

# **PARTICIPATORY INTEGRAL UPGRADING IN LATIN AMERICA**

The Importance of Participatory Practices  
for Urban Upgrading Programmes

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## **PARTICIPATORY INTEGRAL UPGRADING IN LATIN AMERICA**

The Importance of Participatory Practices for Urban Upgrading Programmes

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## **Erklärung zur Dissertation**

Hiermit versichere ich, die vorliegende Dissertation ohne Hilfe Dritter nur mit den angegebenen Quellen und Hilfsmitteln angefertigt zu haben. Alle Stellen, die aus Quellen entnommen wurden, sind als solche kenntlich gemacht. Diese Arbeit hat in gleicher oder ähnlicher Form noch keiner Prüfungsbehörde vorgelegen.

Darmstadt, den 31.07.2017

Susana Restrepo Rico

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**ABSTRACT**

The proliferation of informality in the past four decades has affected the formulation of urban policy and poverty reduction strategies in Latin America. Informality expanded throughout Latin America in the 1980's, providing shelter to the urban poor in the shadow of economic crises and market liberalisation (Zanetta 2001; Abbott 2002; Moser 1995). The reaction of Latin American governments to the growth of informality was to implement poverty reduction strategies focused on eviction, then evolving to *sites and services* and the *shelter approach*. The results of these anti-poverty policies evidenced the inefficiency of relocation strategies. The objectives of relocation strategies of addressing only the problem of shelter while neglecting the real causes of urban poverty and informality resulted in the strengthening of informal actors in cities. Informality covered the basic needs of the urban poor for shelter, public services and employment, but at the same time it increased their vulnerabilities and stigmatised the informal residents. In the late 1980's, the changes in legal frameworks and decentralisation initiatives in many countries in Latin America encouraged the formulation of more holistic urban upgrading programmes which also consider social development and citizens' rights as important factors for improving the quality of life in informal settlements.

In the 1990's emerged the enablement approach and with it the "*Integral Approach*" including legalisation of tenure, spatial improvement, and social development (Brakarz & Engel 2004; UN-Habitat 2016, p.94). The *Favela-Bairro* in Rio de Janeiro is an example of the integral approach, and The *Proyecto Urbano Integral* in Medellin is one of the descendants of the *Favela-Bairro* (Rojas 2011; Clichevsky 2006). The programmes reduced vulnerabilities of informal populations and acknowledged the right to housing of the urban poor, while the spatial projects improved the conditions of the built environment. However, the dependence on political will that characterises these programmes along with the changes in the local governments resulted in the disengagement of the municipality from the responsibilities for project completion and maintenance.

The *Favela-Bairro* and the *Proyecto Urbano Integral* are considered best practices in in-situ urban upgrading in Latin America. This research has selected these two programmes as case studies for identifying the main objectives, components and results of implementing the integral approach. Understanding the planning processes in these case studies led to the identification of a lack of participatory practices in the formulation and implementation of integral upgrading programmes as the main obstacles for project completion, as well as the reasons for the deterioration of project results. Therefore, the emphasis of this research is the analysis of the participatory practices within the planning and implementation process of the programmes, in order to understand the obstacles for participatory urban upgrading.

The research identifies the non-participative top-down planning approach as the main problem of urban upgrading programmes. The active involvement and adequate management of the interests of public, civil, and private actors are crucial for formulating effective, feasible, urban improvement projects which reduce social inequalities and promote social development. Based on the hypothesis that the strategic participation of diverse actors in integral upgrading would produce effective, sustainable improvements in the condition of low-income communities, this dissertation analyses the meaning of participation and its uses in the planning processes of the *Favela-Bairro* and *The Proyecto Urbano Integral*.

The aim of this research is to propose a methodology for the planning and implementation of participatory integral upgrading programmes in Latin America. The methodology proposes three programme scales which define the contributions and interests of potential actors, the degree of participation of each actor in the planning process, and the objectives of the participatory planning process. The proposed programme scales are municipal, territorial and local. In order to bring together diverse urban actors in the different programme scales, this research adopted strategic urban planning as the theoretical framework. The process of strategic planning would be used as the foundation for the formulation of the methodological approach for participatory integral upgrading programmes in Latin America. A clear definition of the actors involved and their responsibilities, particular and collective interests, and the participatory planning strategy encourages consensus building, strategic implementation of upgrading projects for short, medium and long-term visions, as well as an effective and efficient project results.

**Keywords:** integral urban upgrading, participatory planning, informal urbanisation, strategic planning.

## ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Das rasche Anwachsen von informellen Siedlungen in den letzten vier Jahrzehnten wirkte sich auf die Aufgabenstellungen für Stadtplanung und Strategien zur Senkung der Armut in Lateinamerika aus. Informelle Siedlungen breiteten sich in den 80er Jahren des letzten Jahrhunderts überall in Lateinamerika aus, sie boten den Armen in den Städten Unterkünfte im Schatten ökonomischer Krisen und Marktliberalisierung (Zanetta 2001; Abbott 2002; Moser 1995). Die Reaktionen der lateinamerikanischen Regierungen auf den Zuwachs von informeller Besiedlung bestanden darin, Strategien zum Armutsabbau einzuführen, die auf Zwangsäumungen abzielten und sich dann zu *“sites and services”* und dem *“shelter approach”* weiterentwickelten. Die Ergebnisse dieser Maßnahmen gegen Armut belegten die Unwirksamkeit von Umsiedlungsstrategien. Die Zielsetzungen von Umsiedlungsstrategien, die sich nur mit dem Problem von Wohnraum beschäftigten, während die tatsächlichen Ursachen für städtische Armut und Informalität vernachlässigt wurden, führten zur Erstarkung der informellen Akteure in den Großstädten. Die Grundbedürfnisse der städtischen Armen nach Unterkunft, öffentlichen Dienstleistungen und Arbeit wurden durch informelle Besiedlung abgedeckt, gleichzeitig aber erhöhte sich ihre Gefährdung und die Bewohner von informellen Siedlungen wurden stigmatisiert. Am Ende der 1980er Jahre wurden durch Veränderungen der gesetzlichen Rahmenbedingungen und Dezentralisierungsinitiativen in vielen lateinamerikanischen Ländern die Erstellung von ganzheitlicheren Stadtverbesserungsprogrammen angeregt, die auch Sozialentwicklung und Bürgerrechte als wichtige Faktoren für die Verbesserung der Lebensqualität in informellen Siedlungen berücksichtigten.

In den 1990ern wurde mit dem Enablement-Konzept der *“Integral Approach”* bekannt, ein Konzept, das die Legalisierung von Grundbesitz, Raumverbesserung und Sozialentwicklung beinhaltet (Brakarz & Engel 2004; UN-Habitat 2016, p.94). Das *Favela-Bairro* in Rio de Janeiro ist ein Beispiel für dieses integrale Konzept, und das *Proyecto Urbano Integral* in Medellin ist eines der Nachfolgeprojekte des *Favela-Bairro* (Rojas 2011; Clichevsky 2006). Die Programme verringerten die Gefährdung der informellen Bevölkerung und räumten den städtischen Armen das Recht auf Wohnraum ein, gleichzeitig verbesserten räumliche Neugestaltungen die Verhältnisse der bebauten Umwelt. Die Abhängigkeit vom politischen Willen, die diese Programme auszeichnen, zusammen mit Veränderungen in den Kommunalverwaltungen resultierte jedoch in einem Rückzug dieser aus der Verpflichtung, die Projekte fertigzustellen und zu unterhalten.

*Favela-Bairro* und *Proyecto Urbano Integral* gelten als *“best practices”* von städtischer In-situ-Verbesserung in Lateinamerika. In dieser Forschungsarbeit wurden die beiden Projekte als



Fallstudien herangezogen, um die Hauptziele, Bestandteile und Ergebnisse des integralen Konzepts zu ermitteln. Durch das Verständnis der Planungsprozesse in diesen Fallstudien konnte der Mangel an Mitbestimmungspraktiken in der Ausarbeitung und Umsetzung der integralen Verbesserungsprogramme als Haupthindernis für einen Projektabschluss ermittelt werden, ebenso wie die Gründe für die Verschlechterung der Projektergebnisse. Daher liegt die Betonung dieser Forschungsarbeit auf der Analyse der Mitbestimmungspraktiken innerhalb des Planungs- und Umsetzungsprozesses der Programme, um die Hindernisse für partizipatorische städtische Verbesserung verstehen zu können.

Diese Untersuchung zeigt, dass der nicht-partizipative “top-down”-Ansatz das Hauptproblem städtischer Verbesserungsprogramme ist. Die aktive Mitarbeit und der adäquate Umgang mit den Interessen der öffentlichen, zivilen und privaten Akteure ist entscheidend für effektive, praktikable Verbesserungsprojekte, die soziale Unterschiede verringern und Sozialentwicklung fördern. Basierend auf der Hypothese, dass bei integralen Verbesserungsmaßnahmen die strategische Beteiligung von unterschiedlichen Akteuren darin resultieren würde, effektive und nachhaltige Verbesserungen für einkommensschwache Bevölkerungsschichten zu schaffen, analysiert diese Dissertation die Bedeutung von Mitbestimmung und ihren Einsatz im Planungsprozess der *Favela-Bairro* und dem *Proyecto Urbano Integral*.

