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CHALLENGED TACTICAL URBANISM IN SANTIAGO DE CHILE, A NEOLIBERAL CITY

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ABSTRACT

Santiago de Chile is a world showcase for being framed under a pure neoliberal model implemented after a coup during a totalitarian regime. Despite its promises for a prosperous future, the city presents strong contrasts mainly understood as the neoliberal secondary effects, such as intense segregation, extreme real estate speculation, and a private sector that tends to be more influential than the local institutions, adopting profit-oriented decisions neglecting public interest. The Chilean social outbreaks in 2019 highlighted the voices of those living in the negative parallel reality, claiming the right to the city and the systematic integration of social matters.

In this context, tactical urbanism emerges as a transitional way to create optimal democratic urban projects based on citizen work and embracing sustainable values that contrast with the neoliberal background. The city frame is hostile to such alternative realities. Hence, groups of citizens, NGOs and other actors manage to implement new human-centred values that finish to re-orientate the status quo. Finally, the study underlines how a citizen-based perspective considering the local scale is essential to be included in urban planning to generate livability and contribute to urban wellbeing.

KEY WORDS

Urban Planning

Neoliberal city

Tactical Urbanism

Citizen Participation

Governance

Right to the city

Urban Alternatives

Santiago de Chile

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE

All Hispanic-Latin American cities have a common history, founded in chronological order, following from the beginning a very structured basis imposed by Spanish colonial rules. Consequently, from the north of Mexico to the south of Chile and Argentina, the towns and villages were subject to the same planning basis, respecting the same distribution of the urban fabric around a central square called «Plaza de Armas», assigning and representing the religious, civil and political institutions. Then, the cities developed, and almost all of them continued the colonial grid for several centuries. Even though each country has created its own reality, many urban behaviours are similar, and for this reason, I have always been fascinated, thinking that finding urban solutions could be applicable in many other places. Moreover, Latin America is the most urbanised region in the world since, according to the United Nations,

80% of its population lives in cities. After having the opportunity to integrate Latin American culture, I discovered that cities suffer from a lack of livability, human-centred approaches, and, finally, that planning is often reserved for wealthy minorities.

Thus, I observe that most planners tend to focus on already structured places, so I am convinced that reversing this tendency by starting research and working in these other places could improve its understanding and contribute to a sustainable change. In the meantime, the Latin American world, particularly the Chilean culture I experienced in more detail, is inspiring, creative and dynamic. Despite the difficulties, it is possible to feel an effervescent atmosphere where people fight for improvement or rights and thus invent original alternatives, showing a sense of humanity that touched me and convinced me to join this adventure.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

DELIMITATION

My research is based on academic literature and theoretical assumptions challenged by the results of my three months of fieldwork in Santiago de Chile. The city is vast, so the distances and the time spent on public transport are considerable. My investigation focused mainly on the geographical and historic heart of Santiago de Chile, consisting of the municipalities of Santiago, Ñuñoa and Providencia, a dense area of about 1 million inhabitants. I also visited 10 other municipalities out of the 40 in Santiago de Chile, but I was unable to access the wealthiest and most vulnerable areas. For safety concerns, I sometimes had to delegate some of my observations to my local contacts able to access these areas.

My stay in Chile was relatively short, which prevented me from returning and checking specific points once in Europe. My analysis is the intersection of what I observed and read from visible actors, so I assume that there are other inspiring example and actors to be discovered».

Finally, some doors were closed to me because Chilean society is very polarised. Therefore, my research's political connotation created tensions with some interviewees, especially those nostalgic for the dictatorship and who support the neoliberal legacy. Subsequently, and to maintain the objective diversity of my contributions, I avoided mentioning my research background to most interviewees.

I. INTRODUCTION

Geographically located in the centre of Chile, the capital Santiago de Chile is in fact, the "greater Santiago", which is not a city in the strict sense of the word, but a group of 40 different and independent municipalities with their own urban planning rules and with a population of around 6,250,000 people.

Map 1. Chile

Map 2. Municipalities of Santiago de Chile

Their development is uneven because it took place at different times in different political and historical contexts. In general, it mainly represents the extension of the urban area of the historical municipality of Santiago, encompassing villages and rural areas of the surroundings. Although geographically gathered, the municipalities used to act as islands, not sharing the same policies, rules, services such as municipal security, and non-national infrastructures such as street furniture and bicycle paths that tend to stop or change at the municipal border. In the meantime, specific alliances, usually highly politicised, lead some municipalities to work together on specific issues such as safety, waste management, and infrastructure renewal (Bustos, 2018).

Because of the problems posed by this separate system, the state created in 2021 the Governor of the Metropolitan Region of Santiago, which aims to manage on a regional scale to develop links and erase some of these municipal fragmentations.

For 16 years, from 11 September 1973 to 11 March 1990, Chile lived under a military dictatorship that implemented a new liberal economic model called neoliberalism, modifying the country's logic and urban mechanisms. It reshaped the map of Santiago, increasing the differences between municipalities, especially regarding the socio-economic distribution, infrastructures, and public services (See map 4). Neoliberal policies have strongly permeated the society that was the status quo until the Chilean social explosion of March 2019, which revealed its limits through massive social protests and the exposure of its consequences, such as social inequalities and urban segregation.

Today, democratic processes are rising through spontaneous collectives and non-governmental or non-profit organisations to allow inhabitants to improve their living conditions. One of these formulas is a participatory way of doing urbanism called **tactical urbanism**, which proposes modifications and transitory changes to the public spaces or streets according to the actual current needs.

II. RESEARCH QUESTION & PROBLEM FORMULATION

The research axis considers the Chilean reality and how the logics of neoliberalism are expressed in the urban fabric of Santiago, creating tensions. In contrast, the installation of a tactical urbanism claims to reduce neoliberal disorder, even if its effects are profound, and is installed on a large scale, proposing new urban alternatives, which leads to the following research question:

« How is the development of tactical urbanism challenged by the neoliberal framework of Santiago de Chile? »

III. CONTEXT DEVELOPMENT

The following chapter aims to introduce the bases of the research, planting the historical context of Santiago de Chile and explaining the modification of the local urban frame under the neoliberal policies pushed by the dictatorship that remains until now. It is followed by the definitions of tactical urbanism showing social and structural alternatives that potentially redefine and challenge the current status quo in Santiago.

III. 1. Historical Context

Fernando Mires (2007), a Chilean sociologist and expert in science politics, introduces the chronological context that led Chile into a dictatorship. In fact, with the creation of the national Production Development Corporation called CORFO in 1939, Chile entered a significant era of industrialisation after Argentina and Uruguay, followed progressively and heterogeneously for some decades by the rest of Latin America. In the '70s, in the background of the Cold War, Latin America was still experiencing significant industrialisation developments and challenging the ones already settled, leading to the progressive flourishment of Marxist ideas about workers' conditions within a capitalist logic. The left played a significant role in launching extensive democratisation processes, introducing new concerns for social reforms, and increasing the political space in the societies with ideas of emancipation, anti-elites, and equality (ibid. p. 28). The United States war against the communist block of Castro with the Soviet Union led them to intervene in South American politics as part of their National Security concerns (Selected Committee to Study Governmental Operations, 1975. p. 4). The Richard Nixon government of saw a threat in Chile during the socialist government of Salvador Allende; thus, in reaction, he decided to economically strangle the country by freezing the world banks and other US-dominated international financial institutions, cancelling loans, credits, and international economic aid (ibid. pp. 33–35). Already economically weak, Chile entered an economic crisis suffering from extreme inflation. The CIA, joined by Chilean far-right wing actors, organised the transport system national strike, leading to a severe food supply shortage, food rationing, and people protests. They finally financed the army and pushed them to take control of the country, creating an ideal climate for a coup (Mires, 2007).

On the morning of September 11, 1973, in Santiago de Chile, a brutal military coup organised by Augusto Pinochet, commander-in-chief of the army, marked the end of Chilean democracy with the bombing of the presidential palace, followed by the death of the president Salvador Allende. Klein (2008) relates that the new dictatorial regime reformed the Chilean economy based on the American neoliberal model, recruiting young Chileans with degrees in economics from the University of Chicago, called the «Chicago Boys». Moreover, the public opinion was very unfavourable to them, so they needed Augusto Pinochet to apply their economic policy, which was imposed by force and exercised by a regime of terror that eliminated thousands of people, created torture centres all over the country, resulting in the incarceration of more than 100,000 people during the first three years of the dictatorship.

III. 2. Defining Neoliberalism

Neoliberalism originated in 1947, in Switzerland, by Friedrich Hayek with a group of intellectuals and economists, including Milton Friedman, while discussing the rise of collectivism and the threat to a free society. They theoretically set the main principles of individual liberty provided by the free market as a freedom enabler of society. The state's role and democracy is a conflictual topic, often seen as an obstacle to allowing complete market autoregulation, laisser-faire, or non-intervention (Cahill & Konings, 2017). During the 1950s, Milton Friedman challenges these basic concepts by analysing the necessity to provide the state with a role to guarantee the effective implementation of the free market. It would overcome the neighbourhood effects (where markets are creating impacts upon others, resulting in the inability to charge people for their actions) and play a paternalistic role in acting on behalf of those who are not capable of recognising or acting on their proper preferences. Other state functions would be considered illegitimate and classified as creeping socialism (Friedman 2002). During the 1970s, James Buchanan exposed the importance of the state functions to be changed to the most possible to the private sector, being more desirable and pretending to better respond to the people's preferences than the state. While constitutional constraints have to be put in place to limit public spending, such as rules imposing balanced budgets or forbidding deficits above a given threshold (Cahill & Konings, 2017).

Harvey (2005) presents that neoliberalism is a «political-economic practice» theory, where human welfare is reached by «liberating individual skills and entrepreneurial freedoms within an institutional structure», represented by «powerful rights of private property, free trade and free markets». For such practices, the state's role is to create and preserve an appropriate institutional framework, and it must ensure, for example, the integrity and quality of the currency. It must also settle the defence, such as military and police, the legal structures, and functions necessary to secure private property rights. If necessary, it ensures by force that the markets function properly. If markets do not exist in the following areas: water, land, health care, education, social security, or environmental pollution, they have to be created by state actions but not intervene beyond these tasks (ibid. pp. 64–66).

The following paragraphs introduce the neoliberal manifestation from the dictatorship in 1973 until March 2022, corresponding with the election of the new president, Gabriel Boric Font, having the ambition to end neoliberalism. Moreover, another paragraph will explain the new measures and laws recently settled and the potential changes of the new constitution.

III. 3. Neoliberalism Manifestation in Santiago

Henri Lefebvre (2003) describes that neoliberal politics encourage initiatives from private companies and enterprises, especially developers and bankers, transforming the urban space into a market-oriented and market-driven object. Claudio Garrido (2016) reveals that neoliberal urbanism uses urban space as a commodity that generates profit for some economic groups. Hidalgo et al. (2008) explain that the Chilean neoliberal urban reform created a deregulatory framework allowing a manner of ordering the territory according to the competition of profitability of uses rather than their territorial capacities.

At the beginning of the dictatorship, the neoliberal governance removed constraining legislations and urbanistic rules to allow and make space for massive capitalist inversions. The ODEPLAN Office of National Planification assumed that most legal frames had been removed to stimulate the inversion and reduce workforce costs (Moulian, 1980). This new real estate impulsion led the city to massively extend over the surrounding agricultural lands used to supply Santiago. The government planned an urban extension of approximately 1200 hectares yearly, ignoring the public and social housing deficit. The real estate developers, attracted by the possibilities of speculation and gaining capital, changed the urban fabric into a large extended zone made mainly for one specific social category to gain an efficient selling process (Espinoza Rivera, 2005). Leitner et al. (2006) expose that the Chilean neoliberalism economic model offered legitimacy to the military dictatorship to turn citizens into consumers, where neighbourhoods are self-isolating their inhabitants into complete dependence on the system. The entire city and especially, the low social-economic zones are suffering from a lack and absence of a planning base, being unbalanced, disorganized, and not providing any well-being parameters as its primary goal is to generate profits and loans from the land used, pernicious for powerless people, or even considered as second-class citizens (Lefebvre 1962).

Theodore et al. (2009) expose that the zones built during the neoliberal urban reform from the dictatorship systematically reduce or eliminate public spaces, and as Nicholas Entrikin (2002, pp. 107–108) explains, public spaces are ideally built to express people's desires in democracies, promoting "social justice, tolerance, inclusion, and reflecting collective values." Thus, public spaces are dynamic places where the democratic processes are shaped and evolve in time and where the people have the possibility to protest. These spontaneous possibilities are not institutionalized, so they power the opportunity to challenge the local status quo. (Springer, 2010. p. 543). He highlights that these democratic public spaces represent a threat to the authoritarian governance of the Chilean dictatorship and the neoliberal models that embrace the strategy to control the public space. Andy Merrifield (2006) introduces some actors of neoliberal city planning, such as the planners, technocrats, realtors, constructors, and bankers, comparing them as new Grand Inquisitors by being financially prosperous, creating large projects of a pretended modernization, promising supplies and safety for the people, to finally control their freedom. Moreover, individuals are alienated within an urban system that speculates, encloses, controls, and divides.

III. 4. Systemic Segregation

Leitner et al. (2006) introduce a typical pattern found in neoliberal cities where important actors and entrepreneurs choose a specific area (for Santiago, the northeast part is called «sector oriente») that is generally a part of the city centre to emphasize and promote it, making it attractive with up-scale or world-class service, entertainment, conference centres and hospitals. The dominant municipal project is to mobilize the city space to become an arena for growth. The operation creates a positive and prosperous urban place image as packaging for increasing selling values. It has been used to maintain downtowns or specific areas, clean spaces free from undesirables and dangerous elements that could be represented by homeless, prostitutes, beggars, youth, or any potential disrupters. The population groups classified as undesirable are relocated or displaced by force to marginal areas that often are spatially enclosed as a wilderness zone. David Harvey analyses this

neoliberal trend of dispossessing ordinary people through state-led processes and privatizations, classifying it as a process of «accumulation by dispossession».

This urban strategy explains in 1979, during the military dictatorship, amoung other measures, the creation of the neoliberal urban regulatory change called "Basic Housing Program or Encampment Eradication Program". It aimed to relocate 340 poor or low socio-economic settlements, numbering 259 000 people, from the central parts of Santiago, to be moved and regrouped together in other municipalities located in the periphery, leading to large-scale segregation (Alvarez, 2013).

