"CADA UNO EN SU METRO CUADRADO", UN REPORTE SOBRE DESIGUALDAD TERRITORIAL

"CADA UNO EN SU METRO CUADRADO", A REPORT ON TERRITORIAL INEQUALITY

Francesca Messineo [1] [2]

RESUMEN

Este artículo presenta los resultados de un estudio de caso sobre la creciente marginación de los habitantes de Villa Parinacota, un complejo periférico de viviendas social en Santiago de Chile. Gracias a la implementación de una metodología mixta - que combina un aproche etnográfico y cualitativo con la análisis de datos cuantitativo - la investigación proporciona una visión detallada del papel que el territorio de este barrio juega en más amplios procesos de exclusión social. Conceptos como segregación territorial, ubicación periférica, acceso desigual a los servicios y estigmatización están analizados conjuntamente. De esa forma, el artículo ofrece una contribución a la discusión sobre la desigualdad territorial y sugiere reducir el papel de los elemento geográficos, a la vez que sobresale la importancia de factores políticos e identitarios. En Parinacota sentimientos de exclusión se desencadenan principalmente por la posición simbólica atribuida a este lugar, no por su "distancia" o "aislamiento", sino por una sensación generalizada de "abandono". Entonces, las experiencias que los residentes hacen en el barrio, sus conceptualizaciones subjetivas de

ABSTRACT

This paper presents the results of an in-depth case study about the increasing marginalization of poor urban dwellers in *Villa* Parinacota, a peripheral social housing complex in Santiago de Chile. Thanks to the implementation of a mixed methodology - which combines a mainly qualitative and ethnographic approach with the analysis of quantitative data - the research gives a detailed insight of the ways the neighborhood territory interplays with broader processes of social exclusion. Concepts as territorial segregation, peripheral location, uneven accessibility to services and stigmatization are analyzed jointly. By doing so, the paper offers a contribution on the discussion about territorial inequality, and suggests downsizing the role of geographical factors while centering in political and identitarian ones. In Parinacota, feelings of exclusion are mainly triggered by the symbolic position attributed to this place, not because of "distance" or "isolation," but because of a widespread feeling of "abandonment". So, the ways residents experience the territory, their subjective conceptualizations of exclusion and even the values promoted by public policies consolidate a territory-

[1] (Italia) Magíster en Estudios Globales, de la Albert-Ludwigs Univesity, Freiburg (Correo: francesca.cek@fastwebnet.it)

[2] (Italy) Master of Arts "Global Studies Programme" Albert-Ludwigs Univesity, Freiburg (Email: francesca.cek@fastwebnet.it)

exclusión e incluso los valores promovidos por las políticas públicas fortalecen una forma de discriminación radicada en el territorio. Siguen consideraciones políticas de más amplio respiro, el carácter subsidiario de las políticas sociales en Chile juega un papel importante en este proceso: con su enfoque en los individuos, estas contribuyen a la falta de reconocimiento de la causa socio-económica de la marginación y representan por sí mismas un factor para la reproducción de representaciones sociales discriminatorias.

based discrimination. Broader political considerations follow, the subsidiary character of social policies in Chile has an important role in the all process: with its focus on the single individual, they led to the misrecognition of marginalization socio-economic causes, and represent by themselves a driver for the reproduction of discriminatory social *representations.*

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INTRODUCCIÓN

Metropolises can be considered the most faithful image of contemporary societies, of the possibilities they offer, as well as of the contradictions they embed. The urban ensemble is the space in which social relations consolidate, and are continuously challenged. Sure enough, the Chilean case is particularly interesting regarding inequality and exclusion. Chile is a country in which neo-liberalism has been freely experimented without either constrains or limits, during the Pinochet regime of social terror-*ism*. Its outcomes are visible within the subsidiary character of social policies about housing, education, and health. Neo-liberal principles have run wild, carving deep inequality. In Santiago, the latter is particularly striking because of its blatant visibility, and tremendous spatial dimension. The city is like a ravine: the east sectors are at the top of the mountains, and the urban territory is the slope that intensifies exclusion for most of the population with each step stride. Public policies have been a main actor in shaping this situation, fostering the construction of huge social housing complexes in the peripheries. As a result, social housing is physically far away from the city center, social disquiets have proliferated due to the lack of opportunities and the dissolution of previous networks.

Nowadays, the peripheries are changing quickly. The city keeps growing with skyrocketing land prices year after year, causing the center to be further gentrified. Outskirts' demography and geography is becoming more nuanced thanks to the installation of middle class communities seeking cheap land and some breathable oxygen. *Villa* Parinacota - the peripheral social housing complex chosen for this investigation - is very much representative of this trend. Unfortunately, despite the proximity with middle class neighborhoods, Parinacota's inhabitants have to cope with increasing marginalization. The aim of this paper is to investigate how and why it happens. Therefore, the research moves from a quite complex and theoretical question: "How does the physical and symbolic constitution of the urban space interplay with broader processes of poor people's exclusion?" This issue is later articulated in two sets of research questions directly tied to the field site: the first one concerns the accessibility to services, the second focuses on the link between this territory and perceptions of discrimination.

Within its theoretical framework (Chapter 2) the concept of exclusion is defined in the first place. Material forms of exclusion (such as economic disparities, poor areas' segregation and peripheral location) have been analyzed in relation to the symbolic stigmatization affecting specific neighborhoods. Chapter 3 focuses in the methodology, and gives account for the choice to realize an in-depth case study. The ethnographic approximation to the field and the theoretical background were supported and complemented by the implementation of a mixed methodology, which main tools can be listed in the analysis of secondary quantitative data, personal observations, and the interpretation of semi-structured interviews. Chapter 4 frames social housing policies in the country, and it explains the reasons why Parinacota was chosen as the field site. This barrio is located in the north, a territory very different from the homogenously poor south. It is very representative of new residential trends and the decrease of residential segregation, for it is relatively close to middle class sectors, public services, and even consumer goods; but at the same time, it is strongly stigmatized in the public discourses. The empirical findings relate to more specific research questions, which arose in the encounter between the theory and the fieldwork. Chapter 5 points out the shortcomings in the objective and subjective accessibility of services, with an important focus on schooling possibilities. Chapter 6 discusses the relation between stigmatization and identity, its impact on the locality, and its political consequences. This analysis led to downsizing the role of geographical factors while centering the significance of stigmatization and discrimination within and towards Parinacota in shaping the overall process of exclusion. In the last two chapters the research looks at its results, and opens to broader theoretical and political considerations. In Chapter 7 the concepts of economic inequality and exclusion

will be discussed again, with a particular emphasis on the role of public policies in the misrepresentation of stigmatization's structural causes. Chapter 8 drafts back to the idea of spatial inequality and invites to overcome the idea of isolation and segregation, shifting the focus to the identitarian and relational dimension of the urban space.

Considering the overall research framework, the topic might be considered quite too broad. Yet this strategy has been motivated by the belief that inclusion and exclusion can only be analyzed comprising their different dimensions, which cannot be detached from one another. The concepts of accessibility to services, poverty, and the city space eventually melt with much more intangible issues such as social relations, stigmatization, security and identity. They continuously overlap theoretically, as well as in the residents' everyday practices and discourses. This perspective helps enhancing reflections about the subjective conceptualizations of poverty and exclusion, as well as the role of public discourses in the formation of social representations. Although it is an empirical and explorative work, that will need further investigations to be well integrated, it still offers an interesting perspective on relevant political and theoretical issues. Furthermore, the relevance of this work can be drafted back to the effort of providing a case study which considers the changing features of Santiago de Chile's spatial configuration; and accordingly, of discussing the changing role of segregation and the emergency of new compelling forms of social exclusion.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Economic inequality

Any discussion about marginalization should discuss economic inequalities, for economic disparities enhance, further and compel various forms of exclusion. In the last two decades, Chile has been performing very well in the reduction of poverty (Larrañaga, 2009). It is thereby considered a model of successful development in the Latin American region. Regardless, many voices have risen to criticize this position, blaming it for the excessive optimism and blindness towards the country's social reality, since the evidence shows a less than proportionate reduction of inequality (COHA, 2011). In fact, Chile is the most unequal among the countries belonging to the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), with a GINI coefficient of approximately 0,50 (OECD, 2014). The system for measuring poverty has not been updated since 1987-88, yet the cost of living has skyrocketed all over the country, especially in Santiago (Bascuñán, 2008). It is a distressing fact that immediately discloses the weaknesses of evaluating poverty by statistical measurements.