Das Ziel dieser Dissertation ist eine Methodik für die Planung und Umsetzung von partizipatorischen, ganzheitlichen Verbesserungsprogrammen in Lateinamerika vorzulegen. Es wird beabsichtigt, drei Ebenen zu etablieren, auf denen die Beiträge und Interessen der möglichen Akteure, das Ausmaß der Beteiligung jedes Akteurs innerhalb des Planungsprozesses und die Zielsetzung des partizipatorischen Planungsprozesses festgelegt werden. Die vorgeschlagenen Ebenen sind städtisch, regional und lokal. Um unterschiedliche städtische Akteure auf den verschiedenen Ebenen zusammenzubringen, wurde dieser Forschungsarbeit “strategic urban planning” als theoretischen Rahmen zugrunde gelegt. Der Prozess der strategischen Planung würde als Basis für die Ausarbeitung des methodischen Konzepts von partizipatorischen, integralen Verbesserungsprogrammen in Lateinamerika dienen. Die klare Definition der beteiligten Akteure und ihrer Verantwortlichkeiten, ihrer besonderen und kollektiven Interessen und die partizipatorische Planungsstrategie stärken Konsensfindung, sowie die strategische Umsetzung von Verbesserungsprogrammen mit kurz-, mittel- und langfristigen Perspektiven, sowie effektive und effiziente Projektergebnisse.

**Schlüsselbegriffe:** integrale städtebauliche Verbesserung, partizipatorische Planung, informelle Urbanisierung, strategische Planung

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## ACRONYMS

ECLAC – Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean

UBN – Unsatisfied Basic Needs

IDB – Inter-American Development Bank

SAP – Structural Adjustment Plans

PUI – Proyecto Urbano Integral

AP - Areas do Planejamento (Planning Areas)

AEIS – Areas de Especial Interest Social –Areas of Special Social Interest-

SMH- *Secretaría Municipal do Habitação* - Municipal Housing Secretary

PROAP - Programa de Urbanização de Assentamentos Populares do Rio de Janeiro – Popular Settlements Urbanisation Programme

GEAP - *Grupo Executivo de Programas Especiais de Trabalho de Assentamientos Populares*

SMU - *Secretaría Municipal de Urbanismo*

SMO - *Secretaría Municipal de Obras y Servicios Públíc*

SMDS - *Secretaría de Desenvolvimento Social*

PUI - *Proyecto Urbano Integral*

PMIB - *Programa de Mejoramiento Integral de Barrios*

PRIMED - *Programa Integral de Mejoramiento de Barrios Subnormales en Medellin* - Sub-normal Settlements Integral Upgrading Programme

POT – *Plan de Ordenamiento Territorial* - Territorial Development Plan

PLRU – *Proyectos de Legalización y Regularización Urbanística* - Urban Legalisation and Regularisation Projects

DAP - Municipal Planning Department

EDU - *Empresa deDesarrollo Urbano – Urban Development Company*

JAC – *Junta de Acción Comunal – Local Action board*

PMO - *Project Management Organisation*

NGO – *Non-Governmental organisation*

CBO – *Community Based Organisations*

MAC – *Municipal Action Committee*

TAC - *Territorial Action Committee*

LAC – *Local Action Committee*

## INTRODUCTION

### Research Background

Cities are complex systems that shape the character of societies and define the life quality of urban communities (Carmona 2000). The prompt urban expansion, inequality and social conflicts alter the perception of the city, modify relationships between residents and compromise the possibility for low-income communities to influence the public agenda as active stakeholders in the construction of the built environment. Unequal income levels along with distorted urban structures create gaps of development, leading the city towards intolerance and social inequalities. The rapid urbanisation experienced by developing and underdeveloped countries challenges governments, policy and institutions to address the existing problems and formulate effective urban policy with a holistic vision for a better future. As governments struggle in establishing a feasible and realistic vision for urban development, the problem of restricted citizenship engenders tensions, especially in cities where urban expansion is aggravated by the incidence of poverty in the city, resulting in the emergence of informality as the answer for many of the necessities of the urban poor.

Reducing the incidence of informality in cities has been the objective of urban upgrading programmes in the past three decades in Latin America. Through the refinement of planning and implementation procedures, urban upgrading has been transformed into a process of rapid selection, planning and implementation, which allowed visible spatial results within one government cycle. The perceived success of projects implemented in cities such as Rio de Janeiro, Brazil and Medellin, Colombia, promoted the widespread and adoption of integral upgrading as the answer to informal settlements. Integral programmes have their focus on spatial improvement and legalisation of tenure; construction of public service networks mitigate environmental risks, while roads and sidewalks link settlements to the formal city, as an attempt to integrate the two sides of the city, as well as of society.

Moreover, upgrading projects represent the success of the municipality in regaining control over derelict areas and bring the state back to once alienated communities, showing the visible results of urban development. In general terms, the integral upgrading approach improved the lives of isolated communities by improving the spatial condition and decreasing the incidence of environmental catastrophes. However, the problem of informality and poverty continues unchanged in Latin American cities, while the outcomes of these programmes decay in time without the necessary maintenance from the municipality.

Urban upgrading programmes such as The *Favela-Bairro* in Rio de Janeiro are the result of decades of learning by doing. Governments learned from previous experiences, producing upgrading programmes aimed at a holistic transformation of informal settlements. Thus emerged and expanded the “*Integral Approach*” (Brakarz & Engel 2004; UN-Habitat 2016, p.94), including legalisation of tenure, spatial improvement, and social development. The *Proyecto Urbano Integral (PUI)* in Medellin is one of the descendants of the *Favela-Bairro* (Rojas 2011; Clichevsky 2006), going a step further to define an internal methodology for management. Both programmes are considered best practices; the municipalities, mayors and officials, who were involved in the implementation, have gained international recognition, spreading the programmes’ benefits and results.

It has been 15 years after the termination of the *Favela-Bairro*, and 5 years after the interruption of the *PUI*. The programmes reduced vulnerabilities of informal populations and acknowledged the right to housing of the urban poor, while the spatial improvement improved the conditions of the built environment. However, government elections resulted in the disengagement of the government from the responsibilities for project completion and maintenance. A visit to the areas benefited by the programmes provides evidence of the problems in maintenance, ineffectiveness of measures to promote social development and dependence on political will for programme continuity.

A previous research has suggested the importance of participation for urban upgrading programmes. This paper analyses the role and use of the concept of participation in the selected cases, through the classification of the programmes’ component into three categories: institutional transformation, spatial improvement, and social development. Understanding the main components of integral upgrading programmes has led to the identification of a lack of participatory practices in the formulation and implementation of the integral programmes as the main obstacles for project completion as well as the reasons for the deterioration of project results.

The *Favela-Bairro* and the *PUI* were selected to illustrate the shift from paternalistic upgrading to an integral approach; the programmes represent the elimination of eviction policies, acknowledgement of decades of incremental construction, as well as the acceptance of informal settlements as parts of the city. Though these programmes exhibit a limited form of participation, the spatial focus has improved the condition of the urban environment, while the legal framework protected communities from forced relocation. These two factors have improved the quality of life and promoted self-help and community initiatives. At the same time, the programmes made low-income neighbourhoods visible for municipal agencies, for formal residents as well as for architecture offices. In both cases, the programmes generated learning processes for communities and municipalities. Communities became more receptive to implementation of urban projects, and the legalisation of tenure encouraged the consolidation of community associations and self-organisation. Likewise, the communities started to learn about their rights and the means to establish a communication channel

with the municipality. These outcomes can be observed nowadays in the strength of most residents' associations in favelas and low-income neighbourhoods in both cities.

Participation takes a very distinct form in the studied programmes. The most significant similarity was the top-down planning process, as well as a lack of real participation of communities and other actors in the decision-making. For municipalities participation meant a socialisation process with communities, as an approach to legitimise interventions, facilitate negotiation and appease opposition. Participation, in fact, was exercised as an information process where communities were shown the expected outcomes of projects by social workers or architects. Both, community leaders and architects recognise the effort of the programmes in communicating with residents once implementation had started; however, the time restrictions and the pressure to produce visible results meant that the speed and timetable was always ahead of the participation process. Although investments in the public realm improve the quality of life, the research shows that urban upgrading projects, which fail to develop a social development component and lack meaningful participation, have a high probability of a limited short-term impact and later deterioration.

The obstacles for participation are associated with lack of experience and capabilities of the municipality to implement participatory practices and the need for administrations to make visible the investments in the urban realm. The influential participation of actors is time consuming and opens the possibilities for higher accountability of budgets and actions, making the municipality more vulnerable to criticism and citizen control (Imparato & Ruster 2003). A participation process, where communities are informed, consulted and included at the end of the process to facilitate implementation, would correspond to Sherry R. Arnstein's definition of *tokenism* with its degrees of consultation, information and placation. In *tokenism* residents might have a space to voice their concerns but not real power to influence design or decision making (Arnstein 1969, p.217). Sarah C. White (1996, p.8) defines this form of participation as "*nominal participation*", where the government uses a limited form of community participation to legitimise projects and avoid strong opposition. Moreover, misused participation distorts the perception of participatory practices among residents, obstructing the establishment of long-term participation processes (Fraser 2005; White 1996).

