



# Social segregation and gated communities in Santiago de Chile and Buenos Aires. A comparison



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## ABSTRACT

The two Cono Sur capitals share similarities (effects of globalization, socio-spatial segregation, fragmentation, rise of gated cities, social housing in remote locations lacking public transport), however a variety of differences can be observed. Whereas in Santiago gated communities are widespread in the urban fabric, in Buenos Aires these communities are concentrated only in the north and northwestern parts of the city. In Chile parcelas de agrado with more than 5000 m<sup>2</sup> fulfill the demand of upper class citizens for more space for luxury villas. Ethnic segregation is seen as a problem in Santiago, where Peruvian immigrants occupy some sectors of the city centre, whereas in Buenos Aires most immigrants are coming from non-metropolitan regions of Argentina. Last not least gentrification is quite strong in Santiago's central communes, whereas the Argentines in a quite unusual way interpret the development of gated communities as a process of social upgrading.

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## 1. Introduction

In the course of globalization, which in Chile, with its neoliberal economic approach, started as early as 1974, socio-spatial segregation in the capital has intensified and with it spatial fragmentation. Below we will present and discuss phenomena that have received less attention. For several years the authors and their assistants and colleagues have carried out studies in the capitals Mexico City (Kanitscheider, 2002; Parnreiter 2004), Quito (Kohler 2002), Buenos Aires (Janoschka & Borsdorf 2005; Vidal, 2014) and Santiago de Chile. This paper summarizes the results of these investigations. We start by looking at the structural spatial changes, which can be captured under the heading 'fragmentation of the urban structure'. The second part focuses on the population movements. We will show that international mobility does indeed contribute to the formation of social enclaves in the city centre, while an extreme suburbanization yet did not lead to post-suburbanization.

## 2. Material and methods

The method used here is compilatory. The results of sub-studies will be integrated and summarized and put in relation to each other from a new perspective. The numerous maps and tables that present the empirical results will not be repeated here. The methods on which the empirical parts of this work are based have been detailed in other papers by the authors.

The epistemological value of this work is its synthesis. The authors have tried to integrate the empirical-analytical results of the individual projects in the theoretical framework of the model of fragmenting spatial development, not least to test the explanatory power of this theory on a case in point.

## 3. Theoretical background: socio-spatial segregation and fragmentation of the urban fabric

Fragmented space is a system, made up of a basic matrix (sea of the poor) and fragments (islands) of the globalized or global level within it. Scholz (2002) developed a model demonstrating that globalization transforms space into fragments of richness, linked to the global economy, within an ocean of poorness (Fig. 1). It is normally, but not necessarily, tied to cities, therefore we can speak of fragmenting urban development (Borsdorf & Hidalgo, 2011).

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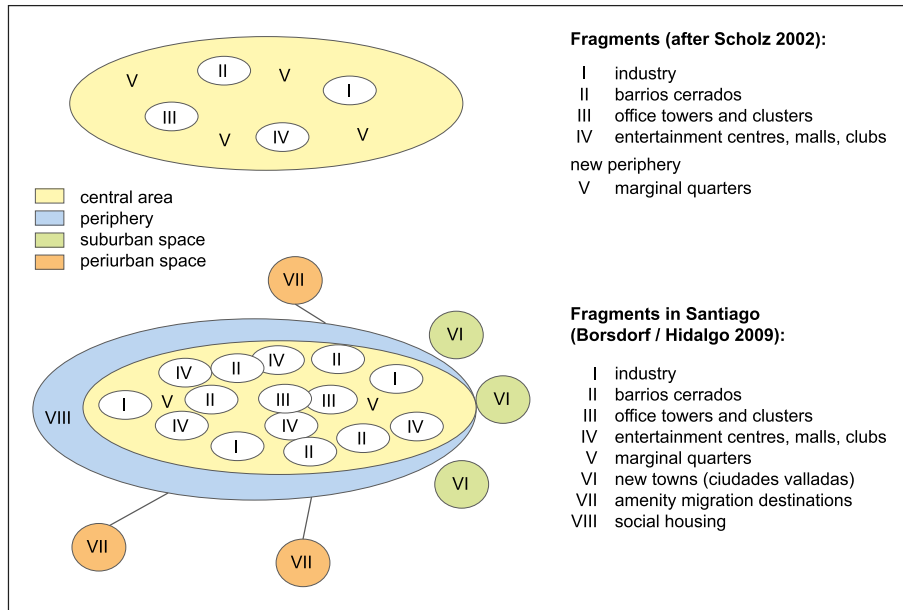


Fig. 1. The Scholz model applied for Santiago de Chile. Source: Scholz (2002) and Borsdorf and Hidalgo (2009).

The Chilean capital Santiago is particularly well suited to demonstrate the effects of globalization on the urban structure because in Santiago globalization started quite abruptly and very early, in 1974, about a year after the military junta under general Pinochet seized power (De Mattos, 2003). After initial indecision it favoured the world market, soon making Chile a paragon of neoliberalism and a pioneer of globalization. The measures introduced by the military regime did indeed quickly consolidate the Chilean national economy, albeit at high social cost. As the government remained in power for more than 17 years and only faced two plebiscites during that time, the reorganization of economic policy was permanent. Because of its basic success, subsequent democratic governments did not change these policies either, which makes Chile the country of the South with the longest neoliberal tradition.

The model of Latin-American urban development (Borsdorf, Bähr, & Janoschka, 2002; Borsdorf, 2003) exemplifies this fragmentation. It replaces earlier structural patterns of the compact (colonial), the sectoral (after the first phase of urbanization) and the bipolar city (at the end of the second phase of urbanization). For Santiago this has also been demonstrated by Bähr and Meyer-Kriesten (2007) and for Buenos Aires by Janoschka (2002a).