Map 3: Eradication of camp dwellers from the metropolitan area by commune of origin and destination. 1975–1985 (Morales & Rojas, 1986)
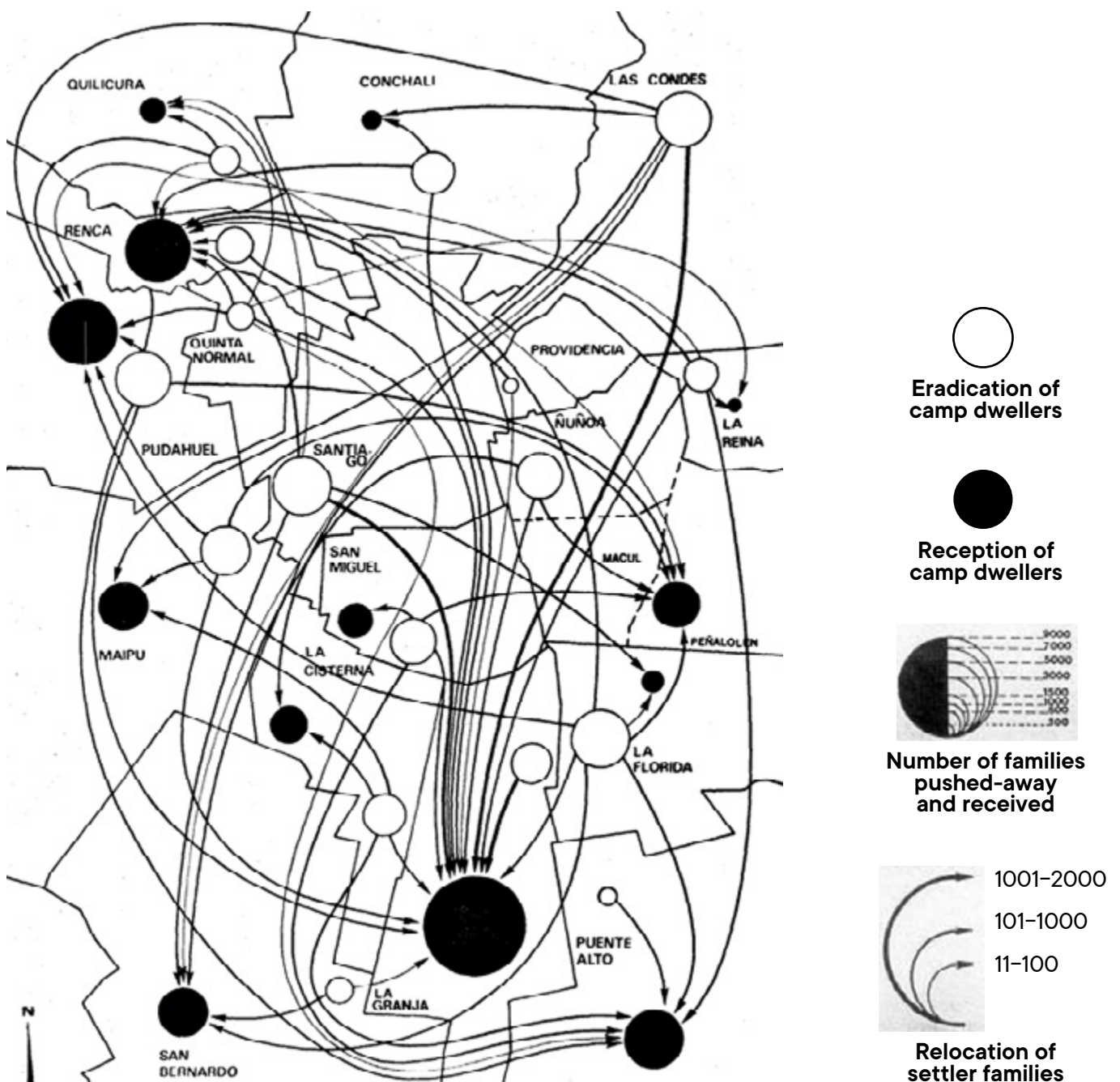
Because of this large-scale socio-economic separation and segregation, Hidalgo et al. (2008, pp. 2–22) introduce the contrasting concepts of «precariópolis» and «privatópolis» that changes Santiago de Chile's urban fabric. There are mainly found in the zones built under and post dictatorship in the periphery, suburban and peri urban zone. The precariópolis is characterised by having no more public space than the streets used for the mobility of the residents. It is mono-functional, fragmented, has low-value land, poorly connected to the urban fabric, with small living units and where most social housing is settled. It is translated by precarious constructions built with low material quality, an absence of any socio-economical mix and finally, a neighbourhood suffering from having rudimentary infrastructure and services. Its materialisation and maintenance are in the municipality's hands, which cannot improve the facilities due to the lack of resources. On the opposite, the privatópolis is has a high quality residential and service offer characterised by mega residential projects that offer exclusive space that is only used by its residents and managed by themselves.

Map 4: Predominant socio-economic groups and supply services (Greene et al, 2011)

Socio-economic group

- No information
- Predominant E
- Predominant D
- Predominant C3
- Predominant C2
- Predominant ABC1

Services

- Street Market
- Supermarket
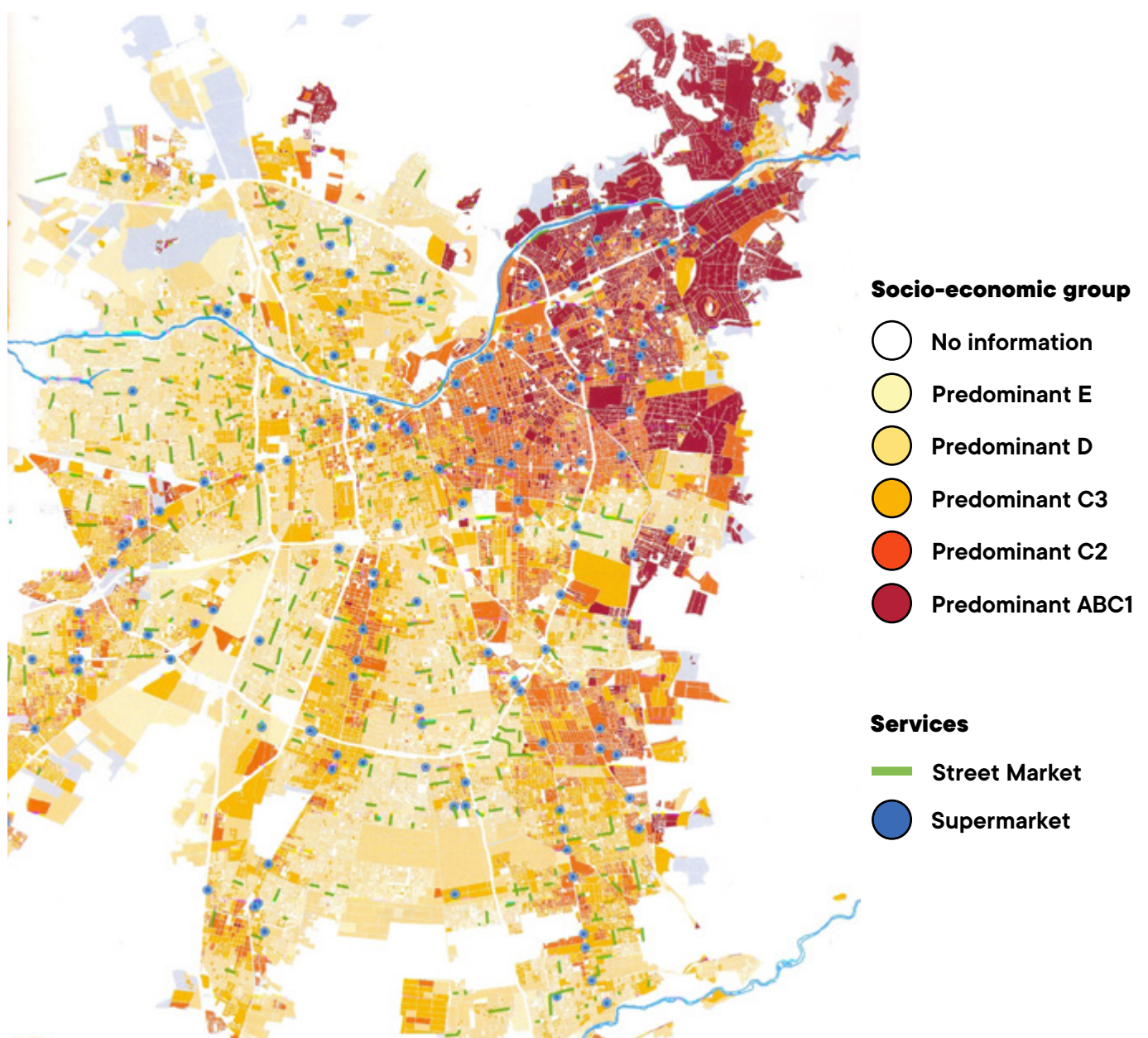
These large urban zones built after 1973 can be compared to enclaves, where the citizens suffer from the tyranny of power and, in the precariopolis, strong social repression and exploitation. Their dependence on the system degrades their quality of life; for example, lower socioeconomic class inhabitants are the ones that use public transportation the most, having fewer alternatives, compared to the medium or high socioeconomic group inhabitants that can afford cars. Lazo Covalan (2008) relates that they are highly dependent on public transport because most of the services, workplaces and access to any opportunities are placed in the dense areas of the city; in the city centre in the municipality of Santiago, in the commercial district in the municipality of Providencia or around the business and financial district of Sanhattan in Las Condes, far from their living areas. These living areas are mostly residential and generally do not provide basic infrastructure for primary needs such as supermarkets, hospitals, schools, or metro stations. The society and especially the low socioeconomic group inhabitants under the poverty line are extremely vulnerable, living in difficult localisation, having minimum state support working as a compensatory system, and being very exposed to the mercy of a segregated society that leads to an impoverishment of their living conditions.

According to Allard (2015), neoliberal spatial segregation operates in three different ways. First, it can be viewed as urban deprivation, which is the impact of land and housing policies on the living conditions of neighbourhoods and communities. The second aspect introduces the socio-occupational changes from working-class neighbourhoods becoming a ghetto. It considers the impact of the economic and social transformations experienced in recent decades and their urban effects. Finally, it exposes the new demands and expectations of the population regarding the quality of life, moving from quantity to quality. Allard explains that the new generations embrace quality over quantity. Lower socio-economic class families prefer to live in smaller areas in the city centre, within the urban dynamic, rather than being isolated and disconnected in large residential areas. According to the central government, essential services are being built or planned in these specific isolated neighbourhoods to provide education and security. However, it still does not integrate other quality parameters such as social services, green spaces, cultural offers, leisure facilities or local pollution reduction present in the wealthy zones or in the "privatopolis".

Neoliberal extensions of the city isolate the lower socio-economic classes in sprawling residential areas. Sabatini and Brain (2008) expose this important issue that what creates a ghetto is not only poverty but spatial isolation. In 2006, President Michelle Bachelet created a program to reclaim these neighbourhoods and integrate them into the urban fabric, called «Quiero mi Barrio,» translated as «I love my neighbourhood.» Although families have more space in their homes, they suffer from a lack of elementary municipal services. This situation is illustrated with the few remaining central auto built popular neighbourhoods that were not eradicated during the dictatorship called "campamentos" or «tomas», that is similar to slum, where the inhabitants are fighting to stay in the developed urban fabric instead of moving to the outskirts where opportunities are reduced. These zones are suffering from the creative destruction mechanism incited by real estate harassment, which tends to buy the plots little by little and gradually replace the houses densifying the location. It enables generating capital to return on investment and generate benefits. This neoliberal logic of urban replacement and densification is considered a principle of appropriation by dispossession that slowly pushes away or evicts locals. Concha et al. (2003) relate that several neighbourhoods fight against these practices to keep their lifestyle and continue having the right to belong to the city. This densification observed in several municipalities such as Santiago,

Estación Central, Ñuñoa, San Miguel or Macul affects the local lifestyle modifying and changing the social and urban fabric.

Picture 1: Hyperdensification in Estación Central Municipality (Andrade Castro, 2018)

Some streets blocks can switch from 25 to 4000 residents or more, representing a massive arrival that raises the insecurity perception as locals are surrounded by unknown neighbours, generating a lack of trust and self-care among themselves (ibid). Thus, despite the political or the city's major will, this perception may affect the integration of social housing units, especially in the well-integrated urban areas, mostly belonging to the upper socio-economic classes. The municipalities are not obliged to build social housing but can have municipal terrain to develop such an infrastructure. The idea for locals to see numerous new inhabitants from a lower socio-economic status around their home is relatively taboo and unpopular as it can be observed in Las Condes Municipality (24 Horas, 2018), so this non-compulsory and subjective system tends to increase social and spatial segregation. In high-valued terrains, it is more attractive for investors or developers to build private or condominiums rather than social housing. Consequently, the social housing units are generally built in a non-attractive place, far from the city centre.

Bercezely and Abalos (2021, pp. 3–7) state that 35% of Chileans suffer from a large housing deficit, especially in Santiago de Chile, where the main reason is the unaffordability of housing and the decrease in social housing construction since 2017. This situation creates housing insecurity, where families are forced to live in 'related

housing' (Hogar Allegado), which means that several families share the same living space, reaching an official minimum of 2.5 people per room, although this situation also extends to the living room and the corridor (ibid, p. 5). Moreover, this situation results in half a million people about to be transferred to a slum, from which the slum population grows exponentially to reach officially 74,649 families in 2020 (ibid, p. 3), considering that the trend continues to increase in 2021 and 2022. It represents millions of people.

Within the urban fabric, Lefebvre (2014. p. 569) identifies the phenomena of "Planetarization" that result in the fragmentation between leisure, spaces for work, services and material production. The Planetarization is guided by the logic of neoliberalism, increasing the different socio-economic groups and class hierarchization, which is very present in Santiago. The hierarchization and segregation generated by the gated communities (barrios cerrados), where only the inhabitants can access, are considered safe spaces. Mainly in the high socio-economic gated communities, safety is provided 24 hours by private security companies with numerous cameras and guardians. The inhabitants have developed a fear of foreigners and reject the idea of any social mix in their neighbourhood. Allard (2015) refers to these areas as self-segregated, where people feel safe and free by being enclosed and disconnected from urban diversity. In medium and low socio-economic areas, many public streets are converted into gated communities without any contract with a security company or any agreement from the municipality. Some only use a gate that remains unlocked to protect the space visually. These safety measures enclave neighbourhoods, reducing the connectivity of the urban fabric by cutting off and interrupting public space.

The neoliberal mechanisms intensify competition between localities and neighbourhoods, oriented towards a systematic economic growth of the market and focused on the consumption practices of the elite who control the excluded population. Being located in a specific street or neighbourhood indicates with precision the affiliation to a socio-economic class among the seven official groups defined by the AIM, the Association of Market Researchers, (Document 2) identifying AB (upper & upper middle class), C1a (affluent middle class), C1b (emerging middle class), C2 (typical middle class), C3 (lower middle class), D (vulnerable middle class) and E (poor). This intangible map defines the area of attraction where companies want to have a strong reputation and appear powerful (Theodore et al. 2009). Such a spatial phenomenon creates inter-spatial territorial marketing competitions, which deregulates the attraction for short-term investment and jobs (Leitner & Sheppard, 1998). Companies are pushed as soon as they have sufficient capital, the capacity, and the opportunity to change territory to become more competitive, improving their reputation and social standing. This phenomenon is called Creative Destruction, generating local economic uncertainty. For example, a firm in Las Condes municipality, represented mainly by AB and C1, upper classes, is more powerful and recognized than one in Lo Espejo, represented mainly by D and E (lower classes) (Tickell & Peck, 2003). This neoliberal logic promotes extreme uncertain geo-economic environments traduced by speculative movements, economic instability, and important socio-economic relocation. The principle of Creative Destruction leads to an accumulation by dispossession; thus, the neighbourhoods and municipalities remain unbalanced and fractured, accentuating segregation (Swyngedouw 1992).

