

Emancipatory dynamics and spatial entanglements of contentious planning practices.

The example of Peñalolén, Santiago de Chile

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1. Introduction

Current debate on urban politics often refers to the assumption that urban governance is more and more characterized by postpolitical arrangements (e.g. Swyngedouw, 2011). Although many cities like Santiago de Chile, the empirical case of this study (cf. Zunino, 2006), might fit into the postpolitical urban condition, the approach risks to be a deadlock in search of new democratic openings for cities.

Instead, a careful look at daily contentious routines beyond one single project is necessary, whereby conventional interpretations of empirical reality have to be questioned, too (cf. Pickerill and Chatterton, 2006; Purcell, 2013). But this is not enough; we also have to consider how a ruling social order is managing to prevent or minimize disruption (Rancière, 2004). In that context, it is necessary to point the view to different spatial dimensions to uncover how more egalitarian cities can be created (cf. Leitner et al., 2008; Nicholls et al., 2013). Instead of jumping to fast conclusions by putting a strong emphasize on take-over dynamics and strategies of harnessing, or delegitimizing certain types of citizens' organizations, this contribution tries to focus on the following question: Which emancipatory and (re-)politicizing capabilities can be uncovered in the frame of contentious planning practices? To answer this guiding question, the contribution further asks for the framework conditions governing the conflict under study and linked discursive spatial-political outcomes. For that, this paper refers to conceptualizations of radical democracy (particularly by Rancière and Laclau & Mouffe) and applies space-related concepts of contentious politics.

I will analyze the research question by means of a case study on ongoing conflict dynamics of neighborhood related struggles around urban restructuring and gentrification in Peñalolén, an originally low income community on the eastern outskirts of Santiago de Chile Metropolitan Area, known for its social movement culture dating back to 1960s land occupations. A few years ago, an envisaged municipal land use plan provoked extensive resistance as its approval would have implied profound land use modifications and increasing land prices. In 2011, a number of socially and culturally diverse social organizations managed to refuse the new plan by means of a referendum, following the example of an initiative in an upper income municipality (Vitacura). Since then, a new plan is under discussion and affordable housing construction continues to be a highly contested issue. Following this, the contribution also aims at underlining the importance of cities of the global south as a rich laboratory for identifying new ways of democratic openings, since there is not only in-depth research on processes of de-politicization available, but also realities of contentious planning projects from

where the global north could learn. Thereby, Santiago can serve as an interesting example because of its challenging framework conditions, characterized by extensive and strongly embedded depoliticized governance structures that are encountered by increasingly (re)mobilizing civil society organizations.

A frame analysis, i.e. a discourse-theoretical approach frequently used in social movement studies (Benford and Snow, 2000), served as central method for this study. Based on Foucault's discourse formations, frames can be understood as collectively shared interpretative patterns of how occurrences in the world are experienced and perceived. On the basis of approx. 20 interviews and participant observation (conducted from 2010-2012) as well as a media analysis (gathered from 2006-2013), the approach was applied to grasp discourse dynamics and spatial-political outcomes of contentious planning projects (e.g. regarding city visions and spatial-political action). Following Brand et al. (1997), in a first step, actor frames and framing strategies were captured. Within this process, actor groups make specific use of superior discourses and the following framing logics: scientification, legalization, moralization, and esthetification (cf. Brand et al., 1997). In the course of this, further framework conditions governing the conflicts under study, e.g. the socio-spatial positionalities of mobilized citizen groups were gathered, and special attention was paid to the role of different spatialities such as politics of scale, place, territory and networks within contentious politics. In a second step, key storylines, i.e. meta-narratives embedded in the common sense, were identified. In a third step, dominating frames or master frames were detected. These are placed by certain actor groups constituting discourse coalitions that support a hegemonic formation. They find expression in modified discourse practices such as governance arrangements.

The paper is structured as follows: Firstly, I will outline the contentious political approach of this contribution. On this basis, the political opportunity structures in Santiago as well as the framework conditions of the Peñalolén case study will be presented. After that, the paper presents the empirical results of the study, 1) the actors' social-spatial positionality and framing strategies, and 2) related discourse dynamics and spatial-political routines. The paper ends with a discussion of the results and concluding remarks on the concept of radical democracy.

2. Emancipatory potentials and the role of spatialities

2.1 Understanding and “measuring” radical democracy

The concepts of radical democracy start from the idea of the political, i.e. the acknowledgment of difference. That means, an effectively and fully democratically organized society bases fundamentally on an open-to-difference-involvement of citizens of all social classes as well as social movements and all sorts of organized activist groups. This (ideal) perspective is a contrast to the political reality of most modern societies which stand out due to a variety of depoliticized structures. Furthermore, many authors share the idea of democracy as a process (e.g. Laclau and Mouffe, 2001; Rancière, 2011). This assumes that completely realized democracy is a never achievable ideal; basically it is a utopia. By referring to different philosophers, Purcell (2013: 73f.) proposes to conceive democracy as persistent struggle that aims at reclaiming the power revoked by (state) institutions. Activists and scholars in this field consider this struggle for democratic participation to be essential for modern societies. It is comprehended as resistance against oligarchy and heteronomy, and a struggle for establishing autonomy.

On the basis of Laclau and Mouffe's (2001) hegemony and discourse theory, the normative understanding of radical democracy starts from the idea of non-essentialist forms of identification, i.e. we can understand political positions as moments of identification and discursive fixation instead of given classifications (1). Furthermore, it is characterized by acknowledging political and social equality (2) and antagonism (3) (see also Glasze and Mattissek, 2009). For the issues treated in this paper, this implies that state institutions should tolerate and actively shape conflicts. Following Mouffe's (2007) idea of an agonistic we/they relation (instead of a friend/enemy relationship), social groups should ideally deal with these contestations in a controlled political setting. Finally, Laclau (2002) points out to the entanglement of universal and particular claims (4). These aspects can be interpreted as elements of emancipation.

Rancière's understanding of radical democracy, and related to this, postdemocracy provides a helpful analytical framework to systematically reconstructing the dynamics and fixation of social orders against the background of (limited) political and democratic scopes. Rancière (1997) defines the political as a sphere by itself and his radical concept of democracy basically stretches between two poles: the police (*la police*) a ruling, ordering practice, and politics (*la politique*), a disruptive, conflictive practice. As controlling practice of the social order, the

police determines the partition or distribution of the sensible (“partage du sensible”) (Rancière, 2001, thesis 7).¹ Therewith, he refers to a comprehensive order that arranges bodies within space and entrusts specific functions and places to them. His conceptualization of the police is guided by Foucault’s concept of governmentality, and comprises the sum of all more or less abstract governmental technologies by means of knowledge, discourses, institutions, and practices (Rancière, 2004; see also Marchart, 2010, p. 180). These governing technologies aim at creating a consensual and everybody including order. However, the “police order” inevitably produces exclusion, since it is never able to consider all elements of society.