Sabatini (1998) and Cáceres and Sabatini (2003) have pointed out the different levels of scale of the socio-spatial segregation in Santiago de Chile. For them spatial exclusion happens concurrently on a large (rich versus poor city) and on a small spatial scale (insulation of *barrios cerrados*, i.e. gated communities, from their surroundings).

For Mexico City Kanitscheider (2002) and Kohler (2005) have shown that such a view still does not present the full picture. They confirmed the results of Sabatini (1998) but were able to demonstrate that segregation often reaches into the *manzana* level (block of flats). Even within a single *manzana*, isolated rich units are possible next to poor ones.

We have found similar results for Santiago de Chile and used them to modify the results of Sabatini. We were also able to prove that the dichotomy of a rich and a poor city is an old structure that is increasingly being modified or even replaced by more complex small-scale forms of spatial segregation.

Beyond the large-scale division of the city rich and poor (macro segregation) there is a much more differentiated segregation on a smaller scale. The ‘sea of the poor’ (Janoschka, 2002a) includes *barrios cerrados* of the upper and middle classes, protected by high walls. At the same time the rich city includes islands of the poor.

This multidimensional structure can be labelled macro, meso and micro segregation. At macro level we have the old polarization of rich versus poor city. The meso level covers all large *barrios cerrados*, especially those made up of bungalows. They include the new towns on the periphery, planned for a population of 50,000 and more, of the same social strata and totally closed off from their surroundings. Micro segregation is found in situations where individual complexes within a block (high rises, small rows of terraced houses) house socially homogenous people and feature security measures, while other plots on the same block are home to other social strata.

The globalized city thus reflects processes of fractalization

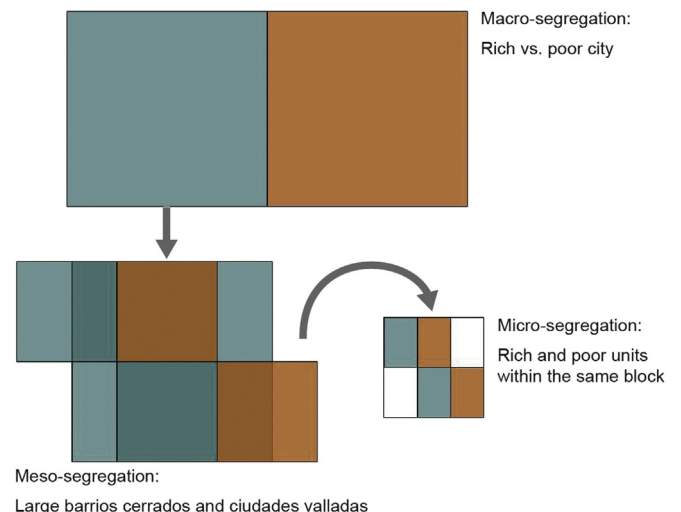


Fig. 2. Fractals of the fragmented city (design: A. Borsdorf).

(Frankhauser, 2003), which also characterize globalized urban development (Fig. 2).

A visible sign of the accentuated segregation is the security installed on the living quarters reserved for certain social strata. These are called *barrios cerrados*, *urbanizaciones cerradas* or *condominios* and always feature walls and fences and a central entrance gate, often watch towers, 24-h security staff, CCTV, pass control and other systems. In legal terms these are communal property (hence the term *condominio*). The owners purchase a share in the total plot but own their flat or house outright. We distinguish between horizontal (bungalow communities) and vertical *condominios* (apartment blocks). These days *condominionization* (Plöger, 2006) is reaching traditional districts, where whole streets are fenced off.

Perimeter walls allow establishing quarters for the upper and middle classes in neighbourhoods formerly classified as poor (Galleguillos Araya-Schübelin, 2007). Well-to-do people view the proximity of rich and poor quite positively as they need staff to look after their plots and houses, who they can recruit from nearby.

*Barrios cerrados* are thus found across the entire city today, albeit with a certain concentration in the traditional quarters of the upper and middle classes in the west of the city. There is, however, a long tradition of insulating dwelling units within a neighbourhood in Latin America. In Chile the privatization of public space in the course of globalization thus met a population that was already open to the concept.

#### 4. Polycentric structures

While Bähr and Mertins (1995) still assumed that modern malls and shopping centres would act as drivers and new focal points of urban development in the richer parts of Latin-American cities, several of our publications and mappings point out that such units, which might be called urban entertainment centres, given their multifunctional character, are found across the entire metropolitan area. The consumption temples can be subdivided into malls (with several anchor stores and central plazas with entertainment options), shopping centres (without plaza and usually no or only one anchor store), supermarkets (with one large anchor store and few small specialized shops) and specialist retail centres (with several non-integrated specialist retailers). They are concentrated in the former rich town, but recently such centres are being established increasingly in the former poor city.

Similarly characteristic for the fragmented structure are the new industrial and business parks, often created by transnational investors. They are situated at intersections of main transport routes, isolated from their surroundings in a similar way as the gated communities. They are replacing the old industrial streets along the old arterial roads and railway lines.

The service sector presents similar spatial structures. Until 1970 the upper town consisted mainly of residential buildings, but now it is dotted with office towers, sometimes clustered, sometimes as islands in a residential area. Each tower is an isolated unit with its own security system, similar to the neighbouring apartment blocks and their security systems, which can be seen as vertical *barrios cerrados*. Both office and apartment blocks are often created by transnationally active real estate developers.