David Harvey (2005) describes that neoliberalism is «an idealized conception of competitive individualism and a deep antipathy to various forms of social and institutional solidarity.» Because most important

companies are settled in the northeastern part of Santiago, workers in the south have to travel across the entire metropolitan area to reach their workplaces, degrading their living conditions. The slightest disruption in public transportation can directly impact and affect their employment, thus, increasing job insecurity, social polarization, and segregation. It creates contrasting realities within the same urban area, having some municipalities or neighbourhoods with a lifestyle comparable to Scandinavian cities, and others to African cities (Guendelman, 2018). «Neoliberalism continues to exacerbate the concentration of wealth, reshape political sovereignty, and reorganize economies along increasingly exclusive lines. The need to establish democratic public spaces is intensified « (Springer. 2010, p. 553)

III. 5. Population Response

Picture 2: "Chile Woke Up, we are not in war" Chilean social outbreak on the 25th of October 2019

Forty-nine years after the start of the dictatorship in 1973, the neoliberal system is still operational, remaining untouchable due to its legal complexity due to an inherited constitution from this period. The neoliberal policies eroded the urban social links as they used corporate controls to solve social problems (Michell, 2003). Even if Chile has the highest Human Development Index (with 0.819, placed in the 40th position) in the Latin America, Chile is the second most unequal country in the OECD and Santiago, declared to be a capital city with one of the

highest degrees of social and spatial segregation. The disconnected ruling elite of the country led to a Chilean social outbreak, starting because of the increase for the second time in the year metro ticket price, directly affecting the students with low and medium socioeconomic inhabitants, the main users of public transport (Espinoza Rivera, 2005). According to Marx's vision, the students and the people affected protested against the metro ticket hike and played the role of social consciousness and emancipation. The population gathered through the slogan «Chile Woke Up» and reached the rest of the population compared to the proletariat, fighting against the oppression created mainly by the abusive neoliberal system. The government established a strong curfew reminiscent of the dictatorship, but despite this, the largest protest in Chilean history gathered on October 25th 2019, 1.5 million people. Iadicola & Shupe (2003) declare that massive social protest shows its emancipatory potential and that impacts or even violence from below can generate reallocations of wealth and open pathways to political empowerment. These protests obliged the government to do a plebiscite, a legal procedure for submitting a law or a matter of particular importance to the State, to a popular vote. On November 19th 2019, it led 78% of the voters voted for the constitution change through a constitutional convention composed of 154 new elected members from the people. On September 4th, 2022 the Chilean rejected the constitution draft by referendum, thus the government is currently exploring modalities to organise a new constitutional with different parameters, meanwhile the social struggle are remaining unchanged.

During the last decade, the contestation of neoliberal urbanism appeared and rose. Spontaneous movements of contestation and activism started against the local deterioration of the urban places and services in neglected neighbourhoods. Numerous NGOs and associations responded against the systematic deconstruction of the welfare system and the degradation of life quality to advocate and prioritise new social and environmental justice considerations. The current urban context influenced by globalisation is increasingly pushing society to rethink its urban governance by rediscovering local manifestations and anti-globalisation movements. These movements see localities as the scale at which neoliberalism and global problems are expressed and reflected (Leitner et al. 2007).

Since March 2022, Chile and Santiago Neoliberal Planning may live substantial changes with the arrival of the newly elected president, Gabriel Boric Font, that declared to orientate his mandate to end and bury neoliberalism. Series of law extensions already appeared such as in May 2022, the 21540 called "social integration in urban planning, land management and emergency housing plan" introduces for the first time an alternative imposing the access and repartition of "the relevant urban public goods, such as the proximity to structuring mobility axes, access to public transport services or the availability of green areas or facilities of public interest, such as education, health, services, commerce, sport and culture". It is the first step to rebalancing or rebuilding an essential urban fabric to provide optimal life quality everywhere. (Ministerio de Vivienda y Urbanismo, 2022)

III. 6. Tactical urbanism

Lydon (2012) describes that tactical urbanism is an emerging way of planning cities by proposing alternatives that can be seen as the opposite of the principles of neoliberal urbanism. It is an approach that intentionally promotes change, implementing progressive approaches through short-term commitment and realistic

expectations. It involves a participatory process that tends to develop social capital among citizens and even organisational capacity building among public or private institutions, non-profit or non-governmental organisations and civil society. Tactical urbanism is characterised by its adaptability, openness to dialogue and democratic links to intervene in local planning with local visions. Thus, it is low-risk and potentially substantially improves the city's well-being. This alternative tends to generate trust between the different stakeholders who emphasise a transparent process and the obtention of many perspectives by involving the public, testing ideas, and understanding users' expectations and desires. Therefore, tactical urbanism can be a valuable tool for contributing to the policy planning process (ibid).

Tactical urbanism promotes an alternative way of making the city, not necessarily involving urban planning experts, but focusing on citizen urbanism which empowers groups of ordinary people. These practices can be challenged when recognising the value of informal actions in public space and their organisations to make them sustainable and long-term and include them in urban public policies. (Kurt, 2013).

Tactical urbanism is recognised as an instrument through which people undertake social manifestations that lead to processes of change in cities and, consequently, promote the construction of territory and the right to the city. Thus, it is introduced as a solution to make projects in a context of governance crisis in contemporary cities where «states and market failed systematically to deliver basic public goods such as housing, transportation, and public spaces». It pretends to be the ultimate solution or a «palliative for urban problems» generated by neoliberal urban planning logic. (Luna and Ocampo, 2019)

Lydon relates that tactical urban planning practices are not new to Latin America and are part of the DNA of socio-cultural geography. In Chile, the dictatorial prohibitions and the rise of neoliberalism, resulting in the rise of systemic segregation and abuses, led to a gradual emphasis on the demand for community ties, social circles, and reconnection with traditionally trusted bases such as public spaces, plazas, churches and neighbourhoods. (Rodriguez Silva, 2015)

IV. Thesis Relevance to the Field of Study

This thesis challenges some of the urban concepts associated with the outcomes of tactical urbanism to analyse their effectiveness in neoliberally oriented places, where the urban structure is primarily designed for capital gains rather than increasing the well-being of inhabitants. It shows how projects are developed in such a complex institutional or political framework that tends to be opposed to social values and analyses how they evolve, succeed, fail and why. It critiques them using a mixed methodology involving principally expert interviews, field observations and document analysis to develop new perspectives, expose mistakes and constructive practices, and finally highlight solutions for future similar projects.

V. Research Perspective in Philosophy of Sciences: Pragmatism

For my master's thesis, I adopted a pragmatic research perspective that allows me to study how actions and experiences from past situations affect and are used in present actions in order to determine the potential consequences of these. Indeed, pragmatism's ontology is the study of phenomena in a processual way and their meanings determined by their impacts. Pragmatism is also used to study the social processes that influence the emergence of social action and to consider how they are expressed in the forms of the surrounding situations and relationships (Egholm, 2014).

Being pragmatic allows me to conduct an abductive assessment of the situation, used in unexpected situations and not understandable experiences, which leads to the need to develop new frameworks for its understanding. Then, new hypotheses need to be tested for relevance and qualification (Timmermans & Tavory, 2012).

A pragmatic approach allows me to consider the unintended consequences of specific practices to analyse which actions and causes hindered or disrupted the implementation of the initial strategy. The focus is on uncovering the social, organisational and structural dynamics, actions, positions, identities or practices that conducted the new actions and processes (Egholm, 2014).

The knowledge construction of the pragmatism perspective is done ideographically, analysing the elements that can change or be affected by a process, creating an unpredictable situation. Finally, it is based on empirical data that improve understanding of the complex situation (Olsen & Pedersen, 2019).

VI. Research Methods

The methodology used for my thesis follows an evolutionary path with stages that led me to construct my reflection, understand and create truth among the subjects investigated. Thus, the following section chronologically relates my methodological journey before presenting each method used specifically.

First, I began to investigate the Chilean reality, exploring a subject based on a geographical area, Santiago de Chile, where I had never been in person. I introduced my research method by investigating by reading and **analysis documents, reports, documentaries**, Chilean **testimonies**, and online **discussions**. It gave me an orientation and a vision showing interesting contradictory facts, which pushed me to take distance, to re-launch a series of investigations to try to reach objectivity.

I had the opportunity to access my field of study by going to Chile in person and having an immersion for several months. While there, I had the opportunity to question my already established visions and findings and finally reconsider my first partial conclusions. Moreover, I conducted **expert interviews**, **go along ethnographic interviews, informal interviews**, and **ethnographic observations**. The new inputs generated

many unexpected results that led me to reconsider my role and research orientation, applying the abductive principle of investigation to propose new realities while facing particular situations. In addition, I had to multiply interviews and document analyses to remain objective in my discoveries.

Once back, I had to reconsider and digest the large amount of data I had by practicing **data analysis** while keeping in touch with several previously interviewed experts to share my findings, keep a critical view of them and validate my work progress.

VI. 1. Document, Report and Documentary Analysis

Using document analysis as my methodological base requires considering some important criteria within the construction of the thesis truth and reliability. As a researcher, I had to look for authenticity, credibility, representativeness, and meaning. Looking for authenticity means evaluating or observing confirmed facts and information published through different sources. Credibility refers to the «accuracy of the documentation, the reliability of the producer of the document, the freedom from errors» (Flick, 2018, p. 258). In the meantime, it was relevant to consider the concerning issues about media concentration in Chile, mainly through journals, television, and radio. Thus, the presented topics and analyses are very politically oriented, do not respond to the neutrality of international press standards, and sometimes are even considered propaganda by the opposition. Considering this situation, I oriented my research to find credible sources by analysing academic reports, NGOs / NPOs analyses, and independent media articles. Document representativeness is a typical record of certain information in a location and time, completed by analysing meaning that can highlight a personal author view, a more general social or institutional behaviour with different degrees. In this sense, Wolff (2004) reports that "documents represent a specific version of reality constructed for a purpose (...) and are used to contextualize information". Hence, it is necessary to be aware of the chronological evolution to place the document in the correct frame. For example, the Chilean social outbreak of October 18th, 2019, suddenly tilted the status quo, highly influenced writers and media taking positions and critics, generating a post versus after event.

The main supports used for analysis and helps in the field investigation are:

-Essay by Neil Brenner: *Is Tactical Urbanism an Alternative to Neoliberal Urbanism?* (2015)
-Article from Ana María Alvarez: *Socio-spatial (In)Equality and spatial justice: key concepts for a critical reading of the city* (2013)
-Thesis from Juan Carlos Rodriguez Silva: *Analysing the origin, evolution and effectiveness of tactical urbanism: the case of Providencia* (2015)
-The reports from Viviana Fernández Prajoux: *Citizen participation in urban design: promoting a more inclusive city* (2012) and, *Promoting participatory urban design: Experiences from practice and education.* (2014)
-Several reports from Ciudad Emergente: *I live map8* (2015b), *Shared streets for a low carbon district* (2016), *Experient Alameda walkable* (2017)

The main limitation of document analysis is probably the lack of perspective by not personally knowing Santiago de Chile or the lack of capacity to contextualise and see some relations. The field immersion on site and the further research methods helped me complete and objectively to validate my pre-assumptions.

VI. 2. Interviews

Once in Santiago de Chile, the interviews were a tool to connect and meet personally with experts, professionals, or academics I had read before arriving. I had a series of questions, criticisms, and reflections to discuss, which allowed me to understand the field, thus obtaining new perspectives and explanations. I linked all the inputs of the interviewees for discussion in the following interviews, building a foundation and steps of understanding. The types of interviews were different each time, which led me to practice expert interviews, go along-walking interviews, informal interviews, telephone interviews and interviews in online meetings.
Although the style of the interviews differed, I used the same process structure for all interviews:

-Thematic for selecting experts who may match my investigative interests and defining the topic area to be interviewed.

-Design for transcribing my document analysis thoughts to familiarise myself with the interviewee's environment into specific questions or focused themes for discussion.

-Interviewing to expose my observations, obtain new ideas and visions or challenge my considerations. Take notes in the field simultaneously to remember and highlight certain statements, behaviours, or observations.

-Transcribing to translate the field notes, consisting of written notes, images and audio recordings supported by my observations, into a clear document.

-Analysing, using a method of analysis, to see the direction of the interview, points of conflict, political interests, and the relevance of the new data.

-Verifying to see the quality of the qualitative data collection, to demonstrate or provide an understanding of contexts, relationships, and phenomena.

-Reporting to communicate the interview results and how they were produced, including the moral and academic problems encountered. (Olsen & Pedersen, 2019)

For all interviews, I started to present the stimulus of my research in more detail, complementing the conversation I had had online when making contact from Europe. I initially avoided rationalising my interlocutors by not asking them directly how they view or think about an issue, but rather tried to get them to communicate about their practice, experience, and motivation in the situation. (Ibid, 2019)

I started conducting **expert interviews**, directed «to someone who has specific knowledge and insights due to their professional position and expertise» and «gathered information to complement the insights obtained by applying other methods». Expert interviews are ways of generating theories, typologies or creating a theory about an issue by gathering data or knowledge from various experts. (Flick, 2018, p. 236) Thus, I interviewed Viviana Fernández Prajoux, PhD, an academician expert in architecture and urbanism who focuses on citizen participation and inclusion in urban processes. It was mainly a semi-structured interview where I could share my findings from her articles that I read and gained new perspectives on the context of Santiago de Chile, having contacts and places to observe. We managed to arrange two interviews, one at the beginning of my stay and one at the end, to conclude my observation and allow for further research or analysis. Then, I had the chance to share my living space with Ana María Alvarez Rojas, PhD in urban and spatial planning, academician focused on urban poverty and socio-spatial inequality with the housing issue and the neoliberal manifestation in the city. We had many informal talks in which we exchanged views and documentation, which helped me to develop my research context.

I then I continued with a «**go along**» or «**walking**» **interview**, which consists of combining the interview and participant observation while the researcher accompanies the interviewee in his natural environment. It allows a mediation between friendly conversation and a formal interview, reducing the pressure compared to a traditional face-to-face interview. The participant usually controls the interview as he is considered an expert in his geographical area, acting as a tour guide. The researcher can access the participant's knowledge of a specific place by seeing what is important from their perspective, thus redefining the established parameters of observation. (Kinney, 2017).

I practised first this method with Ricardo Tagle, an architect-consultant who facilitates participatory methodologies in urban projects and who also works as a municipal official in Las Condes, a municipality in the eastern and wealthy sector of Santiago de Chile. The accompanying interview involved moving around a large space between Las Condes and Vitacura, on foot and by bicycle, with frequent stops to discuss current urban transformation projects and the potential of tactical urbanism.

Later, during the fieldwork, I conducted further interviews, primarily informal and presented in the context of neighbourhood visits in the municipalities of Santiago, San Miguel, Ñuñoa, Providencia, and Las Condes. The aim was to understand local challenges or difficulties in the public space of the neoliberal city and to observe forms of tactical urbanism such as urban agriculture, bicycle infrastructure, urban art, and urban activism, focusing on the meanings of the social manifestations. Thus, I interviewed:

-Andrés Morales Zambra, an architect who managed to organise neighbourhood participation for two years to classify and protect a historical neighbourhood as an untouchable heritage area called «zona typica». He introduced me to the gentrified places of the city, the result of participatory projects, and finally allowed me to practice and learn mechanisms at one of his participatory projects for the creation of a museum in Santiago suburbs.