In this context, Rancière refers to technocracy as being one of the most powerful techniques today, postulating that problems can be solved by means of expert knowledge, thereby superseding political disputes and the involvement of civil society in decision-making processes. In a very different manner, the multi-layered concept of populism, which is just like technocracy deeply rooted in Latin America, can also be described as a consensus creating model (de la Torre, 2013). Among other things, the discursive reference to “the people” allows mystifying the image of a unified society as well as picking out the marginalized as part of it, therewith creating consensus and exclusion at the same time (Laclau, 2005). It is particularly interesting, that these contrasting spheres share an authoritarian attitude, in form of “the expert” or “the leader of the people” (Weyland, 2003). According to Swyngedouw’s (2009) concept of the postpolitical city, these and more elements materialize in the neoliberal city, the development of which is substantially driven by pro-growth and market-oriented, global economic restructuring and local elite networks. This has led to an erosion of democracy, e.g. by means of governance rescaling, including processes of upscaling, downscaling and outsourcing processes (Swyngedouw, 2004). Furthermore, the transformation of governing techniques from authoritarian to consensual technologies is discussed, e.g. for the case at hand: when communicative planning causes or aims only at apparently empowering citizenry (Purcell, 2009a) or when repression of social movements is increasingly exchanged by subtle control mechanisms (Zibechi, 2012).

As a way to demonstrate equality, politics (*la politique*) applies to those actions that question the outlined sensible shape (cf. Marchart 2010: 178); thus, following Rancière, it describes the insurgent practice of disrupting a ruling order. This disruption occurs when those ignored by an existing social order, i.e., the excluded or “*sans-part*” become active and start rearranging

¹ Rancière’s notion of police does not equate to the executive agency, we usually conceive as police. Instead, the latter (what he names “lower police”) forms part of the police dimension.

space (Rancière, 2004). According to Rancière, negotiation processes between politics and police are constantly shifting, and democracy, which he more or less equates with politics, is a temporary phenomenon that can never be permanently maintained, i.e., a moment of democracy always entails new stabilization. Different governing techniques create new consensus and politics results again into a police order. This implies that the conflict, between police and politics can be interpreted as a conclusive, wave-like interplay of depoliticizing and repoliticizing dynamics. Following this, his concept provides a general, even ahistorical analytical framework that serves to identify the social and political conditions governing urban development, and enable or prevent interrupting moments (see also Mullis and Schipper, 2013).²

2.2 Ways to emancipation

If we want to elaborate on emancipatory practices beyond insurgent moments in the form of a politicizing interplay of consensual and conflictive orders in cities (rather than proving the existence of a postdemocratic condition), we have to question how comprehensive democracy can be achieved. Thereby, counter-hegemony and autonomy constitute two often discussed ways. According to Laclau and Mouffe's (2001) idea of counter-hegemony, social movement should understand themselves as projects of multiplicity, bound together by loose networks. The authors emphasize two central conditions that are responsible for the creation of counter-hegemonic networks: first, the articulation of common ideas of social groups, and second, the production of equivalence between different groups. Consequently, social movements should see and develop themselves as counter-hegemonic articulations of differing but equivalent contestations – as chains of equivalence, since despite of differing backgrounds, interests and positions, these groups suffer from “equivalent” disadvantages because of present power relations. Related to that, Purcell (2009b) derives an ideal of so-called networks of equivalence, i.e., partly rhizomatic, partly centralized networks of mutually respecting movements, who keep their characteristic features and do not aim to merge their interests and values. Moreover, the counter-hegemonic approach fits as a theoretical basis for the applied frame analysis.

² Furthermore, he emphasizes that specific policing technologies make it increasingly difficult to place dissent and to achieve the described moments of democracy, since the formation of a legitimate outside is becoming more and more difficult; this is the condition, he and others refer to as postdemocracy.

However, Laclau and Mouffe provide only little indication on how the realization of radical democracy could look like in practice. Moreover, we barely learn how action within social movements is organized, as they rather focus on the relations between movements (cf. Purcell 2013: 93). Instead, the concept of autonomy can provide answers to that (cf. Lefebvre 2009; Castoriadis 1990a; Holloway 2010a) and it likewise helps to deliver a context-sensitive interpretation of interaction dynamics of social actors. The characterizing element of autonomy is a constant tension “between competing tendencies towards autonomy and non-autonomy (or heteronomy)”. This makes it, as Pickerill and Chatterton (2006, p. 737) conclude, “a desire rather than an existing state of being” (see also Purcell 2013). With the concept of autonomous planning, Souza (2006) transfers the principle of autonomy to planning and captures the contradiction between planning (that, as part of the “police”, can never be democratic if we follow Rancière’s concept of democracy) and autonomy. According to the motto “together with the state, despite the state, against the state”, he suggests social movements to strike a balance between cooperation with the state and autonomous strategies.

2.3 Role of spatialities for contentious politics

In order to catch everyday micro-political actions empirically, it is helpful to relate the outlined macro-theoretical aspects to the actors’ spatial references. The insights on different spatialities are increasingly transferred to analyzing contentious politics (cf. Leitner et al., 2008; Nicholls, 2009; Nicholls et al., 2013). Among other things, the relational perspective of space which is barely considered in radical democracy, allows to consider the “dialectic between contention and control” (Uitermark et al., 2012, p. 2552) in cities, i.e., local capacities for social movement repertoires on the one hand, and mechanisms of state control on the other. In the frame of analyzing contentious politics, spatialities are employed in terms of strategies, and at the same time, they are characterized by structuring properties. Furthermore, as impact dimension of urban conflicts, spatialities themselves underlie dynamics of negotiation and change constantly.

