ANALYSIS OF CHILEAN METROPOLITAN AREAS, THE CASE OF SANTIAGO, AND CONCEPCION. LOCATION PATTERNS AS BUILDING LICENCES 2002-2010

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Abstract

The study seeks to describe the growth of Chile's main cities, especially in the cycle 2002 to 2010. This series presented a growth economy averaged around 7%, with the consequent growth in the residential construction sector. In that sense, there is an increase in housing prices that impact on real estate products offered. This period was characterized by neoliberal policies, in a low-density city center rings in their peri central an impact on the urban fabric of the city.

Communes as Ñuñoa; Providencia and Recoleta, in the metropolitan area of Santiago, Viña del Mar and Con Con, in the metropolitan area of Valparaiso, Chiguallante and San Pedro de la Paz in the great conception, are obvious example of this process as it grew up, estate submitted higher-priced products of past and pointing to families in training, with prices can only pay the highest decile of income each metropolitan reality.

To conclude, it requires new public policies that analyze the problem pericenter ring and also agree on the elements themselves beyond the city economic growth.

Introduction

The rapid expansion of Latin American cities and therefore the subsequent growth of urban areas has led metropolization processes that began in past periods. This expansion is explained by economic dependence throughout the history of national economies on other economies, through a series of stages that come from its inception linked to its functioning as enclaves of other metropolises (Geisse, Corragio, 1970) and for its location and design they allowed its development. Initially allowing contact and economic exchange with other territories.

In a second growth period it is explained by the need to respond to the international situation, in which the economic model is characterized by giving emphasis to local production, leading to the policy of import substitution. Thus, they born national industries, increase services, work and

thus the scene of the cities, the result of increased rural-urban migration, concentrating the population in urban networks that were giving rise to different clusters is transformed. endogenous growth

Reopening the international economy is the third stage in which metropolitan areas respond and deliver better conditions for production and exchange with other economic centers, as they have similarities in their development and structure. At this stage centralization, where all activities converge in these areas it is emphasized. An example is the joint global social integration and territorial development of the model set by the agglomeration Buenos Aires, Rosario and Cordoba La Plata in Argentina.

Economic processes have been influential in the development of cities and the type of growth that they have had historically. Recent decades, due to the globalization process has led to the growth and transformation of large cities, becoming urban and economic centers for their countries and the region, resulting in restructuring and functionalization of cities. In this context patterns of land occupation due to mobility, urban agents and the organization of productive terms based on the cluster system and involving the urban centers nearby.

The cities in the region and metropolitan areas are the platform where new strategies of consumption and production, represented by shopping centers superstores, urban highways or gated communities arise. They have in common the rapid growth and urbanization have experienced, exceeding the speed with which strategies are made for planning the territory. Giving rise to urban problems such as fragmentation and territorial segregation. These spatial transformations are cross throughout the region, is that lives Mexico City, configured as global city and is what Chile is experiencing in terms of urban growth and metropolization.

Chilean Metropolitan Areas

Urbanization in Chile, has been the product in the first instance by the development and exploitation of natural resources, whose environments have been generated human settlements, determining the location of the cities and on the other by the different forms of organization of the economy (Hidalgo, De Mattos, Arenas, 2009)

In the context of globalization, the Chilean cities have taken on different structures, where the dispersion of the buildings in the area has been growing, outpacing the concentration centers and giving way to the occupation of the periphery, structuring a new geography with the growth of urban sprawl ranging covering the nearby territories, increasing their limits to be occupying rural areas that are initially to carry the expansion of the city limits and be part of new areas and demographic trends.

Economic transformation and concentration product of globalization, has led to changes in the spatial configuration of cities, leading to segregation and fragmentation, socio-economic and administrative terms, creating inequities in the quality of public services in the equipment of cities and triggering new territorial processes, understood not only as the overflow of administrative boundaries.

According to the above and according to data from the National Statistics Institute (INE), the national urban population is distributed in 248 cities. Some meeting made up of a set of spaces with an independent urban boundary, linked together by frequent public transport systems,

constituting a single unit from the functional point of view, originated 27 cities in clusters (MINVU). According to the official list of cities in 2007, INE defines three metropolitan areas in Chile, from north to south: the Metropolitan Area of Valparaiso and Valparaiso Metropolitan (AMV), Metropolitan Area of Santiago or Santiago Metropolitan (AMS) and Metropolitan Area Concepción Concepción or Metropolitan, the largest in terms of population and area the AMS with 5,638,820 inhabitants (2002 population census) and having among its components the capital.

Metropolitan areas are characterized them interact economically and socially different territorial units, areas or immediate centers, beyond planning, spreading to nearby areas whose limits are the actions exerted on each other within an imaginary line.

In official terms, the General Urbanism and Construction (OGUC) defined as urban area the "land area located within the city limits, for the harmonious development of population centers and existing activities and projected by the instrument of territorial planning "that way and within the urban planning, the unit when it exceeds 500,000, goes to the category of Metropolitan area for purposes of planning. That is, when there is an overflow of administrative boundaries, both in population and territories, phenomena such as agglomeration or conurbation occur, understood as a "Set of various urban centers initially independent and contiguous along its banks, that growing eventually form a functional unit "(Royal Academy of Spanish Language) and are those that lead to the formation of a metropolitan area. In this case, the metropolitan areas are the metropolitan area of Santiago, the great Valparaiso and great Concepcion.

Methodology

To describe the evolution of the Chilean metropolitan areas the georeferenced bases each of the municipalities that make up metropolitan areas and building licences approved within the period for each of them are selected. Of them only selected those who are destined for residential use, whether houses, which are defined as houses or buildings will be those multi-family housing, corresponding to collective Building, consisting of independent functional units such as departments.

Next to selected licences, an analysis by each community component of the metropolitan area is carried out, as the area in which the requested permissions, whether urban or rural area, understanding them according to what defines the OGUC (General Ordinance be built Urban Planning and Construction). urban area is the land area located within the city limits, for the harmonious development of population centers and existing activities and projected by the instrument of territorial planning and rural territory located outside the city limits, the latter being one imaginary line defining urban areas and urban sprawl established in territorial planning instruments, differentiating them from the rest of the communal area.

Later the licences granted in urban areas are selected, classifying single-family dwellings (houses) by grouping system, ie if buildings are continuous, isolated or paired. It means building isolated, separate the demarcations, located at least distances resulting from the application of the rules on grazing and estrangement to be determined in the instrument of territorial planning, one that is located from the demarcations conflicting or competing sides of the same premises and occupying the entire front of it, keeping the same plane facade with the adjoining building

and the height sets the instrument of territorial planning is the continuous building and finally the semi-detached building, is the It is corresponding to two buildings emplaced from a common boundary, keeping the same line of facade, height and length sarong.

Subsequently, the building is classified according to height, for it is taken as a unit the number of floors or levels built. According to the above, one to three stories is considered family house, four stories or more is considered tall building or multifamily housing. For purposes of the study, the classification into categories is done, and this is housing a flat, two-story, three-story, four-story, five to ten floors, between eleven and twenty stories and the latest is twenty stories or more.

Taking classified data according to each of the categories and in the number of licences, number of dwellings built surfaces and calculating indices and Shannon location is performed.

Santiago, Metropolitan Area (AMS)

Santiago Metropolitan Area includes the municipalities of the Province of Santiago, the urban areas of the municipalities of Puente Alto, San Bernardo, Peñaflor, Padre Hurtado and Pirque; the towns of Alto Jahuel, Buin and Viluco (in Buin), Bajos de San Agustin (in the town of Calera de Tango), Hill (district of Colina), Batuco, Lampa and Colina Station.

This metropolitan area was the first to be recognized as such. It is the capital of the country in economic, administrative terms and in terms of size, being covered by the largest number of communes and concentrating about 40% of the population. Therefore, there are complex networks of exchange and mobility between places of residence, work and services are further enhanced in certain sectors and a strong housing market activated. Those sectors that are characterized by one or other type of building are analyzed from the approved of the various components of the AMS commune's permissions.