On paper, both programmes seem to have found the way to address the needs of the urban poor, relying on participation of communities as the key for project effectiveness as well as maintenance. However, the reality shows a different outcome in the implementation of the programmes. Despite the intentions of promoting social development, it is clear that the success of holistic programmes relies not only in the physical outcomes, but also in the influential participation of diverse actors for project continuity and institutionalisation of procedures within the municipal framework. These three factors would prevent politicisation of the programme, increase accountability and delegate responsibilities of maintenance to the appropriate stakeholder.

The emphasis of the study was the analysis of the participatory practices within the planning and implementation process of the programmes in order to understand the obstacles for participatory urban upgrading. Thus, the concept of participation in this research was based on the influential participation of public, private, civil, and external actors in upgrading projects, empowering them to influence decision-making. The research identifies the non-participative top-down planning approach as the main problem of urban upgrading programmes. The active involvement and adequate management of interests of public, civil and private actors are crucial for formulating effective, feasible urban improvement projects that reduce social inequalities and promote social development. In order to bring together diverse urban actors, this research adopted *strategic urban planning* as the theoretical framework, which would guide the formulation of a methodological approach for participatory integral upgrading programmes in Latin America. The methodology defines the contributions and interests of potential actors, the degree of participation of each actor typology in the programme scales: municipal, territorial, and local, as well as the planning process that encourages consensus building and strategic implementation of upgrading projects for short, medium and long-term visions.

## Verbal table of contents

The *first Chapter* of this dissertation introduces the concept of poverty and informal urbanisation in the context of Latin America, exposing the connections between public policy, urban development policies and the emergence of informal settlements. This research considers informal settlements as more than agglomerations of urban dwellers. Thus, this literature review explains the problems and also the potentials of informality, as well as the symbiotic relationship of between the formal and the informal parts of the process of urbanisation of poverty and the role of the informal sector in the production of the Latin American city. The chapter focusses on the planning approaches utilised by municipalities to respond to the emergence, expansion and proliferation of informal settlements through a chronological review of the evolution of public policy and how the changes in urban policy influenced the formulation of strategies against urban poverty, from eviction policies to the integral upgrading approach. The chapter also exposes the main characteristics of former approaches and the shortcomings and results of the implementation of non-participatory upgrading strategies.

*Chapter two* as the methodology chapter will present the research design, characterising the research and presenting the research methods utilised in the development of this investigation. The methodology will also describe the rationales for the research as well as the hypothesis, aims and

purpose of the dissertation. In order to achieve the proposed aim, the research was formulated around a general research question and a set of specific questions which provide structure to the investigation.

Subsequently, the dissertation presents the empirical research divided into two chapters. *Chapters three and four* were developed from the empirical examination of two case studies considered best practices in urban upgrading in Latin America, the *Favela Bairro Programme* Upgrading Programme in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, and the Integral Neighbourhood Upgrading Programme in Medellin, Colombia. Both programmes serve as examples for analysing the formulation, planning and implementation procedures of urban upgrading programmes in Latin America. Moreover, as part of a triangulation and verification process, an abridged study of other 14 upgrading strategies was realised in order to understand the similarities amongst Latin American programmes and examine this approaches regarding the objectives, outcomes and participatory practices included in the formulation of programmes. The abridged analysis, combined with the empirical research would become the main data source for the analysis of the programmes and the lessons learned in the implementation of top-down urban upgrading strategies.

*Chapter five* introduces the theoretical framework of this research. In order to achieve the main objective of this dissertation, the proposal of a methodology for participatory integral upgrading, the researcher utilised critical theory for urban planning as the means to analyse the case studies and other programmes and understand the reasons for the formulation, as well as the deficiencies of programmes. One of those great deficiencies is the misuse of the concept of participation. Thus this chapter defines participation in the context of urban upgrading, as well as the actors and their roles, explaining the benefits and need for participation in urban upgrading. Later on, the chapter introduces the participatory practices of consensus building and strategic planning that would shape the methodology for participatory upgrading in chapter nine.

With the literature review, theory and empirical research explained, *Chapter six* reviews the results of the empirical research through the lens of critical and participation theory. The analysis of all the programmes examined in this research was guided by an analytical matrix developed by the author from the research process itself, where the characteristics of programmes were categorised for the later analysis regarding participation and effectiveness of outcomes. This chapter follows said matrix exposing the lessons learned from the programmes.

*Chapter seven* builds on the analysis and lessons of each one of the former chapters to introduce, step by step, the procedures and processes necessary for the formulation and planning of a participatory upgrading programme. The methodology is based on strategic planning, but brings into the framework the actors, roles, and aims of a participatory upgrading programme, starting from the political decision of upgrade informal areas, to the action scales for planning and implementation of a different typology of projects.



The *last chapter*, **Chapter eight**, constitutes a summary of the main concepts and lessons developed throughout the dissertation and research, as the means to answer the research questions concisely and synthesise those messages important for the topic and the author. Likewise, this chapter highlights the areas of knowledge that should be further developed as suggestions for further research.

## CHAPTER 1

# The Evolution of Upgrading Policy

### 1.1. Introduction

Cities in Latin America experienced rapid urbanisation processes since the 1960's, induced by agricultural reforms, industrialisation and international economic crises. Currently, more than 79% of the population lives in urban conglomerates, and predictions suggest that by 2050 the percentage of urbanised population will reach 87% (CEPAL 2013). Planning the Latin American city became a task of finding a balance between two paradoxical realities, a city composed of two societies developing in the same geographical area, segregated by economic means and lack of opportunities. In the formal city, misguided development policy endangered social welfare, reduced wages and increased the cost of living. Similarly, the liberalisation of markets reduced the possibilities of low-income populations to have access to affordable housing. This resonated amongst formal and informal communities as “*an acknowledgement that the government will take only partial responsibility or no responsibility for developing working-class neighbourhoods*” (Irazábal 2009, p. 49). Thus, the informal city densified, self-help emerged as the answer to the housing deficit, caused the expansion of informal occupation and overwhelmed urban infrastructures.

This chapter introduces general notions about urban poverty and informality in Latin America, explores the causes for the emergence of informal settlements, as well as the role of informal urbanisation in the expansion and the difficulties in planning the Latin American city. The role of urbanisation has changed in the past five decades, shaping the relationship between poverty, informality and urban policy. The descriptive analysis in this chapter examines the connections between changes in the role of informality, formulation of urban poverty and the evolution of poverty reduction strategies, observing the parallels between the evolution of policy, the outcomes of programmes and the consolidation process of informal settlements. The study of anti-poverty policy in Latin America begins with a reflection on the planning and implementation practices and the impact of non-participatory planning approaches on the effectiveness and continuity of urban projects.

## 1.2. Defining Poverty in Latin America

Poverty is a concept closely associated with economic means and consumption of goods; however, the perceptions of poverty may vary, depending on the country, city, neighbourhood, community and individual. Poverty has many different meanings depending on the specific conditions in which a person or household is labelled. These conditions are directly linked to the development level of the country, socio-economic situation, consumption patterns, average income, etc.

In order to react to a growing number of urban poor, governments attempted to measure poverty in many different ways. Some use purchasing power, which is the value of a currency measured by “*the level of consumption that can be afforded while retaining [household] capital intact*” (Wratten 1995, p. 12). Other measure income per capita to identify which sector of the population is less likely to afford the local standard of living. International aid development institutions have established two specific poverty lines, to differentiate between poverty and extreme poverty. The *poverty line* is defined at a household income per capita below US\$370 a year, while the *extreme poverty line* is equivalent to an annual household income of less than US\$275 (Wratten 1995, pp.12–13). “*These [poverty] lines indicate the insufficiency of economic resources to meet the basic minimum needs in food*” (UNDP 1997, p.13). In the analysis of poverty lines made by Wratten, it is interesting to note the imprecisions of this classification method by comparing the annual income of a household composed of seven members with an annual income of US\$2.500 to a single person household with an annual income of US\$400. “*Using the World Bank criterion of US\$ 370 per capita, all seven members of the larger family would be classified as poor, whereas the single adult would not*” (Wratten 1995, p.13). Often such measurements are imprecise and reflect the methodological differences and competencies of governments for information acquisition (Ramirez 2003). Ultimately, each country has different ways to understand and measure poverty.

Extreme poverty suggests the inability to provide the necessary goods to the family members to have a dignified existence (Rojas 2010). It is problematic to focus only on the economic aspect of poverty. On the one hand, a low setting of the poverty line, US\$1 a day, might exclude low-income households also in need of economic and social development. On the other hand, a high setting of the poverty line might cover middle-income households, increasing the proportion of the population in need of economic and social policy, inefficiently directing policy and resources towards the inaccurate sector of society.

There is a myriad of concepts associated with measuring poverty, and most of these take into account only the economic aspect of poverty. According to the Economic Commission for Latin America and The Caribbean –ECLAC–, poverty levels in most countries in Latin America with the

exception of Argentina, Chile and Uruguay, are between 25% to 50%, while extreme poverty ranging between 5% to 20%, and almost 70% in Honduras (ECLAC 2014, p.91–92).