Moreover, the continuing creation of private universities in all parts of the city contribute to the fragmentation of the urban space. These too – with few exceptions – are constructed and operated by internationally active education businesses. A fragmented location can also be observed for retail centres, gated communities and gated cities (Fig. 3).

In Argentina the neoliberal model has been much less successful than in Chile. After Argentina's state bankruptcies of 2001 and

2014, unemployment rate and income gaps rose, and even during the boom between the crises only one fifth of the population profited from growing incomes (Janoschka, 2003: 11). In the wake of increasing disparities, gated communities and also a gated city (Nordelta) have become similarly popular in the metropolitan regions of both Buenos Aires and Santiago.

However, in Argentina, unlike in the Chilean example, the gated communities (in Argentina they are called *urbanizaciones cerradas* or *barrios privados*) are concentrated in the north and northwestern parts of the agglomeration (36.3% and 37.7% of the *condominios*) and only 10.6% are located in the eastern corridor near Ezeiza International Airport (Fig. 4). Vertical *condominios* are mainly found close to the city centre, only in the last 10 years have gated communities spread out to the south-eastern and southern arterial corridors, where now 15.4% of the *condominios* are situated. (all percentages after Vidal (2013)). These trends reflect the changes in the real-estate market.

Most of the larger upper class gated communities of Buenos Aires have their origin in country clubs, more recently *chacra* clubs (mostly in the periphery) on former farming lots accomplish the offer for medium and upper classes. The *chacra* clubs have buildings lots with at least 1.5 ha up to a maximum of 15 ha and offer horticulture opportunities for the dwellers. The newest trend is the development of megaprojects with more than 20,000 inhabitants, some of them designed as gated cities.

An important location factor for the gated communities in the metropolitan region of Buenos Aires is the network of metropolitan highways and major national and provincial roads (Blanco, 2005). In total more than 500 gated communities exist in the metropolitan region of Buenos Aires. The localization of these segregated habitats is thus based on private mobility. This pattern creates new forms of centrality, including laundries, micro-cinemas, clubs for golf and other prestigious sports, swimming pools, solariums and others. The gated communities of Buenos Aires are located within 15–100 km from the city centre.

A peculiarity of Buenos Aires is the concentration of vertical *condominios* called *torres country*; Ciccolella (2011), which include laundries, micro cinemas, swimming pools and solariums, on the banks of the Río de la Plata and often in the vicinity of sports clubs (golf and other prestigious sports). They are characterized by an exclusive architecture and give Buenos Aires a very modern urban design. Vertical *condominios* in Santiago de Chile are found all over the urban area.

#### 5. New forms of suburbanization

When the Chilean government passed its Decreto 3.516 in 1980, which stipulated that agricultural plots could not be subdivided in lots smaller than 5000 m<sup>2</sup>, the real estate sector quickly perceived an opportunity. Businesses bought up larger agricultural plots and subdivided them into units of 5000 m<sup>2</sup>. These plots were declared pleasure lots (*parcelas de agrado*) and sold to rich clients for building luxury villas there. At the same time the total area of the original plot was fenced in and secured. While the buyers of the *parcelas* – unlike the buyers of units in a *condominio* – really own them (with a title in the land register), these *parcelas* can still be seen as *de facto* *condominios* (in contrast to *ex lege* *condominios*) because of the perimeter fence and security system around the total area.

In Santiago such complexes are mainly found in the southern and western districts and outside the metropolitan region. Between 1994 and 2002 a total of 156,251 *parcelas* were created in c. 7500 fenced-in estates. In Argentina there is no legal basis for such pleasure lots and therefore no equivalent development in Buenos Aires.