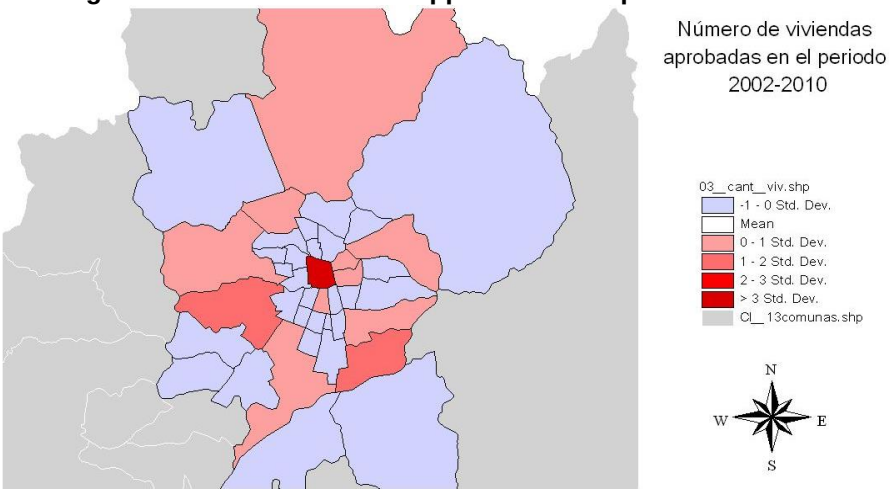
During the study period metropolitan area of Santiago it approved 29,485 building licences, bringing 506,747 homes, equivalent to 3.7118.013 Sqr meters.

Within the period, Hill and Forest communes were more building licences had approved. 2008 represents the year with as much approval in the communes of Santiago Metropolitan, within that year the district with the highest rate of approval was Hill, followed by the commune of Puente Alto, communes located on the outskirts of Santiago and have land available for building. The second pick permit approval was 2003.

If one compares the number of approved housing (Figure 1) the situation changes, as in the period, Santiago is the municipality that has the highest number of approved with 109,461 units, equivalent to 22% of the total, followed by Puente Alto, while the communes located in the south of Santiago, had less activity, with just 567 homes approved in the period was Lo Espejo, followed by the Farm 616, while the surface they provided was 71,620, 0.2% of the total.

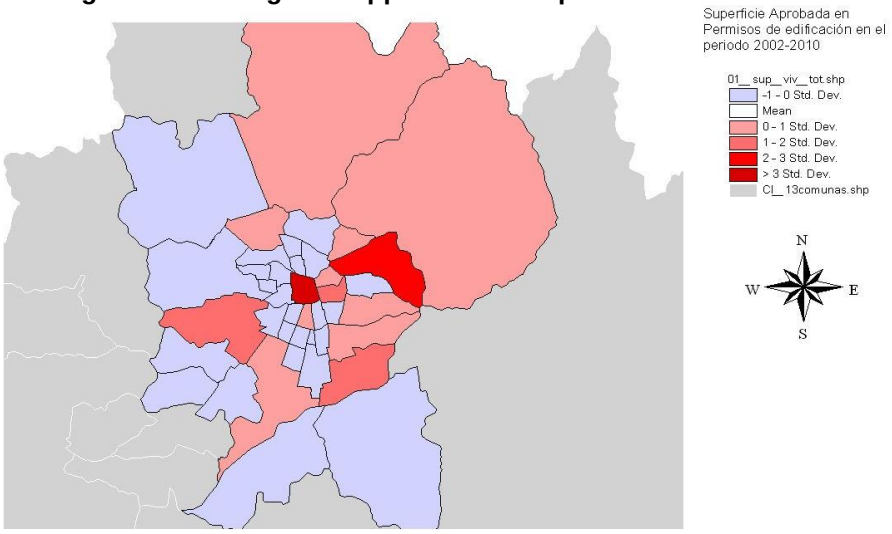
Now the total area, is still Santiago commune with the largest number of square meters, but the municipality of Las Condes appears as the second. In this community only 29,711 homes, equivalent to 72% of Puente Alto were approved and yet the surface of which is greater in 428,567 m2, leaving the input surface of the latter commune in third.

Figure 1. Number of homes approved in the period 2002-2010



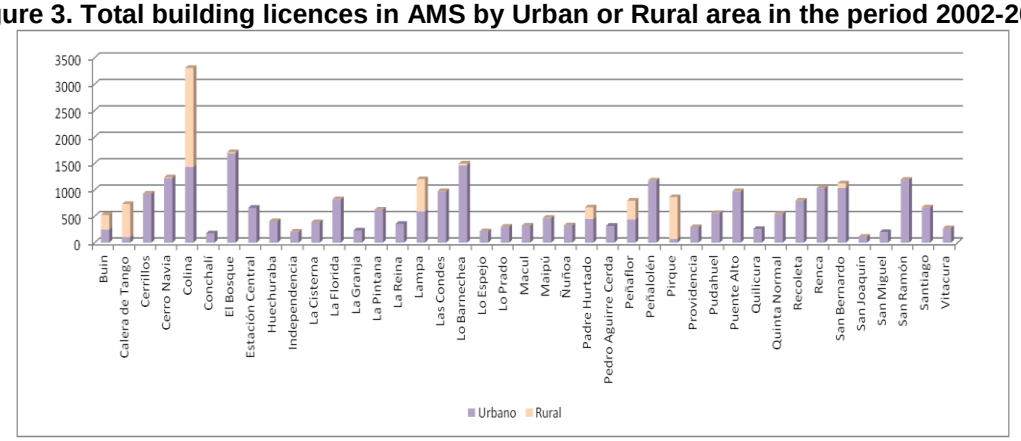
Source: own calculations based on building licences

Figure 2. Housing area approved in the period 2002-2010



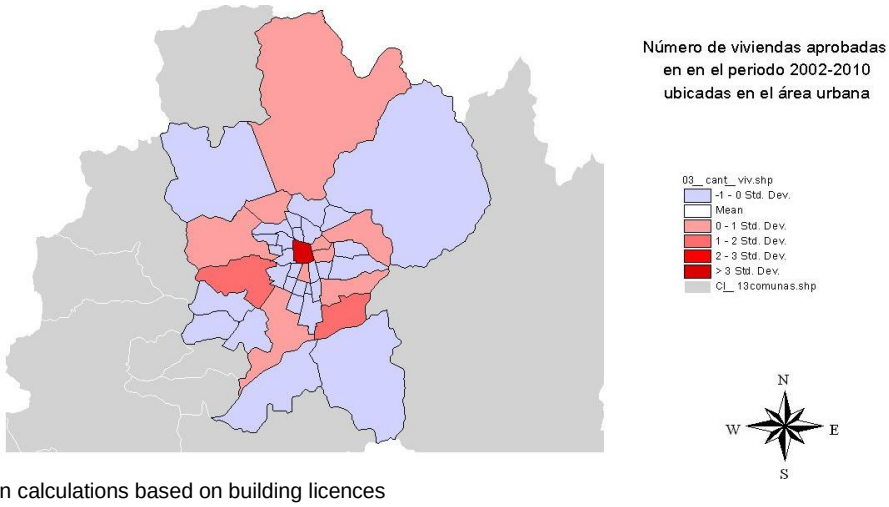
Source: own calculations based on building licences

Figure 3. Total building licences in AMS by Urban or Rural area in the period 2002-2010



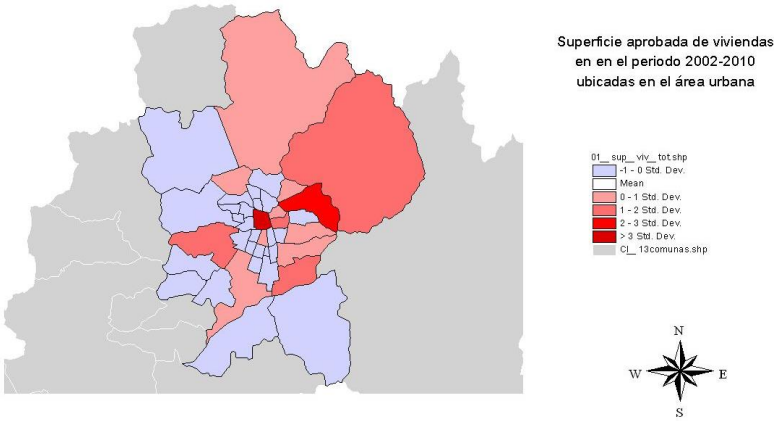
Source: own calculations based on building licences

Figure 4. Number of homes approved in the period 2002-2010 located in the urban area



Source: own calculations based on building licences

Figure 5. Housing area approved in the period 2002-2010 located in the urban area



Source: own calculations based on building licences

They could see that the largest number of licences approved in the period up to dwellings of a floor and two floors. Emphasizing the position of El Bosque in the number of licences and corroborating the trend Santiago Metropolitan low-rise housing.