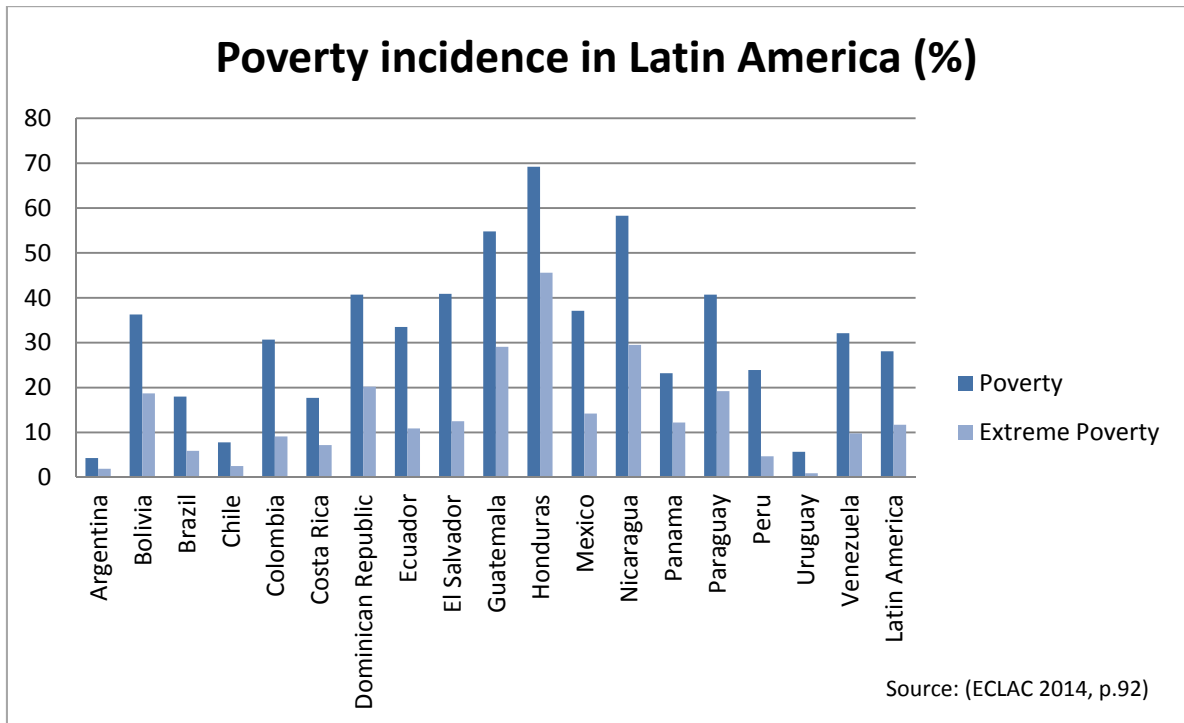


Figure 1: Poverty & extreme poverty incidence in Latin America

Moreover, this classification is the different levels of need and degrees of vulnerability of low-income communities; thus, it is necessary to perform a careful examination of the multiple conditions of urban poor populations, not only economic but also regarding the unsatisfied basic needs -UBN-. In Latin America, the concept of Unsatisfied Basic Needs has been utilised as an argument to expand the scope of poverty reduction programmes, including social projects as the mean to prevent the reproduction of poverty (Rojas 2010, p.146). The identification of UBN led to a special understanding of poverty in Latin America, where the condition of households in extreme poverty, with unsatisfied basic needs and in the condition of illegal or informal tenure is considered “*structural poverty*” (Arriagada 2000, p.136). The condition of structural poverty signified the need for a holistic approach to addressing the basic needs, shelter situation and vulnerabilities of the urban poor population and opened the door for portraying urban poverty as a multiple dimension phenomenon which includes (Imparato & Ruster 2003, p.37):

- **Shelter:** High densities, master plans and population growth are pushing housing prices over the limit of affordability for middle and low-income households, causing downward social mobility to secure shelter. For internal migrants coming from the countryside, finding shelter is no longer a question of affordability but a question of social networks and adaptability to inhumane living conditions.

- **Public services:** provision of public services depends on the legal condition of the area, the age of the settlement and profit expected by provider companies. Social services are virtually non-existent in poor neighbourhoods.
- **Employment:** many urban poor are employed in the informal sector, self-employed or work as an unskilled labour force in the service sector or construction.
- **Family:** instability and gender inequality: affect the introduction of women in the workforce, preventing women-headed households from experiencing economic growth or forcing young people to leave school to support the household.

Regardless of the income classification, poverty combined with social risk factors, e.g. inadequate shelter, lack of access to social services, unemployment, illiteracy, insecurity, restricted mobility, gender inequality, family instability, and social conflicts or violations of human rights, generate social risks for low-income communities, turning these populations into vulnerable groups and pushing them into poverty (Imparato & Ruster 2003, p.36). In the words of the UN “*vulnerability may be defined as the probability of an individual, a household or a community falling below a minimum level of welfare e.g. poverty line, or suffering physical and socio-economic as a result of risky events and processes*” (UN-Habitat 2008a, p.4). Poverty affects all spheres of urban life, generating social risks for children and communities in general. Besides marginalisation, the urban poor are vulnerable because of insecurity, exposure to risk, caused by poverty, illegal occupation of urban land, limited access to financing, and the presence of illegal actors in low-income and informal neighbourhoods who generate violence and crime (Arrietta De Bustillos et al. 2002). Poverty and vulnerability affect social capital and the spatial conditions of the urban poor, engender segregation, inequality and hinder access to public infrastructure, which in turn brings disadvantages for micro-economies in low-income settlements. Poverty obstructs the possibilities of the poor to adapt to the challenges of the urban environment and prevent the inclusion of low-income populations into urban development processes (Leiva 2012).

### 1.3. Globalisation of Development Policy

The case of the Latin American city is a clear example of implementation of inappropriate urban development policy, especially regarding informal settlements, where unrealistic aspirations for industrialisation and the beautification of the city became more important objectives than addressing the growing problem of urban poverty (Torres et al. 2009). The strategies to overcome informality and improve the image of the city have been evolving since the 1960's, with the adoption of diverse internationally promoted planning models (Watson 2009) and syncretism between rational-technocratic model, advocacy, and seemingly participatory planning approaches (Irazábal 2009).

Municipalities followed international trends and focused anti-poverty plans on mitigating the effects of urban poverty, while cities longed for internationalisation and recognition in the global arena. It is clear that under the high incidence of poverty, any economic growth and urban policy that neglects social development would only produce segregation, inequality and unrealistic objectives for urban development (UN-Habitat 2008b).

The implementation of urban projects was a centralised process managed by authoritarian governments or ad-hoc municipal mayors. The absence of democratic elections for municipal administration as was the case of Colombian cities or the imposition of dictatorships as happened in Brazil signified the adoption of centralised, authoritarian decision-making, which influenced the processes of policy making and subsequently urban planning (Arretxe 2004). Later on, with the onset of democracy, arrived also international development policy and institutions who guided urban development using implementing structural changes in economic policy (Lora & Panizza 2002). International development policy suggested a centralised structure for municipal governments where the guidelines of international institutions could be implemented to have access to development grants. Thus, Latin American governments strengthened the rigid vertical hierarchy, generating a “*technocratic process, the job of professionals*” (Rakodi 2001, p. 209) as planning processes that valued professional expertise over empirical knowledge of populations (Allmendinger 2005). Control over decision-making was exercised only by governmental institutions and public agencies. The new planning approach was a sectorial top-down procedure, which granted governments the instruments for paternalism and lack of accountability (Irazábal 2009). Top-down processes not only prevent the participation of other sectors of society in urban planning, but they also mean that decision-making is made from a governmental perspective based on the viewpoint of experts and their understanding of the needs of the city. Technocratic, sectorial approaches proved ineffective to respond to rapid urbanisation and impoverishment of the population.

Top-down planning has as a main characteristic the absence of participatory decision-making, supported by the idea that municipal agencies, practitioners, as well as professionals hold the necessary knowledge, expertise and skills to design a successful project (Botes 2000). Thus, knowledge becomes an excuse for hindering the use of local knowledge from residents in the formulation of urban projects and impedes active participation of communities. In this sense, non-participative approaches have a limited time-span, scope and impact, as they ignore the importance of local knowledge and the real origins as well as consequences of the situation of the inhabitants. Local knowledge is developed from life experiences, appears in different forms, provides a practical understanding of phenomena, as well as the relationships between different actors (Eversole 2012). The effective use of local, technical and professional knowledge enhances the outcomes of the project and builds community and institutional capacity.

Informality and poverty could be considered as evidence of the lack of vision of Latin American governments in foreseeing the consequences of implementing international policy trends. The economic, social and urban condition in Latin American countries was underdeveloped for the adoption of urban policy applicable only to industrialised countries. The changes in agricultural policy endangered the survival of rural residents, while municipalities struggled to cope with the influx of low-income residents.

#### **1.4. Informal Urbanisation Process**

At the beginning of the urbanisation process in the 1950's and 1960's, informal urbanisation led the expansion of the Latin American city. As governments overlooked the importance of agricultural economic activities, farming activities decreased, and the economic condition of rural populations worsened. The urban dream, combined with economic pressures and diversity in services offered in urban areas, pulled rural population to the city, where they found a solution to the problem of shelter within the informal sector (Brook & Dávila 2000). Latin American cities were not prepared for internal migration waves. Thus the lack of affordable housing drove the new urbanites to rely on self-help and initiate processes of informal construction, occupying public or private land adjacent to the formal neighbourhoods of the city.