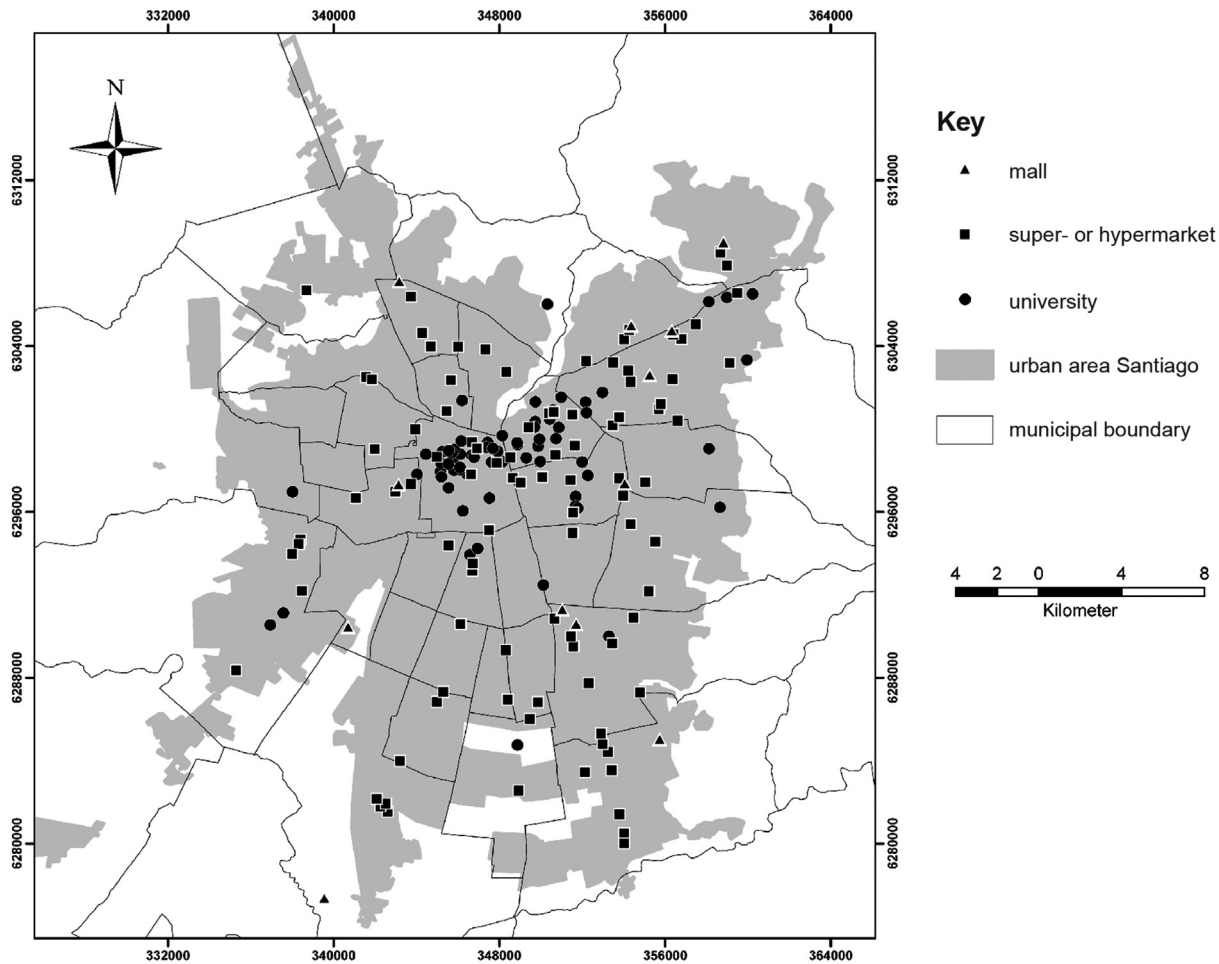


Fig. 3. Malls, retail centres and universities in Santiago 2008, mapped by the authors.

For decades now the growth of Santiago de Chile (1992–2002: 8.6%) and Buenos Aires (1992–2002: 9.2%) – like that of many other Latin-American megacities – is less than the median regeneration rate of the respective countries (1992–2002: Chile 12.8%; Argentina 11.2%). And yet the cities expand rapidly in acreage because the desire of the urban population for more living space is far from satisfied. The growth rate of urban area in the most recent decade is around twice that of population growth. This raises the question whether the two metropolitan regions might not run out of available area. In Santiago growth is concentrated in the peri-urban municipalities, some of which have doubled the number of inhabitants within the last ten years, while nearly all central municipalities have lost up to 16% of their population. Between 1992 and 2002 the municipalities of Colina and Lampa grew by 47.1% and 60.2% respectively (De Mattos, 2003). In Buenos Aires the northwest of the city is the dominant growth area.

These high growth rates come from the creation of new cities since the 1990s, starting with the gated city Nordelta in the agglomeration of Buenos Aires, planned for 150,000 inhabitants (Janoschka 2002a, b). In the greater metropolitan area of Santiago new cities are emerging for 50,000 to over 100,000 inhabitants. They are surrounded by walls, fences, gates and security systems that close them off from their surroundings. They include dedicated utilities and services, but each is reserved for one particular social strata only. In Chile they are known as *ciudades valladas* (gated cities; Borsdorf & Stadel, 2013: 238). Fig. 5 shows the example of Piedra Roja, designed for 50,000 inhabitants. They are not exclusive

to Santiago and Buenos Aires but also known in Brazil (Coy & Pöhler, 2002).

The development of Nordelta on an area of 1300 ha in the municipality of Tigre started in the 1990s (Vidal, 2012). Currently 15,000 families live in the already completed 14 quarters of this gated city. It includes retail centres, four private schools, a branch of a private university and two (private) health centres. This setup resembles that of gated cities in the Metropolitan Region of Santiago. Near Nordelta another private city, Villanueva (Fig. 6), is currently under construction on a lot of 500 ha. It will also have more than 10 quarters and is being developed by several real estate companies.

Satellite towns, like Nordelta and Villanueva in Buenos Aires, and Piedra Roja, Valle Grande, Valle Norte, and La Reserva in Greater Santiago, are intended for upper-class clients. In Santiago, however, they have been modified so that parts of the city are available to the middle classes and 30% of the units are reserved for social housing. The setup of the new cities follows the pattern of the old macrosegregation. Law regulates the basic design, but further planning is left to private developers. All such cities have highway links to the office quarters of the central districts.

*Parcelas de agrado* and the new *ciudades valladas* must be seen as phenomena of peri-urbanization. During the day they are empty and fill with people in the evening. Yet they also express the fragmentation of the urban fabric, as both forms develop as cells and in an insular manner as fragments that are homogenous within themselves. This means that they do not contradict the model of