In terms of number of homes, you can see that are distributed outside the ring Américo Vespucio, mainly to the west. The commune with the largest number of housing of approved floor was Maipú (dark red), followed by Puente Alto, but square meters speaking, the commune which authorized the largest amount of surface was Maipú, followed by Hill and Puente Alto contrary to include Providence, with only 16 approved homes and 1,598 m2.

Regarding building licences approved for housing two floors, the year 2008 is where most accepted. 37% of the licences are located in the communes Lo Barnechea, Colina, Peñalolén and Puente Alto. (Table 10). The location of housing approved two floors, is similar to that of a floor, ie, are located around Santiago, 163,169 houses of two floors joined the real estate market, of which 55% understand it They are spearheading the four communes authorizations.

Lo Prado, meanwhile is the commune surface lower contribution made, with only 3,478 m2. If you compare can see that the buildings are located in the same communes, but there are some that regarding the number of dwellings, representing the surface is greater. Such is the case of communes like Las Condes.

The housing market is more limited three-story, which is reflected in the number of licences by municipalities, as there are many communes in which a single permit is approved, registering no participation. Examples are communes like, Buin, Macul, Peñaflor or Renca. or simply communes that have no records in this type, as are the towns of Calera de Tango, Cerrillos, Cerro Navia, Lampa, Lo Espejo, Lo Prado and Padre Hurtado to name a few. While Puente Alto, Lo Barnechea and Huechuraba have the highest number of approved housing, so does the approved surface, only that majorities change, ie, first Lo Barnechea is found, it still Puente Alto and Huechuraba.

The typology of 4 flloors, is one of the less preferred because of all communes of AMS, 63% have approval of licences in this category. Pudahuel, with 3,184 homes commune is the largest number of licences accepted. Meanwhile comprising the surface is within the same communities that concentrate housing, but there are differences in the contribution of surface they deliver versus the number of approved housing.

Of total communes of AMS, there are eight of them that have no present this type of housing in the period, among them are Colina, Lampa, Lo Espejo, Peñaflor, to name a few. 2006 is where most authorization of building licences of this type is recorded, being Providencia commune approved the largest number of licences both in that year, as in the whole period, accepting 134 equivalent licences to 22% from the total.

Figure 69 you can see that the largest number of approved housing is concentrated in the center and east; where Santiago, Providencia and Las Condes are those that predominate in the housing market between five and ten floors.

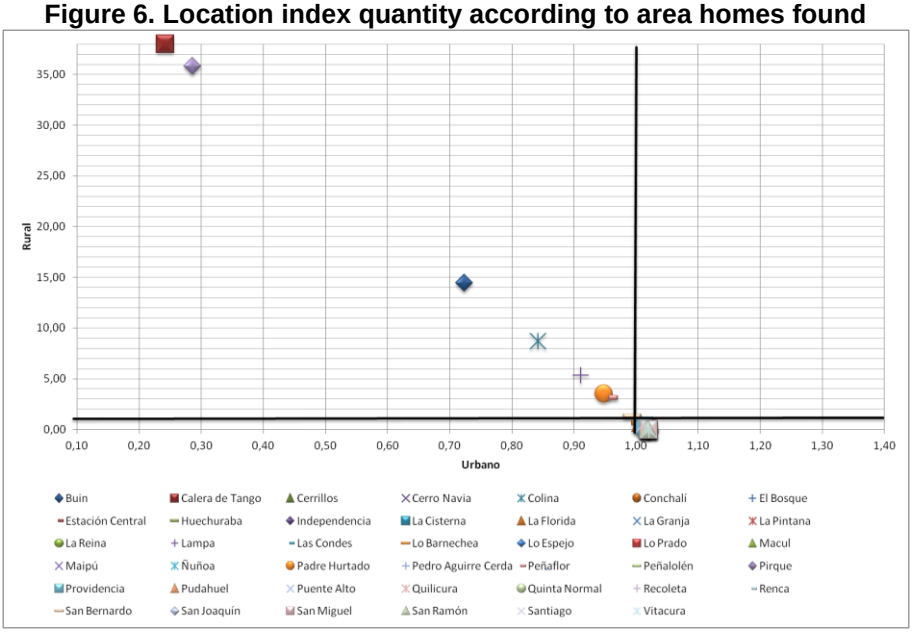
As for surfaces, Vitacura outpaces Providence, becoming the second municipality with the largest number of square meters approved 561.514m2, after Santiago with 608.059m2. In the third majority is Providence with 490.324m2.

To the extent that households are growing in height, the number of municipalities that participate in the typology is reduced. In the case of housing between eleven and twenty floors, total 726 approved licences it is between 20 communes. Maipu approves only one permit, in contrast to 150 Ñuñoa, leaving it as the commune with more licences approved. 2005 is when the greater acceptance of building licences in such housing occurs.

Santiago again, it is the municipality that has the largest number of approved housing, followed by Ñuñoa and Las Condes comprising 56% of total housing between eleven and twenty stories. larger area is located in the communes of the east and center of Santiago, with the municipality of Las Condes, which approved the largest area, together with Ñuñoa and Santiago with 3,717,152 m2.

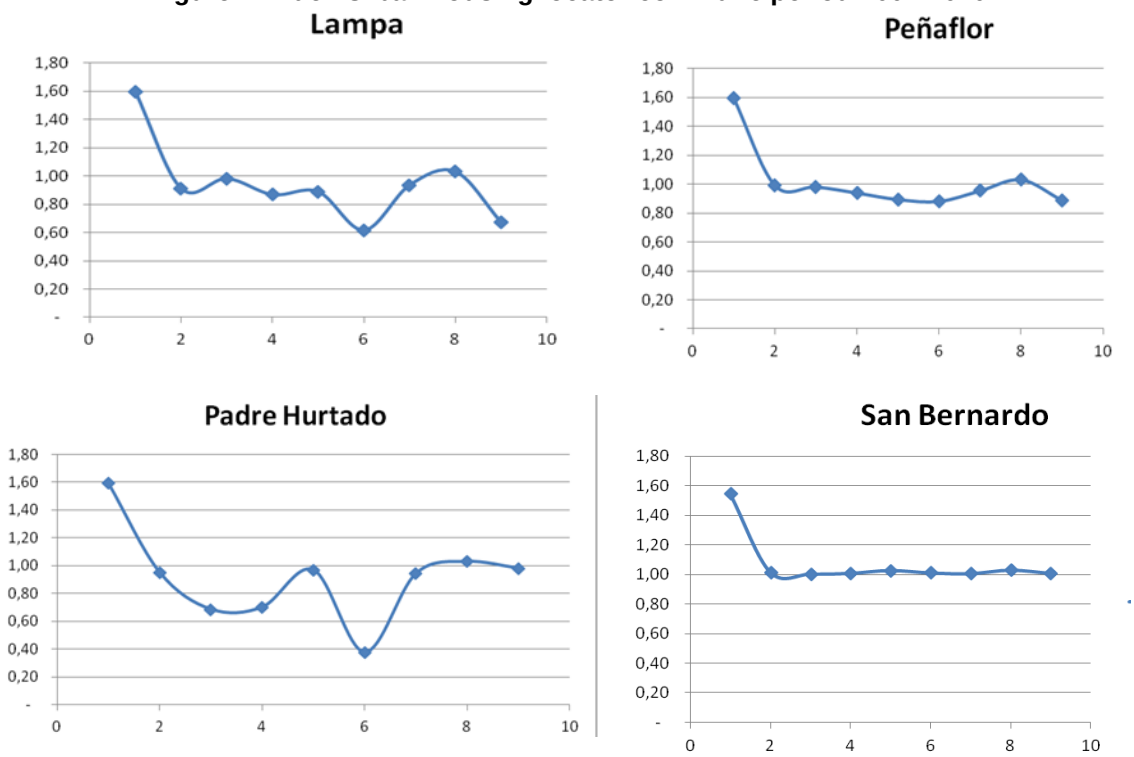
You can see that there is a clear specialization of the districts having their homes located in rural areas, finding Calera de Tango as having a higher rate of localization, followed by Pirque, Buin and Hill, while other municipalities place their homes in urban areas. They comprise the surface; follow the same behavior of the number of homes.