-Nicolás Quezada Aceitón, a geographer who work on a participatory projects for Ciudad Emergente, the

main NGO for tactical urbanism in Santiago de Chile. As a bicycle user, he showed me over several days the differences in infrastructure between municipalities related to socio-economic variations.

-Pablo Miranda Sandoval, an occupational therapist, works on reintegrating the homeless into living communities and shows the difficulties of living in neoliberal public spaces. He presented transformative projects such as parks, urban art, and educational infrastructure in vulnerable areas to promote inclusion, as well as structural problems and flooded streets without rainwater management.

-Maria Elena Honorato Zamorano, an occupational therapist, works to improve inclusion, communication, and support for vulnerable people such as the elderly and people with mental health problems. An activist aiming for the right to the city, human rights and gender equality, she showed me the impact and significance of the social outbreak in the streets and its visual demonstrations in Santiago.

The last type of interview practiced is the **phone** and **online interview**, which makes it possible to reach physically distant or very busy participants without the possibility of arranging a face-to-face meeting. This type of interview lacks visual cues and can suffer from signal interference, which may increase anxiety. The dematerialised aspect can be seen as an invasion of privacy, but on the contrary, the relative anonymity of this medium due to the absence of face-to-face contact can encourage participants to speak honestly and share their experiences. This method may allow the researcher who remains in the office to have more opportunities to take notes or check the information simultaneously (Carr & Worth, 2001). I used this method to contact Davor Posavac, architect and project director of Ciudad Emergente, the main non-profit organisation in Santiago that develops tactical urbanism projects. The interview was semi-structured but rather prepared as an open-ended questionnaire to know precisely some details about the organisation with the will to get more perspective and confirm my conclusions. The conversation was demanding because Davor was driving while talking, which generated interference and noise in the background, and sometimes forced him to repeat his statement.

The online interviews were more stable and understandable, allowing eye contact and adding an aspect of the quality exchange, but comparable to the phone interview, it may suffer from technical problems, and the interview may pull out unexpectedly. I used this method with José Miguel Gomez, architect, academician, and director of the NGO Espacio Lúdico, who uses games and tactical urban planning to create child-friendly cities.

Finally, I used social networks to informally comunicate with: Constanza Mora Lobo (architect and ex-worker at Quiero Mi Barrio), that explained the general governance mechanism; Ricardo Martínez Sáez (municipal civil engineer supervisor), explaining financing and governance among municipalities; Finally, Daniel Hanel, participant to the urban farm initiated by Germinar Eco Barrio in Ñuñoa municipality.

VI. 3. Ethnographic Observations

I practised field ethnographic observation in Santiago to understand, contextualise and analyse situations described in the reports or the situations heard from the interviewees. I took the participant role of a «complete

observer», maintaining distances toward the observed elements to avoid influencing them. Moreover, it was a «covert observation» as I did not inform anyone in the space I was observing. For ethical considerations of such a practice, I observed the places in a global focus as a regular passer-by. (Flick, 2018, p. 326)

Finding a spot for relevant observation can be a difficult task. In my case, I always used very determined areas mentioned and analysed in the studied documents and reports, where they were previously used for tactical urbanism intervention. On some occasions, the initiatives ended some years before, creating difficulties to recognise the precise location, thus, creating the need to have a map in my possession, comparing street pictures using buildings as a landmark, and finally having to look for traces. Once on site, I stayed momentarily to evaluate the local activity and then take pictures.

The "dimensions of social situations" (ibid, p. 332) helped to generate a rapid analysis by considering the space, the people involved, the type of activities practised, the objects or physical elements present, people's actions and goals, the time of the day, and finally, the feeling and emotions perceived.

Ethnographic observation is supposed to explicitly reveal some social interpretations, meanings, and functions of human actions. However, I was limited in my observations because spaces were often not in use anymore, empty from human activity, showing a process result or consequence, requiring other analysis and a more in-depth understanding of the situation.

VI. 4. Data Analysis & Comparative Approach

Flick (ibid, pp. 419–421) presents the steps of filtering and introspection of the collected data that I decided to implement further in the analysis of the thesis.

First, the method and its application must address the core issue of the research question affecting the neoliberal framework, the manifestation of tactical urbanism, or understanding the local context explaining any manifestation of people's behaviour. Second, the form or manner of data collection must respect the established rules and objectives, such as the pragmatic perspective and the objective consideration of all data. It considers how to change the method to an abductive approach, questioning the implied theories. Third, it assesses the researcher's ability to apply the method and the difficulties encountered in the process. Fourth, it analyses how participants or respondents release appropriate data to be collected and to what extent behavioural fluctuations such as fears, uncertainties, expectations, or any subjective manifestations are taken into account. Fifthly, it considers whether the data collection is appropriate to the field under study, thus whether it is accessible, feasible, and ethically viable. Sixth, it defines the scope of the members taken for the investigation and the degree of perspective and variability they allow. Seventhly, it proposes a list of actions to ensure that the researcher has achieved sufficient data collection, that they manage their role effectively, and that the members have a sufficient scope, clarity, and fulfill their roles.

Any inconsistencies are analysed to validate the data collection between the different field observations and

interviews. Thus, it is essential to adjust the purpose of the interpretation by considering the context and the actions defined. Finally, it is important to consider the requirements to be allowed to generalise situations and statements, evaluate cases, relationships between institutions, or make groups according to the relevant patterns observed.

VII. Theoretical Framework

The following chapter introduces the theoretical frame that acts as a foundation of principles and ideas to explain levels of phenomena; thus they are identified between three different levels. First, the meta-theories are considered as world views that delineate basic conceptions or nature of reality. Second, the general theories that describe specific themes that may be used as models such as culture, communication, identity, and functionality, to identify and explain phenomena. Third, specific theories link specific phenomena to specific contexts, thus they have a limited scope, but they contribute to reformulate new questions (Egholm, 2014).

Theories are used to understand and explain the situation exposed from the research project. They also aim to be tested and challenged through the analytical material for later to be criticized and allow to identify their strength, weaknesses. Finally, it may highlight how the specific case completes, develops or differs from the theories.

VII. Theory 1. Right to the City by David Harvey – Meta theory

David Harvey's work is an evolution from Henri Lefebvre's vision in the context of urban struggles shaping citizens' lifestyles and daily quality of life with a more revolutionary orientation. The right to the city idea «primarily rises from the streets, out from the neighbourhoods as a cry for help and sustenance by oppressed peoples in desperate times» (Harvey, 2012). It promotes an inclusive city and is in opposition to the capitalism dynamism that largely desertifies the city in many aspects, such as leading to space exclusion, gentrification, the Disneyfication by extensive surveillance, the rejection of the vulnerable citizens such as the homeless, the reduction of social housing and more generally «the degradation of the urban environment that can be physical, environmental, and social» (ibid. p. 37). The author explains that the promotion of land that raises its value is considered a branding strategy that, in case of success, «requires the expulsion and eradication of everyone or everything else that does not fit the brand» (ibid. p. 88).

David Harvey contextually defines cities as a man's creation, where most people are condemned to live in and are used according to the logic of capitalism to perpetually produce surplus value and profit by creating a surplus of products. Thus, urbanisation is a means of creating these product surpluses, leading cities to be defined according to their quality and strength, such as consumerism, cultural and knowledge industries, or the implementation of tourism (ibid). Furthermore, he emphasises that the right to the city is expressed in the collective exercise rather than individual power because changing the city requires the exercise of collective power over urbanisation processes. Thus, it is a legitimate right to change the city to achieve collective desires such as the kind of person wanted to be, the desired daily lifestyle, the social relations sought, the relationship

with nature needed, and the aesthetic goods or values held (ibid). He observed that the freedom to create and re-create oneself through the city is an essential right that is often neglected, as surpluses tend to be extracted from someone in a particular place, while control over its disbursement and distribution ends in a few hands. As a result, the ideal of civic belonging and urban identity is difficult to maintain, threatened by the growing disorder of the neoliberal ethic. In conclusion, the urban process is a major channel of use, where the right to the city can be settled by establishing democratic control over the distribution of the surplus through urbanisation (ibid).

VII. Theory 2. Ladders of Participation by Sherry Arnstein – Specific Theory

Sherry Arnstein is a sociologist that analysed and studied the degrees of citizen participation through citizen involvement in planning processes, introducing the "Ladders of Citizens Participation" to analyse and applies it to all types of organisations, including the public or private sector, businesses, and community developments.

Document 1: Arnstein's Ladder (1969)
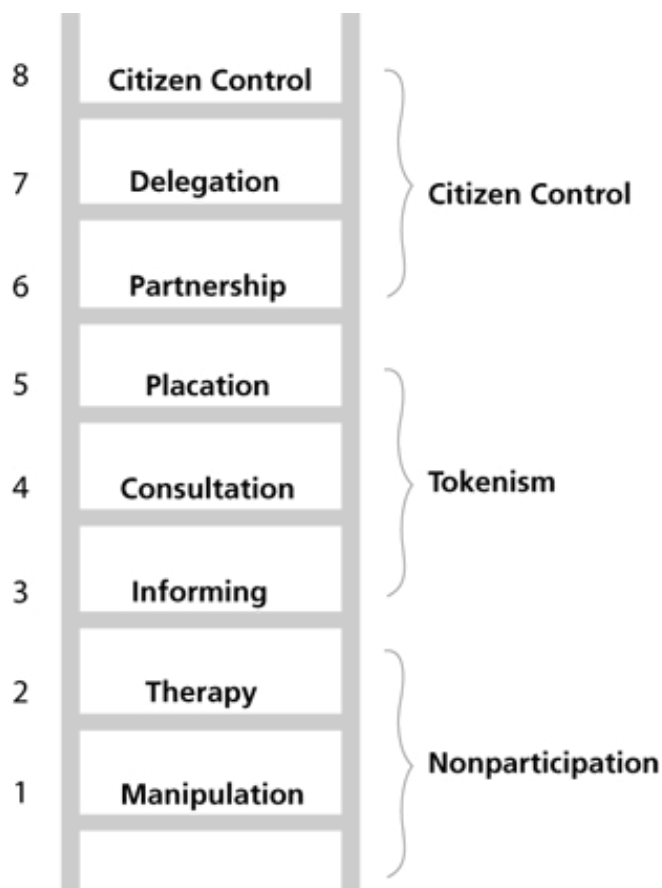
These steps are divided into three categories. The first is **Non-Participation**, which is seen as a passive means of citizen participation to educate or treat the powerless.

-It includes **n°1, Manipulation** and **n°2, Therapy**, both non-participatory. They educate or inform participants because they are initially used to gain public support through public communication. It results in a lack of flexibility and a top-down perspective that imposes a vision. These non-participatory degrees are easy to implement as they do not require the intervention of outsiders. The development of community and participatory work tends to be a response to these methods (Arnstein, 1969, p. 218).

The second category is **Tokenism (Symbolism)** which is a reactive way of practising citizen participation where the powerless can hear and be heard but have no guarantee of being considered by the powerful.

-It includes **n°3, Informing**, which is the first step towards legitimate participation. It is generally focused on sharing one-way information flows to citizens while allowing for a superficial dialogue, which can be seen as feedback on a process already decided. It is used to receive a general impression of a project and sometimes becomes a two-way information sharing involving citizens who bring a relevant perspective. It makes citizens

more attentive and supportive of future projects (ibid. p. 219).

-It includes **n°4, Consultation**, which allows the beginning of citizen participation by including surveys, neighbourhood meetings, and social media projects such as public enquiries. It can still be seen as a window dressing ritual as it is mainly carried out by organisations that feel having to demonstrate civic engagement to gain legitimacy by making it appear that a participatory process has been implemented. Consultation tends to be brief, superficial and without in-depth analysis (ibid. pp. 219–220).

-It includes **n°5, Placation**, which consists of creating groups of passive activists, superficially classified, placed in decision committees to advise and participate in the project planning. Moreover, power remains in the power holders' hands, who can at any time question the legitimacy or feasibility of the advice given and can ignore or even reject it (ibid. pp. 220–221).

The third category is **Citizen Contro**l (**Citizen Power**) which promotes active participation and increased levels of decision-making power.

-It includes **n°6, Partnership**, where power is redistributed through a negotiation process between citizens and those in power. It is usually a long-term agreement that promotes a continuous dialogue with a clear and transparent decision-making process. Responsibilities and roles are well identified, defined and shared through a mixed committee. The establishment process tends to be lengthy and excludes inexperienced members such as young people (ibid. pp. 221–222).

-It includes **n°7, Delegation**, which enables active citizens to obtain a significant position in decision-making and organisation representation. Participant committees have delegated authority and are therefore involved in the final decisions. They are empowered to take responsibility for the project (ibid. pp. 222–223).

-It includes **n°8, Citizen Control**, which represents the total power to lead and manage a program, being responsible for any aspects. The absence of intermediaries can create a weakness while managing access to power, resources, and money if no internal control and safeguard mechanisms are implemented (ibid. pp. 223–24).

VII. Theory 3. The Good Governance by the United Nations – Meta theory

Governance is defined as a system of values, policies and institutions that enables a society to manage its political, economic, and social matters through interactions within and between the state, local authorities, civil society, private sector, formal and informal actors or stakeholders. Thus, it is at the heart of urban planning as it conditions operations (Brown, 2015, p. 4).

Good Governance is a term used by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), holistically proposing an ideal model of governance gathering core characteristics that respond to the future needs of society.