The early informal expansion processes were promoted and financed by affluent land owners who had influence and power over municipal decisions. In the initial industrialisation efforts, the Latin American city could absorb the incoming migration of labour force, providing employment and housing in informal, but not illegal units with the promise of tenure legalisation. Private entrepreneurs and landowners endorsed informal urbanisation processes for the incoming labour force by subdividing private land and developing dwellings. The initial problem with legalising the emergent urbanisation was the burden over urban infrastructure and services (Coupe 1993). Later, developers devised a plan for the layout of new settlements, following and extending the urban grid along the informal area in a pattern similar to the existent neighbourhoods. This process of urbanisation lacked the formal procedure for the acquisition of a property title and neglected the official guidelines for roads and provision of urban services (Gilbert 1981). However, this simple, informal planning principle of following the urban grid facilitated the negotiation process between land owners and the municipality, which in the 1960's resulted in the extension of the urban perimeter and the recognition of newly constructed neighbourhoods as part of the city. It was not until the 1970's and the economic crises that informal settlements started to be considered a threat to the city as they densified and concentrated large low-income populations (Coupe 1993).

The combination of inappropriate economic policy, migration of unskilled populations to urban centres and the inability of governments to respond promptly and adequately to the fast population growth, caused the emergence of poverty pockets in cities, as well as the colonisation of urban peripheries by the new urban poor. The emergence and proliferation of informal settlements on private and public land expanded the Latin American city, extending the borders and demanding action from municipalities for the provision of infrastructure and services.

#### **1.4.1. Neo-Liberal Urban Poverty**

The attractiveness of cities relies on the opportunities for economic growth and inclusion in the production society. In the 1970's decade, the influence of international financing institutions in the definition of economic and urban policy led developing countries to set ambitious goals for economic growth, income distribution and productive modernisation, in order to follow international development models (Leiva 2012). These attempts to transform agricultural-based communities into industrialised societies overlooked the social dimension of development and, instead, followed the *“neoclassical economic model in which economic growth could be fuelled simply by supplying the proper economic infrastructure”* (Zanetta 2001, p. 515). On the one hand, the urban policy was shaped by rigid economic guidelines, unable to efficiently identify the social challenges of Latin American cities. On the other hand, programmes and policy were directed at solving spatial problems and improving infrastructure through sectorial spatial interventions (Moser 1995). The new spatial approach to development demanded high input of financial resources, along with the requirement of technical capabilities for the implementation of large-scale urban projects. Financial and technical concerns compelled many developing countries to borrow from international financing institutions, e.g. the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank -IDB-, in order to finance large infrastructure and urban projects in cities. These dynamics of borrowing for development generated a dependence relationship between urban development and increasing external debt (Pugh 1994).

The thrive for industrialisation and investment of foreign capital resulted in neglected social issues, disregarded agricultural problems and caused a decline in the overall well-being of urban populations (Irazábal 2009). The *“sink or swim”* economic approach, as expressed by Davis (2006, p.15) generated waves of rural migration to the city; farmers, looking to improving their livelihoods and securing a better future, left the agricultural activities and migrated to the growing urban centres. Although the incipient industrialisation created jobs in the city, the rural newcomers were equipped only with agricultural skills, limiting their possibilities for human, economic and social development.



Cities expanded, populations grew and densified, establishing new urbanisation modes and challenging existing social, administrative and urban structures.

#### **1.4.2. Slum Clearance for Urban Beautification**

The answer of local and national governments to the rapid expansion of cities was repression. Occupation of valuable developable land by informal residents, combined with top-down planning policy and authoritarian regimes, resulted in the implementation of “*slum clearance*” as an anti-poverty strategy in the 1950’s and 1960’s by many developing countries. Clearance consisted in displacing informal dwellers, preventing the processes of auto-construction and consolidation of housing on illegally occupied lands, especially in areas suitable for future development or close to wealthy areas of the city (Rondinelli 1990, p.156). Eviction and clearance strategies were supported on the need for urban modernisation i.e. automobile friendly urban areas, and global trends of city beautification (UN-Habitat 2008a; UNDP 1997; Davis 2006). In this sense, policy makers ignored the idea of redevelopment as a more appropriate tool for regularisation of informal settlements. Clearance was used in the economic policy to satisfy the interests of real-estate markets while achieving a politic objective of undermining the revolutionary potential of informal dwellers (Valladares 1978).

The problems of forced eviction as a poverty reduction strategy are endless. For urban populations informal urbanisation became the only solution to the problem of shelter and, later on, informality was the only option for economic survival in urban centres. Cleared areas were used for urban development for commercial use or large infrastructure projects (Eckstein 1990), while the problem of poverty and informality only relocated to a different area of the city, in equal or worse economic conditions. Clearance and forced relocation not only destroys dwellings but deepens the condition of structural poverty of the urban poor, endangering their possibilities for survival. Informal settlers invest their scarce economic resources in housing, food and transport. Forced relocation disregards the cost of housing for informal residents, not only destroying the object of investment but also the possibilities for economic and social development (Hardoy & Satterthwaite 1986). Moreover, relocation disrupts social networks amongst inhabitants impeding solidarity; decreases employment opportunities when communities are relocated to the periphery of the city; and hinders the possibilities for self-development by restricting access to services. Clearance means increased vulnerabilities of low-income residents as well as the opportunities for illegal actors to exploit the urban poor.

### 1.4.3. The Lost Decade of Latin America

While clearance of informal settlements was implemented to redevelop inner developable, the world's economic sphere was shaken by the oil crises of 1973 and 1979, causing an increase in interest rates, a decrease of imports, and decay of local economies. Indebted nations in Latin America were unable to keep their financial compromises or repay their debts and had to keep borrowing to support the economy and survive. Thus, the decade of 1980 was known as the "Lost Decade" as poverty and disparity thrived in Latin American cities (Irazábal 2009, p.49).

SAP's conditions for loans:

- Trade and exchange rate liberalisation
- Reduction in government spending
- Cost-recovery strategies in public enterprises, privatization, cuts in subsidies and liberalisation of controls over markets.
- Anti-Poverty policies

Source: (UN-Habitat 2003, p.45)

*Box 1: SAP's loan conditions*

Throughout the *Lost Decade* in the 1980's, urban development was guided by *Structural Adjustment Programmes* –SAP's-. These were implemented through short-term economic policy, as an attempt to respond to the economic crisis (Cohen 1990; Amis 1995; Moser 1989b; Pugh 1995; World et al. 1994; Riley et al. 2001; Zanetta 2001; Irazábal 2009; Rakodi 2001). Some of the changes in economic policy in Latin America concentrated on reducing public expenditures, privatisation of state companies, along with the liberalisation of local economies in order to have access to international markets.

These changes in economic policy affected social-economic activities and initiated the withdrawal of the state from the provision of services and economic markets. The weakened economy had a negative impact on household incomes and the purchasing power of the population, reducing per capita expenditures, increasing unemployment and inflation (Leiva 2012). Cedric Pugh (1994) states that short-term economic stabilisation policies and long-term development could be harmonised on the assumption that economic stabilisation is a framework for improved investment and growth. Conversely, the history of the continent shows that most short-term policies were based on the hypothesis that economic stabilisation alone would lead to long-term growth (Pugh 1994), leaving the social aspects of development and poverty neglected. The liberalisation of markets, privatisation of public services and retreat of government from the economic arena "*proved devastating for the social fabric of the continent*" (Irazábal 2009, p.49).

With the retirement of the state from social services, poverty spread throughout low-income populations as public services, housing, and even healthcare and welfare were managed by private actors (UN-Habitat 2003). Poverty reached a critical mass, affecting up to 60% of the urban population

by the end of the 1980's decade (Gilbert 1996, p. 74). In addition to poverty becoming a limitation to securing basic needs, the lack of social, economic and financial resources marginalised low-income communities and restricted their participation in the formal society (Serageldin 1989).

#### 1.4.4. The Proliferation of Informal Settlements

Originally, informal settlements were strategically located close to areas where opportunities for survival were at hand. Instead of reducing the incidence of poverty in Latin American cities, the SAP's and clearance measures moved the reproduction and propagation of informality to the urban periphery. As inner-city settlements and squatters were evicted, new informal settlements appeared next to industrial or commercial zones, where formal and informal employment was offered. Informal communities thrived and densified on the fringe of the formal city. Formal and informal created a symbiotic relationship, where informal employment offered by industrial, commerce, middle and high-income households allowed the urban poor to survive. Informal populations understood the benefits of locating their housing close to centres of employment, reducing the cost and time of transport and, in some cases, having better access to social services provided by the city in the legal areas (UN-Habitat 2003).

Thus, formal neighbourhoods were surrounded by informal settlements. The interaction between middle or high-income neighbourhoods and informal settlements developed, as both societies benefited from their mutual economic relationship (Turner 1978; Portes 1989). Building construction, household maintenance, after school children care, hotel and restaurant services, etc. are a few examples of the employment opportunities offered by the formal sector, which were and still are mostly covered by low-income or informal residents, as they represent cheap and available labour force.