Figure 6. Location index quantity according to area homes found



Source: own calculations based on building licences

Figure 7. Index Urban housing locator commune period 2002-2010



Source: own calculations based on building licences

The behavior of the communes that have rates close to 1 in urban location location, and more than 1 in rural, ie, have homes located in both areas. The trend is that there is a decrease in

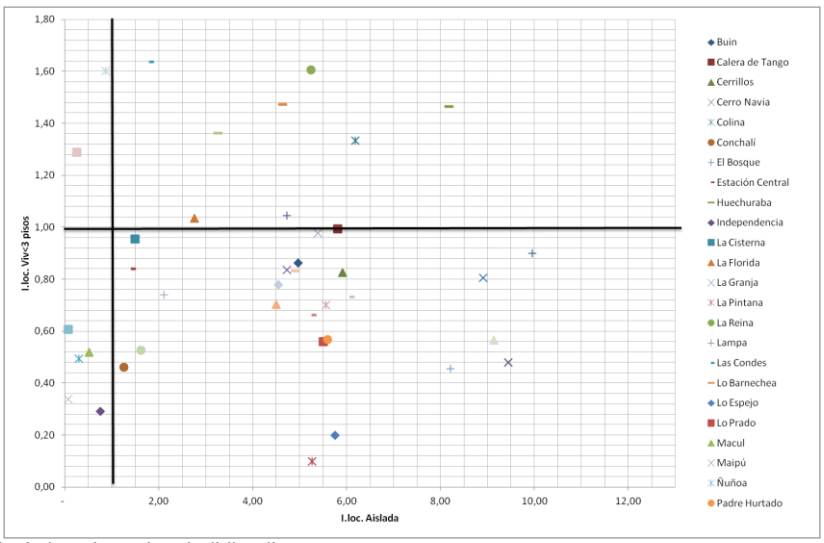
locating housing in urban areas. Although San Bernardo almost no variations in the period, only a drop from 200 to 2003 onwards remains around 1. On the contrary who show great variations is Padre Hurtado, having sharp diminutions in 2004 and 2006 , thereafter remaining is rising close to 1, ie maintains its specialization in rural areas and activity in rural areas is not enough to be significant. The number of communes AMS, has a varied location of their homes, although it is possible to distinguish those communes that specialize in certain types, it is also possible to see those not specialize in one type and presenting different types of housing. Graph 50, you can see that specialized in housing communities are isolated Pedro Aguirre Cerda, Cerro Navia, Calera de Tango, Lo Espejo, La Pintana, while those with lower housing three floors, are San Miguel and Vitacura.

The isolated and less than three-story homes are located in the communes of Huechuraba, Lo Barnechea, Queen, Peñalolén and mainly Hill. Graph 52, helps differentiate more clearly the location of housing in terms of approved surfaces, confirming the location of housing in the communities described above.

Pirque, Pedro Aguirre Cerda, Cerro Navia, San Ramon, Lo Espejo, Calera de Tango, La Pintana, Peñaflor, Quilicura and Cerrillos are communes that have lower housing 3 floors and paired, as the main type of construction. La Granja, Puente Alto and Maipu, the number of residential places them into this category but not a clear majority. The same indicate the surfaces of the housing of this type.

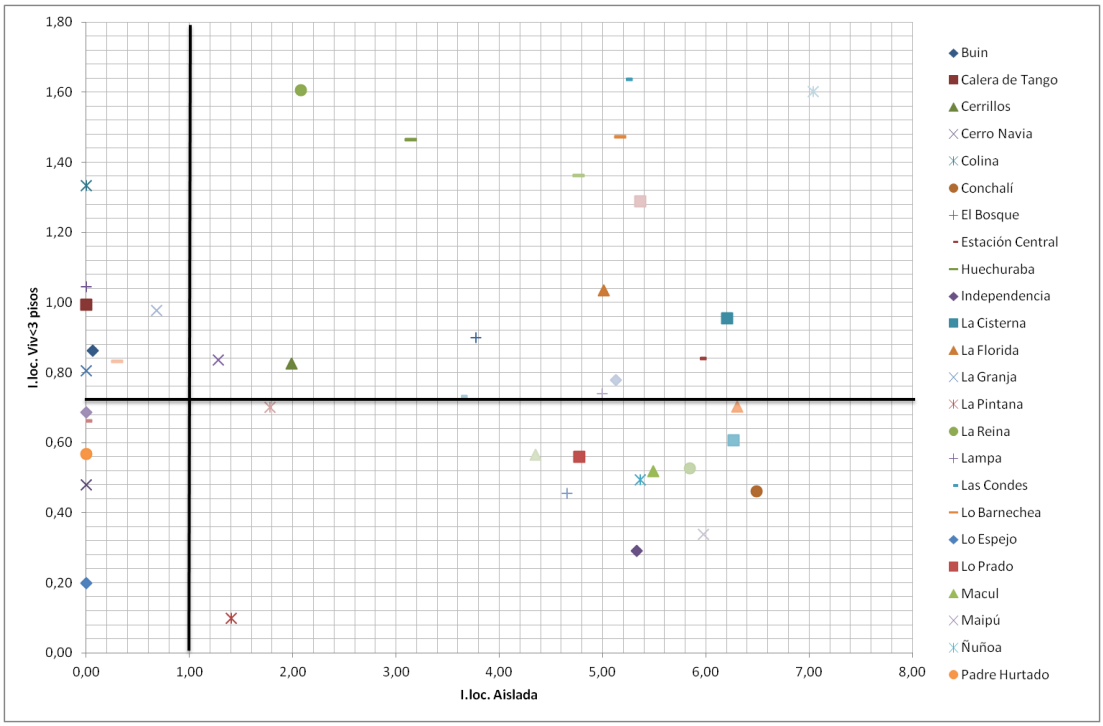
Lo Espejo, Cerro Navia, Pedro Aguirre Cerda, San Ramon, La Pintana, Pirque, Peñaflor, Quilicura and Pudahuel, are communes which by its number of homes, the index tracking the ranks as specialized in older housing three floors of the type paired. Huechuraba, Colina and Lo Prado, although characterized by paired housing type, are low. Macul, Pedro Aguirre Cerda, Independence, Pudahuel and San Ramon are consolidated in this type of housing per square meters approved for this category.

Figure 8. Location index surface isolated dwellings less than 3 floors



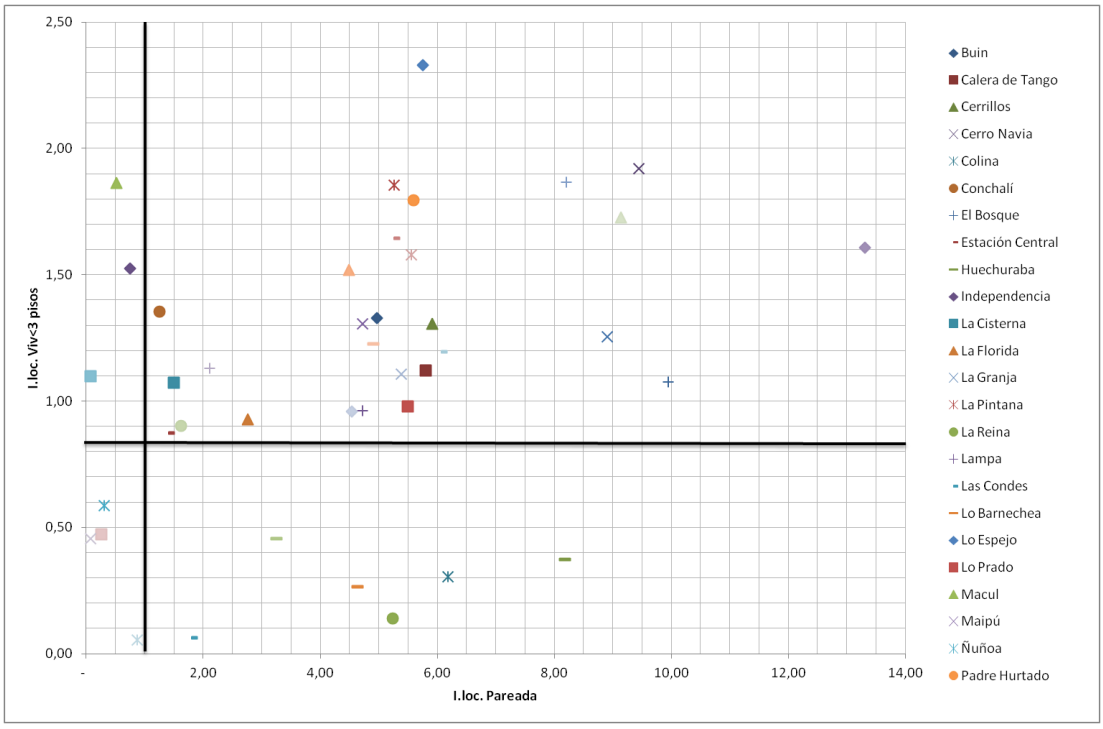
Source: own calculations based on building licences