Furthermore, this investigation goes forth with the assumption that being - or actually feeling - poor is an experience difficult to express through quantitative evaluations, for it goes beyond someone's purchasing power. Poverty is rather a structural and multidimensional phenomenon (Ramirez, 2003), resulting from socio-economic, cultural and political processes, which altogether contribute to deprive some people of opportunities and essential resources (Kaztman, 2003). This is contrary to the dominant tendency of denying the experiential dimensions of poverty. Poverty is ignored, and pushed to the edges of society, both materially and symbolically. Poor people are socially made invisible by the core values of progress and development (Ballard, 2012), and physically distanced in the metropolitan outskirts (Davis, 2007; Harvey, 2008; Mc Guirk, 2014). This process opens up a gap between poor dwellers' personal experiences and the social system, which will be the object of further reflection throughout the paper.

Once agreed upon this fundamental standpoint, the other dimensions of analysis can be introduced. They are the following: residential segregation and spatial inequality, accessibility and mobility, marginalization and its relation to both social policies and identity. All these concepts are scrutinized in order to understand how spatial and economic inequality intertwines with, and contributes to shape, broader forms of exclusion.

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2.2 Urban geographies

In general terms, the unequal division of urban space can be traced back to two main tendencies: the discriminatory character of the land and housing markets, and the withdrawing of high-income groups away from both socially and environmentally deteriorated areas (CEPAL, 2002 in Sabatini et al., 2001). This leads to residential segregation, which entails the degree of spatial proximity or territorial conglomeration of households belonging to the same social group (Sabatini et al. 2001). In the Chilean context, poor neighborhoods' peripheral location and residential segregation consolidated thanks to market-oriented social housing policies. As a result, Santiago de Chile perfectly fits the image of the dual city in which rich and poor dwellers can live their entire lives without physically encounter one another.

Practically speaking, location influences the availability of resources, and even more, the accessibility to services and other activities. The concentration of poor dwellers is likely to produce deprived neighborhoods which lack the economic means to sustain either entrepreneurial or communitarian growth. Likewise, a poor territory can bring its inhabitants to fall into poverty. The work of Tironi (2003) demonstrates that in the Chilean society, geographical factors are both a cause and consequence of poverty. This is because in Santiago - as in most boundless metropolises - occupying a peripheral position largely modifies the extent to which individuals can access socio-economic (Tironi, 2004), and even political (Harvey, 2008) opportunities. The city landscape itself becomes a determinant of inequality, discrimination and marginalization. However, it is necessary to make a distinction between the latter and broader processes of social exclusion embedded in the urban territory (Jirón et al., 2010), primarily because income is not a clear-cut element in defining residential patterns in Grand Santiago anymore (Correa Parra, 2012) as we shall better understand later on.

2.3 Accessibility to services

Many studies have investigated the link between social exclusion, urban mobility, and accessibility (Galster and Killen 1995; Tironi, 2004; Urry, 2006; Jirón, 2008; Landon, 2013). The latter concerns the ways in which people access services at reasonable costs, time and comfort (SEU, 2003). For instance, the distribution of public and private services is neither equal nor equitable in Santiago; and usually insufficient provision is marked in poorer areas. The concept of accessibility is indissolubly linked with the one of mobility. In fact, accessibility embraces both people's position with respect to the localization and distribution of key activities, and the subjective organizational, cultural and economic resources that allow them to be mobile (Jirón, 2008). Mobility can be defined as an everyday social practice which impacts the access to activities, people and places (Orfeuil, 2004 in Jirón, 2008); and informs the way urban actors interact with the city and its inhabitants (Jirón et al., 2010). Hence, in contemporary societies, the ability, possibility and willingness to be "agile" is considered an inevitable condition for people to benefit from social and civil rights (Sheller and Urry, 2006). Whereas often imposed immobility becomes an important factor for exclusion and inequality (Landon, 2013).

A number of studies list the barriers that limit accessibility, grouping them in two main sets: locational factors such as remote position and suitable transport; human-based factors such as economic resources, time availability, and socio-cultural subjective backgrounds (Church et al., 2000; Currie, 2011; Cass et al., 2005). Although physical barriers to accessibility and mobility do exist, they do not have a universal and unchangeable tangible effect (Tironi, 2004, Lucas, 2010). They are quite permeable for some subjects - the ones who own more resources

[3] Consejo Nacional de Población. Institución gubernamental mexicana concentrada en la medición estadística de diferentes aspectos poblacionales. Las mediciones de marginación urbana se basan en los datos del Censo de Población y Vivienda elaborado en el año de 2010..

- and much more solid for others. Thus, even in the same peripheral district, socio-economic inequality and subjective backgrounds determine differential possibilities to satisfy necessities (Galster and Killen, 1995). Considering the location of services and activities given, poor households - usually not owning a private car and living in the peripheries - face greater difficulties in reaching the places in which they could enjoy the resources distributed around the urban area (Hernández, 2012; Montezuma, 2003). Moreover, infrastructural upgrading offers benefits from which the most disadvantaged subjects often remain excluded. For example, Landon's investigation highlights how new road infrastructures do benefit Santiago's Metropolitan Area as a whole, but concentrate externalities at the local level, negatively affecting poorer communities (2013).

2.4 Social marginalization

Marginalization can be roughly defined as a synonym of exclusion which considers it as a process, rather than an item. Exclusion entails "the set of mechanisms which systematically denies particular groups of people from [accessing to] the resources and recognition, which would otherwise allow them to fully participate in the life of society" (Kabeer, 2000, p.86). Operatively, it is about the accumulation of disadvantages in different fields of social life, which might trigger tensions among individuals and the social system (Wormald et al., 2014). Indeed, neither exclusion nor inclusion are linear processes. Mascareño (2014) reflects upon patterns of exclusion and inclusion in the Chilean society - characterized by strong inequalities, and the high monetization of social services. He drafts the category of "inclusion in the exclusion" in order to depict a nuanced situation in which minimum conditions of inclusion in the institutional realm are guaranteed; yet, this incorporation is achieved from a subordinate position. In the author's words, the existence of such a precarious and contradictory "spot" leads to the routine acceptance and the institutionalization of discrimination and inequality.

The neoliberal design of Chilean institutions gives form to a State whose main role is to guarantee market efficiency. Social policies' main goal is not promoting equality, but compensating market externalities - namely marginalization and poverty - by subsidizing poor subjects' purchasing power, or providing minimum services which specifically address the vulnerable population. As a result, the gap between public and private services has constantly increased, exacerbating inequalities. Housing subsidies - money or loans given to poor families in order to buy an apartment in a social housing complex built by private companies - are controversial as well. Research recognizes that these policies have been economically successful and socially disastrous, simultaneously. Formal housing in segregated neighborhoods had improved poor population's material livelihood, yet the lack of strategies aimed at achieving their inclusion in other fields of social life led to the concentration and the stiffening of social problems in these areas (Márquez, 2005; Beytía, 2013). Furthermore, it is worth considering the symbolic power of public discourses. The statements underneath public policies are not neutral: they do contribute in molding collective imagination, in challenging or confirming discriminatory attitudes. As scholars notice, differences are continuously built and negotiated in the interaction between people and institutions (Gill and Sadgrove, 2014; Márquez and Pérez, 2008). It is easy to see how "double standards" policies and services (private for the rich and public for the poor) easily contribute to the acceptance of inequality in the public and institutional arena.

