from the local job market. And I suggest this happens for two reasons. First, poor blacks are excluded from white-oriented places, either because of their communication skills, the stigma of the place they inhabit, or because store owners prefer to hire individuals from other ethnicities. And second, there is not enough flow of information and employment references between groups, because of a wide social and symbolic distance, and because of a lack of connection between formal and informal circuits of capital (Santos 1977).

In the La Loma-La Florida case in Santiago, although there is around 24% of unemployment among the poor, almost everyone finds something to do in the informal and low scale economies, such as domestic service, low scale commerce and exchange occupations. Thus, the problem is not a lack of jobs but low wages and labor precariousness. This happens because there is a tight connection between formal and informal economies, which is characteristic of a less developed country with lower levels of industrialization and productivity (see Gollin 2008). But as I have shown before, these local jobs are also limited, due to distrust from the middle class, or more opportunities and personal preferences to work outside. Most importantly, the types of jobs that are generated in the neighborhood, are maintaining the

status quo of wide social inequalities for its subordinated character, low wages and precariousness. And this is also a characteristic of a less developed country; a larger informal and self-employed labor market that maintains a regime of wide social inequalities and exclusionary cleavages to prevent movements to upper positions. Poor residents working in jobs that maintain the status quo is the rule in both cases. The service jobs of Cabrini Green are almost as subordinated, and as low skilled, as domestic service jobs in La Florida. Likewise, the old jobs of the Cabrini Green projects (resident assistance, janitorial, outreach workers, etc.) could be comparable with self-subsistence commerce in La Florida. That is, they are services provided by the poor, to serve the poor. The main learning here is that social mix does not ensure better socioeconomic outcomes for poor residents.

B.2 <u>Lower status groups in both cases have limited access to quality education</u>

The good quality of education is said to be the key for any society which, although not very egalitarian, at least offers concrete avenues for upward social mobility. But the studied cases run in the opposite direction. It is highly contradictory to see that, even when better education opportunities are available at a shorter distance, lower status groups are excluded from it. In the Cabrini Green case, schools are segregated by race and class. Charter, magnet, selective enrollment, and private schools in the area offer the possibility of avoiding the nearly 100% black (and 100% poor) neighborhood schools, keeping the upper status demand by maintaining the percentage of poor, non-whites below traditional tipping points. Now, the mechanisms they use to keep these percentages low, varies from the charge of tuition (privates), to student selection, to simple school white flight. Moreover, housing displacement has created chain effects forcing neighborhood schools to close. How does this happen? Poor residents are forced to leave the neighborhood, and consequently, their schools. Then, the neighborhood schools suffer from low enrollment, and depending on a 'per-pupil' budget, are forced to reduce the number of teachers and courses, which in turns lowers their quality. And this mix of low enrollment and poor quality creates the scenario for school closing.

In the La Florida case, the school system is already segregated at the national level and the three tiers (municipal, subsidized, and private) are well represented because of the socioeconomic diversity of the neighborhood. In this case thus, state-subsidized schools and private schools offer the possibility of avoiding the nearly 100% poor municipal schools. State-subsidized and private schools have less than 15% poor students and charge tuition, which ensures a majority of middle to upper-middle class students. This diverse neighborhood does not put people together in the main institution (i.e. local schools) but instead, brings a segregated demand for different types of establishments and different 'clients'. Furthermore, there is a general trend to close municipal schools in La Florida, with the implicit intention of gentrifying the area. Besides, there is a wide migration from public schools to state-subsidized schools, and some of the few public schools are using selection procedures, leaving the rest with a deep poor quality and increasing the crisis of public schools in La Florida. And most importantly, school segregation is naturalized by the population; is not considered discriminatory, but as part of the 'natural' order in which the ones who can pay have better education, and later, better opportunities.

Therefore, both cases show a tendency towards privatization, and towards racial and class segregation, by their selection and costs. Within this context, some poor parents prefer to send their kids to magnet or charter schools in Cabrini Green, and some parents send their kids to state-subsidized private schools in La Florida. And both are proud of their decision and their efforts. Even though they have a collective sense of community for some struggles, in their own lives they also practice individualist solutions as a response to the problems already created with public schools. The difference is that the parents in Cabrini Green only need the extra effort of applying, preparing tests and knocking several doors. But in La Florida, the extra effort is also monetary and poses an additional barrier to overcome poverty.

B.3 <u>Lower class and upper class groups have highly difficult intergroup relationships</u>

In the Cabrini Green-Near North case, intergroup relationships are marked by ignorance, distrust, fear and avoidance. However, both groups still face each other in public meetings, like the mentioned Near North Unity Program (NNUP). In terms of intra-group relationships, there are some nuances. Poor blacks are united by their history, current constraints, and the remaining institutions (e.g. churches), but there are some that feel increasingly isolated. Upper-middle class residents (most of them whites) do not have a common history but are gaining power and internal cohesion around the protection of their property values. They feel that have some stake and that they can intervene in future developments.

In the La Loma-La Florida case in Santiago, intergroup relationships are marked by distrust and discrimination from the middle class, avoidance of lower class places (differentiated on quality), opposition to more social housing, limitation to functional relationships, and classism on both sides. Intra-group relationships are also different. The lower class, despite decreasing levels of organization since the 90s, has higher levels of social cohesion, especially in La Loma. However, the lower class does not have much relationship between the different public housing developments, since they arrived to the neighborhood at different times, and have worked for their own projects (especially physical improvements). The middle class is a totally different story: there is no participation and organization, high distrust even among them, and the neighborhood just have a symbolic importance. Unlike in Cabrini Green, middle class residents in La Florida do not think they can intervene in public issues of planning and development of the neighborhood. Besides, they feel a need of differentiation, a lack of protection from the state, and a loss of public roles (Barozet 2006, Espinoza and Barozet 2009).

Despite the different identities between cases, both middle classes in Cabrini Green and La Florida have extended networks, the neighborhood is of secondary importance for their lives, and are opposed to more social housing. In both cases too, diversity has worsened their attitudes; there are white middle class residents in Cabrini Green feeling more racist, and middle class residents in La Florida getting more enclosed. This worsening of attitudes runs against beliefs in the so-called 'contact hypothesis' (Dixon 2001, Dixon and Durrheim 2003, Zeul and Humphrey 1970), which suggest that the physical proximity of different social groups would enhance their relationships. In fact, what could be happing is closer to the opposite effect, which social psychologists call 'environmental spoiling' (Ebbesen, Kjos, and Konečni 1976) and sociologists call 'conflict hypothesis' (Häußermann and Siebel 2001); that is, a feeling of tension because of different lifestyles, even without face-to-face contact.

The reproduction of discriminatory and exclusionary relationships is evident in the naturalization of class segregation in both cases. From middle classes, racial segregation is thought to be against human rights, and a damaging personal decision (at least in the discourse of these diverse neighborhoods). But class segregation instead, although seeming unjust, is not a personal issue. It is a problem that others have to resolve: and that 'other' is the state. From lower classes, race segregation is humiliating and offensive, but class segregation can be linked to a personal karma ('the place where I was born') and could be overcome with a great effort. However, this is more possible in Chile than in the US, given the wide racial stigmatizations. Class and race interact intensively in both cases. On one side, it was difficult to decipher a class aspect while in the field. And this was not only true in La Florida (given the low racial differences and mass access to consumption goods), but also among blacks in Cabrini Green. There were some poor blacks with middle class appearance and consumption, and there were some middle class blacks with poor appearance. On the other side, there was always a racial substratum in class differentiation. This was evident in Cabrini Green, given the high proportion of blacks in the lower status group and high proportion of whites in the upper status group. But in Chile,

despite the beliefs in the 'myth of *mestizaje'* (i.e. mixed race homogeneity as base for cultural unity), there was prejudice against indigenous customs and privilege to a European type of class refinement.

Two aspects complicate intergroup relationships in both contexts; crime and the use of public space. The issue of crime is everywhere. In both cases, lower status groups feel safe and upper status groups feel in danger and are highly distrustful. However, there is less fear among middle class individuals who have more relationship with the other group. In any case, crime becomes one of the main channels of prejudice about 'the other', and poor residents are always blamed for crime events. Despite the different relationship with the state apparatus, private security appears in both contexts. In La Florida, there are several companies working in private security in La Florida (e.g. ADT), and the municipality has 'citizen security' cars (in addition to regular police cars). In Cabrini Green, the Old Town Square shopping mall has its own private security car, and developments like Parkside of Old Town have their security guards standing in the streets.

Finally, the use of public space is characterized by segregated interactions in both cases. As mentioned, lower classes use public spaces, socialize, and establish ties of solidarity and subsistence. Middle classes in turn, have more extended networks that take them out of their local areas, and do not want to go to lower class places. The level of attachment to the neighborhood is similar for each group, in both cases. Low income people feel attached to their communal bonds and strong relationships of solidarity. In other words, their main interest is social. In turn, middle classes do not have much attachment, since their main interest is economic and symbolic; for the investment and for the status.

B.4 <u>Lower classes suffer from exclusionary housing and political economic processes</u>

In both cases, there are exclusionary pressures from real estate companies and middle class groups, aimed at preventing or reducing the construction of more public housing. And in both cases, the

arrival of amenities and institutional changes occur because of the influx of upper classes. In the Cabrini Green-Near North case, there are state policies creating displacement, and the pressures over the CHA have created a blur and ambiguous environment about future planning and a critical shortage of public housing. In the La Loma-La Florida case in Santiago, the situation is very similar; while the Regional Housing Authority (SERVIU) and the municipality have plans to build more social housing, the opposition from upper-middle class residents has been strong enough to stop those projects. In addition, the neoliberal urban framework of both cases makes institutions and amenities dependent on the demographic changes: that is, urban resources and opportunities follow the upper classes when public investments are absent, which is somewhat implicit in the idea of 'geographies of opportunity' (Galster and Killen 1995). In both cases, there is also a shortage of public housing, and public institutions are encouraging private investments oriented to the middle and upper-middle class, which is not coherent with a policy of diversity. In that sense, the new amenities arriving to these neighborhoods are well regarded by the lower status population in the short term. But these amenities are also creating a sense of isolation among the poor, because they are aimed at attracting more upper status neighbors.

Despite all of this, there is a relatively good quality of social housing for each context. In Cabrini Green, there is high quality in mixed-income housing and decently-maintained public housing projects (i.e. Marshall Field, Evergreen, Row Houses). In La Florida, there is a relatively good socioeconomic situation of the poor, which influences a good housing standard by their efforts of self-construction. In addition, there is a relatively decent standard of infrastructure, due to the tax base that middle classes contribute in the entire territory of La Florida. The direct learning here then, is that a relatively good quality of social housing is a precondition for making neighborhood diversity attractive to middle class groups.

C. **Summary of differences and similarities**

In Table XXXII, I summarize the main points of ***differences between the cases***, in terms of

the relevant categories outlined in the comparative framework.

Table XXXII: MAIN DIFFERENCES BETWEEN CASES

AXIS OF DIFFERENCE	POINTS OF DIFFERENCE	
GENERAL	–historical urban development –urban environment (redevelopment v. construction in empty land)	–visibility in the public debate –household structure
SOCIAL STRATIFICATION SYSTEMS	–divisions: race–based v. class–based –type of occupations –sources of conflict and discrimination –mediating institutions between groups –role of the neighborhood for middle classes –levels of crime –levels of police harassment –treatment from external institutions –middle class trajectories and identities –discourse of diversity	–intersections of race and class –ignorance and distrust of the other –types of stigmatization –hierarchies in direct interactions –ways of enforcing race and class –perception of fear and investments in security –use of public space by middle class –middle class beliefs regarding personal social mobility –claims for the neighborhood
HOUSING ALLOCATION SYSTEMS	–location in metropolitan area –demographic characteristics around each neighborhood –real estate demand –levels of uncertainty regarding the future –levels of homeownership, <u>influencing</u>:	–type of housing developments –levels of residential mobility and population turnover –source of place attachment +sources of stability of social mix +relationship with the territory (public v. private) +complexities on maintenance and management +possibilities of housing improvement +possibilities of entrepreneurship +levels of independence
WELFARE SYSTEMS IN SPACE	–territorial conflict for public schools –non–public school system –levels of public investments –role of churches –institutional framework of public spaces	–budget for public schools –neighborhood change associated to schools –trends in higher education –levels of institutional support –relationships with the state apparatus

SOURCE: self–elaboration

Likewise, in Table XXXIII I summarize the main points of ***similarities between the cases***, in terms of the relevant categories outlined in the individual chapters of each case.