Figure 9. Location index isolated dwellings surface greater than 3 floors



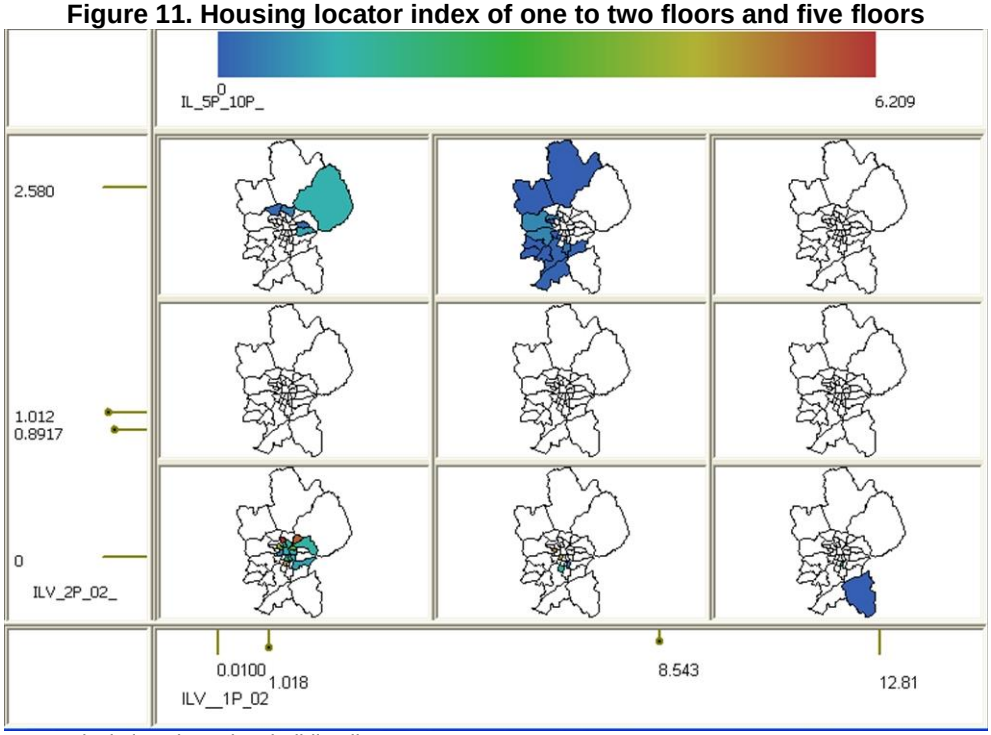
Source: own calculations based on building licences

Figure 10. Location index surface semi-detached houses less than floors



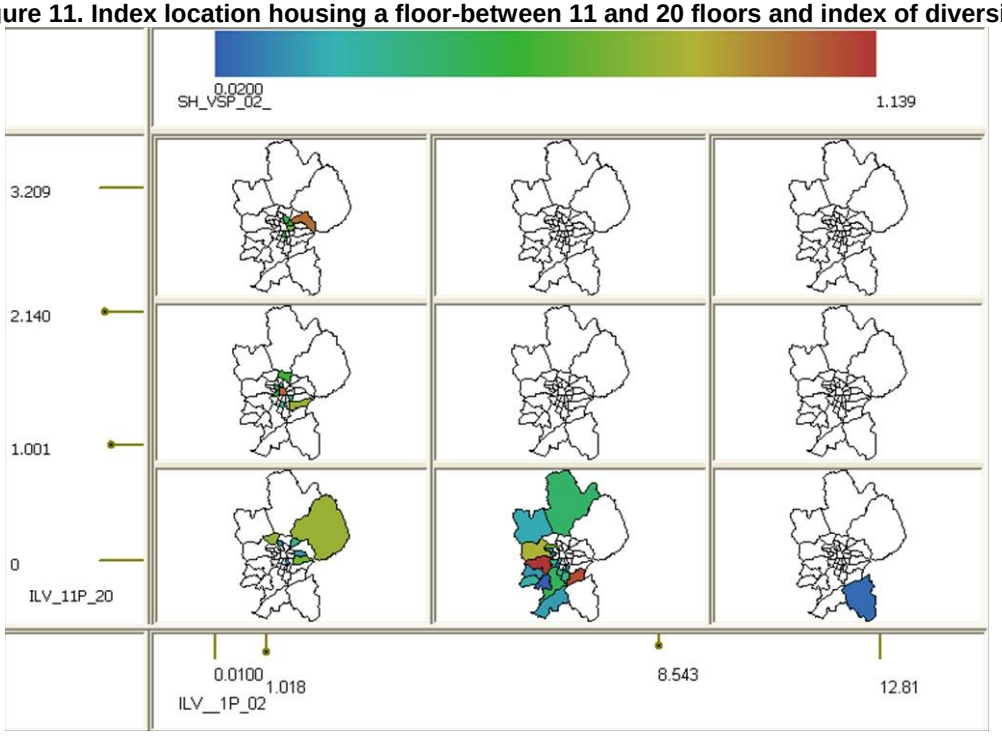
Source: own calculations based on building licences

Figure 11. Housing locator index of one to two floors and five floors



Source: own calculations based on building licences

Figure 11. Index location housing a floor-between 11 and 20 floors and index of diversity

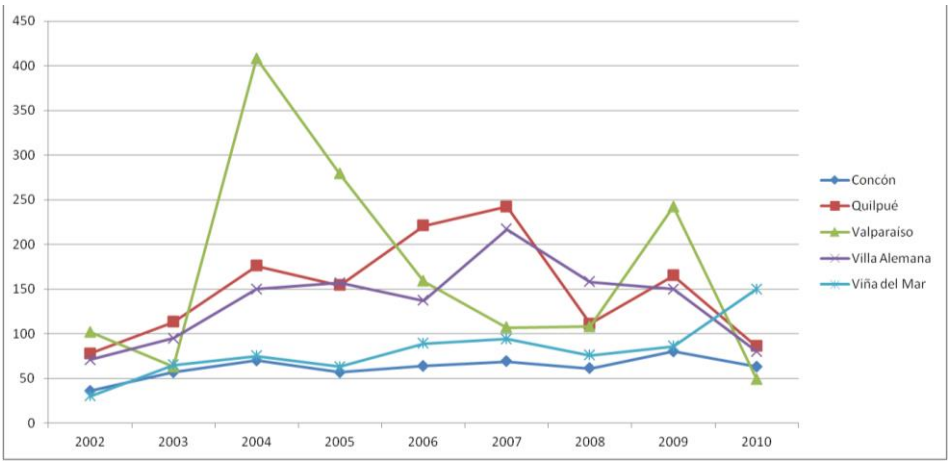


Source: own calculations based on building licences

Great Valparaiso (AMV)

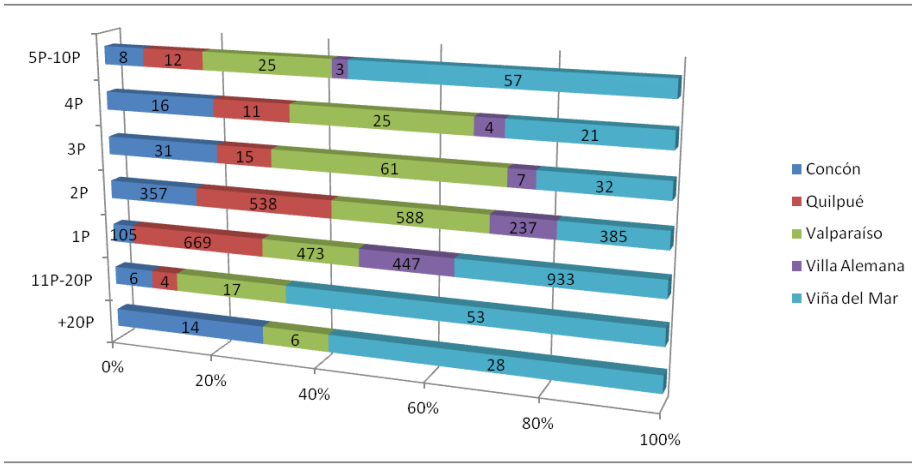
It is known as metropolitan area of Valparaiso, the communes comprised Concon, Vina del Mar, Valparaiso, Quilpué and Villa Alemana. While the metropolitan area of Valparaiso, presents, enough to be a pole of attraction, subcentraliity equivalent to the metropolitan area of Santiago, its characteristic proximity as its tourist attractions, allow to recognize it as a region of real estate high pressure core activities economic activity . It is for this reason that the analysis must be established for real estate activity by observing the number of building licences and the number of approved surfaces according to the different types mentioned above.