Moving from policies to politics, marginalization and discrimination are doubly tied to identitarian processes. From an anthropological standpoint, social identities are produced within, and in relation to, specific territories (Carman, 2007). Deprived environments not only affect everyday activities and resources' accessibility, they also impact social relations, foster discriminatory attitudes, and undermine positive social interactions (Segovia, 2005; Sabatini et al., 2014). Notably, Wacquant uses the concept of territorial stigma to connect negative territorial

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representations and discrimination. This concept provides important hints on identity making, and pinpoints new concerns about the normalization of unequal social relations. Wacquant reflects on the link between "the objective divisions that pattern social space and the subjective visions that people acquire of their position and extant possibilities in it" (2007, p.197). Indeed, the emergence of stigmatized places in contemporary metropolises - territories estimated to be apart from the normality of society and its rules - has great repercussions. Both the external recognition and the internal assimilation of the stigma affect social encounters, diminish proximity and trust, and trigger fear and suspicion. In this way, social segmentation is exacerbated, ascribed social positions are stiffened, and a deterministic understanding of everyone's place and role in society is promoted.

Remarkably, the negative incidence of territorial stigma has been proved to be stronger in the closest surroundings. This is a peculiar form of discrimination, which makes it quite easy for individuals to distance themselves from the stigma by taking distances from the territory and what it represents (Sabatini et. al, 2014). Thereby, living in a stigmatized neighborhood affects the relation of the insider with external places, but it even greatly affects the relations deployed within it. This approach allows switching the attention from social segregation, or in other words, social polarization at the macro-scale, to a similar phenomenon embedded in local social relations and personal identities.

3. METHODOLOGY

Due to the multiple dimensions entailed by the concepts of inclusion and exclusion, the feasibility of the project strictly relied upon the territorially narrowness of the investigation's scope. That's why, in spite of the time constraints, an in-depth case study analysis has been considered the most appropriate strategy. The small-scale field of observation allowed for the implementation of a mixed methodology and helped to achieve a broad understanding of the complexity and unevenness of the social relations embedded in the experience of the residents. Hence, a mainly qualitative and ethnographic approach was complemented with quantitative and secondary data. The fieldwork was conducted in Parinacota, a neighborhood in the Northern district of Quilicura in Santiago De Chile, and lasted more or less two months, between September and the beginning of November 2014. The NGO TECHO-Chile, which provided both an entryway into the community and the access to a relevant amount of already collected data, has supported it.

The first step of the fieldwork entailed the collection and analysis of secondary data about the territory, in order to incorporate contextual information about the socio-economic characteristics of its population. Different tools served this purpose: the survey conducted by TECHO-Chile *"Encuesta de Blocks"* (i.e. Blocks' Survey), the CIS territorial vulnerabilities' maps (CIS, 2014), and the *"Ficha: Conociendo Tu Comunidad"* (i.e. Card: Understanding Your Community). The social research center of the NGO TECHO-Chile (Centro de Investigación Social) carried out the Blocks' Survey in October/November 2013. The survey gathered information about three districts (Lo Espejo, La Pintana, and Quilicura) for an overall number of 207 families and 814 people. *Villa* Parinacota was censed in Quilicura; this made detailed and statistically representative data regarding 90 households available. The *"Ficha Conociendo Tu Comunidad"* is a qualitative inquiry conducted by the same organization in 2014. In a participatory fashion, the communities who participate to the NGO's programs have been invited to reflect upon their territory. In total, information regarding 149 neighborhoods has been produced; in the Metropolitan Region 13 social housing and 31 informal settlements communities participated. Further data has been acquired through personal interviews with municipal workers and via online public tools: such as the *Sistema de Transparencia Municipal* (i.e. Municipal Transparency System), and the *Sistema de Información Municipal* (i.e. Municipal Information System).

Mapping the territory along with field observation and semi-structured in-depth interviews have been the core stages of the investigation project, and those are the steps in which the collection of primary data took place. Visits were set with a pace of approximately three times per week. Firstly, it was necessary to map Parinacota territory and the adjacent places with the objective to get a clear understanding of the barrio's subjective and objective geography. This goal has been achieved by means of observations in the public and semi-public space (e.g. backyards), visits and interviews with key-informants. This also allowed gaining a good degree of proximity and confidence with some residents, for it was considered essential for an ethnographic approach to be implemented. Then, 10 semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted with residents selected on judgment-based sample, which aimed at maximum variety, both in terms of demographic characteristics and of living experiences. In this way, a better understanding of the residents' opinions about the investigation's core issues was achieved; their suggestions have been incorporated in the paper and have contributed to modify its outline. The last stage was a complementary one that was implemented throughout the fieldwork any time collateral, yet relevant, issues emerged. It consisted of semi-structured interviews with actors that own some expertise about the research interests, as residents engaged in some communitarian organization, local schools' professors, social workers, and municipality's spokesmen.

The data analysis has been carried out by means of different techniques. The quantitative data of the "Blocks' Survey" has been analyzed by basic statistical tools, a main goal was to disaggregate the broader results. Due to its qualitative purpose, the *"Ficha Conociendo Tu Comunidad"* has been analyzed through discourse analysis. The technical help and the specific knowledge of the CIS have been essential for the production and the analysis of thematic maps. The second stage of the data analysis consisted in coding and interpreting the inhabitants' in-depth interviews following the grounded theory's method. For instance, all the participants' names have been

changed. In this way, the structured data and the perspectives of the residents has been critically engaged in a process of dialogic re-definition of the categories used throughout the investigation. The expert interviews have been coded as well and used in order to complement other sources of information. Ultimately, the different levels of analysis have been merged in the presentation of the results, which also includes broader theoretical considerations that go beyond the case study's specificity.

The complex methodology was both a challenge and a resource to fully understand the local context, and to fully explore the issues of interest. The risk was to generate confusion; anyway the gains to be endorsed by a wide insight on the local problems were higher. Other shortcomings are linked to the fieldwork: the strong time constraints have been a challenge that has to be added to field site's access difficulties. From this point of view, being considered as a member of the NGO TECHO was both a resource and a limit: it gave me the opportunity to faster build relations with the residents, but on the other side, it influenced their attitudes towards me. Lastly, another problem proceeded from ethical issues: I experienced the tension between my aspiration of applying horizontal and participatory research strategies, and the impossibility to merge my vision with the one of the informants. This is why in the paper I'm going to argue about the residents' experiences, without unconditionally espousing their perspectives; for the research does not seek to give voice to - supposed - voiceless subjects.

4. "TE TOCA VIVIR ACÁ NOMÁS". AN APPROXIMATION TO THE CASE STUDY

4.1 Social housing

The massive construction of social housing, like many other social policies in Chile, has to be framed in the post-coup d'état neoliberal development of the country. In 1979, the PNDU, *Politica Nacional de Desarrollo Urbano* (i.e. National Policy of Urban Development) was issued. It liberalized the land

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market, and declared land a "product" not affected by scarcity. Subsequently, the assumption that the market naturally allocates resources in the best possible way has been strictly followed. Thereby, the State's role has been to subsidize the demand (Rivera, 2012), while the private sector has undertaken housing provisions. The deregulated market's result was the blooming of social housing projects (at that time called *Programa de Vivienda Básica*, i.e. Basic Housing Program) in the peripheries, where land was much cheaper. Furthermore, the PNDU came together with the massive eradication of slums located in central areas, so the poorest people were chased away to disadvantaged and peripheral suburbs. Poverty concentrated in the city's outskirts, and highly segregated residential patterns consolidated quickly (Sugranyes, 2005).

The imperfect nature of the market was lately recognized in 1985. Land's scarcity was rethought; public control upon the market was set up in order to both enhance its intensive use, and slow down the rate of territorial expansion of Santiago (MINVU, 2006 in Rivera, 2012). In spite of the new regulation, the system didn't really change its trajectory. It did not shift with the democratic turn either (Jirón, 2004), the *Concertación* included issues in its agenda such as the implementation of participative design strategies and the redevelopment of marginalized barrios. These governments moved towards the diversification of programs, and a more attentive focus on the poorest sectors [i.e. *politicas de focalización*]. However, the general trend of housing policies didn't shift and subsidiary was further enhanced.