For this study different interpenetrating and overlapping spatial dimensions are reflected. First, social-spatial positionality (Leitner et al., 2008) refers to the relational and ever dynamic social situatedness of subjects which influences the role and consistency of power relations within social movement networks and the perception of activists in the public. For this study,

the conceptualization of social-spatial positionality considered the differentiated understanding of citizenship characteristic of many Latin American societies (Holston, 2008) and Bourdieu's (1983) forms of capital. Second, regarding politics of scale, place and networks, the structuring and strategic component of these dimensions is of particular interest for this study. Regarding politics of scale the conception of which basically assumes that scales are socially constructed (Brenner, 2004), I would like to point out to two interesting examples for this study: among other things, the establishment of new opportunities for activists by means of scale jumping (Smith, 1992) and the exertion of state control by tying social movements to certain scales. Places are relationally constituted processes and express power loaded relations (Massey, 1994). They do not equate with the local, i.e. „[p]laces are where social relations are bundled or 'condensed', regardless of the territorial extent of those relations“ (Nicholls/Miller/Beaumont 2013a: 4). This study follows the assumption of various authors who reject spatial binarities and emphasize (e.g. with respect to the solely local or territorial interests of autonomous organizations) that resistance strategies and effects of social movements do never refer only to the global or the local (Featherstone, 2005; Pickerill and Chatterton, 2006). Politics of place can include the use of symbolic places for actions such as framing strategies and the transformation and appropriation of contested places by activist but also by the state. Finally, politics of networks are the most important and broadly discussed social movement repertoire (Porta and Diani, 2006). According to the circumstances and characteristics of social movements, scholars argue for rhizomatic or even chaotic networks (Jessop et al., 2008; Zibechi, 2012) or even networks that are limited to the local scale (Escobar, 2001). In the frame of this study it is helpful how Nicholls (2009), departing from a relational and territorial understanding of place, points out to different functions of networks by interlinking them to Granovetter's (1973) strong and weak ties. While geographical places may support strong ties that are necessary for delicate actions requiring strong trust, multiple “contact points” (Amin and Thrift, 2002) foster weak ties, e.g. useful for the creation of common frames and information circulation. This differentiation illustrates the complementarity of tight and open network functions. Furthermore, Nicholls (2009) argues that places, where nodes of activists concentrate, are bound by a loosely constituted “social movement space” (Massey, 2005) implying new relational dynamics that stand out of those of individual places.

In reality, spatialities never exist in this analytical pureness, neither as structuring dimension nor as strategy in contentious politics. It is hard to generally state in how far certain spatialities

and combinations play a special role in the course of conflicts. Moreover, depending on the city, time and other factors, spatialities create different outcomes.

3. Urban Development in Santiago de Chile – Technocracy and Neoliberalization

Consolidated representative democracies barely exist in Latin American countries. The young democracies are significantly shaped by the heritage of authoritarian forms of governing. This includes military dictatorships the countries suffered, and differently marked populist regimes, characterized by clientelistic and anti-liberal structures. Santiago de Chile could be called a paramount example of a postpolitical city. In the frame of Pinochet's military dictatorship, a consensus-oriented model was established, forced by political and economic elite networks and a technocratic political guiding principle (Silva, 1996; Zunino, 2006). At that time, Chile also turned into a neoliberal laboratory with thorough processes of liberalization and privatization of urban development since the 1970s. Besides, Santiago is characterized by powerful construction and real-estate stakeholders, most often closely related to political actors and an oligopolistically organized media industry (Hözl and Nussl, 2014).

The weakening of civil society that dates back to Pinochet's military dictatorship is noticeable until today, particularly with respect to political techniques and an authoritarian understanding of leadership. This situation also needs to be seen in the frame of Chile's "absolute" modernization that went along with a neo-liberal restructuring of society, and pushed forward individualization and consumption orientation (Lechner, 2004). Thus, unsurprisingly, citizens' opportunities to have a (formal) say on urban politics and planning barely exist (Poduje, 2008). Moreover, in low income municipalities like Peñalolén, clientelistic and populist policies (particularly in the form of housing promises for votes) flank prevalent planning culture, demonstrating the persistency of quasi-feudal structures (Greaves, 2005). Furthermore, since the return to democracy (1990), the involvement of pobladores (settlers)³ into social programs (e.g. Chile Solidario) has contributed to a depolitization and fragmentation of political opinions among pobladores and tied them and their political engagement to the local level, thus making them lose sight of bigger goals, thereby benefitting from scale effects.

³ The pobladores (settlers) emerged in the course of immigration and housing shortage in the 1960s, consisting of an urban, migratory underclass that led social protests and occupied land. A number of emblematic settlements in Santiago date back to these mobilizations, e.g. Lo Hermida in Peñalolén (Tironi, 1987).

Opposed to many other Latin American cities, Santiago provides an extensive social housing market. However, the “resettlement policy” during the military dictatorship—Peñalolén was recipient of 48,000 pobladores (Hidalgo, 2007)—followed by privatized social housing construction according to market principles implied (and still implies) the formation of strong socio-spatial segregation patterns with lower income groups concentrated on the urban outskirts. The relocation policies under Pinochet to clean upper income neighborhoods from land occupations contributed greatly to destroy social networks of potentially powerful and well organized resistant forces (Guzmán et al., 2009). And after return to democracy, it was the social housing policy that continued to weaken social capital.

Regarding governance structures it has to be taken into account that the Metropolitan Area of Santiago consists of 37 independent, and, due to the strong centralism of the country, politically and economically weak communities. This finds expression in deficient horizontal coordination which is also related to a missing urban vision at a metropolitan level. This condition is likewise challenging for network creation among activists and supporting institutions provided at city government level.

For the stated reasons, twenty years after military dictatorship ended, formerly pronounced mobilization forces still did not regain its strength. Notwithstanding, for the last decade protests against urban development logics (e.g. commodification of housing, gentrification, destruction of urban heritage, urban mega-projects) are on the rise.⁴ And new tendencies of civil society (re-)mobilization including social movements of so-called pobladores and middle class organizations start offering new spaces of opportunities.

The community of Peñalolén characterizes a socio-economically and culturally heterogeneous population structure, which is unique to Chile’s capital. Originally a territory of haciendas, the once considered peripheral and poor community was home to mostly lower income groups until the 1980s. Today the housing forms of the 238,000 inhabitants reach from formalized land occupations (poblaciones) over social housing to gated communities for upper middle and upper income classes. In the course of suburbanization and the expansion of the subway system, the community at the foot of the Andes Cordillera has become increasingly attractive

4 In parallel, other mobilizations can be observed: the student movement that claims for a reform of the education system and the emergence of a protest network in reaction to the state reconstruction program after the 2010 earthquake in Chile in the course of which FENAPO (National Federation of Pobladores) was founded.

for real estate development.⁵ Remaining terrains for urbanization are estimated to 500 ha. Hence, affordable housing construction is scarce, and access to land structurally difficult (López-Morales, 2011). The proportion of overcrowding averages 14 per cent. According to my interviews, there live approx. 19,000 so-called *allegados* in Peñalolén, i.e. family members that after family formation continue living with their parents. In 1999, housing need led to Santiago's latest land occupation, when 1,900 families took an area of 16 hectares (Mathivet and Pulgar, 2010). When the preparations for the new municipal land use plan started, there were still 400 families living in the "toma de Nasur".⁶ But not only marginalized social groups are affected by urban restructuring in Peñalolén. The neighbors of the eco village Comunidad Ecológica struggle to retain the rural character of their spatial surroundings. The community is a low population density settlement of 1,100 inhabitants (200 hectares) in the south-eastern borough Peñalolén Alto near to the Andes that emerged from 1984 on.