Figure 12. Total AMV licences by municipal terms in the period 2002-10



Source: own calculations based on building licences

Figure 13. Total AMV permissions communes in urban areas by number of floors 2002-2010



Source: own calculations based on building licences

Vina del Mar is the municipality that has approved the largest number of building licences in the period 2002-2010 and specializes in high-rise buildings, as housing activity concentrated buildings in all categories over the five floors. Quite the opposite of what happens with Villa

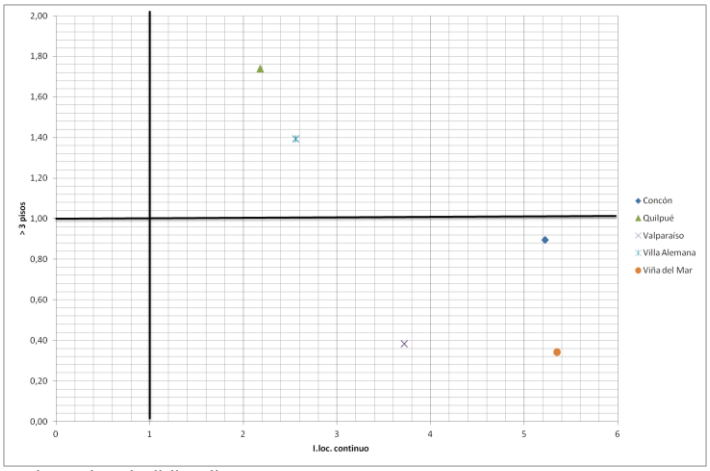
Alemana which has only 13% of licences which are focused on what homes are lower four floors. Among Valparaiso Quilpué and 47% of total licences, but mostly single-family houses are concentrated. As for number of dwellings and surface, which concentrated most activity are the homes of two floors with 19,075 units, followed by 11,019 units represented by the buildings over twenty stories. Of the total housing licences approved a flat between the years 2002-2010, Vina del Mar has 36%, followed by 25% of the commune of Quilpué (Figure 17, Figure 21), but as to what happens with surfaces, Quilpué and Valparaiso are the districts that have 50% of the AMV. Viña del Mar the third municipality with the largest area.

Dwellings in buildings between five and ten stories both in number of licences and number of households are concentrated mainly in the town of Vina del Mar, with 55% of the total throughout the period, except in 2008 where Valparaiso had a higher amount approved in this category, followed distantly by the commune of Valparaiso and Quilpué permissions. The surfaces of the housing between five and ten stories are concentrated, as the number of homes in the town of Vina del Mar, taking the same trend as the number of homes.

In the market for older homes to twenty floors, interior communes, Quilpué and Villa Alemana, the metropolitan area of Valparaiso have no share and remains Vina del Mar commune specializing in housing higher, with 56% of the housing. Concon in this type of housing, has a greater presence, being in second place with 245,481 m2 equivalent to 30% of the total in the period approved surface. The communes that specialize in smaller homes continuous three floors, are the inner metropolitan districts of Valparaiso, Quilpué and Villa Alemana concentrating its real estate activity is this type of housing in number of homes and built in the 2002-2010 period surface. As older homes three floors and continuous, the number of homes approved during the years studied are concentrated in the same communes mentioned, but in area can say that Villa Alemana does not specialize in that category, as its location index for older homes three floors is 1.04. Quilpué is the only municipality that specializes in semi-detached houses less than three stories, because in terms of number of homes and surface index is greater than one in both categories, while Valparaiso slightly passes the index when compared with the surface representing that category, it is confirmed that it is not specialized in this type. (Figures 13 to 15). The same behavior exists for older semi-detached houses three floors, count the commune of Quilpué is the only thing you can say specialized in this type of housing. In conclusion, this commune specializes in semi-detached houses of all heights.

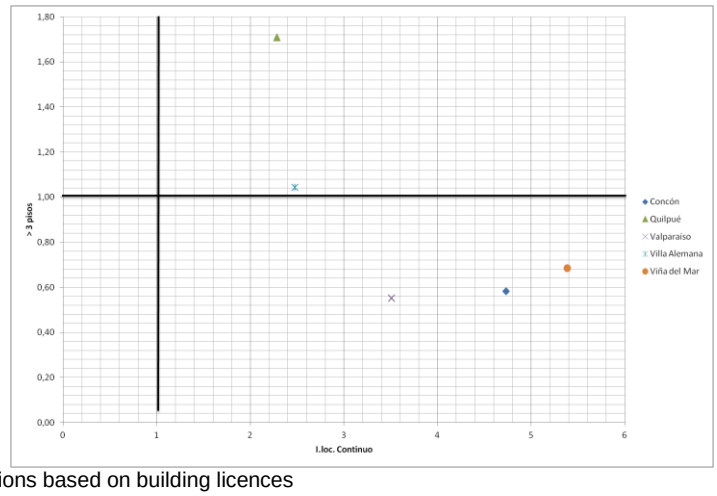
It is confirmed that the communes of Vina del Mar and Concon specialize in multi-family housing, being the one with greater participation in the real estate market Viña del Mar. The communes of Villa Alemana, Valparaiso Quilpué and in houses, even though Valparaiso also have buildings within its approved licences, it is who has the primacy in area within the group of houses. In the Figures between 17 to 20, communes with the results of location indices regarding the different variables are shown.

Figure 13. Location index homes continue higher to 3 floors



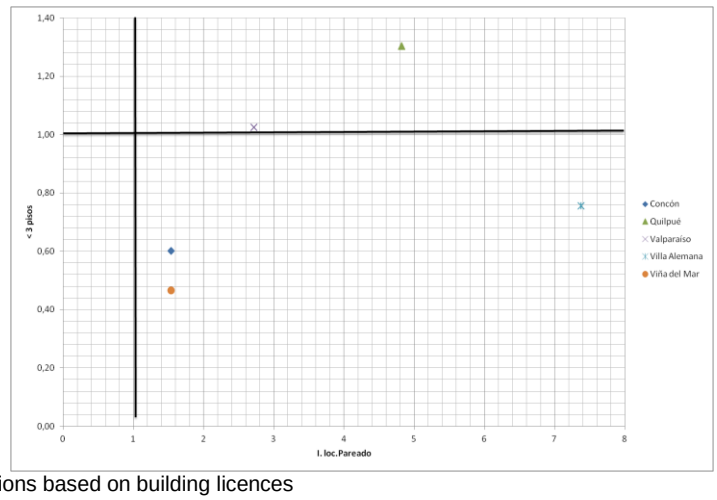
Source: own calculations based on building licences

Figure 14. Location index homes continuous surface higher to 3 floors



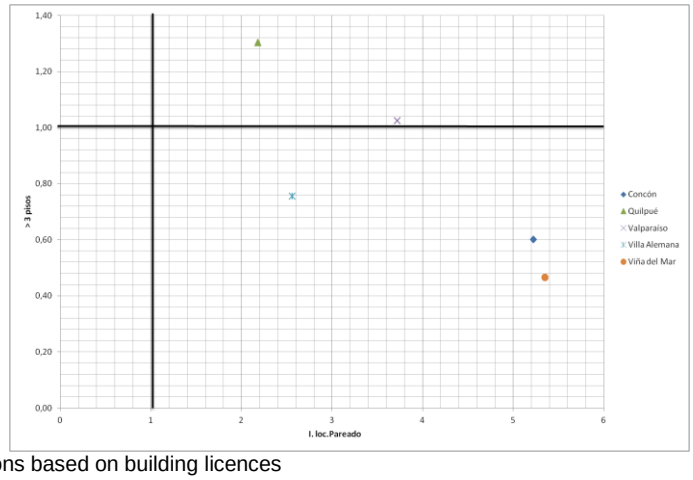
Source: own calculations based on building licences

