Entangled governance: Social actors' contribution in the process of urban regeneration in Valparaiso, Chile

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For the last 20 years, the port-city of Valparaíso, Chile, has undergone several strategic plans to overcome an extended period of economic deprivation expressed in high rates of unemployment, poverty and deterioration of the urban fabric. Those strategies, aspiring for the so-called 'urban renaissance' through changing the city's economic base towards tourism and heritage, have not succeeded as expected, and instead of revitalize its economy, have been rather an expression of spatial differentiation. Interventions have been focalized on few profitable areas, while ignoring the rest of the city which remains in deterioration. This paper proposes to assess the socio-political processes underpinning those strategies of urban regeneration in Valparaíso from a multiscalar perspective, with specific focus on the role of social movements and their strategies to contest institutional initiatives. Through time, citizens' movements have emerged in response to some of those plans and projects in defence of their city. Their actions and mobilizations, alongside tense institutional relations across spatial scales, configure a rather tangled and complex construction of urban governance.

Drawing on urban regimes as theoretical approach through the lens of scale, the project attempts to explain how urban governance is socially produced through several scales beyond the local, and how social movements' claims take place, contesting decision-making. According to Harvey (1989), urban politics cannot be dissociated from the broader aspects of capital accumulation processes, which imply to go beyond the locality to understand spatial outcomes within cities. Here, urban regimes become a useful approach to understand how governing processes are built, linking power and decision-making with urban development (Harding, 1996), but through a 'scale sensitive' perspective (McGuirk, 2003) avoiding to fall into the localist trap. This perspective will allow to assess how different forces operate "in and through spatial scales beyond the urban" (Macleod and Goodwin, 1999, p 508) and specifically how social movements *jump scales* (Smith, 1993) in order to pursue their agendas, exercising power around policy-making without losing sight on actions produced at broader scales.

Based on interviews to key stakeholders, documentation and media data obtained during the fieldwork in Valparaiso, actors' discourses and positions are presented to show the trajectories of urban agendas based on central government strategy-making and how social organizations are mobilizing to counter them. The evidence shows very heterogeneous community groups with different agendas and levels of effective contestation.

In the past, Valparaíso was one of the main ports of the south pacific, inheriting a strong cultural identity based on its port activity, its hilly topography and the legacy received from successive migratory waves of European traders that settled in the city. This historic, social and spatial configuration granted in 2003, the city nomination as World Heritage Site by UNESCO. The nomination was on the one hand, manifestation of the willingness of local organizations who wanted to highlight and protect urban features of the city. On the other hand, it was the expression of an institutional attempt to support the production of a new economic base underpinned by heritage and tourism, disregarding somehow its port activity, which according to many is the actual reason why Valparaiso is World Heritage Site. The relation between the port and tourism/heritage has been the source of current conflicts between the state and social organization, and among social organizations as well.

The findings suggest that despite the highly centralised Chilean political and administrative system, expressed in top-down strategies to regenerate the city, actors and institutions located in other scales remain highly influential. The city development strategies have produced, either through the coastline or the tourism/heritage areas, different trajectories in terms of institutional and political supports, agents' alliances and social contestation configurations. Here, intertwined and conflicted socio-political relations take place through time and scales of decision-making, far from straightforward strategies as conceived institutionally.

Among social organizations, it is possible to find lack of consensus regarding their role played. Valparaíso has various and heterogeneous organizations, which are not necessarily mobilized by the same objectives. In the case of the coastline masterplan, members of the movement against the waterfront development associated to a shopping centre, support the extension of the port, in tension with the UNESCO site. These configurations of social organizations, closely associated to an emerging elite, working as a network, have been able to install this conflict at the centre of the urban debate in Valparaiso. These movements with capacity to reach supranational scales differ from traditional place-based organizations, more focused on their territorial problems in the hills, with less contacts and capacity to move to other scales. Moreover, other emerging place-based organizations as cooperatives have been able to work in networks but changing the focus of the debate towards the hills, where actually people live, and where poverty and risk of further gentrification take place.

Although Valparaíso shows entangled counter-positions among social and institutional actors and little consensus, temporal common agreements and potential alliances emerge to pursue specific agendas. The features of these informal coalitions reflects in turn its asymmetrical and multiscalar nature of Valparaíso's urban governance.

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