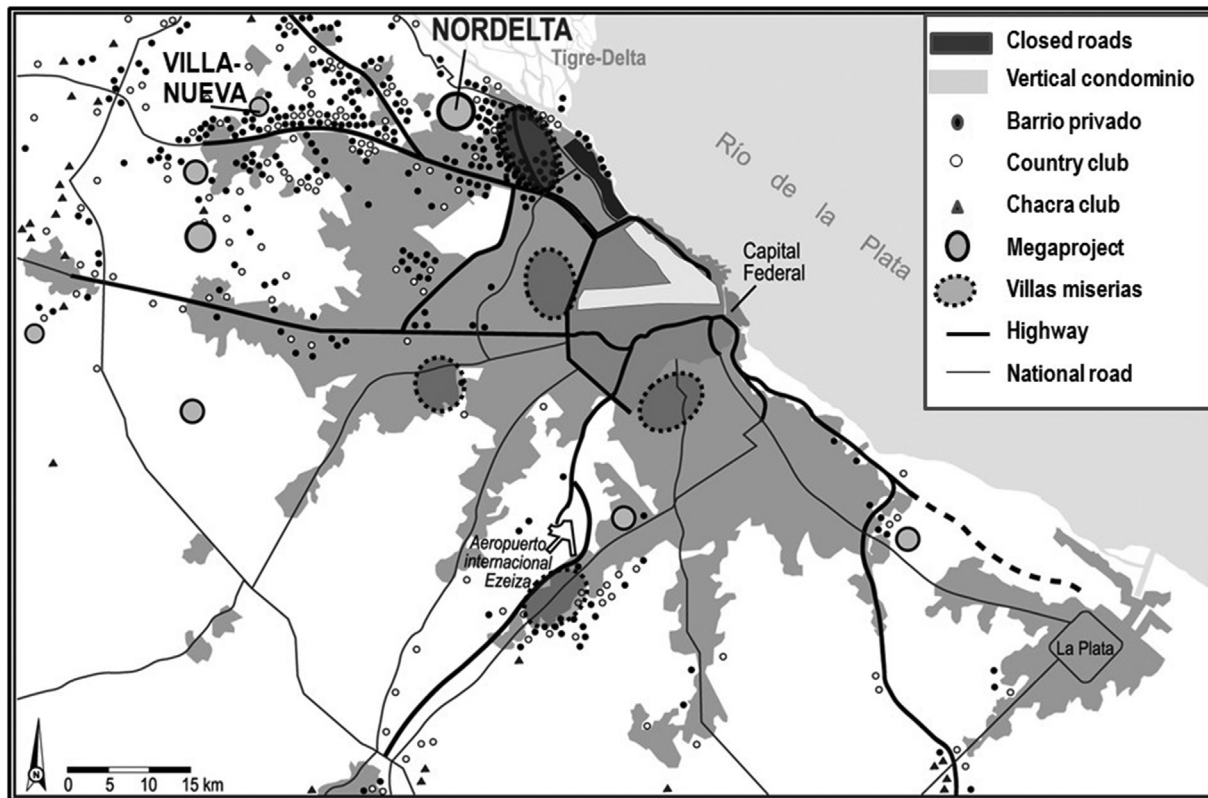


Fig. 4. Private communities and marginal quarters in the metropolitan region of Buenos Aires. Source: Janoschka, 2002b, modified by the authors.

fragmented development. It has to be pointed out, though, that in Santiago the marginalized space takes up much less room than Scholz (2002) supposes for his model (Fig. 1).

## 6. Social housing

Social housing in Chile has a long tradition (Nickel-Gemmeke, 1991), even involving eminent architects like Karl Brunner. Some of the *conventillos* and *cités* in the capital – the Chilean terms for inner-city alleyway neighbourhoods – were also following social housing principles in their design. In the 1950s the national development corporation CORVI (Corporación de la Vivienda) was founded following the example of Brazil. From that time there has been a tendency to create residential areas for the lower classes on the urban periphery.

During the short reign of Salvador Allende (1970–1973) this trend was temporarily reversed and illegal occupation of land by settlers not only tolerated, but free plots were released for creating so-called *campamentos de emergencia* of very simple wooden huts. In this way the lower and marginal social strata temporarily reconquered central areas in the city.

The military government stopped this policy. Nearly all *campamentos de emergencia* were torn down and the inhabitants relocated to newly built social housing. Early on these were sometimes situated in the vicinity of the old settlements. Later the new housing was again constructed on the periphery of the city. In doing so the military government not only reinstated 1950s policy but also heeded market forces. Land on the urban periphery is considerably cheaper than in the core area. While the central parts of the city experience micro and meso-segregation, this policy also encourages the persistence of macro-segregation.

Social housing development on the periphery was pushed by the military regime during its last years in office and also continued

after the return to democracy. No new social housing was created in the upper-class districts. Since then social housing has driven dramatic suburbanization. New quarters are being constructed ever further from the city centre. Since 1990 more than twice as many units of social housing have been constructed outside the metropolitan region of Santiago than in the period from 1978 to 1989. The proportion of social housing units in peripheral municipalities is continuously increasing (8.3% during 1978–1983; 19.5% during 1996–2002). We must point out, however, that under democratic governments social housing continues to lose ground.

Social housing is still controlled by the state and thus – apart from transport infrastructure and public services – the only form of direct state impact on the spatial structure. It is the private economic sector, which adheres to the rules of globalization, that is responsible for the new fragmented structures, while the state follows more the polarized patterns which dominated the cities up to about the 1970s. In Santiago de Chile the marginal sectors have almost disappeared.

In Buenos Aires, too, social housing quarters today are being constructed by the state as gated communities, based on urban development plans Federal I and II. These were drawn up to counteract the chronic housing shortage for the lower social strata, which has persisted since the 1940s (Chiozza, 2000). More than 2 million inhabitants of the metropolitan region of Buenos Aires are living in decrepit housing without access to basic infrastructure (Cravino, 2007). Fig. 3 shows the location of the marginal quarters (*villas miserias*) in the Metropolitan Region of Buenos Aires.