4. The struggle around the new land use plan in Peñalolén, Santiago de Chile

4.1 The facts

In 2009 an investment-friendly study for a new municipal land use plan provoked resistance due to its extensive envisaged modifications with respect to land use and building density. According to the planning consultancy in charge the major challenge consisted in improving centrality and transport connectivity of the community disposing of enormous locational advantages. Thus, only to mention a few facts, prospected road construction would have led to expropriations; increased building density would have made land prices rise therewith reducing considerable land for social housing programs, and the annulment of an exceptional spatial planning regulation (plan seccional) would have destroyed the "green" style of life of the Comunidad Ecológica.

At least on the surface, Mayor Claudio Orrego (member of Democracia Cristiana Party, right wing of Concertación) followed a consensus-oriented approach. This means, the municipal administration convened assemblies in Peñalolén's neighborhoods to inform about the planning result, and it established a blog called „Participa o callate para siempre“ ("Participate or keep silent forever"); moreover, when citizens still responded to the plan with disapproval,

⁵ For instance, the vineyard Cousiño Macul plans to transform its 300 ha terrain into one of Chile's most expensive real-estate projects with 8,000 apartments (Ediciones Especiales 2010).

⁶ The land occupation was finally resolved in 2013, when the site was selected to hold parts of the South American Games, afterwards transforming it into a park.

the mayor agreed to cut some of the propositions. However, several claims remained unsolved, and one year later the municipal council voted for the plan with only one nay of the MPL council member. 800 people participated at this second hearing.

In order to pursue their claims, local social organizations and movements founded the Consejo de Movimientos Sociales de Peñalolén (Council of Social Movements of Peñalolén, CMSP). Independently, the Comunidad Ecológica achieved retarding the plan approval because of formal errors. The CMSP decided to organize a petition for a referendum along the lines of the Vitacura referendum, in order to vote on three key issues to ward off 1) the elimination of important green areas and potential lots for social housing construction along Santiago's belt highway, 2) the complete change of the Nasur territory into a park to preserve lots for social housing, and 3) a road extension because of related expropriations. After the necessary votes for the referendum were handed in, the municipal council sanctioned the plan which was accompanied by violent contentions, whereupon the mayor pressed charge against the MPL council member of physical injury against police officers. In December 2011 the referendum eventually took place. However, due to the vague instructions by the Chilean General Accounting Office, the mayor could avoid voting the three key issues he didn't agree upon. Instead he let vote on the entire plan. As a result, the regulatory plan was rejected.

In 2012, allegados committees and Comunidad Ecológica started a a round-table discussion, accompanied by the Housing Institute of Universidad de Chile (INVI), that led to the signing of an integration agreement on social housing construction on the grounds of the Comunidad Ecológica. And in 2013, the CMSP proposed a land bank consisting of 84 ha and 15 lots, applying a recently established housing norm by the FENAPO, and called the local council to change the PRC accordingly. More than three years after the referendum, however, the mayor has not pick up the proposals of CMSP and Comunidad Ecológicas roundtable yet.

4.2 Social-spatial positionality and framing of the key actors

As part of the frame analysis, I will now present the key actors of the conflict and exemplarily outline the used frames (cf. table 1 for all reconstructed actor frames and discourse dynamics).

4.2.1 Council of Social Movements of Peñalolén, CMSP

Until today, a history of oppression and struggles around access to land has shaped not only housing development, but also the collective memory of pobladores descendants in Peñalolén.

The land occupations of the 1950s and 1960s created places that demonstrate the successes of autonomous struggles and against military oppression (see also Featherstone, 2005). Those places preserve a “symbolic siege” (Regalsky, 2008) facilitating the return of insurgent practices (cf. Zibechi, 2012). This constitutes an important feature of the pobladores’ socio-spatial positionality and has helped to remobilize resistance against gentrification, although depolitization and fragmentation among pobladores constitute a big challenge. At the same time, the pobladores’ perception in the public is affected stigmatized social housing and former land occupations. Thus, unsurprisingly, it turned out difficult to create a public arena for their claims. Many inhabitants feel treated as second class citizens in Chilean society. Due to low income structures encountering high land prices (cf. Holston, 2008), they are permanently excluded from the free housing market.

For many social organizations that joined the CMSP, the conflict served as a means to an end beyond urban planning. The CMSP was capable to unify soccer clubs, churches, youth clubs, allegados committees, grass roots organizations as well as students and scholars, and above all the Movimiento de Pobladores en Lucha (Movement of Settlers in Struggle, MPL). When the informal network decided to organize referendum, missing financial means could be compensated by expert knowledge and strong social capital. MPL (founded in 2006) fights against gentrification and for social change. Opposed to other allegados committees, the group, linking approx. 2,000 persons, tries to adopt a new course, i.e. it rejects local clientelistic structures and fights against oppression by strongly relying on the principle of autogestion (Mathivet and Pulgar, 2010). The repertoire includes forms of squatting and self-construction, popular education and planning as well as political presence by means of the Igualdad Party. Furthermore, it’s a member of national and international housing networks.⁷

All in all, the frames of the CMSP referred to the envisaged modifications of the plan and drew on discourses around neoliberalization and segregation in Santiago.⁸ For instance, the impairment of local life quality was embedded into current gentrification processes and concomitant growing risks of displacement (frame b; cf. table 1). Consequently, among other

⁷ This quote of an MPL activist illustrates its autonomous and uncompromising character: “This is not for those who “like” it, but for those who believe in it. There are many scholars, professors, intellectuals, who really approve social movements. But when you move from “you like it” to “you believe in it”, that’s a completely different situation. (...) then there is no rationality that could question this feeling.”