Table XXXIII: MAIN SIMILARITIES BETWEEN CASES

AXIS OF SIMILARITY	POINTS OF SIMILARITY
SOCIO-SPATIAL URBAN DEVELOPMENT	-high population density -demographic trend towards elitization -stability of diversity ensured
JOB OPPORTUNITIES	-limited job opportunities -no avenues for social mobility -jobs maintaining status quo
ACCESS OF POOR GROUPS TO QUALITY EDUCATION	-limited access to quality education -segregated schools -general trend of school closings -general trend of privatization
INTERGROUP RELATIONSHIPS	-very difficult relationships -marked by ignorance, distrust, fear and avoidance -high cohesion on lower status groups -low cohesion on upper status groups -middle class: extended networks -middle class: opposition to more social housing -middle class: attitudes toward lower classes worsened by diversity -naturalization of class segregation -interactions of race and class -middle class: feels in danger of crime -lower class: feel safe -increasing private security -segregated interactions in public space -lower class: social attachment to neighborhood -middle class: economic and symbolic attachment to neighborhood
HOUSING AND POLITICAL ECONOMY	-exclusionary pressures from real estate companies and middle class groups -arrival of amenities and institutional changes due to arrival of middle classes -shortage of public housing -encouragement for private investments -new amenities creating sense of isolation -relatively good quality of social housing as precondition for diversity

SOURCE: self-elaboration

D. __Partial conclusions__

The main discovery from the study of both cases is that physical proximity of different social groups, irrespective of the urban processes that brings them together, does not directly create the outcomes that supporters of poverty dispersion policies believed at first: namely, social control, social networks, role models, and expanded geographies of opportunity (DeFilippis and Fraser 2010, Joseph 2006). To be more precise, residential integration policies do not bring those benefits by themselves. It is true that there could be some advantages of diverse neighborhoods compared to segregated environments, such as less crime, a better quality of public housing, and in the case of La Florida, some employment opportunities. But the general material situation of the poor is not improved and their status is maintained.

Regarding *social stratification systems*, both racism and classism have been changing; there is less segregation in several spheres in the US; and symbolic mechanisms of mobility closure and strict classist divisions have been decreasing in Chile. Nevertheless, there are growing inequalities in both cases[4]. Mechanisms to enforce or maintain inequality have changed in form, and sometimes using liberal and progressive narratives. And one of those narratives is that of socially mixed neighborhoods. These neighborhoods offer a great symbolism for lower status groups, given the prior situation of stigmatized and homogeneously poor neighborhoods, but there is no significant material advantage. From upper status groups, living closer to 'the other' is just a small concession. They can even say that they are 'different' because their house is placed in a diverse area, but their expectations about the general distribution of resources, and about the behavior of the poor, has not changed. As happens with symbolic racism in the US, and with the incipient claims for meritocracy in Chile, there is a general belief in equality, but no true support for implementing transformative measures. Therefore, I believe

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[4] Income inequalities have been growing rapidly since the 70s in both countries. According to the OECD rating, the US has an after taxes Gini index of 0.378 (31st out of 34) and Chile of 0.494 (34th out of 34).

we could expect social mix policies to spread and extend much more in both countries, supported by a growing rhetoric of diversity and equal opportunity. But the structural contexts of growing inequalities and the implicit ideologies of containment will limit these policies just to physical proximity. Besides, local resources (the material) and neighborhood identities (the symbolic) will be under more intense competition. Then, social mix policies will operate with the symbolism of a better location and less stigma. But without institutional transformations for more social justice (e.g. affirmative action), this will just mean *bringing inequality closer*.

Regarding ***housing allocation systems***, there has been increasing gentrification in inner-city areas in Chicago, and increasing land speculation in peripheral areas in Santiago. The new developments of neighborhood diversity have adapted to the historical forms of neighborhood change ('continuous' in Chicago and 'discrete' in Santiago), creating specific challenges and different developments of social mix in each case. There are different levels of uncertainty about the future, different types of place attachment, and particularly, different possibilities for community building. But what make both cases more dissimilar are the levels of homeownership and residential mobility. High levels of homeownership are said to be positive, but as I have shown here, they represent a double-edged sword, generating advantages and disadvantages for the poor population, and for diverse neighborhoods in general.

And regarding ***welfare systems in space***, if the main sources of opportunity and welfare protections for the poor are worsening, and if middle and lower classes are being fragmented by targeted policies, social mix strategies will still be limited to gains in physical proximity between different social groups (i.e. just less residential segregation, by traditional measures). Mixed-income environments do influence institutional transformations from its demographic changes, like better schools, better amenities, better public space, and better quality of social housing. But these changes do not come from a will of more social justice; they come either as an attraction for middle class groups or

as pressures from them when they are established. In addition, the implicit rhetoric of mixed-income housing seems to suggest that the decreasing welfare protections will be replaced by trickling-down from the middle classes.

Finally, what can we learn from the common aspects of these two socially mixed neighborhoods? These neighborhoods are 'strange creatures' within contexts of historical residential segregation. They are turning into wealthier areas and their future is uncertain. Their current stability as a diverse area is to some extent ensured, but pressures in several spheres run counter to this coexistence. First, there is an intense threat of gentrification from real estate developers. Second, policy-makers and real estate developers make great efforts to make these neighborhoods attractive for the middle class, and to change its institutions accordingly. In contrast, this level of efforts was never seen for poor neighborhoods and their residents in the past. Third, middle class residents and policy-makers are exerting pressures to fragment and to privatize the provision of common services (like education), to control the behavior of the poor, and to prevent their growth in numbers. Fourth, as a public policy of mixed-income housing (or as an example for future ones), these cases are not meeting the main promises of better job and education opportunities.

Fifth, intergroup relationships are marked by fear and avoidance, because the same forces that shaped socioeconomic and power differentials between these groups in the past, are fueling the distrust among them in the present. Consequently, their coexistence is likely to be more conflictive than enriching. Sixth, the growing shortages of public housing that the creation of diverse neighborhoods is presently producing, will lead to two additional consequences. Social housing will be increasingly provided by the private sector and will be subject to market fluctuations. And there will be a further exclusionary mechanism for the rest of the poor, defining who is acceptable and who is not for the strict standards of their potential middle class neighbors. Finally, in purely spatial terms, both cases run

counter to historical practices of segregation, either as an explicit public policy (in Chicago), or as an accident of land and urban design speculation (in Santiago). But taking into account the control of behavior by atomization, the segregation of schools and public space, and the exclusionary practices of different institutions, these types of diverse neighborhoods could be portrayed as the most sophisticated examples of contemporary segregation.

IX. CONCLUSIONS

I started this dissertation criticizing the lack of clarity about comprehensive processes of integration, and the deficient theoretical claims and ambitious political rhetoric on which integration policies rely. In that context, I wanted to investigate whether spatial proximity between different social groups could trigger other processes of socio-spatial integration by itself, such as enhanced access to better opportunities, non-hierarchical relationships or identification with a common ground. Thus, I designed a study in which I observed the experience of excluded groups living in proximity to higher status neighbors, delving in the influence of this experience on their integration. I was also interested in seeing the complex overlap of segregation and integration in diverse neighborhoods and in different contexts, in order to understand the multi-dimensional character of integration, and its relationships with other processes of social fragmentation.

With that purpose in mind, I studied relationships of segregation and integration in a multi-dimensional fashion, extending from the physical, to the functional, the relational and the symbolic. I conducted the empirical research with qualitative methods, in order to capture everyday social interactions, but complemented it with quantitative descriptions of systemic properties. And I compared and contrasted two cases in different cities and countries, in order to extract divergences and similarities between them. All of this was done in a moment in which social mix policies are spreading around the world with a language that promises the solution to several social problems, but with a background that has been leaving the poor less protected and in a more unequal position than before. With this study therefore, I wanted to critically challenge the idea of social mix in its poor theoretical grounding and in its ambitious policy rhetoric.

Writing the 'story' of this dissertation was not simple, given the mentioned focus and design. ***In terms of theory***, the problems of segregation and integration are composed of a complex variety of different concepts and competing views. Thus, in the Theoretical Framework chapter, I discussed the literatures on residential segregation, socio-spatial integration and the theoretical framing of social mix policies, reviewing definitions, debates, and empirical studies, and providing a preliminary framework. The main outcome here was the discussion of key concepts and the discovery of several knowledge gaps. ***In terms of context***, the application of theories varies extensively, given the particular intellectual and historical urban development of each country. Then, in the Comparative Framework chapter, I described the contextual specificity of residential segregation in the US and in Chile, regarding its causes, dynamics and consequences. The main goal here was to unveil some fixed categories of analysis, in order to prepare the ground for a sensitive and context-specific comparison. And ***in terms of policy***, although this dissertation is dealing with a single program that is spreading rapidly (i.e. social mix), the socio-political road of each country in arriving to this policy was very different. Thus, in Chapter 4 I described the theoretical and political journey of the idea of social mix in the US and in Chile, highlighting the relation between cultural backgrounds and sociopolitical contexts. The main outcome here, despite the different theory-policy trajectories, was showing the discrepancies between weak evidence basis and ambitious policy rhetoric.

As mentioned before, the empirical research of this dissertation involved a comparative qualitative case-study, between Chicago and Santiago de Chile. The fieldwork was 13 months-long and included collection of case-history literature, collection of spatial and socioeconomic information, and most importantly, qualitative case-studies. Case studies were conducted in one diverse neighborhood in Chicago and one in Santiago: Cabrini Green-Near North and La Loma-La Florida, respectively. Data collection in these sites comprised interviews, field observations and spatial inventories. For each case, I

conducted 20 interviews to lower status residents, 20 to upper status residents and 10 to institutional actors. In each interview, I could deepen into the experiences of diversity, opportunities for low-income people, influence of local institutions, intergroup relationships and the role of public spaces. For each case too, I conducted 20 field observations to see the deployment of hierarchies and differences in key places of intergroup encounter. And I also conducted 10 spatial inventories in each neighborhood, in order to observe and document the use and transformation of space by different social groups.

Then, in Chapter 6 I described and discussed the case of Cabrini Green-Near North in Chicago, where poor black, public housing residents share the space with upper status condo owners (majority white, but some black) due to the development of a mixed-income housing project in the middle of the wealthy Near North Side. In Chapter 7, I described and discussed the case of La Loma-La Florida in Santiago, where poor social housing residents have witnessed the rapid arrival of upper-middle class housing developments in the last 10 years, due to the expansion of gated communities in some old areas of social housing. I analyzed these two cases, in Chicago and in Santiago, based on a multi-dimensional understanding of socio-spatial integration (including physical, functional, relational and symbolic dimensions), and on a comprehensive conception of segregation that involves not only the demographic composition of neighborhoods, but several other spheres of public life, like education, the use of public space, and so on. In Chapter 8 finally, I compared and contrasted the cases of Cabrini Green-Near North and La Loma-La Florida. The comparison was done in two steps. First, I discussed their differences in terms of the three structural factors of contextual variation (stratification, housing, and welfare) in order to show the specific development of social mix in each context. And second, I analyzed their similarities in terms of a general theorization of segregation, integration and social mix policies.