The development plans of Buenos Aires, which, after a decade of inactivity, have been reactivated by the government since 2003, are however only a partial solution (Carlevarino & Rofe, 2012; Cravino, 2007; Fernández Wagner, 2001). The scarcity of building land owned by the city and the inability to purchase land from private owners has meant that in Buenos Aires, similar to Santiago de Chile,

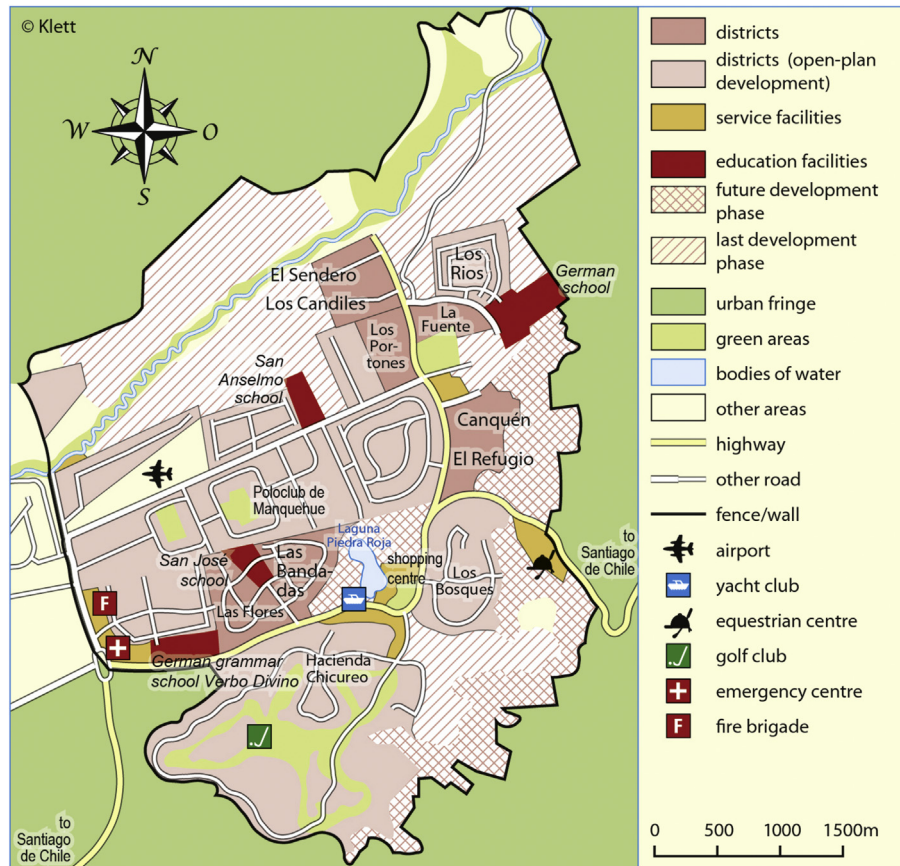


Fig. 5. The gated city of Piedra Roja, north of Santiago de Chile (Source: Borsdorf & Stadel, 2013).

social housing today is almost exclusively constructed in peripheral locations, some of which have inadequate basic infrastructure and are not yet connected to public transport (Blanco, San Cristóbal, & Bosoer et al., 2014). In this way new ‘islands of poverty’ are evolving there.

## 7. Ethnic segregation

The opening of markets, the homogenization of labour markets, the partial abolition of border formalities and the reduction of the costs of transport, all encourage international mobility, which can also be seen as an effect of globalization. Chile – initially an immigration country – turned into an emigration country in 1970, when opponents of the socialist regime left the country in droves. This development intensified after the military coup, when numerous opponents of the regime fled or were expelled. Since 1990 Chile has been turning back into an immigration country as the favoured destination of people from neighbouring countries.

The difference in wealth has attracted Argentinians to Chile where they often find well-paid jobs and remain unobtrusive in public life. This is in contrast to the Peruvian immigrants. They are identifiable by their skin colour, many of them are active in the informal sector, which in Chile had previously shrunk to a negligible volume, and their activities are spatially concentrated in the old centre of Santiago, where they are visible as a ‘mass’ of people. Although Argentinians make up 26% of the total immigration in the last decade and Peruvians only 21%, there is public opposition to these Peruvian migrants, voiced in the press, on radio and TV as well as addressed to the political parties (Borsdorf & Gómez-

Segovia, 2011).

Apart from official immigration there is also an unofficial immigration, and not just in Chile. The last census (2012) registered 38,000 Peruvian immigrants, but the Chilean foreign ministry assumes that the actual immigration from Peru for that year was 81,000 people. In international comparison this is a small figure.

Male Peruvians live mainly in the city centre where they also work. Female Peruvians are predominantly working as maids in the households of the upper classes and live there. They make up the concentration of Peruvians in the Barrio Alto of Las Condes.

The concentration of male Peruvians in the city centre is a form of ethnic segregation and confirms Scholz’s thesis (2002) that fragmentation includes the social structure and fits his model of the fragmented city.

A series of economic crises has turned Argentina from an immigration country into an emigration country, which is why the proportion of Argentinian immigrants in Chile is much higher than that of the Peruvians. In Buenos Aires there is hardly any concentration of foreigners like that found in Santiago, however, in some villas miserias there is a certain concentration of immigrants from a specific origin, with immigrants from non-metropolitan regions forming ethnic subcultures (Lombardo, 2012).

## 8. Gentrification

The immigration of Peruvians, but also the creation of private universities (enabled by the partial withdrawal of the state from higher education), have led to processes of gentrification in the centre of Santiago and in the adjoining quarters (Borsdorf &



Fig. 6. Scheme of the private gated town of Villanueva. Source: Publicidad de la Revista Tigris, EIDICO 2005, modified by the authors.

Hidalgo, 2013). As in the cities of other countries, here too these processes are related to neighbourhoods where ethnic minorities have been installed (Taylor, 2010).