Document 2: Actors and institutions of urban governance (ibid. p.5)
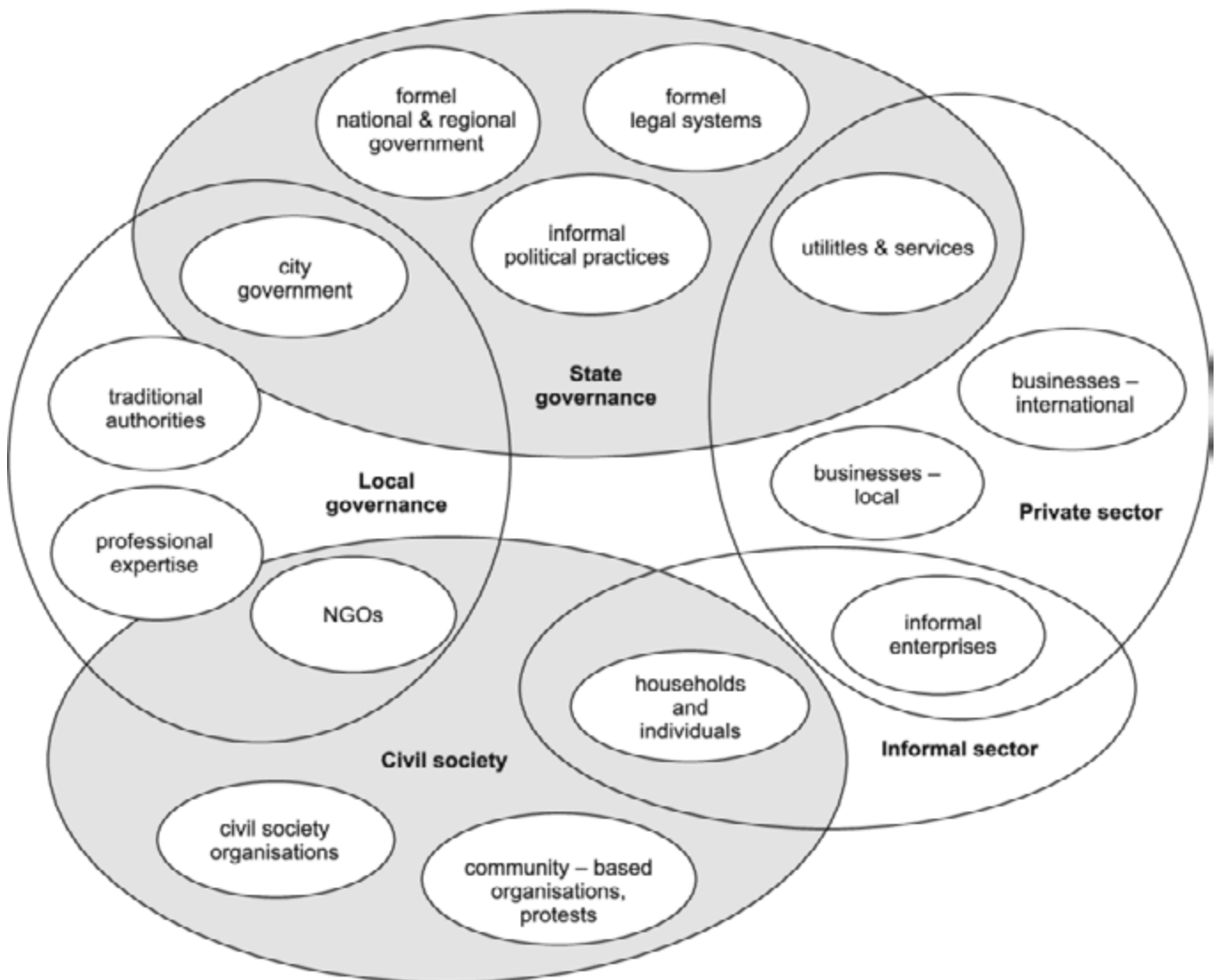
It promotes equal and inclusive participation for all citizens in decision-making through direct interaction or having the right to be represented. It respects the rule of law and legal frameworks that are fair and impartial, with special attention to human rights and minorities respects. Then, it promotes transparency through the different processes, the institutions taking part, and the information flow that have to be understandable, accessible and non-oriented. In the meantime, it is a responsive process that respects all the stakeholder's timeframe (UNDP Oslo Governance Centre, 2009, pp. 66–70).

Good Governance is consensus oriented to mediate between the different interests in society in order to reach a common consensus on what is in the most suitable interest of the community as a whole and how it can be realised. It is completed by the necessity of being effective, efficient and finally accountable, to sustainably use the appropriate amount of resources and guarantee the stakeholders, which can be from both the private and public sector, respect the ones that will be affected by its decisions or actions. So, it demands a far-reaching perspective that exposes what is required for sustainable human development, defining clear goals and manners to accomplish them. Moreover, every place has a different reality, with a proper cultural, historical, and social background to consider (ibid.)

VIII. Analysis & Discussion

VIII. 1. Public Spaces and Fragmentation

Traditionally the public space starts outside the buildings, where all the city life exists. The different uses and proportions of public space are not clearly identified and remain approximate, but a few analyses using a geographic information system could show the city's composition. Colodro & Cadierno (2016) made a document indicating that Santiago is composed of 77.9% of streets, 13.9% of parks, 5.4% of squares, 2.6% of central street strips, and 0.1% of roundabouts. The portion of streets does not indicate the difference between sidewalks, the automobile traffic zone and the green side strips; that should be an important input to consider as it is almost present everywhere in Santiago and usually offer a natural or unpaved space fluctuating around one and two meters large between the sidewalk and the traffic zone.

The high proportion of streets can be justified by the successive urban movements that have globally shaped the city open to the expansion of the urban area, the need to increase the communication axes and the democratisation of the car in the last century as an essential need of the city dwellers. Thus, the way of living in the city has been influenced by an important movement of the population every day, with a heavy commuting effect between the working areas mainly located in Santiago, Providencia, Las Condes, Vitacura, and between the other municipalities, which has made Santiago de Chile the second most congested city in South America after Rio de Janeiro (Edwards & Salinas, 2022). This localised flow has led to many streets and avenues changing their traffic direction several times a day at a specific time, turning some neighbourhoods into traffic corridors, suddenly becoming crowded and noisy, degrading local livability.

In addition, Borja (2012, pp. 2–4) highlights that the city's neoliberal logic exacerbates the public space crisis being as well the "result of an extensive, diffuse, exclusionary and privatising urbanisation patterns, creating a production of fragmented spaces, mute or laconic zones and even no man's lands, class ghettos areas marked by fear of marginalisation."

Santiago's car-free public space is small and fragmented, acting as islands. Thus, walking or using soft mobility in the city using public space can be a chaotic journey, so it is necessary to attract people into spaces that they can appropriate and interact with, acting as a conciliatory and liberating space (ibid).

VIII. 2. Tactical Urbanism Manifestations

Tactical urbanism in Santiago takes place in this context of urban conflict and tension, being highly contrasted according to its materialisation, organisation, type of projects and degree of participation. The academic Neil Brenner (2005, p. 4) observes that tactical urbanism is generally ineffective in breaking neoliberal rules, as it does not change its base and usually occurs within an established institutional framework. Furthermore, he observes that it can reduce the neoliberal effect or displace its disruptive spatial and social effects. He analyses

tactical urbanism's behaviour in neoliberal cities by classifying it in different scenarios. For Santiago, it can first be applied to **strengthen** the urban infrastructure by mitigating some of the governance failures. Secondly, it can create **neutrality** by creating alternative and "interstitial spaces that are neither functional nor disruptive" to the neoliberal project and thus "neither symbiotic, parasitic nor destructive". Thirdly, it can be **contingent** by being integrated into conditions of regulatory experimentation and finally, it can be **subversive** by proposing projects that interrupt the basic logic of "market-oriented urban growth and governance", proposing a human centre perspective with social equity, democracy, spatial justice and forms of inclusion (ibid, pp. 5–6). With these previous implicit manifestations, it is possible to observe that behind a tactical urban planning project, the potential, intentions, methods, conditions, results and experiences of limitations and consequences are very contrasted and even opposed.

One main issue observed while investigating is the diversity of definitions around tactical urbanism. Even if there is a consensus on the substance, it has a blurred frame, mixed with other terminologies such as place-making, participative urbanism or incremental urbanism that, in practice, some actors will fusion them as a part of tactical urbanism, and others will explicitly exclude some. In the end, the materialisation of every project differs according to the managing and organising actors.

VIII. 2. A. Main Actors

Ciudad Emergente: This Chilean NGO, whose name translates to Emerging City, was founded in 2011 by Javier Vergara Petrescu. It has an international portfolio and is oriented to the collective construction of cities to make them livable through short-term actions using tactical urbanism and initiating long-term urban planning strategies with a human-centric approach. Their process focuses on documenting and creating never-before-measured data to create solid evidence and conclusions, crossing quantitative and qualitative data. In general, they study the project site three times; before, during and after their interventions to make comparisons and propose sustainable changes or any modifications to the current situation (Posavac, 2022).

Espacio Lúdico: This Chilean NGO, whose name means Playful Space, was founded in 2016 by José Miguel Gómez and Carolina Carrasco. It has an international portfolio and is oriented toward creating well-being and livability in cities through collective and participatory projects. It mainly uses the game as an attractive methodology to establish dialogue and create qualitative and quantitative data. It promotes open-source models that can be applied everywhere. All projects are based on a positivist orientation, trying to work around ideals and dreams, so it mainly practices placemaking, tactical urbanism and database creation with a high degree of procedural flexibility (Gómez, 2022).

Ministerio de la Vivienda y Urbanismo (MINVU): This is the Ministry of Housing and Urban Planning, the principal actor in financing municipalities or proposing budgets for NGOs and various similar organisations that activate tactical urbanism initiatives. MINVU is the institution that mainly rules the project's conditions by its laws and national decreets, such as the general law of urbanism and construction that the municipalities are expected to apply, acting as a basis. Other ministries can share rules with MINVU, such as the Ministry of

Environment, Transport and Telecommunications (Mora Lobo, 2022).

Municipalities of Santiago: Each municipality has a Municipal Planning Secretariat (SECPLAN), in charge of designing public and municipal projects, seeking funding to develop them, usually from the Ministry of Housing and Urban Development or other sources of funds through competitions. The development ideas usually come from the Major's decision. At the same time, each municipality has to create a development line called PLADECO, which is the municipal development plan, usually readjusted every four years. In the background, the municipalities have a proper regulatory plan with no expiry date, so some have a plan from the last century with non-updated or light regulations, and others have a very contemporary plan. The plan can be modified after thorough work by the SECLPLA, approval by the municipal council through a voting process and finally, the agreement of the regional secretary (SEREMI), who verifies compliance with laws, norms, and the Chilean constitution. Thus, some municipalities such as Santiago, Providencia, Las Condes, Independencia, Recoleta, La Cisterna, Cerrillos, Renca and La Granja use tactical urbanism to solve different municipal needs and objectives but show substantial differences in the application of its fundamental principles such as citizen participation or temporality (Martínez Sáez, 2022 & Morales Zambra, 2022).

Fundación Quiero mi Barrio: This neighbourhood recovery programme, whose name translates to I Love My Neighbourhood Foundation, created by the Ministry of Housing and Urbanism (MINVU)in 2006 aims to improve the quality of life of the inhabitants through a participatory process, recovering public spaces, facilities and strengthening the social fabric. Its activation and funding fluctuate with the politicians in power and therefore suffer from interruptions (Mora Lobo, 2022).

VIII. 2. B. Actor Work

Ciudad Emergente is the most famous actor of tactical urbanism in Santiago, which tends to organise large-scale projects. They intervene in contrasting places between developed and wealthy municipalities and more complex and poor areas with very different approaches. For all initiatives, the NGO pays more attention to the process rather than the result, being secondary, considering it as a consequence, allowing a high degree of flexibility. Davor Posavac (2022), project director of Ciudad Emergente, stated in an interview that each project is considered a "laboratory experiment" or a "bridge to trigger other processes," thus not working for a specific end or result as it is usually made in classic urban planning.

The way they launch a project varies between a spontaneous analysis that the NGO decides on a specific issue or calling on municipalities, companies and other NGOs to work together. To do this, they start by recruiting volunteer members, mainly through social networks, to survey the chosen location. The first step involves observing the public space to generate data through counting or qualitative analysis. They mostly use the techniques suggested by consultant Jan Gehl to follow defined criteria of the public space disposition to generate criticism and comment while developing onsite mapping. It integrates a count of the space users' flows, such as pedestrians, bicycles, cars and buses and is completed by the pedestrian's analysis, including the gender proportion, approximate age, and type of activity or behaviour occupied in the space.

Document 3: Example of quantitative data collection for Ciudad Emergente (Nicolás Quezada, 2022)

In addition to collecting quantitative data, they provide attractive visual aids to encourage social interaction and create a dialogue with the space users to collect qualitative data. Among the techniques, they often use the "idea tree," which positively questions the passer-by on how to improve and empowers them to know how they could get involved in a concrete or idealistic way. For example, the first level of questioning is to obtain an opinion such as "what do you like most about your neighbourhood?" and then ask another question about how they could personally connect to the project: "how would you like to contribute to improving your neighbourhood?".

These two questions make people think about their environment, push them to observe and indirectly make them decide on possible actions or community work they would be willing to engage in, as Davor Posavac (2022) explains.

After an internal comparison and analysis of the initial data, they decide on the tactical strategies to be implemented. Then, together with volunteers, they organise the tactical actions on-site in a relatively short period, generally during a few hours or even overnight in the case of traffic routes. The next day, they start analysing the changes in the behaviour and again use the same first method with questions about their experiences. Thus, this method allows "before and after" comparisons to create a solid database for the chosen case. For example, it can be applied to improve a pedestrian path, extend a cycling infrastructure, activate public space, or reconnect a neighbourhood.

In conclusion, the analysis focuses on the impact produced, giving visibility to the voice and experience of people. The documentation from the data collection highlights the problems but proposes a list of potential solutions using the tactical urbanism project as a reference. The ultimate aim is influencing local policy or decision-making to invest in change.

Picture 3, 4 & 5: Tactical Bike line for Eliodoro Yañez street, Providencia (Ciudad Emergente, 2015a) From left to right: Drawing of the temporary lines / Idea tree / Usage evaluation

Picture 6: "Low Carbon District & Shared Street", in José Miguel de la Barra Street Santiago Municipality (Ciudad Emergente, 2016)

The other Chilean NGO **Espacio Lúdico** also argues that tactical urbanism is not focused on the project finality but rather on the process, which is the most important and so allows the work to remain flexible and not have an end. Moreover, it works differently from Ciudad Emergente, which has other approaches to tactical urbanism. José Gómez (2022), in his interview, highlights the idea of creating open-source codes and data to generate original knowledge and methodologies that anyone can adopt to continue, complement, and extend the different initiatives. The basis of the project already includes participation and using design thinking in the gatherings of people and users of the space. The value of the NGO is to re-qualify the public space as it was initially conceived, developing spaces for social encounters open to human connections and well-being. Overall, they want to focus on children and young people, as they are the ones who are usually not taken into account in the design of public space, which shows strong opposition to the current neoliberal logic.

Therefore they organise celebrations, parties, and games in the streets where they can focus on user interactions despite the physical conditions of the public space. José Gómez reveals that cities adapted to children and young people naturally adopt values such as the awakening of flexibility, the possibility to be creative, to dream, to be safe, and to push for collective self-care. The methodology changes each time, and through a positivist approach to get closer to the dreams, it asks basic questions such as "how do we become friends?" and starts to build solutions alongside the community to develop friendships in that specific location with the resources available. In response to this question, the result is, for example, the co-creation of a stage where children can dance with a musical event. These events generate both qualitative and quantitative data through playful solutions.

Picture 7: Street activation into a playground by Espacio Lúdico

Picture 8: Data collection by Espacio Lúdico, Las Condes Municipality

The **municipalities of Santiago** use tactical urbanism to fix temporary issues or try new ways of making the city. It is often made in the most important and centric municipalities of Santiago that have more resources for it and thus tends to be more present in the urban changes. It is used, for example, to increase pedestrianisation, protect pedestrians from cars, create new squares, decrease car velocity, or use it to gain safety. They use infrastructure that is light, cheap, and easy to settle as this way tends to be ten times more economical than investing in a permanent infrastructure (Rodriguez Silva, 2015. p. 45). On the contrary the NGOs works it is made mostly top down and the goal is to achieve a rapid visual result and not necessarily think about the process or taking time about adjustments.