Figure 15. Location index of semi-detached houses less than 3 floors



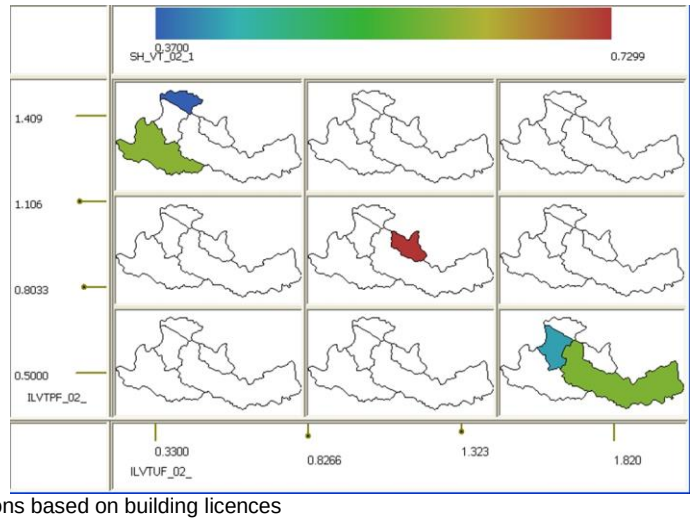
Source: own calculations based on building licences

Figure 16. Location index of semi-detached houses more than 3 floors



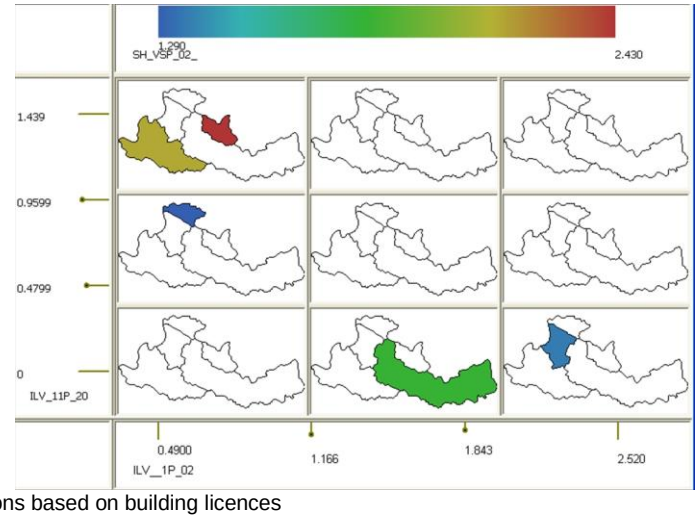
Source: own calculations based on building licences

Figure 17. Location index of single-family housing and diversity index



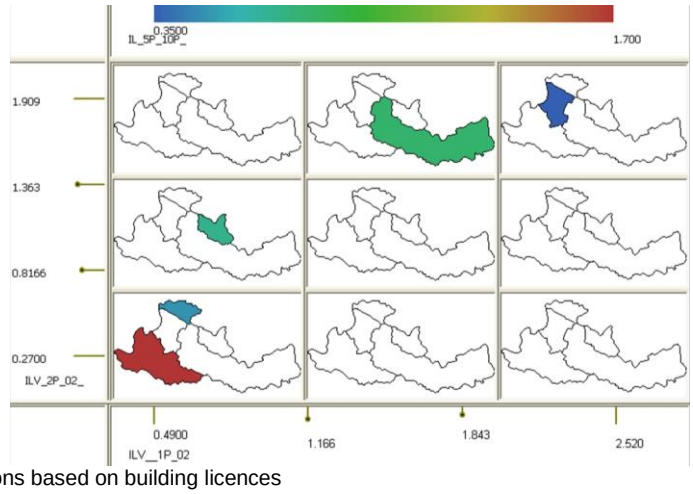
Source: own calculations based on building licences

Figure 18. Index location housing a floor between 11 and 20 floors and diversity



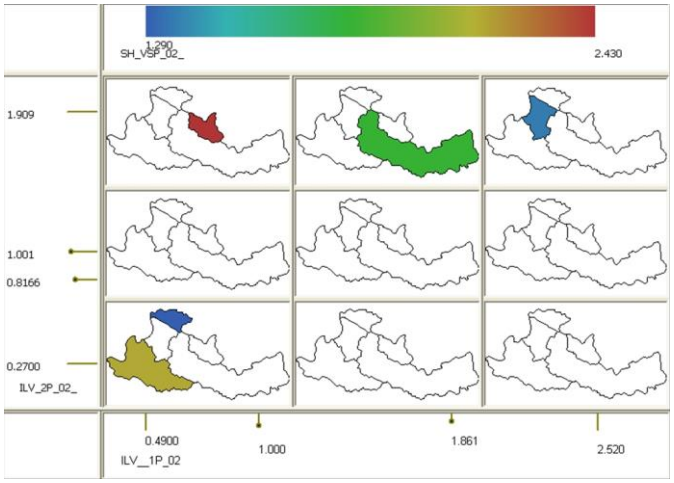
Source: own calculations based on building licences

Figure 19. Location index housing 1 and two floors and housing locator index between 5 and 10 floors



Source: own calculations based on building licences

Figure 20. Housing locator index of a floor - two floors and diversity index

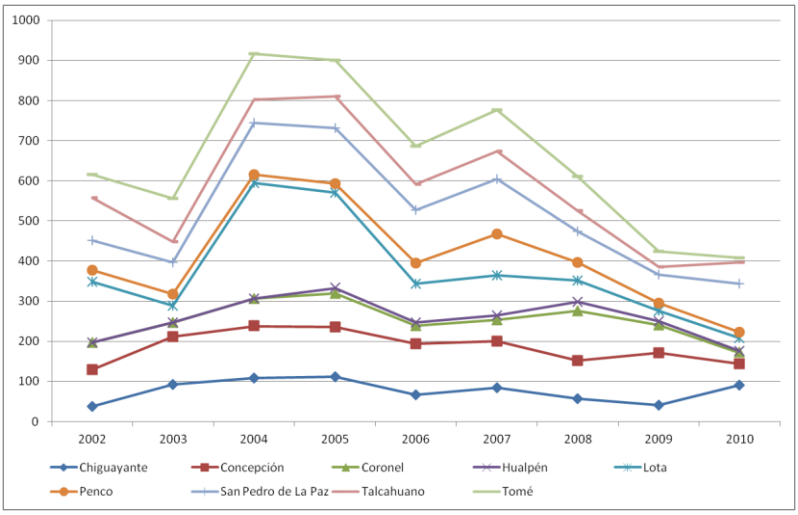


Source: own calculations based on building licences

Metropolitan area of Concepcion (AMC)

The metropolitan area of Concepción is formed by the urban areas of the municipalities of Concepcion, Chiguayante, Hualpén, Penco, Talcahuano, San Pedro de la Paz, Tomé, Coronel and Lota. Nationally, it is the second metropolitan area in size and importance due to the different economic activities carried out, including the port and industrial activities. For this reason it is generated in the area, a real estate activity of great dynamism and should be studied from building licences approved in the mentioned period. Of the total approved in the metropolitan area of Concepción, 5,892 licences were in urban areas, ie, 97% of them. With only 3% in rural areas, the towns of Concepcion and Tomé are have the highest number of approved licences in rural areas

Figure 21. Total licences for AMC commune in Urban area



Source: own calculations based on building licences

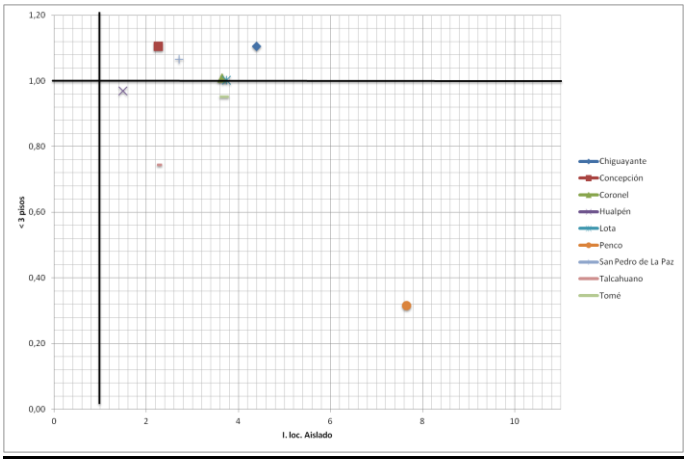
Licences two-story homes were approved overwhelmingly in 2005, in the municipality of San Pedro de la Paz, this being the same commune with most in the total period. The number of homes approved two-story San Pedro de la Paz, Coronel and Concepción are communes that meet the most number of houses, including three account for 65% of the total. As for square meters, the same communes are those that provide the largest area. Most building licences approval of three-story housing occurred in 2007, that year San Pedro de la Paz, approving a third of all licences in that year and in the period. Conception, it is the municipality that contains the highest proportion of households. Penco, San Pedro de la Paz and Chiguayante are other communities that contribute to the number of approved dwellings and the total square meters allowed in the period.