#### Impacts of SAP's:

- Open economy causes increase in amount of export, no necessarily in value.
- Increase in interest rates stop investment and threatened small enterprises
- Uncontrolled markets and poverty causes increase in informal economies
- Insolvent financial sector and indebted enterprises
- The urban poor are the most affected
- Safety nets for the elites instead of vulnerable populations
- Increase of all forms of social insecurity

Source: (UN-Habitat 2003, p.45)

*Box 2: Impacts of SAP in Latin America*



Figure 2: in front Favela Andaraí, background neighbouring Tijuca district, Rio de Janeiro

#### 1.4.5. The Shelter Approach

From this close relationship with formal areas arose large informal settlements which, in the view of municipalities, disfigured the image of the city and needed to be removed. As a response to the expansion of informality, governments turned to international development and aid institutions for help. Financial aid came supported by the SAP's with conditions, demanding institutional change in municipal and national administrations, along with the adoption of new approaches to urban development. The institutional restructuring brought new urban development policies and introduced new poverty reduction strategies for developing countries. In light of the failure of former anti-poverty strategies, e.g. eviction clearance and forced relocation (Davis 2006), and guided by international institutions, governments modified the policy approach to address urban informality. Eviction and clearance were frowned upon, as the new approach aimed at relocating communities to social housing blocks, with the promise of the redevelopment of the original informal settlements and future return to a legalised neighbourhood (Gonçalves 2008). Thus appeared the social housing programmes with "Shelter Projects" such as slum upgrading with temporary relocation and construction of "Sites-and-Services", which became the drivers of poverty reduction policy (UN-Habitat 2003, p.137).

These social housing programmes recognised the need for shelter amongst displaced informal populations, but it signified a change of environment, adjustment to a new mode of living, as well as adaptation of families to the new spaces inside the social dwellings. The repercussions of these changes in the livelihoods of the urban poor are profound. The location of the social dwellings was

usually outside the perimeter of the city, restricting access to urban services and, more important, to opportunities for employment and economic survival (Lloyd-Jones & Carmona 2003). Relocating informal dwellers to remote locations means transport costs or difficulties in exchange of merchandise or goods for retail activities that support and provide for the needs of the urban poor. Furthermore, relocation means disruption of social networks which are essential for informal communities. Economic activities, children and elderly care, entrepreneurship, amongst others, are encouraged by social networks and increase the possibilities for survival of low-income communities (Willis 2009).

The flexible option to relocation in social dwellings was the “*Sites-and-Services*” approach promoted by the World Bank in 1974 (Zanetta 2001, p.518). *Sites-and-Services* was a cost recovery strategy based on the relocation of informal communities to the periphery of the city, where public infrastructure was provided and families were granted loans for purchasing housing shells (Rondinelli 1990). The purchase of the unit provided security of tenure to the household in the form of property rights; however, along with the individual property title came financial responsibilities in loan repayments, taxes, and payment for public services, becoming economic burdens that impacted the incomes of the urban poor significantly (Rondinelli 1990). Furthermore, the condition of the housing shells required investment from the household for finishing and housing expansions, in order to make the units habitable and adjust them to the family needs. These economic responsibilities hindered incremental construction processes.

Whether it was social dwellings or relocation to the periphery, it is important to emphasise the strong spatial focus of these strategies. The *Shelter Approach* focused on improving the image of the city by removing informal settlements and providing affordable shelter to the urban poor. Neither strategy contemplated the implementation of social development projects, leaving the socio-economic condition of the new owners unchanged. The economic burdens associated with the ownership, in addition to the costs of transport from the periphery to employment centres, generated strong economic pressures on the incomes of the urban poor. Later the only option for these communities became selling the units (Lim 1987) and relocated again to new or existent informal settlements.

## **1.5. Informality as an Urban Actor**

Amongst all sectors of society, poverty is understood as scarcity of financial resources and associated with deficiencies in housing, sanitation, education and general welfare. As expressed by Riley, Fiori and Ramirez, “*poverty is a complex and multifaceted phenomenon lived differently by different people and signifying much more than low incomes*” (Riley et al. 2001, p.523). It assumes

different forms in every country and the definition of urban poor has very different connotations from north to south.

In Latin America, poverty is directly linked with informality, since most of the urban survive from the informal markets, working, living and trading within unregulated societies that deliver most of the basic needs. With the deep economic crises and the consequences of the implementation of the SAP's, informality extended not only to housing but to every sphere of urban life for low-income communities, transforming informality into an urban actor. Nowadays, informal markets are an important part of Latin American economies (Jones & Ward 1994). Informality is found mostly in urban areas, where the state fails to provide the basic needs to the population. However in Latin America, regardless of their tenure status, middle and low-income populations have strong ties with informality for the provision of housing, employment, transportation, and public services, e.g. water, electricity, internet, or for social services such as children care. Thus, the definition of informality goes beyond property titles or geography; the concept implies non-compliance with the established social or legal norm.

The informality has strongly influenced the socio-economic and political situation in cities, as well as the formulation of urban policy (Clichevsky 2009, p. 65). Segregation and economic stagnation reinforce the position of the informal sector, while the formal city isolates and stigmatises low-income communities. *“Informality emerged as a parallel world, with intrinsic logics, full of potentials and imagination for survival, but at the same time burdened by competition, individualism, instability and loss of normative referents for the society”*<sup>1</sup> (Salazar Jaramillo 1996, p. 127)

### 1.5.1. Stigmatisation of Informality

Favelas, informal settlements, squatter settlements, villas pirate urbanisation are some appellatives for informal and low-income housing in developing countries. These concepts are charged with negative connotations, which reflect the perception about these communities in the public sphere. Informal settlements are an expression of social inequalities, representing stigmatised, segregated communities, affected by restricted citizenship. The incidence of extreme poverty, the proliferation of inadequate housing and absence of public infrastructure, combined with the incursion of violence, crime and drugs in the 1980's transformed the image of informal settlements into derelict urban areas, an image that extended beyond the border of the illegal into low-income areas (Feinberg 2010).

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<sup>1</sup> Translated by the author from: “La informalidad surgió como un mundo paralelo, cargado de sus propias lógicas, lleno de potencialidades e imaginación para lograr la subsistencia, pero al mismo tiempo cargado de competencia, individualismo, inestabilidad y pérdida de referentes normativos de la sociedad” (Salazar Jaramillo 1996, p. 127)

Informal settlements were considered agglomerations of homeless, unemployed, abandoned peoples living in subhuman conditions, “*social and economically parasites of the public budget*” that occupy valuable developable land (Dean & Pearlman 1977, p.42).



**Figure 3: Barrier at the border of the informal settlement, Moravia, Medellín.**



**Figure 4: Behind the barrier, Moravia, Medellín**

The condition of illegality limits their ability in actively participating in decision-making processes for the construction of the city. However, informal areas offer more than shelter solutions for new and old urban poor. Informal settlements exhibit strong social networks that provide solidarity, community cohesion and a sense of belonging (Dean & Pearlman 1977). Contrary to the stigma of helplessness and poverty, informal residents are very active in formal and informal markets. Informal societies congregate capabilities for self-development, which can be observed in the grassroots projects developed through self-help as evidenced or the self-financed incremental construction process observed in most informal settlements. Informal residents are the labour force in the service sector and move local economies as they consume goods and services (Wratten 1995). Likewise, the need for financial resources motivates creativity in social and economic activities, bringing together formal and informal economies (Hardoy & Satterthwaite 1986).

The limited access to basic and higher education, in addition to low skill specialisation of the urban poor, hinder the possibilities of economic and social development. On the other hand, the rigid regulations about hiring and dismissal prevent many employers from increasing the task force, decreasing productivity and increasing informal employment (Márquez et al. 2008). The reduced offer of formal employment forced many low-income families to survive from home-based enterprises, with production and distribution of goods located inside the dwelling. These home-based economic

activities are mostly carried out in women-headed households (Bredenoord & van Lindert 2010) since women have more restricted housing options, as they retain responsibility for childcare and community management (UN-Habitat, 2003).

The informal economic activities have become the heart of the economy in many cities, providing up to 44% of the total employment in the Latin American countries in the 1990's (Márquez et al. 2008). Informal employment is found in familiar microenterprises, home-based businesses, self-employed inhabitants, as well as “*informal contractual arrangements in firms that are otherwise formal*” (Hart 2007, p. 27). Moreover, the hardships of urban life demand the establishment of social connections for survival. Self-organised cooperatives for child care, financing and saving help residents cope with the demands of urban life, while transport, employment and public services are catered by informal actors. Self-help as the only possibility for urban, social and economic development of informal settlements, promotes social cohesion and community-based initiatives. As expressed by Cedric Pugh, “*self-help housing produces individual and social assets of collectively large value in the housing stock*” (Pugh 2000).



Figure 5: Self-employment, Medellín



Figure 6: Formal/Informal economy boosted by urban upgrading, Medellín.