Throughout this dissertation, I have described and explained how the coexistence of unequal social groups in the same neighborhood relates to further social outcomes, especially for lower status

groups, in Chicago and in Santiago de Chile. Here, I present the conclusions of this study in four sections. First, I provide answers to the research questions in terms of the main empirical findings of this research. Second, I discuss the theory and policy implications of those findings. Third, I state some limitations of the present study and offer recommendations for future research. And fourth, I finish restating the overall contribution to knowledge in the field.

A. Answers to research questions (RQ) and empirical findings (EF)

Here I present the main empirical findings, supported with direct evidence, to answer the research questions outlined at the beginning of this study.

RQ1: How do excluded groups experience living in proximity to higher status neighbors?

The experience of neighborhood diversity has many angles. Some of those refer to direct intergroup contact and some others refer to indirect outcomes of a diverse demographic composition. In this study, I have framed the analysis from a multi-dimensional perspective that comprises four dimensions; physical, functional, relational and symbolic. Consequently, I have empirical findings (EF) for each one.

EF1. [Physical Dimension] Proximity between different groups works more as a mechanism of atomization and/or control than as a policy for diverse and peaceful coexistence.

Several interviewees in both cases, from upper and lower status, showed a preference to live in diverse neighborhoods. But the reality beyond those initial preferences is quite different. First, the demographic diversity of a neighborhood makes segregation more critical in other spheres of socialization, like education, public space, religion, and so on. While traditional residential segregation ensures that almost all other spheres of life would be segregated, neighborhood diversity creates a

critical propinquity with 'the other' that is often faced with resistance, distrust and avoidance. In both Cabrini Green-Near North and in La Loma-La Florida, different social groups tend to be segregated in schools of different quality, jobs of different status, and public spaces of different levels of stigmatization and symbolic character. Second, physical proximity is maintained through exclusionary practices. In La Florida, there are high levels of spatial enclosure and low use of public space from the middle class. In Cabrini Green, there are strict screening processes for accepting public housing residents, and once accepted, there are strict rules and regulations controlling their behavior.

EF2. [Functional Dimension] The arrival of upper classes brings more amenities and generate institutional changes, but not upward social mobility for the poor.

Although the alderman in Cabrini Green is making efforts to bring 75 jobs through a new Super Target, and although there is some level of mixture in some local schools in Cabrini Green and in La Florida, the reality for the majority is not that positive. The arrival of more amenities implies a physical and functional modernization of former poor neighborhoods, without necessarily implying gentrification. And this happens before the arrival of middle classes, as a market attraction, or after it, as a consolidation of a local market or as an attraction of more middle class consumers. However, this modernization process does not necessarily bring better opportunities for the poor population. In Cabrini Green, there are new service jobs offered, but the poor black population is generally excluded from them, and their chronic unemployment and labor precariousness is maintained. In addition, the local schools are being reformed, new private schools are arriving, and poor blacks are being pushed out from the few remaining neighborhood schools. In La Florida, although there are fewer service jobs, there is a semi-formal market that does not exist in Chicago; the exchange of goods and services, especially domestic service. However, the benefit of this type of exchanges is not that high. First, for several reasons, many domestic job positions are filled with workers from outside the neighborhood. And second, this type of jobs creates a symbolic and material relationship that maintains the status quo,

for its hierarchical treatment in the workplace, for its stigmatized occupational status, and for its low wages. In addition, state-subsidized and private schools have been established for upper status students, reproducing the wide class segmentation that exists in Chile, and leaving municipal public schools in a more disadvantaged position.

EF3. [Relational Dimension] Intergroup relationships in diverse neighborhoods are marked by fear, distrust and avoidance

In contexts where inequality is growing, the everyday contact in diverse neighborhoods triggers conflict, instead of reducing prejudice and improving social relationships. The ideologies of racism and classism, which are important part of the causes creating inequalities, are used as weapons of categorization and discrimination. There have been some transversal organizations in both cases, like church groups in La Florida and the Near North Unity Program (NNUP) in Cabrini Green. But the general feeling among upper status and lower status groups is of an extremely distant relationship. In Cabrini Green, there is a wide ignorance about 'the other' and there is a segregated use of public space. In La Florida, there is no participation of the middle class in public spaces and in public affairs, and they are distrustful not only of their lower status neighbors, but of residents of their same status as well. In both cases, there is an opposed perception of crime; while lower status residents perceive their neighborhoods as peaceful and safe, upper status residents are highly fearful of crime and invest vast resources in security. The power of the middle class is exerted in both places as well. First, lower status groups are stigmatized and discriminated in public spaces, in the workplace, in schools and in public meetings. And second, middle class groups have organized to exert pressure on the government in order to prevent more social housing and the establishment of more low income population.

EF4. [Symbolic Dimension] There is a contested and fragmented identity of diverse neighborhoods

Despite the lack of contact, one could think that different social groups could identify with the same area, in order to at least recognize the presence and existence of 'the other', and their mutual right to be part of a common territory. In both Cabrini Green and La Florida, the local community is fragmented between established and newcomers, due to their different times of arrival, but mostly due to their opposed interests. In Cabrini Green for example, there are different names for the area, depending on which group claim ownership of it; old lower status residents hang on to the historical name, and wealthier newcomers have tried to install a variety of neighboring names. Among lower status groups in both cases, they need each other for local ties of subsistence and solidarity. Among upper status groups, they need each other to protect their property values and to symbolically reaffirm their own status. But between groups, there seem to be no need for 'the other' and no recognition of each other's contribution, beyond the resources of the middle class and the work of lower status residents. In both cases as well, lower status groups identify themselves with the entire neighborhood; despite they do not feel the new amenities are theirs, they maintain an attachment to the whole area. However, upper status groups just identify with themselves and with their spaces, and consider the lower status people and areas as a 'nuisance' (in Cabrini Green) or as a 'bad apple' (in La Florida).

RQ2: *How does the experience of physical proximity to higher status neighbors* *affect* *the socio-spatial integration of excluded groups?*

In terms of the framework that I have proposed for socio-spatial integration, physical proximity does not lead to functional, relational or symbolic integration directly. One can assume that proximity between different social groups in a diverse neighborhood is an important benefit for lower status groups, considering the former situation of segregated, excluded and stigmatized poor neighborhoods.

However, this does not mean that similar benefits will appear spontaneously in other dimensions of integration from the diverse demographics of each neighborhood.

EF5. Physical proximity between different social groups, **by itself,** does not lead to relevant social benefits for the poor population

As I have mentioned regarding the two studied cases, I have identified two concrete benefits that social mix brings to formerly poor areas; lower levels of crime and a better quality of social housing. Despite upper status groups have a high perception of fear, general statistics show how the arrival of upper classes have been correlated with lower levels of crime. And in terms of housing, mixed-income projects in Cabrini Green and the new projects proposed in La Florida have quality standards that are way above the historical social housing developments. But beyond these benefits, as I have mentioned, there are no relevant positive outcomes; not better job or education opportunities, not better intergroup relationships, and not better sense of a common territory. In addition, the improvements in less crime and better social housing have come at a price. The lower levels of crime have been associated with more stigmatization of poor areas within the diverse neighborhoods, and with an intense control and harassment by the police, private security companies and condo associations. And the better quality of social housing has been connected with exclusionary screening and selection of tenants, strict regulations under the moral standards of the middle class, and in extreme cases, with threats to prevent the construction of additional developments.

EF6. There is more material and symbolic competition in diverse neighborhoods

Material competition refers to a struggle over local resources, and symbolic competition refers to a struggle over territorial identities. Since there are important social distances between upper status and lower status groups in both cases, there is no competition for jobs. However, there is a relevant competition for resources like education and other services from the local government. In Cabrini

Green, neighborhood schools are being closed and reformed as magnet, selective enrollment, charter or private schools, which goes in direct benefit to the middle class in terms of quality and in terms of demographic composition. In La Florida, the only public services that are demanded by both groups are security and maintenance of green areas. In the case of green areas specifically, gated communities are benefited by the maintenance from the municipality even though they remain closed to the rest of the local population. And of course, one of the most contended issues in both cases is the construction of more social housing, which puts social groups in direct competition against each other. In the symbolic realm, although middle class groups are the newcomers, they have gained enough power to control the representation and rebranding of each neighborhood. In both Cabrini Green and La Loma, old poor residents have struggled to maintain the memory and identity of their respective neighborhoods. But real estate companies, in their efforts to attract middle class groups, create new imageries that are unconnected to the historical development of the respective area. Thus, in both cases there are middle class residents that do not even know what happened in their neighborhoods before their arrival, since most signs to the past have been erased and new symbols have been established.

> **RQ3**: *How should the* <u>*coexistence*</u> *of segregation and integration in urban areas of demographic diversity be interpreted? How does this coexistence* <u>*vary*</u> *across contexts?*

In these diverse areas, different forms of segregation coexist with integration, or at least, with its physical dimension. Regarding all other dimensions, there are just possibilities for integration; possibilities for better opportunities at hand, possibilities for encounters and interactions with different social groups, and possibilities for identification with a common ground. All these possibilities are right there, in the same space. However, there are several problems.

EF7. Despite the overlap, new forms of segregation tend to prevail over integration in diverse neighborhoods

The experience of diversity is perceived as more problematic than beneficial by upper status and lower status groups in both cases. Or at best, as it is perceived by poor residents in La Florida, the present diversity of the neighborhood does not entail any relevant change to the situation before the arrival of the middle class. The best example for this is given by some low income blacks in Cabrini Green, who would prefer to live more segregated in the Row Houses, where they can maintain their unity and live a more independent life. In contrast, they feel that in the new mixed-income projects, public housing residents live in isolation and under persisting constrains on their behavior. In other words then, it seems that the everyday experience of segregation and exclusion is more intense than before. There is high spatial enclosure in La Florida. There is exclusion, segregation and maintenance of the status quo in job and education opportunities in both cases. There is a segregated socialization, avoidance of interaction, and subordinated treatment in both cases. And there are fragmented identities and dissected perceptions of place in both cases.

EF8: Social mix is a confusing urban arrangement in which the symbolism of physical proximity conceals the persistence of inequality and several active forces creating segregation

Either by a direct policy (as in Cabrini Green) or by real estate speculation (as in La Florida), social mix presents a confusing picture. On one side, there is the symbolism of a less segregated place, and on the other side, there are old and new forms of creating inequality and segregation. Several problems can be highlighted for both places. First, there are intense threats of gentrification from real estate developers, who join middle classes in their pressures to prevent the construction of more social housing. Second, according to the efforts made so far, the state seems to be more concerned with attracting the middle class than with helping the poor. Third, middle class residents and governmental entities have made efforts to atomize the poor and fragment their opportunities. Fourth, since

socioeconomic and power differentials between groups are not subsiding, intergroup relationships are condemned to be more conflictive than enriching. And fifth, since the provision of social housing is being privatized, their availability is subject to market fluctuations and shortages, and subject to the exclusionary margins of social tolerance of the real estate industry.

RQ4: *How* can *policies for integration be framed from a <u>multi-dimensional perspective</u>?*

So far I have shown that segregation in several spheres of life, and its consequences of exclusion from opportunities and fragmented identities, persists in the studied diverse neighborhoods. In general terms, I argue that this happens because the causes of inequality and prejudice remain unchanged. Then, when the only policy effort is to bring unequal groups closer, leaving other dimensions of integration unchanged, neighborhood diversity remains ineffective in bringing positive social outcomes, creating a contradictory overlap of segregation and integration.