This model has been very successful in giving a quantitative answer to the housing problem. In 2000, slums were estimated to represent 4% of the housing stock for the poorest population (Tironi, 2003; Casen, 2000 in Tironi 2004), a very low percentage in comparison with other Latin American metropolises. However, various and compelling social and urban problems emerged. Social housing has been built physically far removed from employment and public services - located in Santiago center. Substandard constructions have been the heart of many scandals, while the lack

of opportunities and the breakage of previous social networks caused compelling social disquiets, further widening territorialized social inequality (Sabatini et al., 2001; Sugranyes, 2005). Even the market value of properties in these complexes has dropped.

All these considerations shifted the Chilean debate about social housing from quantitative issues to qualitative ones (Beytía, 2013), and from basic need accomplishment to the creation of socially integrated *barrios*. However, the displacement of low-income people towards the external limits of the metropolis doesn't seem to have slowed down. At the moment, the housing policy debate is centered on measures to subsidize leasing, and on the controversial *Programa de Recuperación de Condominios Sociales* (i.e. Program for Social Blocks' Recovery). The latter provides the dwellers of specific social housing neighborhood with subsidies for the acquisition of a new housing solution in other areas, pushing them towards even more peripheral municipalities. These newer policies neither address the skyrocketing of land and housing prices in the capital city, nor curb the strict constraints of location options for low-income population.

4.2 Changing peripheries

Villa Parinacota - the social housing neighborhood in which the case study is sited - is administratively split into two sectors: Parinacota I and II are respectively made up of 29 and 37 blocks. 5,652 people live in the 1,779 apartments, distributed among the 66 buildings. It was built and handed over in 1994, dwellers of eradicated slums and members of non-renting lodgers' committees began to settle. Later on, many of them decided to move out because of the increasing social and environmental problems and thanks to individual housing mobility plans sponsored by the SERVIU

[3] The Municipal Transparency System has provided all the previous data.

[4] Accordingly to the Municipal Transparency System, its population was of 58.509 inhabitants in 2001, while it reached 230.871 residents in 2013, which represents a growth of approximately the 75%.

"Servicios de Vivienda y Urbanización" (i.e. Housing and Urbanization Services). This trend is mirrored in the housing property trends: today, 623 families are homeowners and 118 are renters. Whereas 416 families (972 people) live as informal lodgers in someone else's household [*comodato*], quite a high rate that corresponds to 17% of the residents.

Overcrowding and the buildings' poor quality mix up with a very high level of socio-economic vulnerability. Strikingly, 1,779 of Parincota's residents, almost the third part of its population, are considered vulnerable by the *Ficha de Protección Social* (i.e. Social Protection Card) - the measurement system for the provision of social benefits among the "vulnerable" population. According to the same system, the monthly average pro-capita income is of 257.500 pesos, whereas the Blocks' Survey reports a monthly average income of 379.957 pesos per household, while in Santiago the household average income is of 1.057.982 pesos. Only 48.7% of the workers earn a regular monthly salary, while 21.3% receive it on a daily basis, as a result, many families (the 65.5%) are in debt[3].

Moreover, this neighborhood is publicly recognized as one of the most troubled in Santiago, the cradle of many violent events mainly related to drug trafficking (Figueroa et al., 2009; Labrín and Fernández, 2012). Because of problems related to criminal activities and the buildings' bad quality, Parinacota has been selected for the pilot implementation of the already mentioned *Programa de Recuperación de Condominios Sociales* (MINVU, nds). The latter plan will demolish some of the blocks and relocate inhabitants by means of individual subsides. Four buildings have already been demolished during the first implementation stage, while the other 16 will follow the same destiny during the project's second stage.

Quilicura, the peripheral municipality [*comuna*] Parinacota belongs to, experienced an exponential population increase[4] in the last 15 years, shifting from being a semi-rural area to the "wannabe" northern hub of the Metropolitan Region. Its territory mixes up different and contrasting elements: there are industrial parks, slums, a recently opened shopping center, social housing projects, and middle class neighborhoods.

If we take a look at the municipal development plan (PLADECO, 2010-2014), an appealing and growing middle class community is depicted, which welcomes investments in good quality housing and services. By doing so, the local institutions lack to acknowledge the coexistence of a wide span of socio-economic situations, and ignore the correlation between its population's increase and the rising of the poverty rate[5] in the district. Social housing complexes make up about 60-70% of Quilicura's housing stock[6], most of which are located in San Luis, the South-Eastern sector. This administrative unit, which includes also Parinacota, accommodates 64,071 individuals distributed in 15,179 apartments[7]. Social vulnerability is so high there that a quantitative nationwide research has labeled it as the second "biggest ghetto" of the Metropolitan Region in terms of socio-economic homogeneity, poor households' concentration, sector size, amount of commercial and public services offered (ATISBA, 2010).

It is important to pinpoint that distance between high and low-income neighborhoods is less geographically significant nowadays than it was in the past. Although residential segregation is a "matter of fact" in Santiago, the increasing complexity of Quilicura, and other residential areas, highlights the importance to reframe this paradigm accordingly with newer urban tendencies as well as to investigate the implications of spatial proximity among different social groups.

5. SERVICE PROVISION: A QUALITATIVE INSIGHT

### 5.1 "Aquí no entra nadie" Territorial accessivbility

In the theoretical framework the accessibility to services was considered the first factor to investigate the underpinning between the unequal division of the urban space and the impact of economic disparities. Therefore one first operative question was stated: "Do

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the residents access services in a satisfactory way?"

Due to the proximity with higher income sectors, many public and private services (such as schools, primary health centers, shops, public offices and so on) are available at a walking distance[8]. Figure 1 elicits the high degree of proximity to services Parinacota residents perceive. Using the data from the Blocks Survey, **FIGURE 2 (ANEXO N°1)** shows the residents' opinion about the problems of the barrio: the great majority of the population refers to drug addiction (95.5%), drug trafficking (94.3%), and the lack of public space (90.9%), while only the 53.4% highlights the distance from public services .

Figure N° 1
Problems of the neighborhood
Do you think the following issues negatively affect Parinacota?
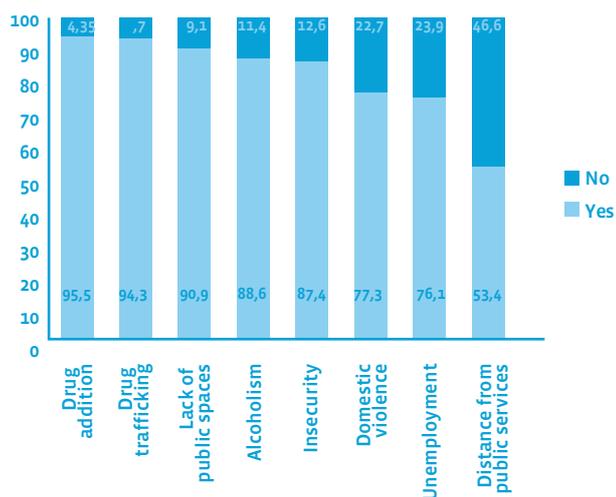
Fuente: Elaboración propia

In general terms, residents praise the reliable access to public services[9], but this does not mean that the latter are exempted from criticism. When it comes to a face-to-face discussion, there is a wide array of services that residents affirm they would like to have closer, or from which they are not entirely satisfied. Discontent gathers around the following critical issues: secondary healthcare, transportation, education, security, quality housing, availability of cultural and recreational places and activities, and private services such as supermarket and payment offices. For example, Alejandra very well exemplifies this contradiction, by reporting:

> "Here there is everything we need [...] but there are not supermarkets here, they don't open because they are sure they will get robbed. The electricity services don't come in Parinacota, as well as taxi drivers".

During the fieldwork, it was noticed an outstanding discrepancy between objective accessibility[10] and people's subjective dissatisfaction, but invoking the attitude of poor people on complaining and claiming can't solve it. So, a second question emerged:

> "Why do the residents have such bad feeling regarding the provision of services, although it can be considered sufficient in general terms?"