These ethnic minorities, in this case a Peruvian population, have dynamics affecting the urban structure. Because of their low buying power, they settle in subleased parts of old houses from the early

twentieth century, reviving the importance of the tenements as collective rooms prone to overcrowding, (Hidalgo & Torres, 2009). These houses are in a state of decay due to low investment by the owners (which means low rents attractive for the immigrants), which leads to physical deterioration and functional and economic obsolescence, and a devaluation of the built environment. This is

associated with the life cycle of the built environment, “by an initial stage of construction, followed by successive regimes of use and maintenance, disinvestment and decay. Thereafter, a process may emerge triggered by new revitalization investments. This is due to the gap created between the current rent and the rent expected after revitalization,” (Diappi & Bolchi, 2008). According to López Morales (2009), this impairment is a result of urban blight, occurring because the financial capital had moved to the suburbs where the return on investment was more attractive, thereby producing a lack of concerted investment from developers because of high risk and low return rates, which has caused a long period of deterioration and lack of new capital in these areas (López-Morales, 2010).

A precondition for the gentrification trends were the education reforms of the military government. In the late 1980s permission was granted to establish private universities for the business-oriented educated elite of the country but also for foreign investors, who immediately seized this opportunity. As the state university, and the only private university at the time, the Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, also demanded high student fees and limited their intake through high quality thresholds, the new private universities offered some sections of the population their first ever opportunity of a tertiary education for their gifted offspring. We must not underestimate the social change triggered by this development. Today the private universities educate more students than the state universities.

Most of these private universities were created in Santiago city centre. In some cases, old residences of aristocratic families

provided suitable buildings for the administration or the large hall (e.g. in the case of the Universidad Andrés Bello). Students tend to live close to their place of education. They brought the central districts back to life (Pereira & Hidalgo, 2008). Bars, clubs and cabarets sprang up. Peruvian immigrants seized their chance to sell low-cost ‘ethno food’. Particularly at night, the districts near the new universities are teeming with student life. The long-time residents do not always welcome this, but Chilean bohemians may find this new vitality attractive.

It is this combination of centrality of location, proximity to the university, old town regeneration, cultural life, culinary choice and retail infrastructure that has given parts of the city centre a new appeal. We can observe three types of development: in the Barrio Brasil (to the west of the Plaza de Armas and the Carretera Panamericana, see Fig. 7) private universities and the students living nearby enliven the district. Affluent foreigners (North-Americans, Europeans) and Chileans have moved into the Lastarria quarter (between Parque Forestal and Alameda). They are attracted by the proximity to the Bellavista district across the river. Bellavista as such is inhabited by the lower classes, but its many bars, restaurants and chic courtyards provide an atmosphere that appeals to the ‘gents’. The well-to-do remain amongst themselves in their residences but are close enough to participate in the life of Bellavista. Its central location and easy accessibility have attracted higher-earning young adults and students into the new apartment towers. Thus, gentrification is another form of micro- and meso-segregation.