EF9. As a neighborhood-based policy, institutional changes are much more effective in generating changes on integration than just moving people from place to place

In terms of moving people, there are two general effects that the arrival of middle classes generates on former poor areas, as I have observed in both Cabrini Green and La Florida. These effects work just with demographic changes, and do not necessarily imply institutional changes. First, there is some attraction of new urban amenities, services and a better standard of urbanization. In other words, the middle class brings capitalist modernization. However, this late arrival of amenities unveils the exclusionary practices of the market in terms of neglecting some poor areas from the availability of necessary goods and services. And second, the middle class expand the local tax base, which is a direct benefit for the Municipality of La Florida in Santiago, and an indirect benefit for the Near North Side in Chicago via tax increment financing (TIF). Nevertheless, as it happens with many TIF districts in the

US and with many municipalities becoming wealthier in Chile, it is not clear what the local governments are doing with their increased revenue. The choices run in two opposite directions; helping the poor or attracting more middle class. Thus, it seems that the studied cases show a preference for the latter. In terms of institutional changes, I observed more effective processes. First, as I have mentioned, lower levels of crime and better quality standards of social housing are concrete benefits of social mix. And these have not come just from the diverse demographic composition of the neighborhoods, but from important institutional transformations; more awareness from the police and a more dedicated work from housing authorities. Second, in the case of Cabrini Green, the alderman has made important efforts in terms of opportunities and intergroup relationships; creating some jobs by the installation of the new Super Target, and establishing a permanent discussion space with the Near North Unity Program (NNUP). And third, also in Cabrini Green, the local supply of schools has been radically changed in terms of quality. Now, I have affirmed that these three types of efforts have benefited a minority of the poor population or that they have been outlined with intentions that do not necessary point to the overcoming of poverty. However, they are still examples showing that active public policy endeavors are much more effective than just working with the location of housing.

Summary: main themes to be discussed

In answering all research questions, it may be clear that the pieces of evidence and the empirical findings converge in some general themes that refer back to the theoretical framework, the comparative framework, and the theoretical-political development of the idea of social mix in the US and in Chile. These general themes are: i) the multi-dimensional experience of integration, ii) experiences and discourses of diversity, iii) neighborhood effects research, iv) social mix policies, and v) critical approaches to deal with segregation. In the next section, I discuss the implications for theory and policy in terms of these five general themes.

B. **Theory and policy implications**

   B.1 **Multi-dimensional experience of integration**

   Within the ***physical dimension***, I have mentioned that spatial proximity between different social groups acts as a mechanism of atomization and control. In that respect, Uitermark (2013) goes beyond the notion that policy-makers want to counteract negative neighborhood effects, and suggest that social mix perform two roles as a mechanism for civilizing marginality. First, it is an inexpensive way of reducing the burden of local governments by decreasing the number of 'problematic' individuals. This could be particularly real in Cabrini Green, where low income blacks have not only been reduced in numbers, but constrained by strict processes of screening, selection and tenant regulation. Through several decades, places like Cabrini Green have been 'notorious' symbols of urban renewal, segregation, institutional mismanagement, and displacement. With the present policies of social mix, these places are becoming a silent symbol of a new era of strategic containment and structural racism, without even appearing in the news. And second, Uitermark (2013) suggests that middle classes fulfill a disciplinary role of respect for the state, thus extending its power. The case of La Florida illustrates some of this, since the local government has been openly and covertly encouraging the establishment of more middle class population, not only making way for more gated communities, but also opening room for new urban amenities and closing low-income oriented municipal schools. In fact, La Florida Deputy Carlos Montes suggested in an interview the existence of *'ideological circuits of influence'*. That is, the domestic service link between middle class households and lower class servants is strong enough to change the political beliefs of the poor, and thus, to transform the ideological orientation of a district from a demographic turnover. Then, the middle class is able to extend some of its moral and political beliefs to some of their neighbors.

   Within the ***functional dimension***, I have affirmed that the influx of middle class households do not generate processes of upward social mobility for the poor. What they do create is more amenities

and some institutional changes. Ostendorf, Musterd, and De Vos (2001), in an exhaustive comparison between socially heterogeneous with homogeneous neighborhoods in Amsterdam, tested whether neighborhood diversity contributes in lowering poverty rates. What they found is in line with this study; social mixing does not reduce poverty. In fact, they affirm that the policy lacks empirical basis and it is too expensive for the poor outcomes exhibited (Ostendorf, Musterd, and De Vos 2001). Moreover, the fact that a higher number of middle class households attract more and better quality of services to the neighborhood, and influence some institutional changes, reveals two things. First, local governments are not making relevant investment in poor neighborhoods and leave the market as the only entity capable of allocating goods and services. And of course, once there is a possibility that wealthier consumers will arrive to a certain area, the market reacts. This is especially true in La Florida, where retail establishments were inexistent in the entire municipality before two related events; the construction of a new metro line (by the state) with a final stop in the center of La Florida, and the massive arrival of middle class residents. Second, local governments are far more responsive to the middle class for their crucial importance on the local tax base. If the objective is economic growth and middle classes are to be retained to expand the tax base, local governments easily react with institutional changes far more rapidly than when they had homogeneously poor neighborhoods. And this is true for both La Florida and Cabrini Green, where 'growth machine' ideologies (Molotch 1976) have facilitated the work of the residential and commercial real estate industry and the private education industry.

Regarding the ***relational dimension***, I have said that the relationships between two unequal groups in socially mixed neighborhoods are marked by fear, distrust and avoidance. Old studies on social mix, like the one of Chamboredon and Lemaire (1970), have already shown how interaction was impossible, and how this lack of interaction prevented all other potential benefits. In fact, some others have observed negative social impacts. Blokland (2003) contradicts the idea of emerging positive role

models in socially mixed areas. And Kleinhans (2004) affirms that role modeling has not been studied

appropriately and that expectations rest on conviction and wishful thinking. In fact, the case of La

Florida, with an apathetic, distrustful, and disorganized middle class, shows the impossibility of

establishing any kind of role models. Contrary to the so-called 'contact hypothesis' (Dixon 2001) then,

the problems of fear, distrust and avoidance between different social groups point more to an

'environmental spoiling' (Ebbesen, Kjos, and Konečni 1976) or to a 'conflict hypothesis' (Häußermann

and Siebel 2001). In other words, the proximity between unequal groups is leading to tension and

discordance, increasing, and not reducing, their prejudices against each other. Moreover, one can think

that intergroup friendships are not relevant if people do not really care about their neighbors, regardless

of their social group, as it happens in La Florida. But conflictive relationships between groups can work

to open space for negotiation and resolutions. However, intergroup affinities are very important in the

long term for the development of a diverse society. Neighborhoods could offer instances for intergroup

socialization, which in turn means a possibility for intergroup friendship, and even for interracial

marriage and interbreeding, somewhat breaking the fixed basis of racism and classism.

And regarding the ***symbolic dimension***, I have mentioned that diverse neighborhoods often

carry a contested and fragmented identity. Here, Ash Amin (2002)'s idea of a *'community without*

community' makes perfect sense. Amin (2002) suggests four characteristics of his idea, which have a very

close resemblance with the cases studied in this research; i) different geographical extent of social

networks (not intersecting), ii) casual intersections for common goods, iii) different levels of place

attachment, and iv) different cultural customs. All four characteristics have been observed and

documented for the cases of Cabrini Green and La Florida. As Amin affirms;

> *The distinctive feature of mixed neighbourhoods is that they are* **communities without**
> **community***, each marked by multiple and hybrid affiliations of varying social and geographical*
> *reach, and each intersecting momentarily (or not) with another one for common local resources*

and amenities. (…) They are simply mixtures of social groups with varying intensities of local affiliation, varying reasons for local attachment, and varying values and cultural practices. This blunts any idea of an integrated community with substantial overlap, mutuality, and common interest between its resident groups. (Amin 2002, p. 972, emphasis added)

B.2 Experience and discourses of diversity

Regarding the overall experience and discourses of diversity, I have mentioned two different empirical findings; first, that social mix does not create social benefits for the poor population by itself; and second, that there is material and symbolic competition in diverse neighborhoods.

A theme that crosses all parts of this dissertation is the wide separation between the discourse and reality regarding neighborhood diversity. Diversity is said to be positive among most interviewees, with just a few extreme exceptions in Cabrini Green and La Florida. The most common reference to diversity among my interviewees was a kind of *'happy talk'* (Bell and Hartmann 2007), which highlighted it as a universally positive value. But when discussions went from abstract to the concrete, that happiness became frustration. Then, if diversity is not changing the material conditions of its unequal participants, we should question more thoroughly the real meaning, extents and transformative power of diversity. As I have explained, the main outcome of neighborhood diversity is that it puts inequality in front of the eyes of everybody. It makes inequality visible, palpable, evident, and real. But it is difficult to affirm that just exposing inequality to opposite social groups is positive by itself. Then, it is important to question: how is this ideology formed? Why is it inherently positive?

The idea of diversity clearly conceals power differentials (Blommaert and Verschueren 1998). 'Pure diversity' would happen if two different individuals or groups participate in equal conditions, and supposedly have some enriching cross-fertilization from each other. But that never occurs. The most critical point here is that if diversity exists, it is because there was prior differentiation. And this differentiation did not happen in a way that different groups just chose to have a different culture

and/or different physical traits. Most of the times those cultures emerged as critical resistance and those physical traits remained unchanged because of prejudices preventing interbreeding. It is understandable that the invitation to create diverse settings is aimed at stopping segregation. But these diverse settings are still controlled; that is, there are important power differentials among the participants. And most of the time, the implicit call is for assimilation. As I have shown several times, the invitation to create diversity from the oppressors is just a small concession, but it does not touch the roots of what creates inequalities between groups. It is just to be exposed to inequality. *"I have changed in this neighborhood"* said a white, upper-middle class condo owner in Cabrini Green. This could illustrate her will for changing some prejudices. But what she learned, as well as others, do not reveal an intention to change inequality or to lose power.

Then, how to problematize diversity beyond the politics of numbers? Diversity is a tricky concept; not for its intrinsic meaning, but because of its usage. The discourse of diversity emerged as a neoliberal response to conservative oppositions against affirmative action in the current era of racism in the US (Berrey 2007, Collins 2011). In Chile, it has been adopted either as a general claim from cultural minorities (e.g. sexual orientation groups), or as part of the claims for desegregation at housing and schools in the current moment of liberal meritocratic ideals. Without explicit hostility, the discourse of diversity establishes limits on progressive policies (Moore and Bell 2011). The discourses and programs for diversity promote some inclusion and tolerance but at the same time conceal inequality: that is, they encompass progressive views and traditional values of assimilation simultaneously, thus taking distance from more radical demands (Berrey 2007, 2011, Collins 2011, Marvasti and McKinney 2011). As an example of this, supporters of mixed-income developments, either put into practice as policies (as in the US) or as 'land deregulation accidents' (as in Chile), use the positive language of neighborhood diversity while concealing the maintenance of race and class inequalities. A more critical idea of diversity instead, would embrace and appreciate differences, but at the same time struggle for social justice in all spheres

of social relationships (Herring and Henderson 2012). Not just through the physical proximity of different social groups.

B.3 'Neighborhood effects' research

As I have explained in the theoretical framework, neighborhood effects research is intimately related to the policies of social mix, wherever they have been implemented. As Kintrea (2013) stresses: *"The popularity of 'neighbourhood effects' as a research theme in urban studies has been mirrored by the international appeal of 'social mix' as a policy prescription for disadvantaged neighbourhoods"* (p. 133).