From one side, we need to keep in mind that in Chile there are two parallel systems for the provision of

[5] Following the CASEN Poverty Index, in 2006 poverty rate in Quilicura was 6,7% while in 2013 it was 16,5%. Data provided by the Municipal Information System.

[6] Information acquired by personal interview.

[7] Information acquired by personal interview.

[8] Field observations and analysis of the CIS' vulnerability maps regarding the location of private and public services. Available at http://www.techo.org/paises/chile/cis/vulnerabilidad/

[9] Data from the Blocks Survey (CIS, 2014).

[10] Data from the CIS territorial vulnerabilities' maps (CIS, 2014)

[11] Data from the "Ficha Conociendo Tu Comunidad".

to socialize, but their wariness triggered by violence usually prevails. This is a major concern when it comes to children's development: almost every mother states the same:

"They can't go out, they can only leave to go to school. Children spend all their free time inside the households, it is too dangerous outside there".

Therefore, the observations in the fieldwork suggested enlarging the focus to a broader idea of services, and another research question arose:

"How do residents access private and recreational services not available within the barrio?"

Noteworthy, the residents do leave the neighborhood to access private services and the recreational offer extant in the center of Quilicura. Due to its geographical proximity, it is a viable option, which gathers the majority of the voluntary movements of Parinacota inhabitants. As Jorge told me:

"When I go out I go somewhere else. I have a family, I have to bring them to some fun place, the nearby mall for instance!"

This seems to lessen the negative outcomes of peripheral location, eventually discrediting the perception of "being isolated". Still, the possibility of enjoying a normal lifestyle is strongly prevented within the neighborhood, as many residents reported:

"If you want to go out, it's ok but only if you go outside the barrio", "I don't go out. Do you want to know why? The thing is that the barrio is so bad recently. I am afraid…"

In many residents' accounts, daily life is badly affected by a widespread feeling of fear, and consequently by the fact that many enterprises do not come to offer their services directly within Parinacota due to security concerns (or economic unattractiveness). The Pandora box of social stigmatization and ambiguous self-representations is already open: the bad quality or the slow provision of services do affect other neighborhoods as well, but in Parinacota - as in other highly stigmatized territories - these issues are experienced as discriminatory.

Nowadays consuming-oriented modes of behavior appear to be very important in people's favorable self-understanding everywhere. But in Parinacota they do not find confirmation in the immediate environment. Instead they are challenged by it. The shortage of private services symbolizes something that goes far beyond the material discomfort of commuting to get them. Because consumption is a driving factor for inclusion in contemporary societies, the scarcity of services furthers the perception of societal and institutional neglect towards the neighborhood. Hence, the feeling of living in an abandoned place, excluded from one of the characterizing features of urban life, becomes stronger. Although mainstream societal models foster individual strategies and consumption-oriented behaviors as the way to escape social problems, uneven possibilities bring these aspirations to clash with a reality that often makes them impossible to achieve.

5.2 "Solo marcan el paso" On segregated education

To carry on the analysis of services accessibility and to relate it with the problem of unequal opportunities for the poor, an outstanding case was given by the education system. In our societies schooling is considered the channel through which upward social mobility is achieved. Unfortunately, it is impossible to account here for the historical process that led to the privatization of the educational system in Chile, or to report the massive societal claims gathered around this issue. At the moment, schools' quality and achievements still depend on the amount of fees families are able and willing to afford (COHA, 2008). The correlation between educational vulnerability (JUNEAB, 2005) and social housing complexes - where indeed the poorest population lives - is outstanding in Santiago (CIS, 2014). In Parinacota as well, educational results are quite poor, as we can see in figure 3 and figure 4. According to the Blocks Survey, only 53% of the adult population completes secondary education. The vulnerability index of the local municipal

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institutes is incredibly high; it reaches the 84.5% for the *María Sepúlved*a, and the 81% for the *Mercedes Fontecilla De Carrera* (Departamento de Educación de Quilicura, 2013).
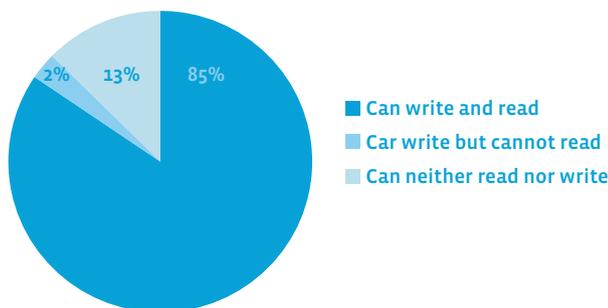
Figure N°3
Educational Levels
Wich is the educational level reached by each household's member?
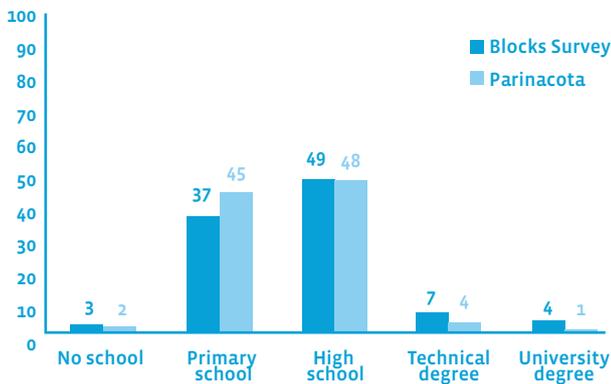
Fuente: Elaboración propia

Figure N°4
Literacy Levels in Parinacota

- Can write and read
- Car write but cannot read
- Can neither read nor write

Fuente: Elaboración propia

Once acknowledged this situation, a few questions were posed:

> *"Are the residents aware of the discriminatory character of the schooling system? Which are their perceptions about it and which are their strategies to cope with it? Which is the institutional strategy to mitigate this situation?"*

In the following paragraphs, the paper tries to give a short answer to all these questions.

While schools stress their high degree of commitment to the socio-psychological development of students, parents blame those very same schools for offering low quality education. There is a common perception that the schooling system is discriminatory in character. Dalton expressed it very clearly:

> *"Kids from here are not accepted in any school. If [a young boy] has failed many times, and he is conflictive, he will end up in the same school. There they get bad habits, they are not even asked to study, and they will not reach the same level of learning, compared to similar institutes. They only stay there, day after day, nothing more than this."*

The high concentration of socio-economic vulnerability in Parinacota renders the school located there highly unattractive. So parents with relatively higher economic possibilities manage to find "better schools" for their children by getting them away from the neighborhood, this is exactly what Alejandra did with her two sons. Dissatisfaction, perceptions of unleveled possibilities, and aspiration for social mobility easily explain this individual strategy. Interesting, in Parinacota less people leave the district for education than in the other peripheral social housing complexes, though people prefer to study far from the local environment. In figure 5 it is possible to observe this trend.

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[12] Information acquired by personal interviews.

It may appear as a negligible one, but it takes importance when combined with the observations in the fieldwork, for it seems to give a clue on more general attitudes

Figure N°5
Schooling institutes location
Where is located the school oh each family's member?
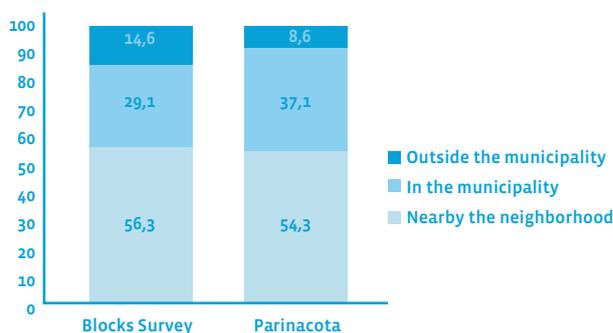
Fuente: Elaboración propia

People's wish not to be trapped in such a "messy" environment is illustrated by the schools enrolment trend as well[12]. The municipal institute located just nearby Parinacota seems to be more appealing than the one in the neighborhood. Considering that the former has neither a much lower level of educational vulnerability, nor much better results in the national exams (Figueroa et al., 2009), one has to ask the question: why is it preferred? A major role seems to be played by the location of both institutes. While the *María Sepúlveda* is penalized because of the well-known socio-economic homogeneity of its students; the *Mercedes Fontecilla De Carrera* has a more heterogeneous students population from diverse areas and economic profiles. A professor working in this school tells:

"This school is public, there is no fee. Yet you can notice a social difference. There [in the María Sepúlveda] all the children come from Parinacota, here there are children from different neighborhoods,

only a few from Parinacota. Here parents come to drop their sons by cars, often they both work, the families aren't vulnerable."