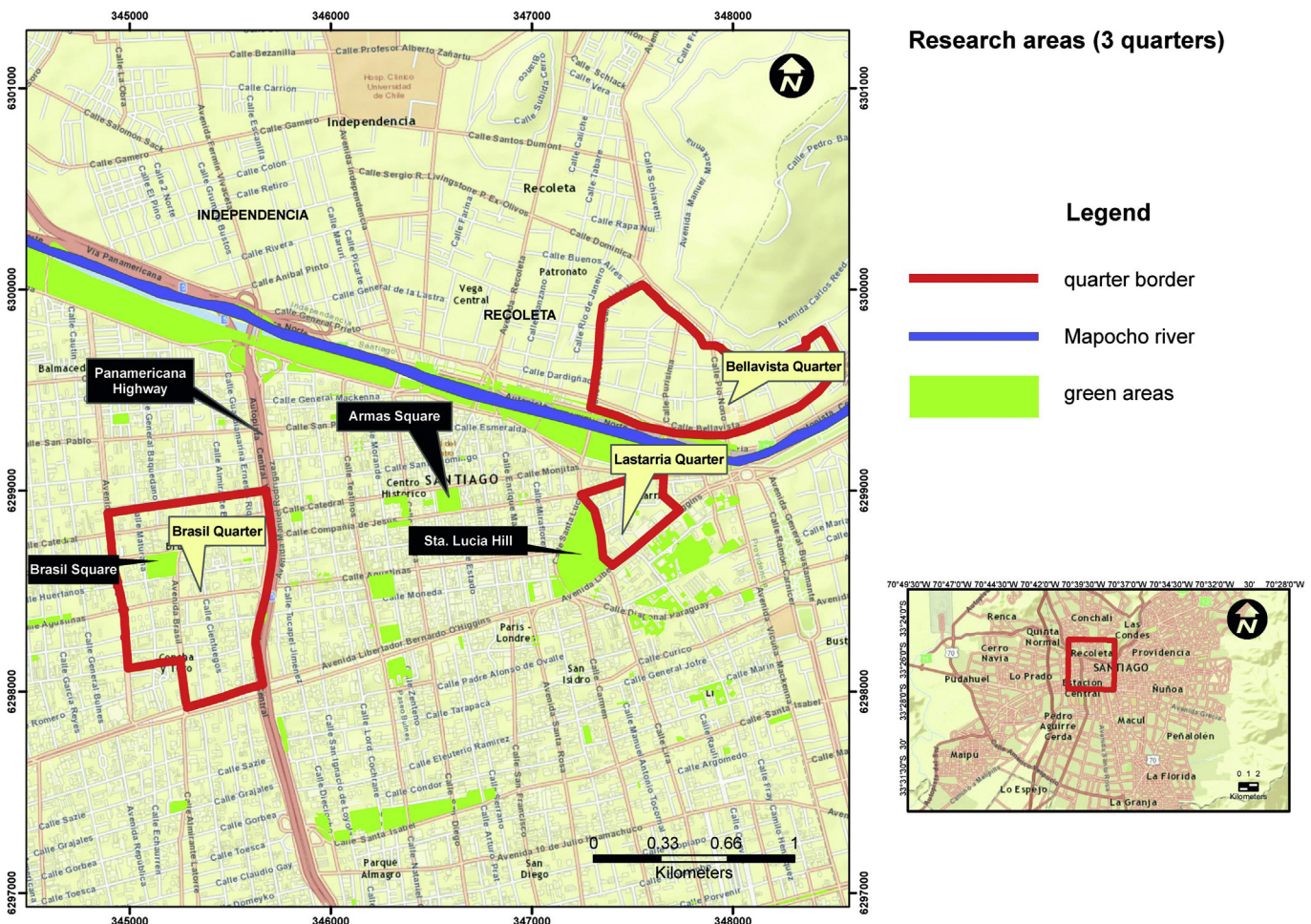


Fig. 7. Location of gentrified quarters in Santiago de Chile (elaboration by the authors).



In Buenos Aires, too, some quarters are being revitalized. An outstanding example is Puerto Madero, where private enterprises realized a large-scale operation. Gentrification took place in the old quarter of Palermo, where new corridors of restaurants and other amenities have resulted in a remarkable increase in house prices. In consequence the old houses were taken over by the bourgeoisie, i.e. prosperous professionals, artists, sportsmen and others, which changed the physiognomy of the quarter. Similar processes can be seen in the southern zone of San Telmo and in Caballito.

It should be mentioned that some Argentinian authors also interpret the development of gated communities in a quite unusual way as gentrification (Lacarrieu & Thuillier, 2001; Svampa, 2002; Torres, 1998). Whereas normally gentrification is seen as a process of upgrading degenerated quarters mostly located close to the city centre, they argue that the transformation of former unbuilt areas maybe seen as a gentrification process, too. At a distance of 30–70 km from the city, these gated complexes have received people from the middle and upper-middle classes looking for exclusivity in this new real estate sector.

## 9. Discussion

Ten years of work by the authors and their research teams from Chile, Argentina and Austria have documented that Santiago de Chile and Buenos Aires have undergone a structural change towards a globalized city under the influence of 35 years of globalization and within their development into megacities (Borsdorf & Coy, 2009). In terms of the ever faster segregation on three scales, the development of polycentric structures, the ethnic, social and functional fragmentation and the redirection of new migrations to the periphery, the development of Santiago de Chile and Buenos Aires largely follows Scholz's model of fragmented development (2002).

Only where the state still takes the lead (transport infrastructure, public services, social housing) has the orientation on traditional spatial patterns of gravitative and polarized structures prevailed. Public transport is still on star-shaped axes. Ring lines, which could take up a large share of the flow of traffic, only exist for motorized private transport.

Where global market forces are at work, fragmented structures develop while traditional spatial centre-periphery patterns persist in aspects controlled by the state.

As yet there are no signs of post-suburbanizing or de-urbanizing trends in these two cities. Post-urbanization means the translocation not only of population (suburbanization) but also of central services to periurban settlements (Hidalgo & Borsdorf, 2009). The polycentric structure of both cities confirms to the model of the Latin-American city (Borsdorf et al., 2002; Borsdorf & Hidalgo, 2007), as does the socio-spatial segregation in form of barrios cerrados.

Santiago, where the neoliberal doctrine allowed (economic and in consequence social) globalization early on, is a good example of the effects of the phenomenon, but in Buenos Aires, too, market forces today determine further urban development. Neoliberalism means the retreat of the state in planning and regulation. Social and ethnic segregation, privatization of public space through gated communities and cities, the emergence of social and economic fragments and international mobility may be seen as results of the de-regulation policy of the state.

## 10. Conclusions

The comparison of developments in Santiago de Chile and Buenos Aires shows that changes in the urban structure caused by

globalization (Altwater & Mahnkopf, 1996) may take quite different courses. The early start of these processes in Chile in the 1970s, combined with steady economic growth and an almost complete elimination of poverty has turned Santiago into a hypermodern city with many of the characteristics of a global city of the North-American type. The upper-class office and residential quarter El Golf has earned itself the nickname 'Sanhattan', and the development of gated communities resembles that of North-American cities.

Argentina started later than Chile in orienting its economic policy on the neoliberal model. Buenos Aires also has numerous gated communities and gated cities developed by the private real estate sector. Economic development in this country, however, underwent several disturbances, as witnessed by the country's bankruptcy in both 2001 and 2014. Even though the private city of Nordelta preceded similar projects in Chile, the overall segregation process is less advanced. While in Santiago de Chile forms of ethnic segregation have manifested themselves with the inflow of economic migrants from other Andean countries, this is not (yet) the case in Buenos Aires because of the ongoing critical economic situation of the country.

In both cities, however, quarters of all social strata, even social housing, are only constructed as fenced-in setups. A Chilean peculiarity is the luxury plots of the pleasure lots, a consequence of a specific Chilean regulation.

The state, with the exception of social housing, has almost completely withdrawn from active participation in urban development, leaving it to the free market, i.e. large national and international developers. This is a direct consequence of the neoliberal economic model responsible for speeded-up globalization and the transformation of both capitals into global cities.

The most striking result of globalization trends in both cities – as in almost all Latin-American cities – is the socio-spatial segregation (Borsdorf, 2003). The image of islands of the rich in a sea of the poor only really fits Buenos Aires – and there not fully – while in Santiago forms of micro-segregation dominate as a result of rising living standards.

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