Categorising urban areas between formal and informal is a difficult task for governments and planning officials. Informality is recognisable in new settlements surrounding the city limits, but it has also infiltrated traditional and formal neighbourhoods, occupying vacant land or occupying forgotten building structures in inner city areas. Informality can be present in households with legal tenure, as rooms are rented to make ends meet, or some public services are better provided by illegal actors than public companies. Therefore, understanding the social dynamics of communities and addressing the different dimensions of poverty in low-income neighbourhoods (Hardoy & Satterthwaite 1986, p.247) are essential in the process to improve the livelihoods of the urban poor. The emergence of informality



and its establishment as an urban actor in Latin American cities led to the segregation of informal and low-income areas. These became interdependent societies with their norms, processes and living conditions, where solidarity and social networks and create new relationships, cultural expressions and identities amongst the urban poor (Portes 1989).

### **1.5.2. Settlement layout and Environmental Risk**

Informal settlements are more than the accumulation of poverty; they are the evidence of the creativity and will for the survival of low-income communities. Informal areas are more than a challenge for municipal governments or a simple solution to shelter (Perlman 1976). Time and understanding about the condition of informal settlements would bring to light the potentials of informal areas for urban, economic and social development. They are lively dynamic communities that gather workforce, micro-economies, creativity, culture, local identity, solidarity, social networks and self-help initiatives.

Despite the many positive features found in informal communities, illegal urbanisation became the main problem of many Latin American cities, as they exposed the inefficiencies of governments, disfigured the image of the city (UN-Habitat 2003). Through the traditional top-down planning process, city planning departments have attempted to limit the expansion perimeter, establishing borders and zoning plans in order to control urban expansion; however, informality develops on the fringe of planned neighbourhoods, out of the view of the authorities and fostered by private and illegal landlords.

The geography of many Latin American cities provides a natural barrier to formal urbanisation, as high slopes or deserts are considered areas with environmental risks, which prevent expansion of formal construction or provision of services. Conversely, for the urban poor who are unaware of the environmental problems, these areas of the city represent opportunities for informal occupation. Regrettably, in many cities, the informal occupation of hillsides outside the city perimeter has resulted in landslides or catastrophes, due to the effects of topology and climate change (Hardoy & Pandiella 2009). Moreover, the location of informal settlements in cities makes them prone to climatic events that put a strain on the budgets of the urban poor. Rainfall, besides causing landslides and flooding, affects housing and belongings; lack of rainwater collection infrastructure impedes mobility, allowing runoff to disperse health risks throughout the settlement (Echeverri et al. 2012). Also, water and sewerage provision is hindered by height. Thus most informal communities located on the surrounding hills are forced to bring water supply from untreated water sources and dispose of waste

on creeks or garbage dump sites in the settlement, increasing environmental risks for communities as well as for the city in general.



*Figure 7: Settlement Layout, Commune<sup>2</sup> 8-9, Medellín*

The layout of informal settlements follows the existent urban pattern of adjacent neighbourhoods, replicating the urban grid, but adapting to the topology of the area (Mukhija 2001). In settlements located on high slopes the grid is lost due to the difficulty of straight road access; the settlements, then adopt a more organic layout, reducing the size of streets and creating wavy patterns as the settlement ascends on the hill. Settlements on the lower ground could benefit from the grid pattern as they would be easily connected to existent urban infrastructure grid; however, higher areas demand high investments and layout modification to bring service networks into the settlement.

Poverty combined with small unpaved streets limit the use of automobiles in these residential areas, but also difficult the access to public transport modes to the higher parts of settlements. Likewise, the use of non-motorised transport, i.e. bicycles, is only possible in flat to lower slope areas. Therefore, the most common transport mode in these neighbourhoods are motorcycles, which serve as “paratransit”, motorised taxi-like informal transport for mobility, as well as transport of goods (Barter & Kenworthy 1997, p.14). The narrow street layout also implies difficulties for garbage collection

<sup>2</sup> The city of Medellín is divided in 16 communes, each comprising several legally divided neighbourhoods. However, in the colloquial language communes are understood as the popular neighbourhoods and have a connotation of poverty, illegality and informality.

services, access of emergency vehicles e.g. ambulances, fire-fighters or police, restricting the presence of the state and creating opportunities for illegal actors to control the lives of the urban poor.



Figure 8: Entrance Favela Andaraí, Rio de Janeiro



Figure 9: Moto-taxis and garbage collection services at the entrance of the favela, Andaraí, Rio de Janeiro

### 1.5.3. Informal Housing

The emergence, expansion and consolidation of informal settlements are endogenous processes for urbanisation in Latin America. Informal housing developed as “*a logical product of social and political systems, the historical moment and land markets*”<sup>3</sup> (Coupe 1993, p. 5) and it thrives in the context of scarcity of resources and inefficient urban policy. The institutional situation and limited financial resources of local governments to provide for the needs of the urban population forced the state to retreat from the production of housing (Balbo 2003). The need for survival leads the urban poor to create new informal communities. In the last decades, informal communities grew promptly, becoming a critical mass, which allowed them to be visible in the city, accounted for around 30% of the total urban population (UN-Habitat 2008a, p.9). In the same sense, the informal sector provides housing for a large share of the population, covering between 30% to 70% of the overall housing stock in developing cities (Pugh 2000, p. 325).

The reach of the state was limited by policy regulations and budgets, while the informal sector was flexible and adaptable in addressing the basic housing needs of the urban poor. Thus, informality

<sup>3</sup> Translated by the author from: “*Producto lógico del sistema político y social, de la conyuntura histórica y del mercado de la tierra urbana*” (Coupe 1993, p. 5)

covered the demand for affordable housing and expanded over the low-income housing market. The urban poor live within and from the informal sector, and the ability of informality to adapt in size and scope becomes a significant factor as an actor in urban development, concentrating wealth, power and population within invisible marginal societies (Pugh 2000). The extension and rapid development of informality in many cities forced governments to overlook informal urbanisation processes and let the urban poor to survive by their means, labelling informal housing production as self-help, auto-construction and incremental construction. These are on-going self-help approaches to housing construction, extension, and improvement, dependent on the availability of financial resources in the household. In the case of unstable employment or high environmental risk areas, housing construction could become a lifelong project for the household or community involved. Nevertheless, this is an example of the willingness of communities to work in their neighbourhood and improve their living conditions (Turner 1977).

Self-help for shelter improvement processes is only possible when residents have a sense of security or a perception that eviction is no longer a threat to their survival (van Horen 2000). Informal occupation without the threat of eviction stimulates auto-construction and self-help amongst residents. Self-help construction reduces the costs of housing by using temporary inexpensive materials e.g. cardboard, discarded plastics, discarded wood, etc. Likewise, the spatial distribution of the dwelling accommodates residence, home-based enterprises and commercial activities (DPU 2006).

Dwellings in informal settlements are in constant improvement; they adapt to the needs of the household, family size increase, home-based economic activities or aspirations of improvement. Incremental construction is supported by increased incomes and transfer of building skills from construction workers to other members of the community (Bredenoord & van Lindert 2010). Auto-construction utilises the skills of residents for building, at the same time that encourages innovation in self-construction techniques. An improvement in the socio-economic condition would result in better construction materials e.g. bricks, mortar, metal or zinc plates, and eventually, the process of consolidation would enhance informal housing structures (Bredenoord & van Lindert 2010).

These characteristics reinforce the stronghold of informality in low-income areas, as legality limits flexibility and demands higher investments in materials, technical advice as well as legalisation procedures.

#### **1.5.4. Housing Consolidation Process**

According to the UN-Habitat, informality comes in varied forms: “low standard of services or infrastructure; breaches of land zoning; lack of planning and building permits; or the irregular nature

of the land subdivision” (UN-Habitat 2003, p.83). Informal housing is not a synonym of free housing. Contrary to common perception, occupying a plot in an informal settlement means an investment of time and financial resources for negotiating land or housing purchase with legal or illegal landlords. An enduring characteristic of informality is the illegal occupation of land, but in some cases, illegal actors take control over vacant of land and initiate a plot subdivision process. Plots are sold without proper legal procedures and false property titles are issued to land buyers, creating a false sense of legal tenure (Inter-American Development Bank 2010).

The process of housing construction in informal settlements is dependent on the tenure status, incomes and age of the settlement (van Horen 2000; UN-Habitat 2008a). In the first stages of occupation, the fear of eviction prevents high investments in construction materials. Cardboard, wood or plastic and materials recycled from the waste of the city are used to defining the dwelling perimeter and creating a basic shelter. As inhabitants find their place in the informal economy, incomes are invested in covering the basic immediate needs such as food, mobility and services, with housing improvements remaining a lesser priority. Mobility to the areas of employment demands high percentages of daily budgets due to the difficulty of access to public transport and the usual location of informal settlements, on the outskirts of the city. In general, informal communities invest up to 85% of their income in the immediate needs (Pugh 2000); hence improvement of housing is delayed until the household income stabilises.

The second stage of housing construction is associated with security of tenure and employment. Compared to the first stage, incremental construction relies strongly on social networks, especially in the process of replacing temporary materials with permanent construction. In the first stage, creativity is hindered by financial hardship, combined with the process of adapting to a new mode of living in the city. The second stage promotes creativity, exploring the availability of materials in the formal and informal economies for improvement (UNDP 1997). Acquisition of permanent materials depends on affordability, availability, possibilities of transport and priorities. Consolidated low-income neighbourhoods, in most countries in Latin America, are characterised by vibrant façades, diversity in spatial configurations, as well as creativity in utilising available materials. The style and consolidation condition of the house becomes a symbol of status in the neighbourhood and represents an investment in the patrimony of the household.