Related to this body of research then, I have mentioned that institutional changes are much more effective in transforming local opportunities than simply moving social groups to a particular place. In this context, it is worth to contrast neighborhood diversity with concentrated poverty. Is neighborhood diversity reversing the outcomes of concentrated poverty? Clearly, this is a direct criticism to the literature on neighborhood effects. In this dissertation, I have shown that the social problems from concentrated poverty and the social benefits from neighborhood diversity are not questions of balanced or unbalanced demographics. Instead, institutions can serve the poor and create organizational buffers against social exclusion, thus breaking the direct relationship between concentrated poverty and further social problems (Dangschat 1994, Simon 1992). Those institutions can facilitate the creation of social capital and social networks, much better than the mere presence of middle classes. On the other hand, if a diverse neighborhood lacks the protections of those institutions, the levels of exclusion could be almost the same that in segregated environments, like it is in Cabrini Green at present. Then, the problem is not just the physical concentration of poverty, but also the overlap of several spheres of segregation, accumulated stigmatization and institutional abandonment (Wacquant 2008).

B.4 <u>Social mix policies</u>

Regarding social mix policies, I have mentioned two empirical findings; first, that different forms of segregation tends to overpass integration in diverse neighborhoods; and second, that social mix conceals inequality and segregation behind the symbolism of physical proximity.

Diverse neighborhoods are strange creatures of urban development. They run against the stigmatized symbolism of areas of concentrated poverty and appear as a great improvement in contexts of historical segregation. However, they pose a huge contradiction in the coexistence of segregation and integration. This contradiction comes from the establishment of social mix policies in contexts of persisting and growing inequalities. In other words, there is a considerable discrepancy between the supposedly progressive rhetoric of social mix and the contemporary processes of welfare retrenchment and social fragmentation. And as I have mentioned regarding social stratification systems, racism and classism have been transformed recently, but the material and symbolic inequality they generate is not subsiding in mixed-income developments. In this context therefore, social mix is highly ineffective as a policy to achieve higher levels of social justice.

Beyond this ineffective rhetoric, social mixing represents a new phase of neoliberal policies, disguised as progressive under the discourse of diversity. As I have shown for the two studied cases, there are several signs for this argument. First, social mix produces gentrification and displacement of poor residents and racial minorities (Goetz 2013). Even if not all the poor population is displaced, at least there is some exclusionary selection, and there are real estate pressures to reduce the low income population even more. Second, social mix leaves affordable housing provision to the market, which is extremely problematic with economic crises, because the market cannot work counter-cyclically. This has been certainly true for Cabrini Green, and has been part of the delay with which social integration projects have been constructed in Chile. Third, social mix externalizes the management of public

housing to the market, which pushes the setting of rules and regulations to the limits of human and civil rights. This control of behavior has been critical in Cabrini Green, and in La Florida it has acted indirectly as well. Fourth, social mix proposals assume that social inequalities will be solved from the diverse demographics, believing that resources and opportunities would just trickle-down from upper-status residents. This has been affirmed from both academics and politicians in Chile and in the US (see Chapter 4). And fifth, social mix leaves racism unquestioned, since the issues at stake are socioeconomic differences. That is why the programs in the US are called 'mixed-income', a supposedly more neutral idea, and not 'mixed-race'. Besides the above mentioned, social mix policies have two important limitations. First, only one portion of the poor (the deserving, not more than a 30%) would be accepted, which creates even more fragmentation among the poor and more exclusion. And second, the existing job opportunities (if any) are just a comparative advantage for the poor living in socially mixed areas, but it is simply not possible to use social mixing as a mechanism to decrease the general levels of unemployment in a metropolitan area.

Social mix can be posed as a legitimization strategy in an era of neoliberalism and symbolic racism. With discourses of diversity and the symbolisms of desegregation, inequality and racism are concealed and the social structure is legitimized. In addition, social mix acts as an innovation tool. Business innovation, the new buzzword of capitalism, refers to profit-seeking new ideas aimed at improving the performance of companies and creating benefits for all parties; the innovator, the consumer and even the competitors (Pol and Ville 2009). In that sense, social mix is supposed to bring benefits: for the market, in terms of new strategies for extracting land rent; for the state, in terms of reducing problematic groups and expanding the tax base; for the middle class, in terms of offering a relatively cheaper housing product; and for lower income groups, who are told the story of diversity, new amenities and expanded opportunities. Indeed, social mix has been recently criticized as a neoliberal attack on the poor. The idea of 'gentrification by stealth' (Bridge, Butler, and Lees 2012), refers to a

state-led destruction of low income neighborhoods to open room for a more profitable real estate business. The pass from a poor area to a socially mixed one, is a pass from neglect to plague; if the poor were abandoned and neglected by the state, the market and upper classes before, now they are besieged by their excessive presence.

Some decades ago, Lefebvre and Harvey observed contradictions in the capitalist city, in terms of the centralization of power and the decentralization of poverty (i.e. segregation), thus creating the basis for confrontation, making the system unstable, and undermining the reproduction of social relations (Harvey 1989, Saunders 1986). In present days however, the current developments of social mix stand as the improvement of those contradictions. As Uitermark (2013) describes it, social mix can be portrayed as a dual policy of rent extraction and social control.

> *Social mixing is (...) a combination of liberal and pastoral politics as it is employed by governments that seek to unleash market forces while wanting to retain their power to govern deprived and defamed neighborhoods.* (Uitermark 2013, p. 13)

B.5 Critical approaches to deal with segregation (policy recommendations)

There are two approaches that can be highlighted here; on one hand, Young (1999) suggests to counteract the persisting disinvestment and lack of resources in poor neighborhoods; and on the other hand, Marcuse (2006) recommends to deal with inequality and prejudice at a general level, not just in poor neighborhoods . The first approach deals with territorial inequality, and the second deals with general social inequality and poverty. Iris Young (1999) affirms that the problem of segregation is rooted in an unequal investment in different neighborhoods. It is this unequal investment thus, which leads different social groups to concentrate (or be relegated) in different places. And it is this unequal investment that strongly influences the land market. The exclusionary distribution of land values in this view, is not a cause of segregation by itself, but a consequence of a process of territorial fragmentation

(Prévôt-Schapira 2001), triggered by an unjust distribution of resources, opportunities, and services throughout a metropolitan territory. The territorial equality of opportunities that Young (1999) suggests, would be achieved more directly by improving their territorial redistribution, rather than by simply moving households. In the words of Young (1999) then, it is preferable to move 'resources-to-people' than 'people-to-resources', pointing to the causes of disinvestment in poor neighborhoods. While poverty dispersion could be an extreme measure to counteract historic segregation more rapidly, this would not change the causes of urban poverty and territorial inequality.

Peter Marcuse (2006) in turn, suggests dealing directly with the causes of inequality and prejudice, beyond urban programs and plans. He criticizes that urban plans do not have ways of enacting affirmative action, anti-discrimination legislation, improvement of welfare programs, and so on. In terms of the comparative framework outlined in this dissertation, urban plans just address the housing allocation systems, but not the social stratification and welfare systems. A more serious approach for desegregation, says Marcuse (2006), involves intervening housing not only inside the areas of interest, but outside them as well, supporting social housing everywhere, controlling rents and preventing gentrification. For Marcuse (2006), proposal like Young (1999)'s means 'gilding the ghetto' (Gillette 2006); that is, improving conditions in segregated areas to maintain poor residents there and prevent their dispersion into areas where they could be excluded and discriminated. In my view, a critical approach should join Young's and Marcuse's views, and address the mentioned three structural factors of residential segregation; social stratification systems, housing allocation systems and welfare systems in space.

In terms of *social stratification systems* (i.e. 'who gets what and why?'), an overall anti-segregation policy should attack the sources of inequality and prejudice (racism and classism) at a national level. This means acting against socioeconomic differences and against ideologies of racial

superiority (racism) and of exclusionary group membership (classism). In other words, this implies actions both on the 'material side' (power) and on the 'cultural-symbolic side' (status); the first calls for policies of economic redistribution and affirmative action, and the second for serious changes in the educational, cultural and communicational realms. As Yolanda King once said: *"what we need to do is learn to respect and embrace our differences until our differences don't make a difference in how we are treated"*. Thus, with less inequality and less prejudice, self-segregation of upper and lower status groups will be less desirable, and lower status groups would experience less exclusion and discrimination. In that context, diversity could be valuable as long as the different participants of that diversity are not unequal in power and status. For the US and Chile, policies for economic redistribution could be very similar, but policies for affirmative action and cultural policies would differ in terms of the specific, historical social construction of ethno-racial differentiation and disadvantage.

In terms of ***housing allocation systems*** (i.e. 'how do people get sorted in cities?'), an effective policy should prevent and counteract both the concentration of wealth and the concentration of poverty, at a metropolitan level. As Marcuse (2006) affirms, policies should not be just directed to poor, conflictive neighborhoods, but to the whole spectrum of urban life. Then, the spatial concentration of wealth should be seen with similar or even higher moral, socioeconomic and political condemnation than the concentration of poverty. Neighborhoods of concentrated poverty are not an isolated problem that could be treated with specific targeted policies. Instead, these areas are part of a metropolitan fabric of people, places and institutions, all affecting and influencing the actions of each other. For the US and Chile (and Chicago and Santiago), policies in this matter should be highly dissimilar, given their differences in types of neighborhood change. That is, a prohibition of concentration for upper status housing, for example, would not be the same in rapidly changing areas than in areas of slow change, or where social housing is owned versus where it is rented.

Finally, in terms of ***welfare systems in space*** (i.e. 'how are [territorial] inequalities modified by the action of the state?'), an overall policy should have actions at two levels. At a national level, the creation of universal systems of protection that reduce the impact of inequality should be promoted (Marcuse 2006). And at a metropolitan level, a territorial redistribution of opportunities and resources should be encouraged (i.e. moving 'resources-to-people', see Young 1999). The first level attacks general social inequality and the second level attacks territorial inequality. Thus, as long as poor areas are improved, and the stay of poor people is assured, this also attracts higher income families, possibly lowering the levels of segregation. Therefore, if we think of a context in which general policies provide income redistribution and lower inequalities, and in which welfare policies provide more universal protections, middle class groups will not need to 'domesticate' and establish paternalistic relationships with the poor through social control, social networks, role models, and geographies of opportunity. Both groups would be part of the same community (maybe with some internal differentiation), protected by the same state in some way, and sharing resources in the same space. For Chicago and Santiago, although these policies could be similar, they would differ in terms of the spatial fragmentation of their metropolitan areas. That is, it is not the same to promote territorial redistribution in a highly diverse socio-political space like the City of Chicago, than to promote it in an area fragmented in 34 highly unequal municipalities, like Greater Santiago. In summary, Table XXXIV shows this approach to deal with segregation along the three structural factors.

Table XXXIV: GENERAL POLICIES TO DEAL WITH SEGREGATION

	SPATIAL LEVEL	GENERAL IDEA	POLICIES
SOCIAL STRATIFICATION SYSTEMS	National	Material side (power): address sources of economic inequality	Economic redistribution and affirmative action
	National	Cultural-symbolic side (status): address sources of prejudice (ideologies of racial superiority and group membership)	Changes in the educational, cultural and communicational realms
HOUSING ALLOCATION SYSTEMS	Metropolitan	Change upper and lower status segregation	Prevent and counteract concentration of wealth
			Prevent and counteract concentration of poverty
WELFARE SYSTEMS IN SPACE	National	Address general social inequality	Create universal systems of protection that reduce impact of inequality
	Metropolitan	Address territorial inequality	Territorial redistribution of opportunities and resources

SOURCE: self-elaboration

C. <u>Limitations of the study and recommendations for future research</u>

As mentioned in the research design, there are two general limitations of this study. First, given my choice of cases, the research findings cannot be easily generalized to other neighborhoods, cities or countries. However, my intention was different. I selected two different metropolis in two different countries; one Anglo-Saxon and developed (Chicago in the US), and one Latin American and developing (Santiago in Chile). And I selected neighborhoods with different ways of becoming socially diverse; one by a mixed-income policy (Cabrini Green), and the other by a 'land deregulation accident' or 'urban design innovation' (La Florida). As proponents of comparative studies affirm, my intention was to enrich the analysis from the variation in the cases (Ragin 1994), and not limiting it to a few universal patterns. Indeed, policies of social mix have been spreading through a variety of contexts, from the more neoliberal, like Chile and the US, to 'existing' welfare states like the Netherlands or Sweden. The

richness of the comparison then, lies in the multiplicity of situations in which a single urban policy has been established. A second limitation is that I did not delve into the study of a single variable, and instead, I opted for making a comprehensive study involving all possible variables related to segregation, integration and social mix. In that sense, instead of choosing the analytical deepness of a single-variable study, I chose to be exhaustive and comprehensive with theories and their operationalization. As I have mentioned in the Theoretical Framework, several studies have addressed the issue of mixed-income housing, but by specific dimensions, like issues of gentrification and public housing demolition and displacement. In turn, and in the tradition of case-study research, I wanted to give an overview of all events, relationships and processes happening in these socially-mixed neighborhoods.