Despite increasing awareness about educational inequalities, problems are mainly attributed to the deterioration of "social and cultural capital" in poor areas.

"We had a discussion [in school], and the most common stance was that they don't want to mix with the guys of their own district, because they are violent, messy, and they won't let them learn. This is what people in Quilicura say. The fact is that this district is so much divided," says Nicol.

This girl explains quite well how strong segregation is and how much it is rooted in people's minds. The This girl explains quite well how strong segregation is and how much it is rooted in people's minds. The same residents embrace this stance, for example remarking a difference between "concerned families and broken ones". It is true that the lack of a stimulating background can affect the performance of students. But limiting the source of social discomfort to that leads to misleading conclusions by simplifying a rather complex reality, and veiling the role of economic inequalities in educational performance and outcome. The very idea of a socio-culturally deteriorated context leads to justification of the disdain towards the inhabitants of social houses, and to the maintenance of segregated educational patterns.

In conclusion, although Parinacota residents do access primary education, and even have the chance to make choices about it, the case remains still that their inclusion in the educational system does not happen on an equal playing field. Prejudice and stigmatization prevent the youth to overcome social division, and economic resources determine to a great extent the quality of schooling, shaping young people's possibilities of receiving education. Institutional efforts seem to have focused nor in mitigating discrimination[13], nor in producing improvement within Parinacota, but rather in fostering exit

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from the environment for those in a better social position. Therefore, schools' territorial accessibility does not appear particularly successful in promoting inclusiveness. Aspirations for social mobility are tackled at the individual, rather than communitarian or societal levels and framed in discourses of personal and individual responsibility. Further opportunities for a few flip into a device for greater exclusion of the poorest, more vulnerable subjects; by so doing, craters of exclusion will always exist, and the fact that they are quantitatively reduced does not make them more socially tolerable.

## 6. TERRITORIAL STIGMATIZATION

6.1 Evidences of discrimination

In the investigation first stage, the one related to services, stigmatization and perceptions of discrimination have been already an issue that came out from residents' words, as well as from personal observations. One could not avoid reflecting on an evaluation with the goal of pointing out how material and symbolic factors mutually play in the maintenance of inequality. Thereby, the following question was unavoidable: "What are the feelings and perceptions of the residents in regards to discrimination?"

Perceptions of discriminations are contradictory in their essence. Let's start by posing a statistic glance and have a look at figures 6 and 7. Some 67% of Parinacota respondents declared that they have not been subjected to any discrimination whatsoever. When questioned again, approximately 55% of Parinacota residents believe that other people look down on them because they live in Parinacota, a rate almost 15% higher than the general average in Blocks' Survey

Figure N°6
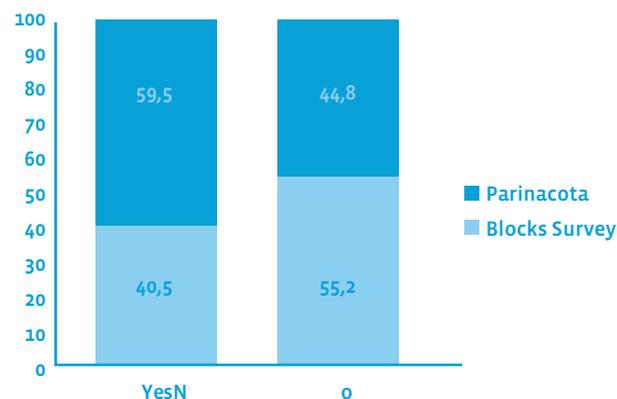**Perceptions of discrimination (I)**
Have your ever felt discriminated? If yes, where?
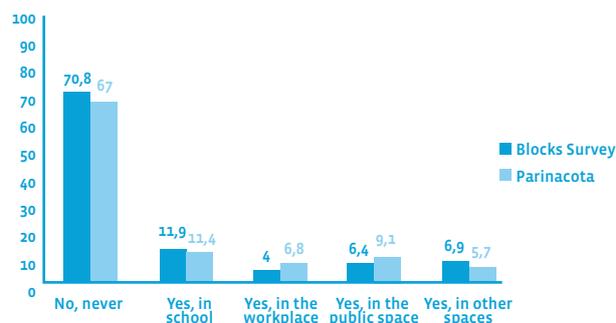
Fuente: Elaboración propia

Figure N°7
Perceptions of discrimination (II)
Do you think people look down upon the residents of this neighborhood?

Fuente: Elaboración propia

Yet the responses to in-depth interviews attest to a much graver reality; almost all the participants stated they felt discriminated at times. These feelings come up in the accounts of mobility-related experiences:

[13] While the María Sepúlveda institute, as the NGO TECHO and other organizations, develop programs for inclusion of the most disadvantaged population, at the institutional level the programs implemented in Parinacota only concerns the reduction of criminality, as for example the Programa de Paz Residencial (i.e. Residential Peace Program).

when respondents speak of how public taxis avoid entering the neighborhood, or buses don't stop when passing by. Many episodes of discrimination happen in the district's public space, and less frequently, in encounters with schools and the municipality itself. Roman accounts for it: "There is a lot of discrimination towards Parinacota; if you are in the center of Quilicura, and someone asks you where you live, as soon as you answer, they run away. Or if you are in a shop, and they ask your address, you can see sellers who get frightened by us; but we are not all the same kind of people." Discrimination is also embedded in personal relationships. For example, when family members, friends, or colleagues make jokes about living conditions in Parinacota, or refuse to pay a visit. Alejandra tells:

"My cousin and my sister have a car but they don't come here anymore. Once they came for my daughter's birthday and a gunfight started nearby. Since then, they haven't come hereby anymore." Another major issue is the discrimination in the labor market, everyone is aware that the possibilities of being hired decrease if you are resident in Parinacota, as Cesar reports: "There is discrimination especially when it comes to finding a job. We have to lie about where we live. In the curricula we need to put the address of some[other] relative [living elsewhere] because if the boss gets to know we are from Parinacota, he won't give us any job. That's because of the bad name of the barrio."

People say precarious, badly paid jobs abound in Quilicura, whereas white collar jobs are scarce. This common stance is challenged by academic studies (Ruiz Tagle, 2014), which have argued that in places characterized by proximity between low and high-income settlements, it is a recurring pattern not to hire "marginal" people from the surroundings, at least not for duties involving greater responsibilities. If it would happen, it could represent a challenge for consolidated norms of social distancing between split but close environments. It is more likely for an entrepreneur to give a job to someone coming from farther distance. Likewise, for a white-collar coming from a stigmatized area, it is easier to work in ano-

ther district and by doing so, to escape the negative prejudice associated with his or her neighborhood. This interesting analysis has been confirmed in the fieldwork, people with better jobs work far from Quilicura, Margarita explains it: "I work very far, so I don't have to name the exact place I come from, I say Quilicura and that's enough."

All the above statements prove the inhabitants are conscious of the stigmatization associated with Parinacota, and interestingly enough, such term stem from their own words. Stigma grew to be a common and personal way to describe the everyday difficulties they face. The very idea that stigmatization is triggered by a prejudice based on a specific territory is grasped by them. They experience it daily, therefore they come up with strategies to deal with it: as the habit to avoid saying they come from Parinacota, but rather paraphrasing it. Public opinion, media, and institutional discourses are powerful tools for boosting social representations. In particular, the communication industry plays a major role in spreading the idea that Parinacota is just a very dangerous and violent area. Its name is already famous all around the Metropolitan Region: "When something bad happens, all the media and the people focus on our area. For example, once a policeman was killed, and it had not even happened here; still Parinacota was mentioned in the television, although it had happened in another neighborhood. The stigmatization here is horrible." Nicol relates.