⁸ With the exception of leftist newspapers, the media barely covered the planning conflict in Peñalolén (cf. Hölzl 2015). Thus, besides media analysis, the reconstruction of frames (cf. table 1) is primarily based on public documents, e.g. related to the campaign of the referendum, participant observation in assemblies of social movements, the municipal council, documentations on YouTube or Facebook as well as problem-centered interviews with activists and government stakeholders.

things, the CMSP mobilized against the imminent destruction of places created and lived by the pobladores. An interviewed MPL speaker emphasized accordingly (SP3 59): “these are the same conflict places that we appropriated in the course of this urban revolution of the 1970s [...] They want to narrow down those barrios that pobladores built in this period.” Contested terrains (soccer fields etc.) were not only regarded as neglected green areas, but these recreational areas testify rebellion and the successful construction of counter-hegemonic places (cf. Regalsky, 2008). Besides, it is striking how strong the framing of the pobladores related to notions of critical urban research. Discussions were broadly led under the heading of gentrification, although at the point in time when the conflict emerged, there had barely been research on the topic in Chile. This did not only enable to establish links to social movements in other neighborhoods of Santiago, but also to produce social movement networks at the national and international level, and to place the conflict in research (cf. Sugranyes and Mathivet, 2010), resulting in a scientification of the framing. The concern thus widely exceeded a municipal regulatory plan.

Another frame describes the persistent antagonistic attitude and claim for real democratic empowerment (frame e, cf. table 1). With this, they denied the official participatory processes as role-with-it-element of neo-liberal urban politics (Keil, 2009) as this quote illustrates: “The PRC was not changed by participation, but by mobilization.” (SP2 190, MPL speaker) Moreover, the slogan of the referendum campaign “with memory, rebellion and citizenship. Let’s create the new población with joy!” exemplifies strikingly the aim to revive the pobladores culture (visualized by a militant female pobladora), and at once to break with long-known attributions. As a result, the group pursued the image of emancipated pobladores who do not suffer from oppression anymore and who have the same civil rights as all other Chilean citizens. With notions like “citizenship” on the one side, and “población” on the other, they captured two storylines that, due to being assigned to different classes, are usually not articulated in this simultaneity. This demonstrates both, the attempt for an inward and outward emancipation.

4.2.2 Comunidad Ecológica

Almost since its foundation, 30 years ago, the Comunidad Ecológica has struggled to maintain a planning regulation that guarantees a low population density. In the frame of the planning conflict discussed at hand, it is striking that public attention was reduced to the Comunidad Ecológica. Opposed to the pobladores, the inhabitants provide over high economic and cultural capital including access to the media, thus they might be considered first class citizens.

These characteristics likewise imply that in the conflict they were easily capable to appropriate necessary expert knowledge, to finance lawyers etc. and to establish networks with similarly oriented citizen organizations. However, the Comunidad also characterizes a highly divided perception in public as their lifestyle is considered hedonistic and selfish as they disapprove of the poor living next to them. This makes it easy for the local government to delegitimize their interests as NIMBY position. For that reason, in the frame of this conflict, they strongly followed the advices of other middle class initiatives and established a strategic “universalization” of their interests and chose, for instance, frames and networks accordingly. Thus, the group also aimed at network creation per se in order to present itself as a citizens’ organization respected in Santiago and “in the whole world”, as the Community’s president stated in a newspaper interview. For that reason the organization established loose contacts to other eco villages worldwide.

Its general framing strategy concentrated on an esthetic and technical logics of environmental issues. The inhabitants were completely aware of the compatibility of environmental argumentative patterns (see also Carman, 2011). Thus, an interviewed speaker stated: “You can break many barriers with environmental factors causes. You’ll find support everywhere.” The most important frame serving to legitimize a territorial, particular interest emphasized the (universal) relevance of the territory for Santiago’s urban ecological equilibrium (frame a, cf. table 1). In this place-making (Martin, 2003) they referred to characteristic storylines like air pollution and flooding.

4.2.3 Local government

Regarding the local government’s framing, it is striking that in contrast to similar planning conflicts in Santiago, from the beginning the mayor staged an innovative participatory process for the land use plan that moved far beyond legal requirements. Among other things, it can be assumed that this consensus-oriented framing strategy served to prevent an open conflict that might have been expected in the light of people’s social needs and available organizational resources of mobilization.

In the frame of the new plan, already in 2006, the mayor announced to transform the Nasur brownfield into a generous park of 23.5 hectares. He praised this project, i.e., the eradication of the land occupation, as “the dream of the pobladores”, a place where “the rich and the poor” would meet (El Mercurio, 2006). This and a variety of other envisaged measures were

framed as being in the interest of the *common good* (frame c, cf. table 1). Following Rancièrè (2004), this populist strategy can be regarded as intent to delegitimize the squatters and to create a consensus for the proposal by referring to the community as a whole.

In the background of this planning process under the sign of democracy (frame b, cf. table 1), however, informal negotiation processes, e.g. with allegados committees or the Comunidad Ecológica, took place. Thereby, four strategies in dealing with marginalized groups could be identified. 1) being comprehensive and articulating empty promises; 2) clientelistic practices in form of housing promises; correspondingly, the support of these “Orregistas” was reflected in the referendum; 3) decent adaptations of the planning study and 4) cooptation of sport clubs that consequently withdraw from the CMSP (cf. Hölzl 2015).

Table 1: Urban planning conflict in Peñalolén – discourse dynamics and practices

	CMSP / MPL	Comunidad Ecológica	Local government	Planning community
Conflict cause	The plan leads to expropriations and reduces already scarce green areas. (a)	No densification. The forest is our green lung and protects Santiago from flooding; tectonic fault poses a risk. (a)	We want to exhaust the potentials of our attractive community. (a)	We have to improve road connection of Peñalolén. (a)
	The new plan intensifies gentrification in Peñalolén. (b)	Protect cultural identity and environmental heritage. (b)		Zoning affords modification in order to make use of development potential. (b)
Conflict treatment	Planners solely act in the interests of the real-estate market. (c)	Loss of trust in local government that only acts in the interests of the real-estate market. (c)	We conduct an exemplary, innovative participation process according to the principles of democracy. (b)	There is no reason for this conflict. Participation proceeded exemplarily. (c)
	This is not about social housing in the community. (d)	Local government won't construct social housing. (d)	Local planning pursues the common good of the community and the city. (c)	
	Right to housing in Peñalolén und real participation. (e)	Citizens are not empowered to shape the city (→military dictatorship). (e)	Some organizations circulate terror campaigns. (d)	
Post-Referendum	We do speak up for social housing construction. (f)	We are ready to compromise. (f)		
Master frames	A right to the city (together with social movements and citizens' initiatives)		Participation in the interests of the common good	
Discourse practices	Networking of pobladores	Networking of citizens' initiatives	More information & transparency	
	Loose networks across classes		New rhetoric; informal practices and judicialization	
	Localization of new housing politics (by means of scale jumping)		Correction of institutional framework conditions	

4.3 Spatial-political outcome

As second step of the frame analysis, two master frames and linked discourse practices which emerged in the course of the planning conflict could be identified (cf. table 1).