Regarding future lines of research, I have already shown in the Theoretical Framework the wide variety of empirical works on mixed-income communities, separated in different themes. From my point of view, the most interesting works have been structural views on social mix as a neoliberal policy, like the recent book *'Mixed Communities: Gentrification by Stealth?'*, edited by Bridge, Butler, and Lees (2012). But beyond this, there are three further lines of research that I consider important, two on a more subjective side, and one on the political economy side (which I develop in some extension below). First, the issues of social relationships and identities in socially-mixed areas have not been explored with much depth in the literature so far. It would be interesting to see some critical ethnographic works on mixed neighborhoods, which are some of the best sites to observe the present state of racism and classism, since the competition for local resources and identities lead conflicts to an extreme. I would love to see this kind of critical ethnographies from authors like Mary Patillo, who has been working on similar issues recently. Second, a related topic of further research is the one that I am currently applying to do as a postdoctoral researcher in Germany. That proposal is titled: *"Fear of ghettos without ghettos: understanding the concern for ethnic concentrations and the urge for social mix policies among middle class*

residents and policy-makers in Berlin, Germany". The goal is to study the moral panic about the formation of ghettos from material and cultural aspects, in a country where this word (ghetto) has not been used historically, and where the mentioned social fears have been used as the foundation for social mix policies. On the material side, the idea is to study the competition for collective goods under conditions of persisting economic crisis and the shrinking welfare state. And on the cultural side, the idea is to delve into the growing discrimination against immigrant groups (especially Muslims), under the imperatives of assimilation.

And third, another line of research that I think is necessary is a 'political economy' version of neighborhood effects research. And here I extend and speculate a little more. The connection between this type of research and social mix policies has been largely criticized. And as I have noted, neighborhood effects studies have also been criticized for not considering the role of institutions. Then, it will be helpful to analyze the specific role of institutions in the creation of social problems in areas of concentrated poverty. In the Theoretical Framework, I described the process of 'concerted disinvestment' as part of the 'moments of segregation', in order to counteract the arguments of neighborhood effects research. 'Concerted disinvestment' in socioeconomically segregated areas, implies that the state reduces its intervention and assistance to a minimum and the market removes any type of investment. Thus, in order to refine an institutional perspective on neighborhood effects (Gans 2008, Slater 2013, Steinberg 2010, Wacquant 2009), it will be worth to give an alternative and critical account on the specific mechanisms producing social problems in poor areas. Traditional neighborhood effects research sees a direct correlation between poor residents, on one side, and social problems, on the other side. However, within an institutional perspective, I sustain that the creation of social problems in areas of concentrated poverty is mediated by intervening factors of territorial exclusion. That crucial intervening factor between the traditional neighborhood effects' correlation, I call it *'neoliberal spatial equivalence'.* Several authors assume that a neighborhood of poor residents should have –'naturally'-

poor resources, opportunities and services; that is why they promote to disperse the poor population in socially mixed neighborhoods. As I have shown in Chile and in the US, the changes of neoliberalism have brought municipal devolution, segmented services, privatization, targeted resources, and so on. The territorial impact of these changes thus, has created an 'equivalence' between poor residents, on one side, and poor resources, opportunities and services, on the other. Figure 49 summarizes the idea.

INDEPENDENT VARIABLE   INTERVENING VARIABLE   DEPENDENT VARIABLE

POVERTY CONCENTRATION → NEOLIBERAL SPATIAL EQUIVALENCE → SOCIAL PROBLEMS

Urban institutional arrangement

SES of local population → Municipal devolution, privatization, territorial fragmentation, segmented services and targeted resources → Quantity and quality of local resources (R), opportunities (O), and services (S)

(+) poor population ——————— equivalence ——————— (+) poor R-O-S

Figure 49: Potential mediating mechanisms in neighborhood effects
SOURCE: self elaboration

What I am suggesting here is that an area of poor residents does not necessarily have to have poor opportunities (e.g. low quality schools). Actually, proposing such equivalence as something 'natural' would be 'pure ideology', to put it in Manuel Castells' words, since it assumes welfare distribution as something natural, correct and unchangeable. The model of municipal devolution, privatization, territorial fragmentation, segmented services and targeted resources is not a 'natural' socio-political context. Instead, it has been the result of conscious decisions and has been legitimated by

specific political actors. The main evidence for this suggestion is that in European welfare states (despite their recent changes), neighborhood effects are much less intense, due to the territorial redistribution of opportunities, resources and services (Musterd 2005). The opposite happens in Chile and in the US; poor areas mean almost always poor opportunities.

A related discussion has been held in terms of residential design. Slums were criticized for their chaotic urban environment and modernist architecture of urban renewal was said to save us from all those problems. Later, the high-rise buildings of modernist architecture were criticized for their lack of social control, for concentrating poverty and for creating a numberless list of social problems. As an opposition to that, New Urbanist designs for mixed-income communities have been enacted as the new nostrum to solve the social ills of the poor. But during these different waves of historical discussion, not much attention has been given to the concerted efforts of failure that several institutions exerted on public housing developments like Cabrini Green in Chicago. Therefore, either for arguments of residential design, or for the most advanced multiple regression tests of neighborhood effects, the role of public and private institutions in the creation of further social problems has not been under intense discussion. Musterd and Andersson (2005), who have been working on the topic for decades, provide a more comprehensive view on the study of neighborhood effects:

> *Societies, cities, and neighborhoods are all interrelated systems, and policy responses to neighborhood problems, therefore, should take these various levels into account simultaneously. The welfare state at the national level, the labor market and economy at the regional—and global—levels, and the social networks at the local levels: Probably they all play a role in understanding what is happening at the very local level. Therefore, individual, neighborhood, and wider context variables should be incorporated simultaneously.* (Musterd and Andersson 2005, p. 786)

D. <u>Final remarks</u>

Integration has been a slippery concept and social mix policies have been based on modest theoretical claims and on excessive policy rhetoric. I believe this dissertation has brought more clarity on all those arguments. With this study, I highlighted the multi-dimensional character of socio-spatial integration and its relationships with different forms of segregation and processes of social fragmentation. I did all of this in two countries where the idea of social mix has been spreading very fast. I was not limited to study segregation from the residential perspective exclusively. Instead, I was open to all forms in which specific groups were separated and marginalized from mainstream activities, events and relationships. Challenging the idea of social mix in its theoretical groundings and its policy framing, I concluded that this kind of programs do not offer relevant social outcomes for the poor population, especially in contexts where several other welfare protections are decreasing and where inequalities are growing.

Through the in-depth study of the everyday urban experiences of residents and institutional actors, this research produced data with high internal validity, crucial for understanding the overall problem of neighborhood diversity in all its complex angles; from the physical, to the functional, the relational and the symbolic. This study took an integrative approach to urban studies, applying methods and theory from urban sociology, urban geography and urban planning, and using different qualitative and quantitative techniques. Traditional studies on socially mixed areas have focused on the emergence of demographic diversity, or on isolated pieces of the residents' experiences, or on the processes of gentrification. In turn, the comparative case-study presented here, and the comprehensive review of theories, contexts and policies, present a wider and more complete picture about the complex relation between segregation, integration and social mix policies in different parts of the world.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: DATA COLLECTION INSTRUMENTS
A.1 Interview questionnaire for residents (lower and upper status)

Opening questions: How did you come to live in this neighborhood?
-How diverse is this neighborhood? Why? How would you describe it? How does it affect you personally? How it has changed recently?

Work and opportunities: What do you do for a living? It is possible for residents to work within this neighborhood? Why?
-Have your socioeconomic situation changed in past years? Why? Would it be different if you were living in other neighborhood?
-What opportunities do you find in this neighborhood? Are these opportunities accessible to you? Why?
-How good are these opportunities compared with other neighborhoods you know? Why? Can you give some examples?

Local institutions: What school your children go? How do you evaluate it? Do they meet with [OTHER GROUP] children there? If not, what school do they go?
-How is [INSTITUTION A, B, C, etc] involved in this neighborhood? How do they relate to [EACH GROUP]?

Intergroup relationships: How would you describe the different types of people in this neighborhood? How do you know if they are [EXCLUDED or HIGHER STATUS]?
-How close or distant do you feel from [OTHER GROUP]? How are your relationships with them? Why?
-What is your social network in this neighborhood? How do you rely on them?
-What are the places or instances in which you have encountered [OTHER GROUP]? How would you describe those encounters?
-Do you have friends or acquaintances among [OTHER GROUP] in this neighborhood? How can you rely on them?
-Have you felt compelled to behave differently because of the presence of [OTHER GROUP] in this neighborhood? Why? How did your behavior change?
-How do you think [EACH GROUP] contribute to this neighborhood?

Places and the neighborhood: What are the places that you frequent the most in this neighborhood? Why? Are these places frequented by [OTHER GROUP]?
-What roles these places play in the community? And in your life?
-Are there any places or areas where you feel uncomfortable or not belonging in this neighborhood? Why? Where do you feel unsafe in this neighborhood? Why?
-Do you feel belonging to this neighborhood?

Overall experience at neighborhood: How important is this neighborhood for your life compared to family, friends, job, etc?
-Have you thought of leaving this neighborhood? Why? How possible is that for you?
-In the US, we tend to think of race in black-white dichotomies [European-indigenous mixtures for Chile]: how do you place yourself within?

A.2 Interview questionnaire for institutional actors

(schools, churches, police, real estate companies, local government, chambers of commerce, banks, social service organizations, etc.)

Opening questions: How do you come to work in [YOUR INSTITUTION]?
-What is basically the role of [YOUR INSTITUTION]?
-What is the specific work that [YOUR INSTITUTION] is doing for this neighborhood?

Opportunities and local institutions: How do you evaluate the opportunities offered in this neighborhood? Do they reach all groups?
-How good are these opportunities compared with other neighborhoods you know?
-How do you evaluate the role of [YOUR INSTITUTION] regarding the opportunities in this neighborhood? What about [INSTITUTION A, B, C, etc.]?

Intergroup relationships: How are the relationships between [GROUP A] and [GROUP B] in this neighborhood?
-Have you seen [GROUP A] or [GROUP B] feeling compelled to behave differently because of the diversity of this neighborhood? Why?
-How do you see the reliance on friends or acquaintances in this neighborhood?
-How is [YOUR INSTITUTION] contributing to intergroup relationships in this neighborhood? What about [INSTITUTION A, B, C, etc.]?

Places and the neighborhood: What do you think are the most frequented places or areas of this neighborhood?
-Can you identify any boundaries between groups?
-Are there places frequented by [BOTH GROUPS]? How do you see those places?
-How do you see the sense of belonging of [BOTH GROUPS] in this neighborhood?
-Are there any unsafe places or areas in this neighborhood? Why?
-How do you think [EACH GROUP] contribute to this neighborhood?
-How is [YOUR INSTITUTION] contributing to the identity of this neighborhood? What about [INSTITUTION A, B, C, etc.]?