All in all, perceptions on territorial discrimination are overwhelmingly present in the inhabitants' accounts. They impact many fields of their everyday life, cause practical disadvantages, limit opportunities, and trigger feelings of unequal treatment in the public realm.

6.2 "Aquí vivimos encerrados" The local implications of the stigma.

Once established that the prejudice towards the inhabitants of Parinacota is a down to earth matter, and the residents consider it a disadvantage, a last questions arose:

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"How do the residents cope with it? Does the prejudice affect social relations among them?" This will be the object of this session.

In Parinacota almost everyone differentiates the criminals from the reliable neighbors, people fostering bad habits from oneself. On the one hand, Parinacota's bad conditions are ascribed to the misbehavior of a few, and the distinction between good and bad residents plays as a strategy to rescue both the place and themselves. Francisca says:

"Without gunfights Parinacota would be quite a calm and nice area, don't you think so?" and Alejandra continues on the same line: "The resident themselves make a stigma on the barrio, they don't value the good things we have, they don't understand that we all know and help each other". But on the other hand, people often point out that the widespread mentality of egoism, violence and opportunism damages the neighborhood the most. As Jorge states: "I would like to move out in the future, because I don't want my kids to grow up with the mentality of this place, I already experienced that. I don't want to leave Santiago, nor Quilicura. But I want to live far from Parinacota, the further possible".

At last, the social imagination portraying Parinacota as a hopeless place is justified and strengthened by the same inhabitants. In this way, a rift emerges between representation of the self - linked with normality, aligned with social norms and proper behaviors - and the local environment. All in all, the tension between the misbehavior of a few and a widespread damaging mentality is solved by alluding to an individual difference, and by locking oneself apart from social life altogether. This is how Carmen acts everyday:

"If someone asks me, I say I live in Quilicura and in Parinacota. People say that over there it's so bad. Yes, that's true but if you don't go out and don't get involved with people, they won't care about

you either. That's why I prefer staying here, inside, rather than outside. Here it is not an environment to meet up with other people". After a while, also Francisca isn't optimistic anymore: "Criminals stay outside, all of them, there are no criminals in my home!" Residents feel forced to spend their lives in a place that does not match their personal identities and social expectations. It emerges from everyone's words, and Cesar has a very clear vision on it: "Perhaps you can buy something, rise up in [buying] furniture. But the fear the day after it can be stolen will always be left. We live locked up, my house looks like a fortress."

An outstanding example of this mismatching is the success achieved by the controversial *Programa de Recuperación de Condominios Sociales*, which aims at relocating social housing inhabitants in other areas of the city by means of individual subsidies. People who have the resources or are lucky enough to access the program look at the possibility of moving out from Parinacota with tremendous hopes. While the ones who have not been selected or have decided not to apply are extremely worried by the changes the area is likely to undergo. In fact, the relocation will come along with the demolition of entire buildings. Despite authorities affirming that the new empty spaces will be redeveloped soon, the risk is quite high that poor people erect informal shelters there. Hence, the program has immediately prompted numerous conflicts among neighbors, exacerbating the already present atmosphere of mistrust. Furthermore, the design of the program benefits the inhabitants that already have a better socio-economic status: mainly homeowners able to add their own saving to the new subsidies, or to access some loan. Otherwise, the most disadvantaged residents, those unable or unwilling to deal with the institutional rearrangements, will have to remain, and to face new and greater difficulties still. In the inhabitants' eyes, the most desired solution is to move out; once able to take distance from the stigma Parinacota presses on them, everything will be fixed.

In fact hiding poverty, and advancing policies centered on providing aid and short-term solutions have controversial outcomes. First, it produces contradictory feelings towards the overall welfare system, which does not help to develop relations of confidence and solidarity among neighbors. Secondly, social housing dwellers become easily labeled as people who lack the cultural and not only the economic capital, required to autonomously undertake transformative processes of upward mobility. Thus, poverty is symbolically and strategically denied by attributing problems to people's attitudes, to a deprived cultural environment, or to a sort of negative social capital. A clue towards this point was offered earlier in relation to schooling opportunities. Parinacota residents perceive schools' low quality as a crucial obstacle to the improvement of their socio-economic conditions. This complaint takes place from the viewpoint of mainstream discourses, which glorify self-entrepreneurship as the path towards success, achievable through hard work, striving and education. For example, a big difference is marked between children whose parents are *"preocupados"* - "concerned" and the ones coming from *"familias descostituidas"* - "broken families." The degree of involvement parents have with the educational life of their children is considered a key factor in establishing whether or not they will be successful in life. Therefore, many residents struggle to distance their children from the local environment, and only the most disadvantaged individuals enroll in the closest school.

Referring to the concept of services' accessibility, discussed in session 2.3, the former case constitutes a highly significant example of how socio-economic inequality determines different possibilities to satisfy necessities (Jirón, 2008), even in the same geographical location. To go further on this issue, the uneven access to opportunities on the micro-scale contributes to enhance a model strictly based on the idea of individual responsibility, which obviously does not take structural inequalities into account. This is also true for the importance given to consumption habits, which represent a way to individually distancing from a negative environment, as Cesar says:

"You can [only] rise on buying something".

Likewise, subsidies for individual housing mobility are enthusiastically welcomed by the residents, although it is a rather tricking political measure since it aims neither at improving livelihoods within, nor at diminishing the stigmatization of this area. The early mentioned housing mobility program even seems to draw from the very contradiction to blame the environment and the individual at the same time, actively enhancing territorial stigmatization. All in all, the territorial dimension of Parinacota's social problems is not addressed by the institutions, which often push the residents to seek an exit-way from their neighborhood, establishing an even greater disparity in the extent of opportunities people have.

These considerations could lead to inviting policy-makers to critically reflect upon the relation between poor citizens' marginalization and market-oriented social policies. The real cause of marginalization has to be acknowledged in the uneven access to socio-economic rights, yet the economic dimension of existing inequalities remains poorly accounted. Promoting the idea of individual rather than systemic responsibilities contributes to the misrepresentation of discrimination's structural causes. This strategy reveals its ineffectiveness when it comes to dealing with territorial problems: for it nurtures negative representations regarding Parinacota residents' condition of welfare system beneficiaries, and inhabitants of a dangerous place. It also results in a detachment between discriminatory attitudes spreading around society, and the socio-economic foundation of the differences from which acts of stigmatization often take place. This way society can avoid coming to terms with the existing opportunity gap among different socio-economic groups. Whereas those who live in social houses feel even more strongly the discrepancy between personal expectations, and the space in which they are confined.

In the final analysis, prejudice gets enhanced rather than challenged within the institutional framework, and this further weakens group identification among people suffering from similar disadvantages. In session

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2.4, a definition of exclusion was given, describing it as the set of mechanisms denying resources and recognition to a group and preventing it to fully participating in the social life (Kabeer, 2000). If we point back to this, the role of public policies and the relative debates on the attribution of a "marginal" position to Parinacota and in fostering the exclusion of its inhabitants becomes undeniable.

8. REFLECTIONS UPON GEOGRAPHY, IDENTITY AND POLITICS

Indeed marginalization of poor neighborhoods is a complex phenomenon, and this article accounts for its simultaneous occurrence at many levels of the residents' social experience. One feature has still to be discussed, namely the spatial dimension of marginalization. The early definition of spatial inequality, discussed in session 2.2, points out the difficulties poor dwellers face in accessing socio-economic and political opportunities available for the majority of the population (Tironi, 2004; Harvey, 2008). It is therefore formed of many intertwined dimensions: economic disadvantages, uneven accessibility to services and opportunities, discriminatory social representations linked to the territory, and the marginalization in the public realm.