4.3.1 Master frame “Participation in the interests of the common good”

From the beginning, the contestations showed a rhetorical opening and appropriation of democracy related frames, which can be summarized as a plea for “citizen participation in the sense of the common good” cultivated since Claudio Orrego became mayor. Accordingly, right after the referendum, also to whitewash the doubtful procedure, the mayor stated in his column: “It fills me with proud that I was part of this celebration of democracy” (Orrego, 2011). The master frame was taken up by a discursive coalition of actors who traditionally decide over planning in Chile: the technocratic planning community and (local) political decision makers. Based on the ideal of communicative planning, this suggests that consensus and inclusion is possible and intended (cf. Hillier, 2003; Purcell, 2009a). The referendum procedure showed that radical-democratic decision-making that acknowledges different interests and thus conflict is not respected. The referendum by itself proves democratic will, and the related framing becomes occupied according to what Laclau and Mouffe (2012) call the struggle to occupy empty signifiers. The pobladores are not considered equal citizens with legitimate claims regarding local planning processes. Instead, societal differences are “sutured” as Purcell (2009a, p. 152) puts it reflecting on communicative planning, and political decision makers and planners at stake adopt a new rhetoric to reproduce the existing order and to implement an already defined goal. Ultimately, it is intended to stabilize structures of power and hegemony and repressive-authoritarian consensus-oriented political practices are increasingly combined by applying politics of scale and place.

a) More provision of information and transparency

Findings regarding discourse practices illustrate that more information and transparency, and even short-term adaptations were provided (cf. table 1). This adapted commitment, which is new particularly in poor municipalities can be viewed as a reaction of the local state to the growing mistrust of an authoritarian and technocratic planning paradigm (cf. Keil, 2009), still prevalent in Chile (cf. Keil, 2009; Tironi, 2012). However, this is not the result of a fundamental engagement with the local community or realization of technocrats that structural reforms are

necessary. Instead of questioning embedded urban development logics, the participation “portfolio” which corresponds to a modern, competitive municipality, served to create acceptance and to maintain these logics. Besides, it can be ascribed to the mayor’s political profiling since he tried to run for president in 2013.

b) Persistence of informal practices and judicialization

Furthermore, the analysis shows that well known informal practices, including clientelistic patterns of action were maintained. Among other things, this is possible as the powerful elite-networks allow for bypassing legal planning requirements. Consequently, the referendum was trickily implemented without risking the mayor’s personal flagship, “Penalolén’s future Central Park”. Moreover, judicialization was used to stop activists’ political influence, a common form of repression to weaken social movements. For instance, the mayor’s charge against the MPL council member rendered it impossible that the person could ever apply for a political mandate again.

In addition, the study detected that involved government actors counter-intuitively referred to moralizing framing logics in particular (in terms of “but we need these homes”) and to populist divide and conquer action and framing strategies while the organizations belonging to the CMSP as well as the Comunidad Ecológica made judicial and scientific references. Urban policy and planning actors (including the mayor’s successor) made strategically use of blaming elements such as NIMBY accusations, particularly by scapegoat Comunidad Ecológica and MPL for the failed plan and thus non-construction of housing to drive wedges between social groups (Katznelson, 1981). Moreover, green areas were instrumentalized as unquestionable common good, a globally observable technique (Carman, 2011).⁹

c) Adaptation of institutional framework conditions

Within a short time, two successful referenda with respect to local planning took place in Santiago (Vitacura 2009; Penalolén 2011). Thus, we might assume a certain institutionalization

⁹ Correspondingly, a current struggle around a well located lot in the neighborhood of Sauzal with capacities for more than 1,000 homes purchased by the SERVIU according to the land bank principle, demonstrates the continuing tendencies of the described discursive practices. First, under the heading of social integration, the Housing Ministry tried to push through a comparatively small proportion of social housing. As a result of new protest by organizations belonging to the CMSP, the proportion was increased, however, this modification was accompanied by a selective distribution of the homes among different social housing committees, i.e. rejecting many coopted MPL and MST families, and the local government appropriated their hard-earned social achievements (Meza Corvalán, 2015).

of direct democracy instruments in Chile, even more, as its organization has been facilitated since the eventual passage of the participation bill in 2011 (Hözl, 2015). However, in 2012 another law was passed reversing this facilitation, and thus the opportunity that low-income citizens might organize and win a referendum, too. The supposition can be made whether this decision is connected to the Peñalolén referendum, however, these decisions illustrate the limited willingness of (local) political decision makers to share power, and – as various interviewees stated – the missing experience and insecurity regarding open negotiations.

4.3.2 Master frame “A right to the city”

In the course of the planning conflict a similarly directed, but completely different master frame gained importance, allowing for new impacts on local political and planning practices: the claim of social movements and other groups from civil society for a true right to participation and a right to the city according to Lefebvre. People resisted the apparently innovative participation tools offered by the municipality, and fight off the intent to renew the fixation of neo-liberal hegemony. The persistence of both master frames until today reveals that beyond a certain moment an agonistic conflict space was created allowing for a continuing politicization and pressure to change, which is necessary according to a radical understanding of planning. The idea of an agonistic conflict space does not refer to a formally existing space, but a space that cannot be ignored because of differences of interests that have to be respected, and where contention can be realized.

a) Multifunctional networks across scales and classes

Traditionally, there is a strong divide between social movements of lower and middle classes in Chile. In the frame of the planning conflict social movements, particularly the MPL, but also the Comunidad Ecológica built up complex local, national and international networks as well as approaches across classes at the local and metropolitan level (cf. table 1). Pobladore movements were able to benefit from both, trust intense local networks and loose relations at regional, national and partly international scale. This combination of network functions at different scales that Nicholls (2009) emphasizes on the basis of Granovetter’s strong and weak ties, proved particularly beneficial for the local movements’ interests. At the local level this allowed to use spaces of trust for the development of strategies. Furthermore, weak ties enabled to pick up coincidental stimulations and inspirations, and to make use of mutual

support for further topics and a critical mass for mobilizations. Moreover, the planning conflict helped to amplify the existing social movement space (cf. Massey, 2005; Nicholls, 2009).

The networks of Comunidad Ecológica basically served similar intentions. Opposed to the pobladores, however, they mobilized these metropolitan and international networks explicitly because of the struggle around the envisaged new land use plan. In particular, it can be pointed out to citywide networks with other citizens' and environmental organizations for the purpose of mutually consulting each other. Notwithstanding, in this vein, the Comunidad plays an active part in urban development issues today not only referring to Peñalolén or territorial interests; e.g. the right to participation or urban sprawl and related environmental risks.