Overall evaluation of neighborhood:
-How important is this neighborhood for [YOUR INSTITUTION]?
-How do you evaluate the role of [YOUR INSTITUTION] in contributing to the permanence of low income people and the arrival of higher income people to this neighborhood? What about [INSTITUTION A, B, C, etc.]?
-What do you think is the role that diversity plays in the lives of the people you know in this neighborhood? Why?

A.3 Instructions for field observations

*Ethnographic observations were thought to study behavior in key places of inter-race or inter-class contact, in order to see how hierarchies and identities work in real-life situations.

TYPE OF OBSERVATION
-Passive observer, not joining conversations, and not interrupting inter-group interactions

PLACES OF OBSERVATION
-Community facilities, grocery stores, schools, parks, bus stations

WHEN?
-Alongside interviews

RATIONALE OF OBSERVATION
-Key events or incidents
-Own activities and emotional responses
-Move from personal reactions to actors' sensitivity

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR TAKING NOTES (Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw 1995)
-Annotate details of key components of scenes or interactions
-Do not generalize behavior
-Annotate concrete details of actions and talk (show, not tell: highlight the 'how')
-Annotate 'markers' of incidents (to remember context)
-Annotate general impressions and feelings

A.4 <u>Instructions for spatial inventories</u>

*With spatial inventories I observed spatial traces of the symbolic presence of each social group, in order to understand how residents use and transform their space. This was a direct study of space in terms of the influence of individuals and groups upon it.

MAIN RATIONALE
-Observation of physical traces: systematic observation of cues of previous activities (Zeisel 1984)

WHAT TO LOOK FOR (Zeisel 1984)
-by-products of use: erosions, leftovers, missing traces (absence of activity)
-adaptations of use: new opportunities for activity, separations, connections
-displays of self: personalization, identification, group membership
-public messages: official, unofficial, illegitimate (official disapproval)

RECORDING TECHNIQUES
-Primary: annotate points into map
-Secondary: photographs

MAIN PRODUCTS
-Map of physical traces: symbolic presence of each group
-Photographs

WHEN?
-Alongside interviews

APPENDIX B: IRB APPROVAL NOTICE

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS
AT CHICAGO

Office for the Protection of Research Subjects (OPRS)
Office of the Vice Chancellor for Research (MC 672)
203 Administrative Office Building
1737 West Polk Street
Chicago, Illinois 60612-7227

Approval Notice
Initial Review (Response To Modifications)

September 19, 2012

Javier Ruiz-Tagle
Urban Planning and Policy
610 W. Wellington Ave., Apt. 3S
Chicago, IL 60657
Phone: (312) 520-2435

RE: Protocol # 2012-0669
        "Segregation and Integration in Comparative Perspective: Chicago and Santiago (Chile)"

Dear Mr. Ruiz-Tagle:

Your Initial Review (Response To Modifications) was reviewed and approved by the Expedited review process on September 13, 2012. You may now begin your research

Please note the following information about your approved research protocol:

Protocol Approval Period: September 13, 2012 - September 13, 2013
Approved Subject Enrollment #:   100
Additional Determinations for Research Involving Minors: These determinations have not been made for this study since it has not been approved for enrollment of minors.
Performance Sites: UIC, University of Chile
Sponsor: None
Research Protocol(s):

   a) Segregation and Integration in Comparative Perspective: Chicago and Santiago (Chile); Version 2, 08/29/2012

Recruitment Material(s):

   a) Initial script for local leaders (emails-Chicago); Version 2, 08/29/2012
   b) Initial script for local leaders (telephone calls-Chicago); Version 2, 08/29/2012
   c) Snowball script (verbal-Chicago); Version 2, 08/29/2012
   d) Contact script for new potential interviewees (emails-Chicago); Version 2, 08/29/2012
   e) Contact script for new potential interviewees (telephone calls-Chicago); Version 2, 08/29/2012
   f) Recruitment script for places of encounter (verbal-Chicago); Version 2, 08/29/2012
   g) Recruitment script for institutional actors (emails-Chicago); Version 2, 08/29/2012

h) Recruitment script for institutional actors (telephone calls-Chicago); Version 2, 08/29/2012
i) Initial script for local leaders (emails-Santiago); Version 2, 08/29/2012
j) Initial script for local leaders (telephone calls-Santiago); Version 2, 08/29/2012
k) Snowball script (verbal-Santiago); Version 2, 08/29/2012
l) Contact script for new potential interviewees (emails-Santiago); Version 2, 08/29/2012
m) Contact script for new potential interviewees (telephone calls-Santiago); Version 2, 08/29/2012
n) Recruitment script for places of encounter (verbal-Santiago); Version 2, 08/29/2012
o) Recruitment script for institutional actors (emails-Santiago); Version 2, 08/29/2012
p) Recruitment script for institutional actors (telephone calls-Santiago); Version 2, 08/29/2012
q) Letter to notify presence in the field (English, no footer)
r) Letter to notify presence in the field (spanish, no footer)

Informed Consent(s):
a) Subject Information Sheet (individuals-Chicago); Version 3, 09/10/2012
b) Subject Information Sheet (institutions-Chicago); Version 3, 09/10/2012
c) Waiver of Informed Consent 45 CFR 46.116(d) for recruitment purposes only
d) Consentimiento informado para participacion en entrevistas (instituciones) Agosto de 2012; Version 1
e) Consentimiento informado para participacion en entrevistas (individuos) Agosto de 2012; Version 1

Your research meets the criteria for expedited review as defined in 45 CFR 46.110(b)(1) under the following specific categories:

(6) Collection of data from voice, video, digital, or image recordings made for research purposes., (7) Research on individual or group characteristics or behavior (including but not limited to research on perception, cognition, motivation, identity, language, communication, cultural beliefs or practices and social behavior) or research employing survey, interview, oral history, focus group, program evaluation, human factors evaluation, or quality assurance methodologies.

Please note the Review History of this submission:

Receipt Date	Submission Type	Review Process	Review Date	Review Action
08/09/2012	Initial Review	Expedited	08/13/2012	Modifications Required
08/29/2012	Response To Modifications	Expedited	09/04/2012	Modifications Required
09/11/2012	Response To Modifications	Expedited	09/13/2012	Approved

Please remember to:

→ Use your **research protocol number** (2012-0669) on any documents or correspondence with the IRB concerning your research protocol.

→ Review and comply with all requirements on the enclosure,
 "UIC Investigator Responsibilities, Protection of Human Research Subjects"

Please note that the UIC IRB has the prerogative and authority to ask further questions, seek additional information, require further modifications, or monitor the conduct of your research and the consent process.

Please be aware that if the scope of work in the grant/project changes, the protocol must be amended and approved by the UIC IRB before the initiation of the change.

We wish you the best as you conduct your research. If you have any questions or need further help, please contact OPRS at (312) 996-1711 or me at (312) 413-1835. Please send any correspondence about this protocol to OPRS at 203 AOB, M/C 672.

Sincerely,

Kathleen Loviscek, M.S.
IRB Coordinator, IRB # 2
Office for the Protection of Research Subjects

Enclosure(s):
1. **UIC Investigator Responsibilities, Protection of Human Research Subjects**
2. **Data Security Enclosure**
3. **Informed Consent Document(s):**
    a) Subject Information Sheet (individuals-Chicago); Version 3, 09/10/2012
    b) Subject Information Sheet (institutions-Chicago); Version 3, 09/10/2012
    c) Consentimiento informado para participacion en entrevistas (individuos) Agosto de 2012; Version 1
    d) Consentimiento informado para participacion en entrevistas (instituciones) Agosto de 2012; Version 1
4. **Recruiting Material(s):**
    a) Initial script for local leaders (emails-Chicago); Version 2, 08/29/2012
    b) Initial script for local leaders (telephone calls-Chicago); Version 2, 08/29/2012
    c) Snowball script (verbal-Chicago); Version 2, 08/29/2012
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r) Letter to notify presence in the field (spanish, no footer)

cc: Charles J. Hoch, Urban Planning and Policy, M/C 348
        Janet Lynn Smith (faculty advisor), Urban Planning and Policy, M/C 348

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2. Figure 32: Metro station and shopping mall in La Florida
In chapter "VII. THE CASE OF LA LOMA-LA FLORIDA IN SANTIAGO"

Source: Plataforma Urbana Chile (www.plataformaurbana.cl)

Specific webpage: http://www.plataformaurbana.cl/archive/2005/11/15/hiper-densificacion-en-la-florida/#more-291

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3. Figure 41: Protesters complaining close to MINVU's headquarters
In chapter "VII. THE CASE OF LA LOMA-LA FLORIDA IN SANTIAGO"
Repeated in: Figure 45: News from Cabrini Green and La Florida (in chapter "VIII. COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS")

JAVIER RUIZ-TAGLE. Estudiante de doctorado en Planificación y Políticas Urbanas
Universidad de Illinois en Chicago.
5208 S Dorchester Ave, apt#1, Chicago, IL 60615. Email: jruizt2@uic.edu, Teléfono: 1-312-520-3642

5 de Mayo de 2014

Sr. Esteban Garay
Reportero Gráfico
La Nación, periódico online
Santiago, Chile

Le escribo para solicitar permiso para el uso del material de su publicación, abajo mencionado, en mi tesis doctoral:

Protesta en imágenes: "En La Florida nos quedamos"
Publicado el: 16 de Abril de 2012
En: La Nación online
URL: http://www.lanacion.cl/protesta-en-imagenes-en-la-florida-nos-quedamos/noticias/2012-04-16/130142.html

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Una copia de esta carta es incluida para sus archivos. Gracias por su atenta consideración de esta petición.

Se despide atentamente,

Javier Ruiz-Tagle
Estudiante de doctorado en Planificación y Políticas Urbanas
Universidad de Illinois en Chicago
5208 S Dorchester Ave, apt #1, Chicago, IL 60615

_____

La petición arriba señalada es aprobada.

Aprobada por: ESTEBAN GARAY   Firma: _____ Fecha: 06-05-2014

JAVIER RUIZ-TAGLE. Doctoral student in Urban Planning and Policy
University of Illinois at Chicago.
5208 S Dorchester Ave, apt#1, Chicago, IL 60615. Email: jruizt2@uic.edu, Phone: 312-520-3642

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Doctoral student in Urban Planning and Policy
University of Illinois at Chicago
5208 S Dorchester Ave, apt #1, Chicago, IL 60615

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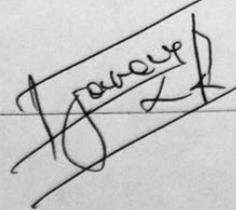
4. Figure 43: Small parks in the studied area
In chapter "VII. THE CASE OF LA LOMA-LA FLORIDA IN SANTIAGO"

Source: Google Street View, Google Maps (https://www.google.com/maps/preview)

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5. Figure 45: News from Cabrini Green and La Florida
In chapter "VIII. COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS"

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JAVIER RUIZ-TAGLE

PhD in Urban Planning and Policy, University of Illinois at Chicago

Education

University	Degree	Year	Field of Study
University of Chile	BA	2004	Architecture
University of Chile	MUP	2006	Urban Planning
University of Illinois at Chicago	PhD	2014	Urban Planning and Policy

Professional Experience

2005-2007: **Urban Consultant**, Planificación, Arquitectura y Construcción Ltda.