But how do geographical factors interact with the symbolic and economic features of exclusion? So far, the analysis offered by this paper seems to take off value from the idea that location can represent a disadvantage by itself. Actually, in the fieldwork the position of Parinacota does not emerge as a factor preventing its residents from gaining a greater inclusion. The most outstanding problem is neither distance, nor mobility, nor lack of access to places other than the neighborhood. Yet, feelings of exclusion are still trigged by the territory, precisely by the symbolic position attributed to this place, not because of "distance" or "isolation," but because of a general feeling of "abandonment."

This makes it unavoidable to challenge the idea that pinpoints social isolation, and limited access to services,

as the main cause of peripheral areas marginalization and exclusion. Many scholars depicted contemporary metropolises as fragmented spaces in which multiple realities coexist without interacting (Sassen, 2001; De Freitas, 2008; Montezuma, 2003; Borsdorf and Hidalgo, 2014). It is not in the intention of this work denying the explanatory validity of the idea of social fragmentation. However, departing from the idea of separation and low interaction seems not to be the best operative strategy to understand problems of marginalization and social exclusion. Despite this consolidated view, exchanges between poor neighborhoods, higher-income ones, and economic or political centers exist, although partial and unequal. Thus, the city is better defined as an integrated system of social relations taking place in a space, while its parts are tied by - *sometimes hidden* - interconnected functions (Lefebvre, 1992). Furthermore, while social fragmentation does have explicative power, the same idea can be used on an extreme level by considering poor settlements as socially isolated. This assumption cannot be fostered in an honest intellectual debate, and can dangerously contribute to conceal - sometimes even unintentionally - the human agency behind the construction of urban territories. Actually, the city is nothing less than the mirror of the social relations flowing within it. By perceiving poor settlements social problems as a matter of isolation, we tend to forget the power structures and the inequalities embedded in the city's sociality and materiality. About the early mentioned paradigm, a critic assessment of this kind has been poorly observed in the literature review. Because these considerations have been quite relevant to this specific case study, this paper suggests enhancing further reflections on the issue, overcoming the limited scope and the explorative nature of this investigation.

Furthermore, in the outskirt of Latin American cities, the coexistence between two very different habitats is gaining momentum; it is common for high-middle class gated communities to lie nearby poor neighborhoods. Spatial proximity with higher income groups can lead to improved accessibility to services for the poorer population, but its positive implications are

Furthermore, in the outskirt of Latin American cities, the coexistence between two very different habitats is gaining momentum; it is common for high-middle class gated communities to lie nearby poor neighborhoods. Spatial proximity with higher income groups can lead to improved accessibility to services for the poorer population, but its positive implications are still to be investigated accurately, and they cannot be taken for granted, especially if no other social actions are set up. The case study of Parinacota shows that these opportunities are waned because of increasing social prejudice and the enduring of socio-economic differences between groups. "Divided cities" can therefore assume many different configurations, and the cutting line between low and high-income population is not always drafted by geographical distance. It can be observed how marginalization takes place in a way that goes beyond geographical location and acquires a further relational dimension. Therefore, the spatial dimensions of inequality affect poor urban dwellers not only because of residential patterns and accessibility to services; its repercussions are even greater on identitarian and political processes. In session 2.4 the importance of the territory we inhabit in the process of identity making has been underlined, for we acquire a subjective vision of our role in society from the place we live in (Carman, 2007; Wacquant, 2007). This case study provides a new empirical confirmation of this theory, and it tries to grasp the peculiar impact stigmatization has on Parinacota residents' self-understanding.

Because territorial stigma is not strictly bonded to the individual, it is negotiable in the processes of individual identity making (Sabatini et al. 2014). This can be positive for the subject because it provides an increased space for action that other types of discrimination (the racial one, for instance) do not allow. But this very process leads to the emergence of a problematic detachment between subjective and collective identities. Group membership is not simply a matter of inscribed characteristics and shared economic positions, it also involves a shared perception of the self in relation to society. The individualization of aspirations and claims brings about the misrecognition of poor urban dwellers as a social group. In Parinacota, diminished solidarity and unwillingness to address the problems of a place perceived as external does restrain the symbolic and social space in which the residents can undertake actions. This ultimately prevents the emergence of collective strategies and empowering connections in the locality, thus making more difficult tackling territorial problems, and neutralizing potential broader claims for social justice.

In Chile, as in many other countries, public policies have been able to reduce poverty in quantitative terms, but they have fostered the emergence of an apparently indissoluble link between specific territories and social problems. This is a factor that by itself generates the ongoing maintenance of inequality in contemporary societies, thus aggravating problems of marginalization in specific areas of the city.

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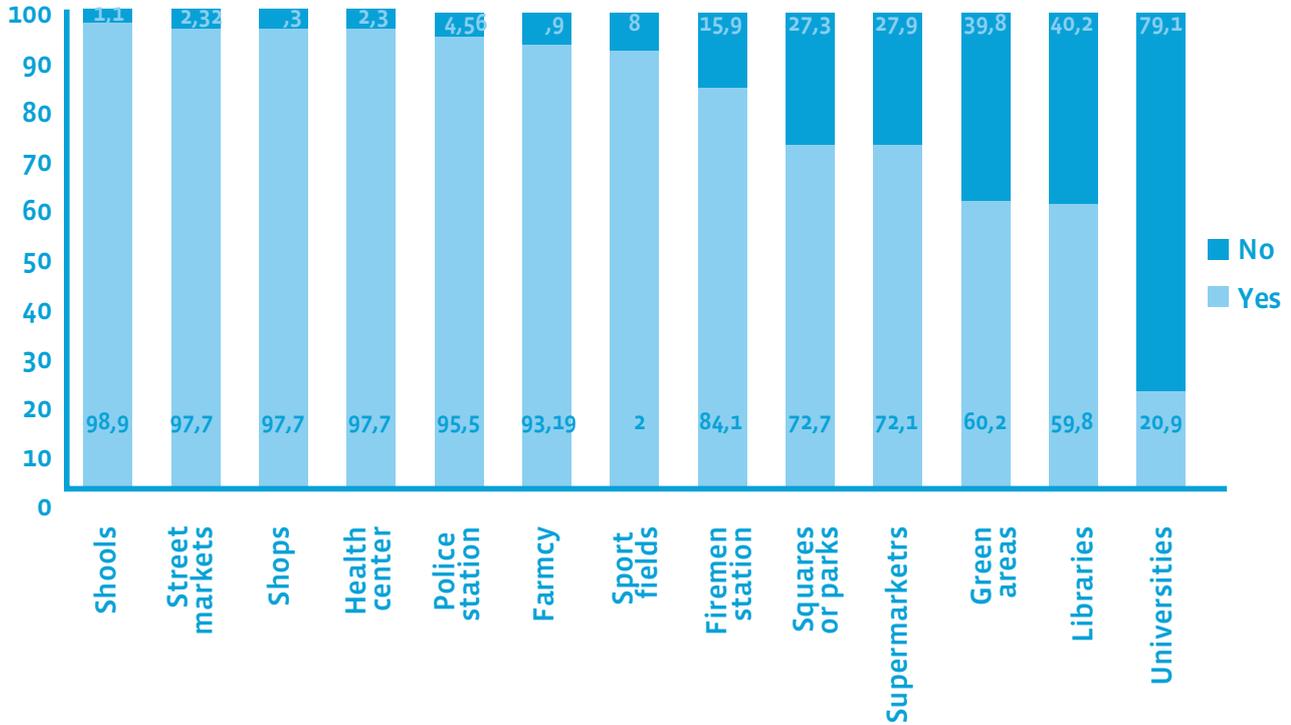
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Francesca Messineo

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Anexo Nº1: Figure Nº 2
Accessibility to services
Do you consider the following services easily accessible
from Parinacota?

	Shools	Street markets	Shops	Health center	Police station	Farmcy	Sport fields	Firemen station	Squares or parks	Supermarketrs	Green areas	Libraries	Universities
No	1,1	2,32	,3	2,3	4,56	,9	8	15,9	27,3	27,9	39,8	40,2	79,1
Yes	98,9	97,7	97,7	97,7	95,5	93,19	2	84,1	72,7	72,1	60,2	59,8	20,9

Fuente: Elaboración propia