It is striking that this conflict provoked exchange and mutual support of social organizations from very different social backgrounds and thus equivalent networks. Among other things, this included professional advices with respect to organizing a referendum and in dealing with the General Accounting Office offered by Salvemos Vitacura, an influential citizens' organization that organized successfully the first referendum in Chile since the "No" to the military regime in 1989. The combination of non-coordinated, but converging protest repertoires of the CMSP and the Comunidad Ecológica turned out very efficient: The extensive mobilization potential of growing MPL (e.g. 2,000 people showed up at the second public hearing at the local council) *and* Comunidad Ecológica's legal delay strategies. The successful referendum can especially be ascribed to the broad range of social and cultural characteristics of the networks around the pobladores und the Comunidad Ecológica. Albeit they did not (want to) coordinate with each other, and the middle class organization only agreed to cooperate with the "underclass" when its existence was at stake, they therewith followed a common counter-hegemonic interest (cf. Purcell, 2009b). At least temporarily, we can call this a struggle across classes and organization boundaries, a novelty in Santiago and Chile. An interview with city-wide active *Defendamos la Ciudad* (We defend the City) likewise revealed that the bourgeois fraction had ignored the pobladores as urban actor thus far which can be ascribed to a class related perception.

Besides, the Comunidad Ecológica did not only realize the advantages of networking and elaborating measures, but since the referendum they also established a direct dialogue with allegados organizations. This round-table aims at identifying solutions to construct social housing on the terrain by respecting ecological standards and avoiding broad real-estate development. In gentrifying inner-city neighborhoods of Santiago, there is evidence that similar actor constellations start an exchange beyond particular interests, too.

b) Establishing principles of autonomous planning

Furthermore, it is striking that, from the beginning, the citizens' organizations demonstrated a proactive and creative attitude which is also due to their political and social objective far exceeding a conflictive land use plan (from a popular vision of urban development to and SEPPLAT's (MPL's new Popular Secretary for Territorial Planning) intent to implement a land bank on-site for social housing construction (although it did not succeed yet). This implied that, instead of relying on promises of the municipality, housing committees became active: They identify lots, negotiate buying prices, and the Metropolitan Service for Housing and Urbanism (SERVIU) is finally responsible to make the purchase by means of a "localization subsidy" (Castillo Couve, 2010). In theory, this tool allows the Ministry of Housing and Urbanism to subvert the local land use plan by buying the lot, repealing the corresponding land code and replacing it by the standard necessary for social housing. Thus, by means of scale jumping (Smith 1992), the movements try to force the central state to retake responsibility. They therewith expect to establish a counterweight to the traditional technocratic and partly clientelistic planning system maintained by local mayors.

All in all, the findings allow interpreting this planning conflict as laboratory for MPL and other social movements to strengthen the new multi-scalar range of movement capacities likewise increasing their visibility. At the same time, the analysis reveals the interrelatedness of urban processes, and thus the necessity of a relational consideration of local conflicts of that kind (see also Ward, 2010).

5. Discussion: Emancipatory dynamics and urban (re-)politization

Three factors could be identified that provoked a stimulus for acting in the discussed conflict: firstly, a personal concern, which was, secondly, embedded into an existing matter of urban politics, and thirdly, specific conditions were required for becoming active. The immediately impending negative impact of a new land use plan provoked protest and creative resistance of civil society organizations. These reactions were confirmed and strengthened by increasingly discussed gentrification processes symbolizing the historically rooted oppression of pobladores. A new generation of pobladores that is characterized by a culture of resistance rooted in the collective memory refused to take this any longer.

Thus, a network of social movements managed to create differentiated alliances beyond individual interests and urged an aperture of thus far generally accepted master frames. If we

conceive democracy as way and perpetual struggle around the idea and practice of democratic participation and/or as hegemonic project assumed by different authors (cf. Laclau and Mouffe, 2001; Lefebvre, 2009; Purcell, 2013; Rancière, 2004), we can conclude that the conflict under study was characterized by such “real” moments of democracy. And beyond this moment, emancipatory dynamics were launched (cf. Rancière, 2011). Many cases of urban development conflicts likewise allow identifying such an antagonistic moment, but an essential difference consists in how far social movements are able or willing to maintain counter-hegemonic practices after a conflict event. The analysis reveals that the availability of an agonistic conflict space, i.e., a in a sort regulated conflict situation, is eventually linked to a certain socio-spatial positionality of social movement actors; a finding that enables to approach and grasp Mouffe’s (2007) idea of agonism empirically. This determines whether a conflict “opponent” is accepted, and might constitute a condition (though no guarantee) that antagonistic situations can be avoided.

The analysis revealed a professionalization and thus emancipation of social movements on four levels: First of all, active pobladores became aware of what democracy actually means. Many activists that joined the CMSP, question for the first time the deeply rooted common sense of the “apolitical” in Chile (Greaves, 2012) and took up a political position. In general, cooptation (e.g. housing promises) is not so effective anymore, or at least, the pobladores start to reinterpret such concessions, i.e. “gifts for the poor” transform into “negotiation outcomes” of equal partners. This clearly affected their positionality.

Secondly, a long-term transformation of MPL and other activists into experts to be capable of constituting a serious interest group in the conflict can be stated. The citizens’ practices demonstrate that “nontechnical claims” could only be placed when activists had given proof of professional expertise. Hence, it was necessary to surmount the “barrier of technocracy” (see also Tironi 2013). Thereby, the CMSP benefited from a wider network of students and scholars supporting knowledge creation. Beyond that, the analysis shows how the pobladores’ positionality changed. The success at the referendum and MPL’s serious performance in an institutionalized process played a major role for the movement’s increased acceptance among civil society organizations. This strengthened place-related identity and nurtured their acting with a new self-understanding. However, in the course of the referendum process, the power driven, discriminatory treatment on the part of the General Accounting Office revealed the deeply rooted acceptance of social inequalities in Chilean society.

Thirdly, another important finding was that a horizontal and vertical social movement space emerged and consolidated beyond the discussed conflict situations. Frequently, a few partly institutionalized activists (associations, grass roots organizations etc.) that share a common location were able to establish a narrow and solidary bond of trust (Agnew, 2011) which can be considered indispensable for developing partly delicate strategies (Nicholls, 2009). Beyond Peñalolén, at the metropolitan, national and international scale and other places the CMSP set is surrounded by sympathizers (especially academics), other social movements and organizations working in the frame of a right to the city or on combinable topics. Regarding the scientific support, it is striking that within the three year survey period, academics rotated with temporary contributions thereby (un)intendedly corresponding to Zibechi's (2012) warning against a watering down of movements' interests and autonomy.