Picture 9: Surroundings improvement of Metro Escuela Militar, Las Condes Municipality (Own picture, 2022)
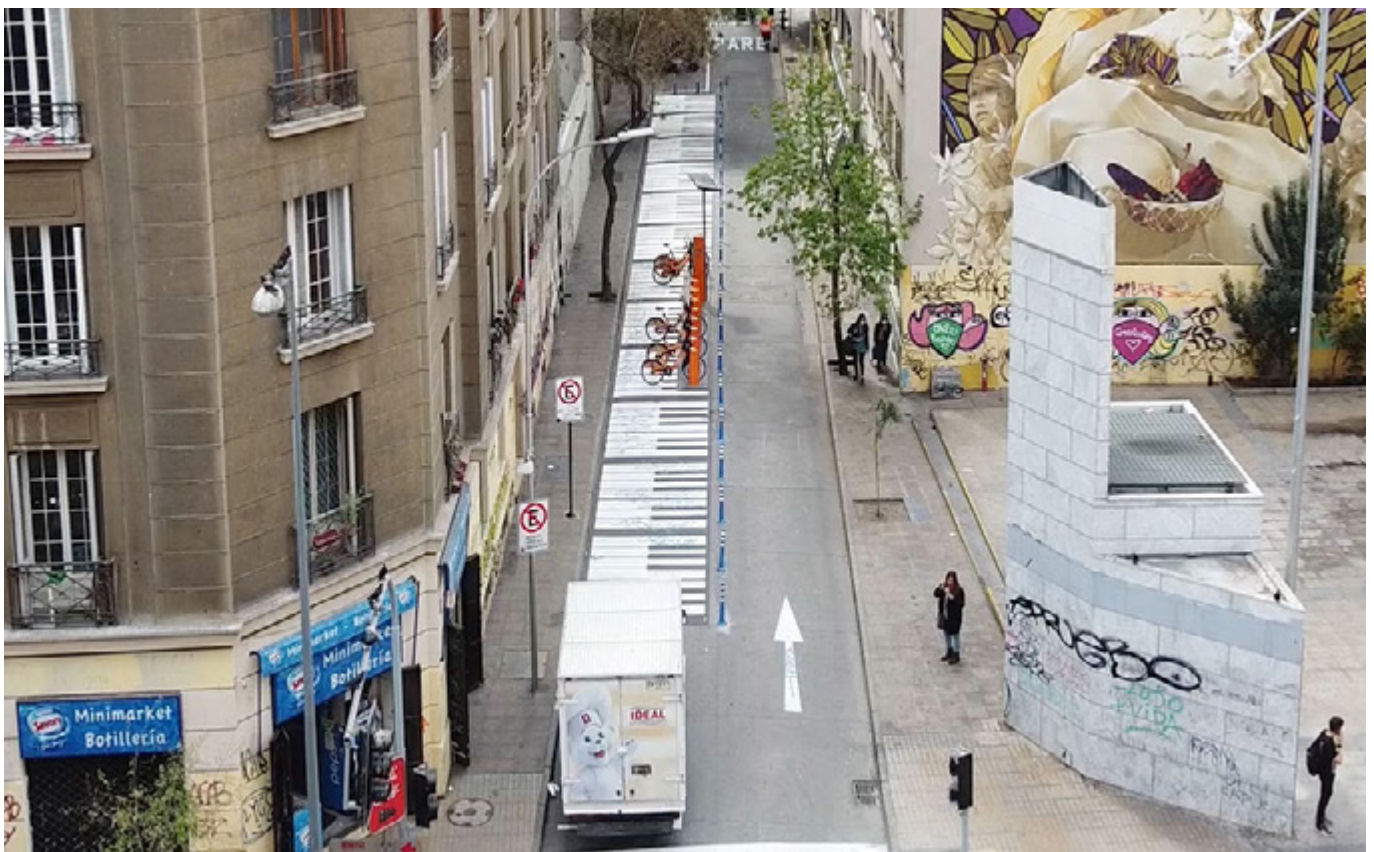

Picture 10: Tactic for the paseo Bandera's pedestrianisation in 2017, Santiago Municipality

Picture 11: Covid space reallocation tactic in Augustias street, Santiago Municipality (Cabrera, 2020)

Picture 12: Pacified Mosqueto street, Santiago Municipality (Cabrera, 2020)

Picture 13: Safety tactic, "Plan Bellavista Secured", Providencia Municipality (Nicolas Quezada, 2022)

It is worth highlighting other alternative initiatives. The **NGO PlantaBanda** was operational from 2011 to 2016, using the sides of street strips to create linear urban farms with residents. As its founder Emiliano de la Maza described, "the urban farm is a tactical urbanism tool for the neighbourhood and it is more than an economic generator, it is a generator of social networks" (ibid, p. 104). They launched projects by organising strong communication through social networks, knocking on people's doors and distributing leaflets. In addition to volunteers, they managed to involve various specialists as volunteers, such as biologists, permaculture designers, agronomists, designers, lawyers and social workers to organise workshops on urban agriculture, sustainability, composting, and earthworm farming. Each workshop could have up to about 40 people, including locals and volunteers from other municipalities. Eventually, they managed to be funded by the municipality of Santiago to continue and expand their urban farms and related initiatives throughout the other municipalities of Santiago de Chile. Finally, in 2017, the founder integrated Plantabanda as part of the Providencia Youth Department, intending to continue to generate similar projects to promote ecological actions from the institutional scale.

Picture 14: Tactic for sidewalk strip reclaim into an urban farm, Santiago Municipality, (PlantaBanda, 2014)

Finally, **Germinar Eco Barrio** is an initiative funded by a group of neighbours from Elías de la Cruz, in the municipality of Ñuñoa, that aims to make the place more ecological. They managed to get a municipal fund and started to organise various workshops around environmental education, natural medicine and urban agriculture. They also used the side strips of their streets to integrate urban farms with special structures such as composters and toolboxes.

The initiative has influenced other neighbourhoods in Ñuñoa, such as Suárez Mujica. Hanel (2022) says that every Saturday is dedicated to a special workshop. Furthermore, the creation of a new urban farm takes three months after winter, and for this, the work is divided into three phases: the design and installation of the irrigation system, which is done in seven shifts; the preparation of the land and soil takes three shifts, and the planting takes one shift. A shift consists of one or two days per week. Thus, within organised planning, the division of labour is very free depending on the participants' motivation and degree of involvement.

Picture 15: Urban farm on a sidewalk strip by Germinar Eco Barrio, Ñuñoa Municipality (Own picture, 2022)

VIII. 2. C. Current Situation

Even though observing excellent processes, promises between actors, and theoretical guarantees of results and change such as the one reminded by Rodríguez Silva (ibid. 167) during his analysis of the tactical urbanism behavioural effects, he mentions that some physical conditions changes can be observed in the sites where the strategies have been implemented.

There is also the creation of a sense of identity and belonging among the participants. The effect generates social strengthening and the emergence of community networks favouring the creation of poles of economic activation, reactivating streets and places of the municipality with potential through the promotion and activation of public space and local services.

After some months or a few years, almost all the places where tactical urbanism interventions happened disappeared, and the space returned unchanged as it was before, with visually no changes with even sometimes rests of abandoned infrastructure or erased paint stains. Thus, such a situation has guided the analysis to understand why initiatives in Santiago de Chile can fail despite effective processes. Indeed, success suggests increasing consideration of the quality of citizen participation and management and governance arrangements.

VIII. 3. Citizen Participation

The United Nations (2013) emphasise that participation is considered a right-based approach that implies the citizens, which are the right holders, fully decide how those rights are fulfilled through participation and greater empowerment. Conversely, it is important to remember that, in principle, tactical urbanism is seen as an instrument of social and urban manifestation that promotes the city's collective construction. It understands that the dynamism from the local territory is used as a model that responds to a citizen's call to action by integrating citizen participation (Luna and Ocampo, 2019, pp. 14–17). Furthermore, Brenner (2015, p. 3) analyses that tactical urbanism is a form of reappropriation of urban space by citizens, thus, coming from below through bottom-up mechanisms. Hence, urban professionals, governments or developers may actively stimulate it, but its generative sources are outside the control of experts, politicians, or any institution.

There is a consensus that citizen participation is a fundamental pillar for practising tactical urbanism and leading a successful change, whereas, in Santiago de Chile, most of the projects do not result in the way the theories or writers describe. One of the causes of this unexpected finding can be explained by the different interpretations made behind citizen participation. The theoretical section indicates the differences found by Sherry Arnstein (1969), showing how citizen participation can be classified and used between non-participation, symbolic participation, and real participation. However, another nuance can be made within these classifications between organised participation that is well managed with hierarchic organisation and its contrary that would be anarchistic participation, managed by anybody and free from hierarchic structure. Hence, the following section introduces how tactical urbanism practitioners behave according to the participation scale, including the organisation nuance previously highlighted.

VIII. 4. Participation Level Analysis

The NGO Ciudad Emergente uses and works within a very planned and detailed framework with a solid methodology involving participation at all levels at different moments of the project. The project decision is done internally or comes from a request by another institution to collaborate or create a project. To measure the first data inputs, they call upon participation that they recruit to perform specific tasks such as observation or counting. The participants are volunteers who generally already know the NGO and come from all over Santiago, but in contrast are rarely people from the studied area, except for initiatives such as "Malón urbano" or "Mesa Latina". They consist of seating at a large table with the place's inhabitants to share a meal and ideas about the specific street oriented to other eventual actions. They act by adopting specific characteristics of ethnographic observations, acting as an "observer as participant" (Flick, 2018). During the qualitative data collection, they embrace closer participation by exchanging feelings, ideas for improvement, and continuing certain activities. During the creation of the tactic, they again involve volunteers who follow a specific plan and design. Ultimately, they can abandon the project at this stage or improve it using place-making techniques while collecting data. According to Sherry Arnstein's (1969) classification, throughout the process participation is mainly between non-participation and symbolic participation, which could be represented by the stages of therapy, information, consultation and placation.

Davor Posavac (2022) mentioned that, in vulnerable communities, the degree of flexibility in participation tends to fluctuate and decrease because tactical urbanism is not understood. Indeed it is often perceived as poor-quality public work due to the fault of some previous participatory projects from other institutions, resulting in temporary performances for taking pictures and remaining abandoned, sending a negative signal to local communities. On the contrary, he argues that tactical urbanism is the best method to propose a change because municipalities do not have the capacity to transform spaces several times, so they cannot take wrong decisions. To avoid misuse of the methodology, they want to increase its communicative power and show people that it is mainly to measure and collect data, but not necessarily something that will change their space. Furthermore, he states that vandalism against temporary facilities is reduced if the local community is engaged in the project, knows the process, or understands what it is about. In some cases, the temporary project remains in place over time. He concludes that there is a high risk that using the wrong methodology will be considered a breach of good faith.

The NGO Espacio Lúdico uses participation directly at the project's base, although the process mostly follows a defined line that remains flexible and influenceable. Thus, for 80% of the projects, participants design and build their own tool with a re-invented methodology through design thinking and co-design. José Gómez (2022) argues that the institutional posture can be a constraint for project development, and therefore it should be kept simple and made more accessible to people from the beginning of the process. According to Sherry Arnstein (1969), Espacio Lúdico would only belong to the category of real participation, represented by the ladders of partnership and delegation. Indeed, the participants entirely shape the process and the final outcome, even though the organisation leads the initiative. Therefore, it is more oriented towards an anarchic organisation because the objective is not to achieve an outcome but to empower participants to feel useful and continue concrete actions through an organic process and horizontal co-creation management.

In 2019, the MINVU (Ministry of Housing and Urban Planning) published a guide entitled "Human Dimension" on its official website, which is implicitly available on the information platform for intervening in the public space of Chilean municipalities. All actors of change, including institutions, civil servants or companies, can follow a model of good practice to organise optimal citizen participation. It emphasised that citizens are the experts on their environment and that their perspective helps to validate assumptions and refine ideas. It observes that involving citizens in the project to improve their space is the best way to ensure that it meets a real need (MINVU et al., 2017, p. 73). Thus, it concludes that innovative municipalities have succeeded in organising consultation in the streets by installing points of attention to facilitate access to information and, thus, citizen participation. It is clearly stated that "the users are not the architects, they are the experts" (ibid, p.79). Despite mentioning the tools' success to listen to people by doing "workshops, interviews, focus groups, surveys, and using social media", the guide emphasises a critical contradiction. It demonstrates the importance of achieving real citizen participation that could correspond to achieving «partnership» or «delegation»; however, it reduces it to achieving a «consultation», which is only symbolic participation and criticised by Sherry Arnstein (1969) for being brief, superficial and trying to gain legitimacy by making a symbolic civic engagement.

In the meantime, a legal structure has been put in place with two laws that can influence the behaviour of citizen participation from the institutional framework, but they are still very symbolic and underused. Since

2011, the Law 20500 "Associations and Participation of Citizens in Public Management" pushes institutions to share information and be aware of citizens' opinions Its purpose is to generate transparency and trust in civil society by opening up citizen participation with the possibility for them to be involved in public reports to use a channel for dialogue between institutions, authorities and communities (Biblioteca Congreso Nacional, 2011). While interviewing Viviana Fernandez Prajoux (2022), an academic expert in citizen participation, she highlighted that the Law 20500 is «a stagnant law acting as figurehead but in most cases does not fulfil the role it should play». Since 2020, the Law 20958 System of Contributions to the Public Space makes it mandatory for any construction project to improve the surrounding urban space. It stipulates that any project must conduct one or more public hearings in the manner defined by each municipality, knowing that all municipal regulatory plans are different and most of them never mention citizen participation (Biblioteca Congreso Nacional, 2020). Viviana Fernandez Prajoux (2022) criticised that usually, the non-wealthy municipalities do not receive funding, so nothing new is built; moreover, the benefit of the law provides little chance to contribute to the public space improvement.

Thus, in this context, the different municipalities, when they are aware, practise a mainly informative and symbolic operation by creating projects that do not take into account the real users. In an interview with Ricardo Tagle (2022), a civil servant of the Las Condes municipality, he gave some examples of tactical applications in such a context. Firstly, he explained that new bicycle lanes were built discreetly between Las Condes and Vitacura during the COVID–19 lockdown to avoid opposition from the zone's very car-oriented residents during its installation. Secondly, he showed me a transformed space around the Escuela Militar metro station on line 1 (see picture 9) that he personally designed, using the tactical urbanism codes such as lightness, affordability and easiness but excluding citizen participation described as useless in this context of place-making.

Different situations occur in Santiago and Providencia where tactical urbanism is used more as a consequence of political and social pressure to improve, for example improving security in a specific neighbourhood and after meetings between residents, retailers and authorities, they take internally a decisions to change the streets structure and communicating about the project once it has already been completed without allowing more flexibility (see the following picture 16).

Picture 16: Information "Plan Bellavista Secured", Providencia Municipality (Nicolas Quezada, 2022)

In conclusion, despite the slight influences of the legal framework, the municipalities of Santiago experience citizen participation through tactical urbanism in very contrasting ways. According to Sherry Arnstein, their actions can be classified between non-participation and symbolic participation, corresponding to the scales of manipulation, therapy, information and consultation. It is an essentially top-down and highly hierarchical organisation, which mainly uses participation to feel legitimate.

In the case of the NGO PlantaBanda, it expressly aimed to create democratic spaces where all actors, including specialists involved and local inhabitants, are equal and contribute to developing a solid social fabric, strengthening self-care, collective security, the feeling of belonging to a group through a collective project (Rodriguez Silva, 2015. p. 105). The aim of the workshops was to transmit knowledge to give people tools to implement the initiatives elsewhere individually. In this case, their action fully integrates real participation between a delegation where citizens are empowered and able to be responsible and continue the project or reach the final levels of citizen control without having intermediaries. Even if the NGO has disappeared, it is interesting to observe that empowered neighbours are creating new initiatives in the vicinity of the first urban gardens.