Licences housing four floors approved in the period, have no regular behavior, about one Concepción is the municipality that approves of such licences in almost the entire period, other municipalities as Colonel, Hualpén, Lota, Penco and I took no recorded activity in this type of housing. Moreover, in the years 2002.2005 and 2009 are not approved for such licences in any commune and 2010 is when the largest number of permit approval four story is recorded. It is noted that the number of four-story houses are mainly located in the municipality of Concepción and Chiguayante, between the two cover 86% of the market of this type. Regarding the surface, the behavior is the same, but they amount to 13% of the surface of the commune of San Pedro de la Paz.

The Coronel no records of approved housing licences between five and eleven floors. With 16 approved licences, 2006 is when the largest number of licences, of which 38% are approved in the commune of Conception was approved. You can see the location of dwellings of this type, they are concentrated in Concepcion, with 3546 homes, followed by San Pedro de la Paz, with 2321 and 1408 Talcahuano with housing. From the surface they represent and their location is the same behavior. Communes have their greatest activity in the rural area are Tomé and Penco, although they also have components in the urban area. On the other hand Concepcion

and Coronel have a rate close location to 1 in both categories, so you can say that do not specialize in one area, the only municipalities that can be said urban are Talcahuano, Chiguayante, Lota, San Pedro de la Paz and Hualpén. The location of isolated dwellings and lower three floors are mainly concentrated in Penco, Chiguayante, Lota and Coronel, although Concepción and San Pedro de la Paz have a higher rate of location 1 in both categories is not significant enough, but according to the floor area, the location index according to the surface confirms that both communes specialize in this type of housing.

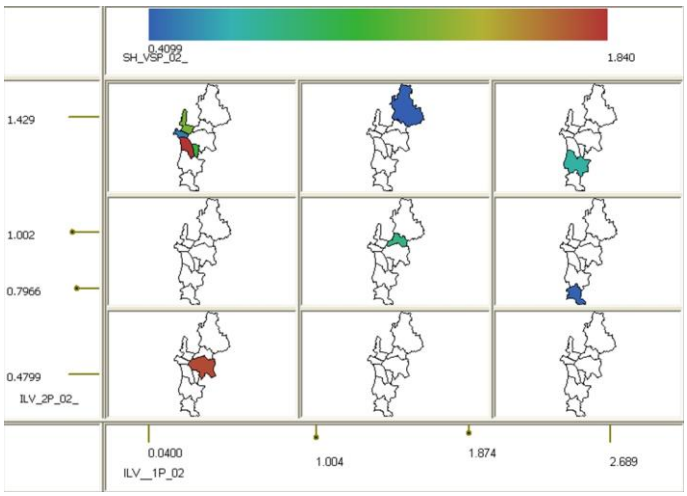
Figure 22. Surface location index isolated dwellings less than 3 floors



Source: own calculations based on building licences

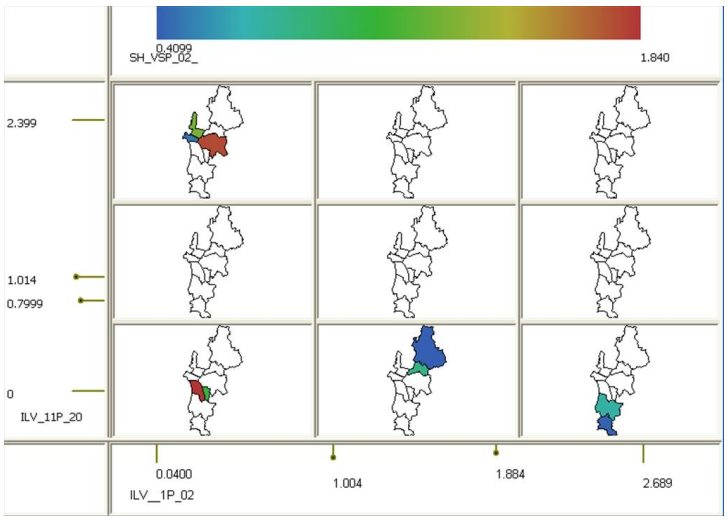
Concepción and Talcahuano are the districts that concentrate the homes of greater height and design, indicates the level of diversity of buildings. If what is analyzed is the surface, Talcahuano ranks as the municipality that gathers the largest area of housing higher.
Among the figures 23 to 24 communes with the results of location indices regarding the different variables are shown.

Figure 23. Index location housing a floor-two floors and diversity



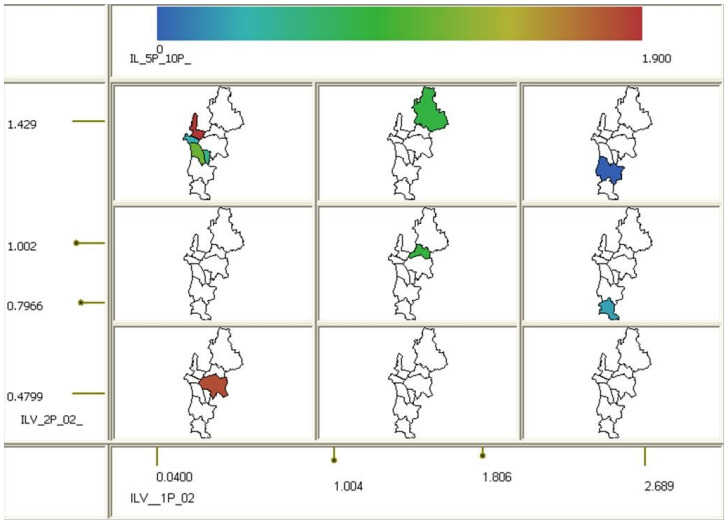
Source: own calculations based on building licences

Figure 24. Index location housing a floor between eleven and twenty floors and diversity



Source: own calculations based on building licences

Figure 25. Index location housing a floor-two floors and five floors



Source: own calculations based on building licences

Conclusion

In the period studied all Chilean metropolitan areas increased building licences approved, growing with them the number of homes built into the housing market and the available surface in different construction types analyzed.

Trends in the location of the houses follow a clear direction during the period, that direction is what leads to regional specialization and concentration of homes around the capital's metropolitan area, which was favored by policies aimed to improve transport, communications and general urban infrastructure, which has led to geographical mobility and the incorporation of new land for residential development in each of Chile's metropolitan areas.

The metropolitan area of Santiago covers forty surrounding municipalities, which form a large urban sprawl that has spread to urban boundaries, incorporating new land to help the housing market. That is what represents Colina, which is the municipality that has the highest percentage of households located in rural areas, due to the expansion and projection of these new lands within the AMS. This commune is the second at the metropolitan level in the concentration of houses after Puente Alto, this indicates that the outlying areas, allow the growth of housing in extension and with respect to adosamiento, the isolated type, having land available for construction and at a lower value. If the surfaces used are compared, one can speak of spatial segregation, as the commune of north is well above the 57 m2 average surface of houses in the municipality of Puente Alto, not including about 390 m2 average Eastern sector housing Vitacura, Lo Barnechea and Las Condes. On the grounds of the periphery growth by extension is allowed, in the center construction by densification, thus, is favored Santiago is the district that concentrates the buildings of greater height, followed by Las Condes and Providencia. From the clusters found, it is evident that the growth of urban Santiago has been made from the Peri, policentralización and urban fragmentation, setting patterns defined location and thanks to public works in recent years has intensified De thus, one can identify extension housing estates, condominiums in suburban areas, especially in the north, while the south is associated with social housing projects, which correlate with the associated surfaces of each house. Moreover pericentral communes have grown by densification as there is a greater demand in these sectors because of its location and equipment. Finally the central districts, although there have been intensifying and growing by densification, because of the advantages they represent in location and infrastructure, has been driven by the policies associated with subsidies for urban renewal that have helped improve neighborhoods that were of They abandoned some form renewing these sectors

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