One of the most interesting findings is that in parts common interests were pursued across classes; this was only uncovered in form of temporary purposive coalitions or pragmatic information exchange what, however, does not reduce its importance. The result reveals the potential of such a temporary counter-hegemonic network whereby the individual nodes maintain their specific interests (cf. Laclau and Mouffe, 2001; Purcell, 2009b). This does not refer to an institutionalized network, but rather a common point of intersection in a multifunctional social movement space (Massey, 2005; Nicholls, 2009). Accordingly, on the long run, the sustainable creation of knowledge and solidarity in the course of networks of equivalence across classes, characterized by minimal and maximal approximation of social groups, could constitute a means to encounter divide & conquer logics in urban development conflicts (cf. Chatterton et al., 2013).

Fourth, on this basis, the groups learnt to help themselves; they consult other movements and NGOs that made similar experiences, and instead of only reacting MPL, or its newly founded planning secretary, started to develop popular housing policies beyond the immediate planning conflict. According to the idea of scale jumping, these strategies are increasingly addressed to superior scales confirming an often applied spatial element by social movements (cf. Smith 1992). Linked to that, the study revealed the important role non-intended spatial-political outcomes play. The mentioned citizen initiative Salvemos Vitacura serves here as an illustrative example. Due to its particular and territorial interests, the organization did not make further use of its capacities, but it managed to cut the local government to size, and thus, to draw public attention to the role of local democracy beyond planning. Moreover, as this study shows, its proceeding and success provided strategic impulses to social movements

like MPL, illustrating the argument of (globally) travelling contentious policies. It is not sure if the CMSP would otherwise have come up with the idea to organize a referendum. Thus, often non-intended but scale and place effective spatial-political outcome could be identified.

6. Transferring Radical Democracy to Urban Development reconsidered

In the frame of radical democracy conceptions, the outlined transformed sociospatial positionality can be understood as a form of emancipation. However, from a radical democratic perspective, this emancipation which contains extensive knowledge generation brings up the question, how to classify the meltdown of boundaries between citizens and (criticized) technocrats. If we follow Rancière (2004), continuing activist performance is then not able anymore to evoke moments of democracy as the dispositif of non-belonging tends to be given less and less. Accordingly, radical democracy's premise of difference and its application to planning appears to be too static and dichotomous, and additionally, it carries the risk to fix differences between social groups by assuming ontological different identities. As Tironi (2013) states, laypersons are never only laypersons, but they embrace technical arguments and scientific knowledge, leading to an expertization of civil society. The "sansparts" are thus subject to dynamics and act technocratically as well as politically. "Technocratization" can indeed compromise open-to-conflict entanglements. However, the empirical results of this study reveal that radical democracy should put a stronger focus on facing the complexity of the political in empirical reality as well as to contextualize views, e.g. regarding the political of law, the political of technocracy and specific hegemonic orders.

Moreover, the relationality of subjects and the relationality of space need to be conceived of to a greater extent. Having the concept of social movement spaces and the idea of relations of equivalence in mind, it is not only useful that poststructuralist concepts consider space, but spatiality-related elements of contentious politics could allow for further differentiations regarding materiality and functions of networks. When social movements are embedded into multifunctional networks, we cannot only expect specific dynamics, but it also seems to be more likely that relations of equivalence provide for differentiated and likewise equivalent interactions (cf. Hölzl, 2015).

Against this background, strongly formalized definitions of the political need to be questioned and positions challenged that reject certain civil society activities out of hand because of an

assumed “placebo-politicalness” (Swyngedouw, 2009).¹⁰ The same is true for the assumption that certain protest forms solely stabilize a postpolitical order as they move in the frame of (or are even produced by) existing orders, but are loaded with political meaning (Swyngedouw, 2011; Žižek, 2010). E.g., Swyngedouw leaps to the conclusion to understand the micropolitics of local struggles as “colonization of the political by the social” (2011: 17). With respect to this, one might point out to ethnographic studies commenting that the postdemocratic debate often clings to theoretical interpretations. Frequently, a differentiated consideration of commonly contradictory facets of resistances found in empirical reality is ignored (Chatterton et al., 2013; Featherstone and Korf, 2012) and consensus politics breaking capacities underestimated (Paddison, 2009). Although we might refer to the micropolitics of territorial middle class activists (e.g. Comunidad Ecológica or Salvemos Vitacura) as „placebo politicalness“, this study reveals that a schematic classification of politically “relevant“ and “irrelevant“ performances of social movements is not possible; even more as we do not come across the hegemonic order of western societies everywhere. When we consider the deeply rooted neoliberal depoliticization in Chile, for instance, it is not marginal to realize the existing police order and to bundle resources to rebel against it. This argument is closely linked to the empirical observation that the outcome of local struggles is not reducible to the local scale (Featherstone, 2005). I would argue that this statement can also be true for citizens’ organizations with quite particular interests, though it might often be about non-intended spatial-political outcomes. Thus, the study suggests urgently analyzing all protest form as systematically as possible.

Democratic openings of urban planning can be strengthened and the outlined socio-political deficits overcome, if social movements are able to keep up proactive forms of resistance; at least in this case, state institutions do not apply as reformist actors. For this purpose, organizations should be aware of and cope with hijacking and harnessing of frames and political achievements by government levels. And it is likewise crucial to accept that processes of taking over or exclusion by the (technocratic) system are unavoidably taking place in the frame of reestablishing what Rancière calls the social order (see also Mayer and Künkel, 2012); (e.g. since insurgent groups are not able to rebel sufficiently, at least for the moment, or they realized their claims and/or fit into the existing logics as experts, lobbyists, institutionalized social movements etc.). Only then resistant dynamics and difference can be maintained permanently by constantly calling into question and breaking with applied political practices

¹⁰ Term discussed by Marchart (2010, p. 43).

and frames (though successful). This aspect goes along with accepting openness, not only as we are not able to give answers (cf. Holloway, 2010). Moreover, the case study illustrates that particularly for deprived groups the recommendation seem suitable to apply elements of autonomy as well as to place claims as equally entitled citizens when interacting with state institutions to alleviate class related understandings of citizenship. From a state perspective, this would imply to tolerate certain level of autonomy and to approve difference or particular interests, as well as to provide the corresponding institutional framework conditions (e.g. cost absorption of referenda to allow for direct democracy) and empowering or intermediary public, judicial or non-governmental institution. Finally, better positioned organizations should consider it their duty not to push through their concern at the expense of weaker social groups, but to act supporting (see also Mayer, 2013).

7. References

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