Meanwhile, the Germinar Eco Barrio initiative has based its evolution entirely on the motivation of the neighbours, the result of common interest and motivation. Communication is their strength, and they manage to gather at least 20 participants for each workshop. They have succeeded in bringing in new participants, but there is a turnover effect on the part of outsiders, as they tend to stay for three workshops and then feel empowered and leave. The neighbourhood initiative is also entirely in real participation, experimenting with citizen control and more anarchic in its organisation, being very spontaneous. Moreover, the lack of regular commitment by some can lead to a temporary decline of the project during the winter, when only two people fight to maintain the installation (Hanel, 2022).

VIII. 5. Complexity of Governance

If citizen participation is a determining aspect in the success of a tactical urban planning project, the state of governance is another level that strongly influences its outcome. The use of good governance as a theoretical framework is a general indication of how governance should ideally be oriented and behave. In practice, it is imperfect, and many structural problems appear. Nevertheless, some projects further explained, find ways to compromise or take into account these structural difficulties. One of the most visible aspects concerns the internal conflicts due to its neoliberal framework based and anchored in the Chilean constitution, placing the public institution in a vulnerable position.

Furthermore, Delamaza (2011, p. 67) mentions that the Chilean political system «is highly centralised and the form of governance of the last twenty years has tended to deepen this centralisation». Decentralisation has affected municipalities, which have received a transfer of administrative functions (including health and education within their territory). It is the result of a political transition that envisaged the decentralisation of municipalities but without changing the institutional and administrative organisation of the country. Finally, she observes (ibid, p. 20) that the Chilean process after the return to democracy «has been transformed into a

forced consensus of a conservative and restrictive nature maintaining the undemocratic constitutional order», to preserve the neoliberal economic model. Thus, pro-democratic civil society faces difficulties in creating political space to defend common agendas.

In conclusion, such a context tends to generate "marginalisation of any process of collective will formation, debate, mass public deliberation", favouring the voice of strategic actors who empower elites and top-down decisions (ibid). To this end, Brown (2015, p. 6) promotes the importance of having decentralised power with the sub-national government to make effective decisions about service delivery at the central level. She points out that in democracies, «local people demand the right to influence the spending of local resources» and that another effect of decentralisation would be to "create new opportunities for participation and progressive gains for the poor".

VIII. 5. A. Hybrid Governance

The private sector is known to make an essential contribution to the city's development in terms of infrastructure, services, and real estate decisions that can radically influence urban planning management. Avis (2016, p. 18) observes that in many countries, national and local governments do not have «sufficient information and expertise to negotiate on an equal footing with companies that have extensive experience in delivering public services.» This means for Santiago de Chile that the power can be unbalanced and that it is, accordingly, more appropriate to build a degree of flexibility, complementarity, coordination, and collaboration with the private sector rather than acting against or competing with it, so in this sense, it is hybrid governance. The modernisation of the agenda under neoliberal logic creates tensions as the citizen tends to be seen as a company member or a customer, and therefore, hybrid governance needs to clearly define responsibilities as democratic states are accountable to voters while private organisations are accountable to their shareholders or customers (Delamaza, 2011, p. 69). Thus, trends are beginning to change as the Ministry of Housing and Urban Development emphasises that the state is moving «from a corporate state to a regulatory and supportive state» to take concerted and decisive action given the urban markets and the social conflicts generated and finally to make appropriate management and regulation in Chilean cities.

VIII. 5. B. Funds & Vulnerability

In Chile, municipalities obtain funds mainly through municipal licenses that oblige each office, company, business, professional operating, and citizen having properties to pay every year or semester. At the same time, there is an edification right, which companies pay to build a project in proportion to its size, so the more significant the project is, the more money the municipality receives, making the municipalities ignore real estate excesses such as densification and speculation. Low-income municipalities are not attractive and tend to have limited commercial activities, few offices, and the construction sector is not interested in real estate investments. Furthermore, the inhabitants of low-income housing are legally exempted from paying, so the municipality has almost no financial income. In this context, the creation of a national municipal fund obliged wealthy municipalities to distribute part of their revenues to low-income municipalities (Morales Zambra, 2022). As they live only on subsidies, mayors are relatively powerless and «administer misery».

In this context, NGOs and organisations practising tactical urbanism have difficulties being financed in order to implement projects. They either suffer from this neoliberal hybrid governance or find ways to circumvent the obstacles. The Ministry of Housing & Urban Development (MINVU) distributes funds to the municipalities, redistributing them among the different municipal departments. In wealthy municipalities, some of these funds can be allocated to external projects for NGOs or specific citizen requirements, but in non-wealthy municipalities, these funds are not available, and thus NGOs receive support without funding and have to find other methods. Still, through the institution, NGOs can apply for funds directly from MINVU, but the amount is already defined, so it does not finance the real need of the project; therefore, the project has to adapt to the funds received, including the remuneration of the workers. The financial limitation pushes NGOs and even some national government initiatives to find private actors to multiply funding sources and increase possibilities (Mora Lobo, 2022).

Specific mechanisms are in place to facilitate NGO funding, such as the «donation law or tribatorial laws,» allowing companies to fund projects instead of paying taxes. Moreover, they choose the NGO to which they give the money, and in some cases, they establish conditions. Rodrigo Tagle (2022), speaking about one operational way from NGO Mi Parque Foundation (which develops playgrounds, squares and parks through symbolic citizen participation in Chile), reveals that companies tend to distribute the money if they choose where they want the initiative to take place, considering the cadastre or at the contrary choosing another space even if it does not meet municipal priorities. They send their employees to participate, using the event as a communication campaign. For example, a mining group sends employees to plant trees in a poor neighbourhood, showing their generosity and commitment to the environment. These initiatives tend to be labelled as greenwashing, especially when no compromise is made to maintain the changes knowing that low-income municipalities can difficulty maintain their public space, resulting in the death of trees due to lack of watering or vandalism of the installation due to lack of connection with the inhabitants. For this reason, institutional initiatives such as «Quiero mi Barrio» (in charge of improving vulnerable neighbourhood through symbolic citizen participation) have to establish a signed contract where a concerned municipality is engaged to maintain the installation in order to receive the fund from the MINVU (Mora Lobo, 2022)

Each tactical urban planning initiative results from a hybrid negotiation and governance. For example, Ciudad Emergente connects with international actors such as the British Foreign Office or the Swedish electricity company to create the pilot project or finance the construction of the street furniture before handing over the project result to the municipality (Posavac, 2022). They highlight the idea of incremental design that can catalyse a large-scale project. For example, the Mapocho Pedaleable project emerged from a university project that proposed to adapt the banks of Santiago's Mapocho River into a continuous bicycle path through the municipalities of Santiago de Chile. The project was supported by several NGOs, including Ciudad Emergente and other pro-bike organisations, until it reached important actors, including private companies that provided the essential infrastructure, such as bike ramp access and asphalt bike paths, resulting in collaboration between the municipalities of Santiago, Providencia, Independencia and Recoleta as well as even the support of President Michelle Bachelet (Rodriguez Silva, 2015 & Pedaleable, 2022). The tactical data reveals great success with promises of parallel social developments. Unfortunately, to users' surprise, access remained closed soon after the events, and the structure was abandoned. It is one of the most significant tactical urbanism initiatives ever implemented in Santiago; however, the project is a victim of this hybrid governance complexity

due to neoliberal logic, as «actors have changed or altered their ambitions from the initial intentions. On the other hand, it has been extremely politicised», observing that for now, «the state is not designed to deal with a citizenry that is increasingly empowered and proposing solutions». This situation led to the project stagnation with consecutive promises to re-open in 2017 and 2021, which until now never resulted. (Pedaleable, 2022).

Picture 17: Mapocho Pedaleable's 2nd version, Providencia Municipality (Ciudad Emergente, 2015b)

Picture 18: Abandoned Mapocho Pedaleable, Providencia Municipality (Own picture, 2022)

VIII. 5. C. Temporality & Responsibility

Tactical urbanism is defined as not a unified movement but a «large emerging, provisional, experimental and ad hoc urban project (...) that acts as an acupunctural mode of intervention in relation to local problems (...) with a relatively short time horizon, impulsive and spontaneous. (...) It evolves fluidly in response to political-economic changes, conditions, institutional arrangements, or coalitional dynamics» (Luna & Ocampo, 2019, p. 13).

Tactical actions tend to be light, cheap and easy in their installation or removal and depending on the project duration, the quality fluctuates. From the experience of Ciudad Emergente, Davor Posavac (2022) relates that sometimes the project work has such an impact and success that it is maintained over time pending the final and long-term transformation, but in the meantime, it deteriorates and thus can ruin the project's communication. At the same time, José Gómez (2022) of Espacio Lúdico makes a similar point, namely that the main weakness of tactical urbanism is that it fades very quickly and deteriorates easily.

NGOs are expected to assess the initiative's duration, as the means between projects lasting a few hours, a week or six months are very different. At the same time, some actors do not concern themselves with the project's outcome or end but rather with the process, which allows them to declare a deadline but eventually extend the project. Furthermore, long projects are more complex as they are exposed to more rules such as risk analysis, public space requirements and even taxation. However, they still cannot be considered a definitive infrastructure because they are reduced to an urban experiment and must maintain levels of flexibility to adapt to changes in public life behaviour according to the type of urban space chosen.

Nowadays, the uses of tactical urbanism are quite new, which means that nothing is written about it in the norms, placing tactical urbanism in a normative void, so its existence depends on the ability of the responsible institution to maintain and manage it. The absence of standard regulations is illustrated by the freedom and flexibility of tactical urbanism, which proposes new semiotics and invented codes such as the use of colour, the drawing of shapes and circles instead of lines codified in the transport infrastructure. Furthermore, responsibility can be unclear and conflicting between management and control entities, such as the municipalities in charge of public space versus the regional ministerial transport secretariat in charge of street infrastructure. At the same time, not all municipalities are receptive to tactical urbanism as they are sometimes unaware of the purpose of its adoption, indicating that generally conservative municipalities are not as open, which leads to more difficulties, resistance or less access (ibid).

For this reason, Santiago offers an urban landscape for tactical urbanism where various initiatives coexist. In fact, and as an example, the following images represent the remains of current projects that have adopted very different strategies and have been limited at some point by a miscalculation of temporality, an unclear delimitation of responsibilities, problems in the composition of hybrid governance or a lack of quality of citizen participation.

Pictures 19, 20 & 21: Current state of Paseo Bandera, Santiago Muncipality (Own pictures, 2022)

After being closed for five years during the construction of a metro station, the municipality of Santiago decided to officially transform the Paseo Bandera into a pedestrian street in collaboration with street artists and then evaluate then the impact of this project that, eventually subject to the Transport Ministry decision to reopen it to car traffic to re-accommodate the Transantiago bus line. The evaluation revealed that pedestrian flow increased by 278%, and local commerce increased its profits by 20%. So in 2018, Major Felipe Alessandri declared it was an open street for the community; moreover, on the fourth day, by surprise, it became an important place for skateboarders. Due to the non-participation that previously made them invisible, the authorities had to negotiate informally to make them leave the street (Troncoso, 2018). In 2022, the street is untouched; no changes have taken place, the tactics have remained degraded, the paintings are dirty, the broken furniture is not suitable for its users as skaters use the benches and the bike racks are empty.
(See initial initiative picture 10)

Picture 22: "Plan Bellavista Secured", Providencia Municipality (Nicolas Quezada, 2022)

As mentioned earlier, the Plan Bellavista secured aims to protect the streets from cars, prevent them from parking used as drug sales platforms, and reduce car speed by narrowing the streets. The protections are already destroyed in some parts, only a few weeks after the initiative started.

Picture 24: Rest of PlantaBanda in Aguilucho Street, Providencia Municipality (Own picture, 2022)

Picture 23: "Low Carbon District & Shared Street", Santiago Municipality (Own picture, 2022)

The low-carbon street was a massive event in Santiago, but its infrastructure faded over time, and no change occurred in the street despite attractive measures, important data collection, and significant success in place-making (See initial project picture 6).

PlantaBanda empowered residents to create an urban farm in the street side strips, but when the NGO ceased operations, some structures could not be maintained due to a lack of funding.

←

Picture 25 & 26: Leftovers from the covid space reallocation tactics in Augustias & Mosqueto Streets, Santiago Municipality (Own pictures, 2022)
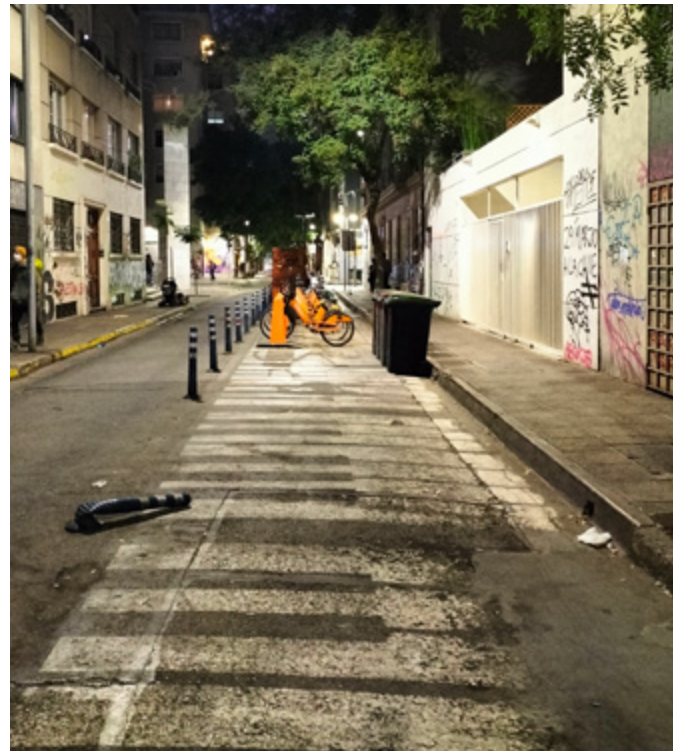
In 2020, the mobility sub-directorate of the Santiago municipality updated the 2019–2029 mobility plan as part of the tactical urbanism initiative launched during the covid to promote social distancing, creating emergency bicycle lanes, and at the same time, reduce the importance of the automobile. In 2022, almost all the new pedestrianised areas were retrogressed for car use, even though they were needed. Where the pedestrianised areas remained, no redevelopment or transformation took place (Cabrera, 2020). (See the initial initiative picture 11 and 12)