2007-2009: **Urban Planner**, Chilean Department of Housing and Urban Development (MINVU), Ciudad Parque Bicentenario project

Teaching Experience

2006-2009: **Teaching Assistant**, Department of Urban Planning, School of Architecture and Urban Planning (FAU), University of Chile
Course: *Modelos de Simulación Urbana* [Urban Simulation Models] (5)

2008: **Visiting Professor**, Master in Urban Projects, School of Architecture, Design and Urban Studies (FADEU), Catholic University of Chile
Course: *Gestión de Grandes Proyectos Urbanos* [Management of Large Urban Projects] (1)

2009-present: **Lecturer**, Department of Urban Planning, School of Architecture and Urban Planning (FAU), University of Chile
Course: *Modelos de Simulación Urbana* [Urban Simulation Models] (1)

2011-2013: **Teaching Assistant**, Department of Urban Planning and Policy, UIC.
Course: *UPP 502, Planning Skills* (2)
Course: *UPP 505/506, Plan Making and Planning Studio* (2)

Publications

Refereed Journal Articles - In Print

Ruiz-Tagle, Javier. 2005. "Rehabilitación con Vivienda Social en el Peri-Centro de Santiago." *Revista INVI* no. 55(1):184-224.

Ruiz-Tagle, Javier and Alberto Gurovich. 2007. "Modelos de Simulación Urbana. Experiencia a partir de un juego de estrategia." *Revista de Arquitectura* no. 15:60-66.

Ruiz-Tagle, Javier. 2007. "Modeling and Simulating the City: Deciphering the Code of a Game of Strategy." *International Journal of Architectural Computing* no. 5 (3):571-586.

Ruiz-Tagle, Javier. 2013. "A Theory of Socio-spatial Integration: Problems, Policies and Concepts from a US Perspective." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* no. 37 (2):388-408.

Ruiz-Tagle, Javier, and Ernesto López. 2014. "El estudio de la segregación residencial en Santiago de Chile: Revisión crítica de algunos problemas metodológicos y conceptuales." *EURE* no. 40 (119):25-48.

Refereed Journal Articles – in Process

Ruiz-Tagle, Javier. "La Persistencia de la Segregación y la Desigualdad en Barrios Socialmente Diversos: Un Caso de Estudio en la Florida, Santiago."
Sent to: *EURE*, January 2014. (Status by June 2014: Approved with revisions)

Book Chapters

Ruiz-Tagle, Javier. 2007. "Rehabilitación con Vivienda Social en el Peri-Centro de Santiago." In *Proyecto de Colaboración: Rosario / Bordeaux / Santiago*, edited by Alejandro Pérez and Emilio Maisonnave. Santa Fe, Argentina: A&P.

Ruiz-Tagle, Javier. 2008. "Modelamiento y Simulación Urbana. Nuevas metodologías para el estudio de la ciudad." In *La Ciudad del Futuro*, edited by Francisco Martínez, Eolo Díaz, Humberto Eliash and Daniel Opazo. Santiago, Chile: University of Chile and Goethe Institut.

Ruiz-Tagle, Javier. 2009. "Entrevista a Javier Ruiz-Tagle." In *Paisajes Inmiscibles, Múltiples Miradas sobre el Hábitat Popular Latinoamericano*, edited by Carolina Ferreira, Maria Jose Predrazzani and Lucas Períes. Córdova, Argentina: Editorial EDUCC.

Ruiz-Tagle, Javier. 2013. "Segregación Residencial, Guetos y Políticas de Dispersión." In *Chile Urbano Hacia el Siglo XXI: Investigaciones y Reflexiones de Política Urbana desde la Universidad de Chile*, edited by Ernesto López, Camilo Arriagada, Paola Jirón and Humberto Eliash, 130-135. Santiago, Chile: Editorial Universitaria.

Books

Ruiz-Tagle, Javier, Alberto Gurovich and Tomas Cox. 2009. *Modelos de Simulación Urbana: Aproximación Experimental a los Fenómenos de la Ciudad.* Santiago, Chile: Universidad de Chile.

Other Publications

Ruiz-Tagle, Javier. 2007. "Integración Socio-Espacial en el Gran Santiago", *Cuadernos de Reflexión* no. 1:1-26. (Programa Multidisciplinario para el Diálogo Social, Universidad de Chile)

Ruiz-Tagle, Javier. 2005. "Superando la Segregación Urbana: Proyecto de Rehabilitación y Vivienda social en Recoleta", *Temas Sociales* no. 55(1):1-8.

Conference Papers and Presentations

Ruiz-Tagle, Javier. 2006. Modelos de Simulación Urbana: Nuevas Experiencias a través del Trabajo de los Estudiantes. Paper read at III Congreso Ciudad y Territorio Virtual (3CTV), Bilbao, España.

Ruiz-Tagle, Javier. 2006. Diagnóstico de la Integración Socio-espacial del Gran Santiago. Paper read at the conference Teoría y Política sobre Asentamientos Informales, at Universidad Nacional del General Sarmiento, Buenos Aires, Argentina.

Ruiz-Tagle, Javier. 2006. Integración Socio-Espacial en el Gran Santiago. Main talk at the seminar Transformaciones socio-espaciales en Santiago: Impactos de la exclusión en el territorio, at Casa Central, University of Chile, Santiago.

Ruiz-Tagle, Javier. 2006. Modelos de Simulación Urbana: Experiencia desde un Juego de Estrategia. Paper read at Congreso Iberoamericano de Grafica Digital, SIGRADI, at Santiago.

Ruiz-Tagle, Javier. 2007. Simulación Urbana y Modelamiento: Nuevas Metodologías para el Estudio de la Ciudad. Talk at International Seminar "La Ciudad del Futuro", at Casa Central, University of Chile, Santiago.

Ruiz-Tagle, Javier. 2008. Comprensión de Fenómenos Urbanos a través de Metodologías de Simulación Experimental. International videoconference presentation from Chile for the course "Ciudades Virtuales", Professor Underléa Bruscato, Universidade del Vale do Río do Sinos (UNISINOS), Río Grande do Sul, Brazil.

Ruiz-Tagle, Javier. 2012. The Right to Be and the Fight to Remain: Segregation and Integration of Latinos in Highwood, Illinois. Paper read at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Sociological Association, at Minneapolis, Minnesota.

Ruiz-Tagle, Javier. 2012. Segregation and Integration of Poor Latinos in a Suburban Enclave: The Case of Highwood, Illinois. Paper read at the 14th Annual Chicago Ethnography Conference, at University of Illinois at Chicago, Chicago, Illinois.

Ruiz-Tagle, Javier. 2012. Segregation and Integration in Urban Sociological Theory. Paper read at the Urban Affairs Association (UAA) Conference, at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

Ruiz-Tagle, Javier. 2013. Studies of Segregation and Policies of Dispersion in Chile: A Theory-Policy Relationship. Paper read at the Urban Affairs Association (UAA) Conference, at San Francisco, California.

Ruiz-Tagle, Javier. 2013. Theories of Segregation and Policies for Integration: Travel of Ideas and Concrete Consequences in Chicago (US) and Santiago (Chile). Paper read at the RC21 Conference (Sociology of Urban and Regional Development, International Sociological Association: ISA), at Humboldt University in Berlin, Berlin, Germany.

Ruiz-Tagle, Javier. 2014. The Broken Promises of Social Mixing: The Case of the Cabrini Green – Near North Area in Chicago. Paper read at the 16th Annual Chicago Ethnography Conference, at Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois.

Synergistic Activities

2007-2009 Creation and implementation of an undergraduate course for architecture and geography ("**Modelos de Simulación Urbana**", Urban Simulation Models), based on urban research and experimentation. School of Architecture and Urban Planning (FAU) of the University of Chile. Santiago, Chile.

2008 Coordinator of the International Seminar: **Management of Large Urban Projects**, together with the Chilean Department of Housing and Urban Development (MINVU), the School of Architecture, Design and Urban Studies (FADEU) of the Catholic University, and the School of Architecture and Urban Planning (FAU) of the University of Chile. Santiago, Chile.

2009 Director of the ideas contest: **Architecture and Social Integration: Mixed-Income Communities in Ciudad Parque Bicentenario**, together with the Chilean Department of Housing and Urban Development (MINVU), the School of Architecture, Design and Urban Studies (FADEU) of the Catholic University, and the School of Architecture and Urban Planning (FAU) of the University of Chile. Santiago, Chile.

2013 Organizer of the activity: **Loïc Wacquant at the University of Chile**, together with the School of Social Sciences (FACSO) and the Michel Foucault Lecture Series. The activity included: field trip with faculties, workshop with graduate students from FAU and FACSO, and Plenary Lecture at Teatro Antonio Varas. Santiago, Chile.

Honors and Awards

2004 **First Prize with Architect's Degree Project**. Award given by the 8th ARQUISUR Conference, organized by the Association of Schools of Architecture of South America.

2005 **First Prize with Architect's Degree Project**. Urban Reform award 2004–2005, given by the Chilean Department of Housing and Urban Development (MINVU), the Catholic University, and the University of Chile.

2005 **Master's Thesis Completion Award**. Oxfam-University of Chile funds to complete master's thesis.

2005 **Teaching Fund**. Mecesup Fund (within the University of Chile), for experimental teaching projects.

2007 **Conference Paper Awarded**. Paper selected as one of the best 7 papers presented at SIGRADI 2006, to be published at the *International Journal of Architectural Computing* (IJAC).

2007 **Research Fund**. School of Architecture and Urban Planning (FAU) of the University of Chile.

2007   **_Third Prize with Master Thesis_**. Urban Reform award 2007-2008, given by the Chilean Department of Housing and Urban Development (MINVU), the Catholic University, and the University of Chile.

2007   **_Publication Fund_**. Urban Reform award 2007-2008 for the publication of a book, given by the Chilean Department of Housing and Urban Development (MINVU), the Catholic University, and the University of Chile.

2009-2013 **_Fulbright-Conicyt Scholarship_**, for doctoral studies in the United States.

2013   **_President's Research in Diversity Travel Award._** Travel award given by the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (UIUC), to present research on diversity at international conferences.

2013   **_Fellowship Waiver_**. Tuition and fee waiver from UIC for students with external and international funding and/or grants.

2013   **_Scholarship for RC21 Summer School in Berlin_**. Given by Research Committee RC21 (ISA), IJURR journal, FURS foundation and Humboldt University in Berlin.

2013-2014 **_FURS Studentship_**. Foundation for Urban and Regional Studies (FURS, England). Research funding for advanced doctoral students.

Research Experience

2004-2005 **_Research Assistant_**. Doctoral Thesis of Luis Valenzuela (Principal Investigator) "Mass Housing and Urbanization". Graduate School of Design: Harvard University.

2005   **_Research Assistant_**. Chile-Barrio Program. Instituto de la Vivienda (Housing Institute). School of Architecture and Urban Planning (FAU), University of Chile.

2005-2006 **_Co-Principal Investigator_**. Urban Simulation Models. Research with Mecesup Project funds. School of Architecture and Urban Planning (FAU), University of Chile.

2007-2008 **_Principal Investigator_**. Understanding Urban Phenomena trough Methodologies of Experimental Simulation. School of Architecture and Urban Planning (FAU), University of Chile. FAU Research Project.

2011   **_Research Project Assistant_**. Chicago Area Study (CAS), directed by Prof. Nilda Flores-Gonzalez (Principal Investigator). Department of Sociology, University of Illinois at Chicago.

Academic Service

2008-2014 **_Member of Scientific Committees_**. Scientific societies and journals
         2014: Member of international editorial board, EURE journal
         2008-2010: Member of scientific committee for SIGRADI international conferences

2009-2013   **_Reviewer for Research Grants_**, FONDECYT regular grants, Chilean Agency for Science and Technology (CONICYT)
> *2013 call: project reviewed on Urban Sociology*
> *2009 call: project reviewed on Urban Development*

2010-2014   **_Reviewer for Latin American Journals_**. Indexed in Redalyc, Scielo, SCOPUS and/or Thomson Reuters (ISI).
> *2014: EURE journal* (Chile)
> *2013: Revista INVI* (Chile)
> *2010: Cuadernos de Vivienda y Urbanismo* (Colombia)

2012-2014   **_Reviewer for International Journals_**. Indexed in Thomson Reuters (ISI).
> *2012-2014: International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*
> *2012-2014: Urban Studies*
> *2013: Urban Geography*