Map 5 and **Pictures 27 & 28:** Project "Santiago Camina" and its evolutions from left to right; Plan in 2016 / Realisation in 2017 / Actual state in 2022, Santiago Municipality (Gehl, 2016 and Google Earth images, 2022)
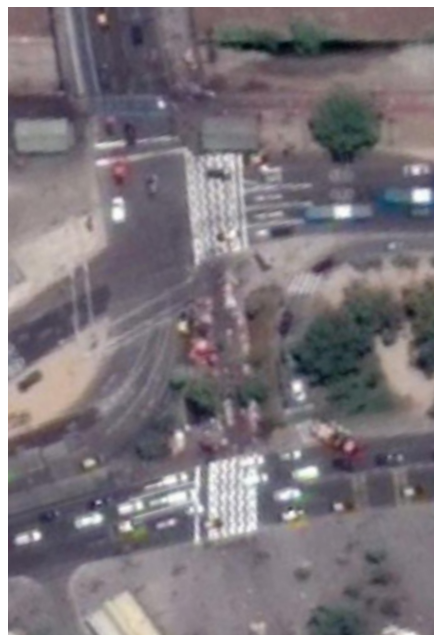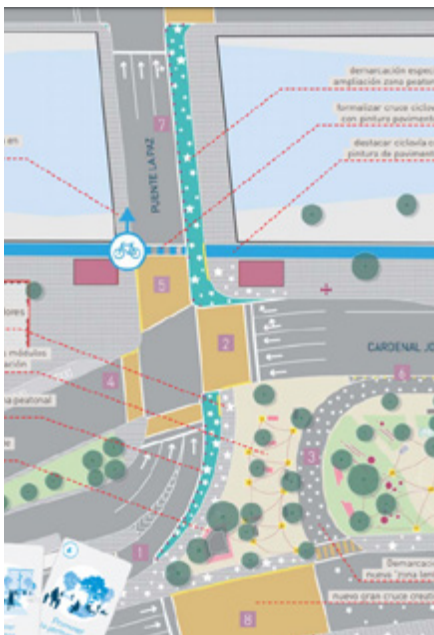
Santiago Camina is a large project organised in 2016 by influential actors such as the IDB (Inter-American Development Bank), the consultants Gehl City for People, the Metropolitan Region, the Ministry of the Interior, and Santiago Municipality. They are analysing all the flows between residents and users of the space between the different areas of the city and the transport systems among the car and bicycle traffic, revealing the limits and spatial problems of Santiago. To this end, they have the ambition to redesign the central market area that surrounds the entrance to the city and therefore is a public space completely fragmented into a succession of islands where intense pedestrian flows invent informal ways to cross. The project pedestrianises a strategic axis to the centre and plans to join the central market with the Estación Mapocho museum using a large tactical urbanism intervention to propose efficient future developments (Gehl, 2016). In the end, the materialization initiative of tactical urbanism is never launched except for the materialization of the crossing section, which quickly disappears; instead, only the 'heavy infrastructure' of the beginning remains.

VIII. 5. D. Alternative Approaches

José Gómez (2022), from Espacio Lúdico, proposes a solution to prevent project development from being reduced by the institutional umbrella that affects decision-making and financial capacities; moreover, his idea is to reverse the trend. For example, the current model usually leads the municipality with resources to tender and hire people and projects, meaning that NGOs have to compete to obtain funds. Other municipalities are forced to collaborate with the private sector, which often leads to tensions and a distorted power relationship. He mentioned that the logic of the application process is broken and that such a model reduces the possibilities for low-income municipalities to acquire professional expertise or to be attractive to potential applicants. In this aspect, the new approach can be subversive, as Brenner (2015, p. 7) explains when he describes the scenarios that tactical urbanism can take to challenge neoliberal values, interrupting the logic of market-oriented and growth-changing the focus to a human-centred perspective integrating social equity, spatial justice, democracy, and various forms of inclusion.

Espacio Lúdico proposes a new alternative by acting as a bridge to desegregate low-income municipalities from neoliberal collateral damage by creating the «Ciudad Colaborativa» (Collaborative City) initiative, which provides free support to conduct comprehensive neighbourhood diagnostics, tactical urban planning practice with real citizen participation, and supervises the fundraising necessary to develop the project. The funds include the private sector, which can donate materials or pay for necessary predefined elements without conditions in return, eliminating any form of corporate neo-colonialism towards the municipalities. Finally, Espacio Lúdico has implemented a selection process in which low-income municipalities request interventions and the NGO determine which ones are in need. This approach created a bomb effect beyond Santiago de Chile, reaching more than 60 municipalities in the country that applied. As these low-income municipalities generally do not have the capacity to conduct tactical urban projects, they manage their municipal lands as best they can, with limited knowledge of urban planning. However, the NGO's objective is not to make a master plan but to act on a human scale, focusing on the details with the people and, therefore, to train all municipal employees to become the new experts. José Gómez (2022) says that most municipal employees have never heard of tactical urbanism or most participatory techniques and therefore mentions that they have

trained more than 300 municipal officials on the subject. They can practice and learn through democratically developed projects. At this stage, the municipality is responsible for communicating, contacting its citizens and managing the project's implementation. Through this method, NGOs are not reduced to begging for funds but can evolve to another level and push their expertise further.

Another alternative to the effective development of tactical urbanism is at the municipal level. Providencia, a prosperous municipality, is multiplying tactical initiatives for various purposes. Building on citizens' demands to protect their neighbourhoods from real estate densification, they created in 2013 the participatory process «Piensa Providencia» (think of Providencia), creating an organisation and a legal framework for residents to take part in city decisions to modify or update the local urban plan (Rodriguez Silva, 2015, p. 58). Power is redistributed, and those who manage have more visibility of local needs. For example, the tactical bicycle path carried out by Ciudad Emergente on Avenida Eliodoro Yáñez in 2015 (see picture 3, 4 & 5) revealed the need for one; Providencia had carried out one that turned out to be unsafe because it was too narrow, as the Ministry of Transport did not allow more space to keep buses and cars moving. In 2019, after strong negotiations between authorities and based on citizens' demand, the bicycle line was widened and extended in 2022, removing one line of vehicles and creating bicycle traffic lights (La Tercera, 2019). Ciudad Emergente has successfully acted as a project catalyst for Providencia, thanks to the evidence shown by its tactical urbanism planning intervention.

Picture 29 & 30: Eliodoro Yáñez street bike line evolution, Providencia Muncipality (2017 and 2022)

VIII. 6. Right to the City

VIII. 6. A. Generalities

For Santiago, the right to the city represents the systematic integration of social value into the urban development, not only determined by its economic or exchange value but instead, the institutions recognise the urban space functions serving as a complex social arena in complementarity to other interests such as the economic one. The right to the city integrates the human right declaration from the United Nations and several other institutions such as UN-Habitat, UNESCO and the World Urban Forum. It is necessary to extend the right to the city more explicitly for the urban underrepresented groups such as the woman, children, disabled, elderly, indigenous and LGBT people right to the city; in order to empower and adapt public spaces for all, including equal access, physical safety and freedom from any discrimination. Creating an inclusive system that ensures transversal integration between urban plans and programs is a goal that can be initiated by connecting strong representative institutions with a national or international influence to reach different leaders of different levels. After identifying the problem, it is necessary to establish compromises that influence, oblige, and even finance these social changes (Purcell, 2013, p. 143).

Managing the integration of the rights requires having an inclusive political disposition completed by a participative governance strategy that ensures people have equal access to decisions concerning the city. For such, it is necessary to decide how to include the participation wanted between a sample of random individuals, working with a proportional representation of citizens, or explicitly ensuring an efficient integration by having a representative of each group. Integrating participation in the urban decision can be considered as a window on the new right for the city where citizens are involved in urban decisions, integrating decisions board starting with tactical urbanism and then on broader values such as sustainable development, cultural rights, quality of municipal services, affordable and decent housing. It is possible to vote for alliances or charters to gather citizens, institutions, and private entities, creating a frame that promotes rights and guarantees among neoliberal logic.

Despite Santiago's current disposition of suffering from socio-economic segregation, urban public spaces are favoured meeting places for connecting, playing, learning about differences, overcoming separation and allowing civic and democratic deliberation with empowerment powers (ibid, p.150). Through its irruptive characteristic, tactical urbanism and place-making extend local inhabitants' or space users' awareness to enjoy encounters and open themselves to collective possibilities.

VIII. 6. B. Tactical Urbanism Empowerment

Henri Lefebvre realised that citizen participation is often mentioned in city policy but rarely developed or practised seriously because it is usually not real participation according to Sherry Arnstein's scales. For many initiatives at the institutional level, it is possible to observe and analyse that the type of use in participation allows those in power to obtain the consent of the citizens and thus gain legitimacy at a low cost. Already in 1968, Lefebvre denounced the misuse of the participation ideology, which transformed the process into

a performance suffering from a lack of information and social activity and where once finished, the citizens returned to their quiet passivity (Lefebvre, 1968, p. 105). Active or real participation awakens the inhabitants and thus increases the probability of creating continuity in an open process with empowered people.

One of the most successful forms of tactical urbanism is the urban farm model, built on the street's sidewalk strip, locally called «vereda» or «platabanda». Sidewalk strips are present throughout the municipalities of Santiago. They are an integral part of the public space, initially used mainly for decorative purposes to plant trees, flowers and grass and for safety purposes by separating the pedestrian space from the streets. These spaces are owned by the municipalities responsible for managing and maintaining them through the Department of Cleanliness and Ornamentation. However, they are challenging to maintain because the sidewalk strips are landlocked between the state-owned street and private land, constantly interrupted by the passage of streets or footpaths. In wealthy municipalities, grass and trees are usually maintained and watered for decorative reasons, but it is not sustainable management, as, during the summer, Santiago suffers from drought and water shortages. Furthermore, several municipalities such as Providencia or Ñuñoa have proposed an agreement with each inhabitant to help them install an individual watering system in front of their property to maintain the grass in return. In Santiago and low-income municipalities, these spaces are usually dried and used for other purposes, such as car parking and rubbish disposal; hence the majority of sidewalk strips are just forgotten spaces ignored by the authorities.

The NGO PlantaBanda has observed that in Santiago, people suffer from a lack of green space, especially in dense areas. So it found a way to make sidewalks strips useful, using them, converting a total of 1100 square metres into urban farms between the neighbourhoods of República, San Eugenio, Matta Sur and Matta in Santiago and El Aguilucho in Providencia. Germinar Eco Barrio followed the same strategy in the municipality of Ñuñoa in the Suarez Mujica and Elias de la Cruz neighbourhoods. The participation format has always remained within the categories of real citizen participation, starting with partnership, progressing to the delegation, and then reaching citizen control. Since managing the sidewalk strips is a struggle for the municipality and tends to be abandoned, these initiatives provide beneficial actions, thus, are well received (Hanel, 2022). Municipalities have embraced the fact that people are taking care of the sidewalk strip, planting, creating a community network, allowing the citizens to take ownership of the space and ignoring the old rules about grass maintenance.

The movement that promotes urban agriculture is aware that it generates more than free food production; it results in a tool to generate social links. It is the opposite of neoliberal trends because the effort produced is not aimed at making a profit. It aims to break individualism, seeks to create an identity, promotes a sense of belonging, and reactivates public life to provide a different meaning to social interaction, because it is a process that takes time and requires maintaining compromises. As a result, it empowers its members and allows anyone interested to enter the process very rapidly, as it requires a wide range of interventions. It demonstrates that direct participation, without intermediaries or hierarchical organisation, can encourage citizens to learn and to take ownership of their project, especially if it is organised on a human scale, which everyone can manage and not necessarily by entering into political or stakeholder negotiations. Consequently, outside the perimeters of the initial initiatives, other urban farms and public spaces have emerged.

Picture 31 & 32: "Urban farm, do not remove the plants, community work" in Italia neighbourhood, Providencia Municipality (Own pictures, 2022)

This urban farm is an example of the ones made outside the NGOs initiatives by empowered neighbours that took the concept and knowledge to multiply it.

Pictures 33 & 34: Rest of PlantaBanda in barrio República, Santiago Municipality (Own pictures, 2022)

Picture 35, 36 & 37: Rest of PlantaBanda urban farm in Matta Sur neighbourhood, Santiago Municipality (Pictures from Sandro, local resident, 2022)

Six years after its closure, PlantaBanda's structures are still maintained in most of the initial neighbourhoods and used for urban farming, community gardening, sharing infrastructure and tools. In some cases, such as in Matta Sur, where the first gardens were created in 2013, the inhabitants who have reappropriated the public space added to the urban farm their own furniture, such as tables, chairs and children's games shared between several houses. This example is a success story of empowering tactical urbanism translated into the context of the right to the city.

IX. Conclusion

Considering the thesis problem formulation, "How is the development of tactical urbanism challenged by the neoliberal framework of Santiago de Chile?".

Tactical urbanism's behaviour mainly fluctuates according to the socio-economic place it is practised. Despite important theoretical social and behavioural promises, the field investigation revealed that it is challenging to implement tactical urbanism in low-income municipalities or the so-called "precariópolis" neoliberal zones where the inhabitants suffer from systemic abuses, exclusion, poverty, and vulnerability. Indeed, it is a challenge in several key aspects. Firstly, there are frequent misunderstandings in the project communication between the concept, process, and result. Secondly, in founding finances among hybrid governance, despite institutional contradictions and inconsistencies, from entities expressing divergent interests or a powerful private sector tempted by neo-colonialism looking for advantages far from the public utility or common good necessities. Finally, it is challenging to establish transparent and real citizen participation where people are not involved into generating symbolic legitimacy to approve a top-down project disconnected from the real needs.

Project success is about gathering and embracing a balanced bilateral collaboration between the educated professionals with expertise, perspective, and capacity to manage technical issues or solve problems, with the inhabitants and the space users that are the legitimate field experts affected by any changes. Moreover, overly structured projects tend to show limitations on the field as they are less capable of adapting to a democratic and citizen-based process having spontaneous or unpredictable inputs. In the meantime, more horizontal or partially anarchic initiatives tend to be more successful as they place citizen empowerment at the heart of their process, practising design-thinking and co-creation, but they can sometimes show limitations if they are structurally dependent on people's motivation and compromise for a long process timespan.

Interventions and changes in the public space can seem ludicrous for the low socio-economic categories that struggle to meet basic human needs such as physiological needs, safety and belongingness. Thus, it is important to have an adapted methodology that guarantees them to meet further needs such as esteem or self-actualization, adopting a positivist approach instead of focusing on the problems. In this context, mental health is not sufficiently considered while doing these projects. Tactical urbanism is often misused by some using it for its affordable characteristics, making an intervention that should be transitional or temporary, but the lack of organisational and structural compromise makes it fade away or result in degradation. In addition, residents and space users may generate a strong expectation for a change, so in case the process ends in the transition, it creates an important disappointment and degradation of trust in the institution or stakeholders involved.

Tactical urbanism is a potential tool that is still at its beginning phase, as most are unaware of its use. It is a catalyst for an urban alternative, influencing people's behaviour to recreate a social fabric that large neoliberal consequences have generally compromised. Thus, neighbourhood initiatives on a human scale seem almost invisible compared to the neoliberal system strongly implemented on a national and international level. Nevertheless, some initiatives have already changed the classic paradigm, such as Espacio Lúdico's Ciudad

Colaborativa, where 60 municipalities from all over the country have responded to their offer of completely free urban expertise, including tactical urban planning interventions and supervision to make the transition. This project reverses the neoliberal logic by attracting many actors, including the private sector, who are present for the public good and the common good to invest in people rather than profit. At the same time, some prosperous municipalities such as Providencia multiplies the tactical urbanism initiatives as they have already understood the logic, observing that it is economically and socially more sustainable and advantageous when all the stakeholders, including the people, are aware and agree, resulting in an optimal transformation thanks to the previous tactical tries.

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