*Figure 10: Consolidated informal housing in Rio de Janeiro*



*Figure 11: Self-help for incremental construction in Rio de Janeiro*

In the 1960's and 1970's as the Latin American city expanded and illegal urbanisation was the only housing production mode, most informal neighbourhoods were promptly legalised and included in the formal layout of the city. These housing developments exposed the third stage of informal housing, introducing the housing asset into the formal market, a renewed citizenship and tacit acceptance by the society. As cities became more important in the economic sphere, informal settlements were stigmatised and urban policy tightened regulations for planning and construction. Self-help and creativity are necessary for surviving in urban centres. However, inadequacies in safe construction techniques, low quality of materials, unfamiliarity with safe construction regulations, illegal connection to electricity or other public services, along with geological problems could and have resulted in catastrophes. Thus, direct legalisation of tenure, as was granted in the 1960's for consolidated settlements became unachievable within the existing city development framework and the formalisation stage only occurs when special poverty reduction or upgrading programmes are implemented.

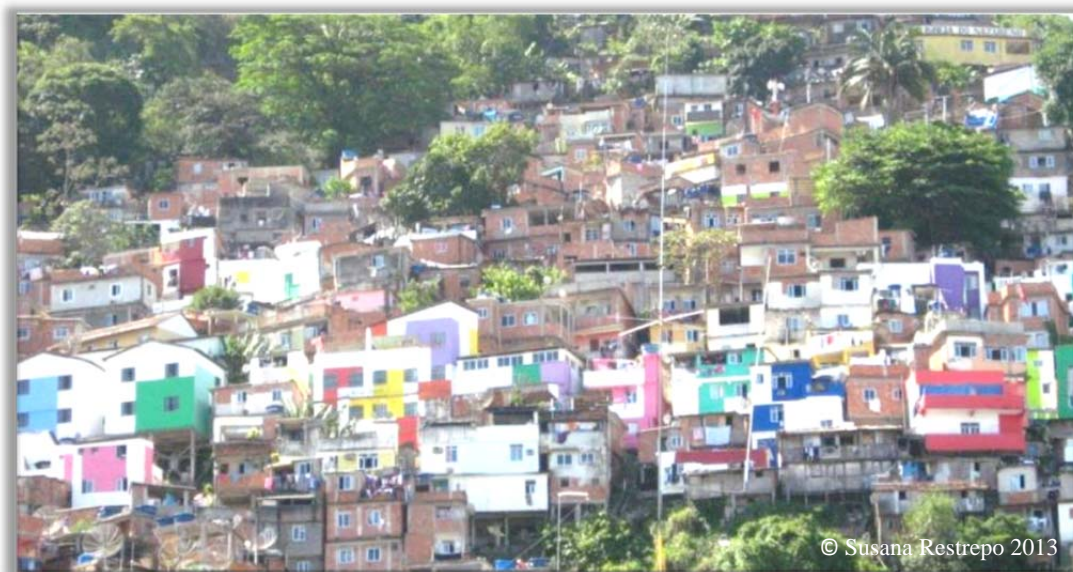


Figure 12: Favela Santa Marta, Rio de Janeiro. ©Susana Restrepo 2013

## 1.6. The Urban Regularisation Approach

In the case of informal settlements, the occupation conditions and self-organisation are very specific to their location, context, social structures and tenure status. The specificities of each settlement, although complex and challenging, generate an identity that connects the residents to their neighbourhood and provides them with the tools to face the urban life. Relocation, as was implemented in the Shelter Approach (see section 2.4.5) disrupts social networks, distorts identities and social structures making way for discrepancies, intolerance and social conflict. Conversely, some form of de facto tenure, occupation rights or legal tenure promotes self-help, incremental construction and creates a sense of community. The elimination of the fear of eviction through regularisation processes strengthens social networks, which later could create a sense of belonging and social identity amongst the diverse population (Kessler & Roggi 2005).

### 1.6.1. Legality vs. De Facto Tenure

After years of fighting against informality, governments acknowledged the resilience of informal communities. In the words of Nora Clichevsky “*acknowledging the existence of informality is understanding that large portions of the city exist and are regulated by its own rules, different from*

*the formality*”<sup>4</sup> (Clichevsky 2003, p. 2). This legitimacy of informality in the city translated into an acceptance of informal communities and evolved into *de facto* tenure being granted to informal residents. In many cases, as residents are granted tenure legitimacy, their interests divert from legalisation to other basic needs and housing improvement, since their occupation status is secured. An informal resident with *de facto* tenure has some legal instruments to fight for occupation rights, protecting them from eviction and opening the possibilities for legal connection to public services (UN-Habitat 2003; van Horen 2000). Although *de facto* tenure does not grant property rights, communities see *de facto* as encouragement for incremental construction, housing consolidation and strengthening of social networks in informal areas (Payne 2001).

*De facto* tenure, in the form of informal land titles or by recognition of the resident's associations generates a perceived sense of security (Gilbert 2002; UN-Habitat 2008a; van Horen 2000). *De facto* is a tacit agreement, a social practice that dictates behaviour and social norms without the need for legal norms (van Horen 2000). Security of tenure from *de facto* practices has great effects in housing improvement, legitimising the occupation processes, removing eviction fears, without adding economic burdens to the household income (van Horen 2000). In this sense, the introduction of infrastructure and services to informal settlements acts a form of legitimacy and, although the housing might not be legalised, provision of urban facilities grants *de facto* tenure to informal residents.

Legality of tenure understood as the legal property rights is beneficial for settlement consolidation and social development. Legal property titles encourage investments in housing improvement (Macedo 2008), increasing the possibilities of the residents to have access to credit and other public and social services provided by the city to its citizens. Legality brings property rights, but also comes with obligations for the homeowners in the form of taxes, debt and payment for the provision of services. These obligations are financial, and in most cases become an economic burden for the urban poor. The incomes of the urban poor are usually coming from unstable informal employment. Thus residents without a stable source of income find themselves incapable of responding to the financial obligations of ownership (Handzic 2010; Perlman 2003b).

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<sup>4</sup>Translation by the author from “reconocer la existencia de la informalidad es registrar que grandes porciones de la ciudad existen y se rigen por sus propias reglas, que son distintas de aquellas de la formalidad” (Clichevsky 2003, p. 2)





Figure 13: Informal dwelling in different stages of consolidation legally connected to the public electricity network, Medellin.

### 1.6.2. In-Situ Upgrading

The uncontrollable growth of informal settlements transformed them into a critical mass that demanded innovative approaches and strategies that could address the different scopes of poverty (Macedo 2004). The *Shelter Approach* provided urban infrastructure and public services to low-income and informal populations. However, the outcomes of the *Shelter Approach* proved to be ineffective, as many relocated families traded or sold the social dwellings. Later they relocate to informal areas more suitable for their everyday activities, generating a process of “*gentrification*” (Chen et al. 2011, p.85; Handzic 2010, p. 14; Willis 2009, p. 403; UN-Habitat 2008a, p. 13; UN-Habitat 2009, p. 76). Gentrification is defined as the “*process of urban social and economic change, which involves increased property prices and the influx of higher-income residents. May be associated with urban government infrastructure projects*” (Willis 2009, p. 403). The pressures of markets and economic obligations resulted in the growth of informal settlements in cities. One of the shortcomings of legality of tenure is the potential for the gentrification of the area. Legal tenure transforms informal housing into financial assets that could be legally introduced into the housing market, becoming the only legal asset owned by the household. As the economic burdens escalate and homeowners fall

behind debt repayment, selling the dwelling is seen as the solution to the economic pressures of legality.

Contrary to clearance and eviction, *In-Situ Upgrading* (UN-Habitat 2003) strived for an improvement in the conditions of the settlement without displacing the population, except in cases where housing was built on environmental risk areas. The major benefit of in-situ upgrading was the legitimacy of the settlement and the *de facto* tenure it granted the residents (Perlman 2005; Irazábal 2009; Perlman 2003b). Improvements in urban infrastructure and provision of services were the main objectives of in-situ upgrading programmes, which in many cases required a resettlement plan, with a new neighbourhood layout in order to open spaces for roads, infrastructure and facilities (Chitekwe-Biti et al. 2012).

### 1.6.3. Urban Upgrading Programmes

Despite the negative outcomes of former strategies, e.g. eviction, clearance, shelter approach, the evolution from eviction to *in-situ* upgrading helped to identify the multiple factors influencing the quality of life of informal dwellers (UN-Habitat 2003). Anti-poverty or poverty reduction strategies were transformed into urban upgrading programmes based on legalisation and in-situ improvement. The need for the provision of infrastructure, social services and community facilities, as well as the importance of communities in the economic and social processes of the urban poor. The state recognised self-help and incremental construction as the production of housing, which not only granted *de facto* tenure but also increased the affordable housing stock of the city instantly. The introduction of the legitimised housing into the urban stock reduced the pressure off municipalities to produce affordable housing, as well as reducing the overall cost of upgrading projects, facilitating the improvement of the urban condition of informal settlements without investing in housing construction (Ferguson & Navarrete 2003).

The measures implemented in urban upgrading programmes aimed at improving the urban conditions of informal settlements. Tenure regularisation, provision of infrastructure and services, and finding a financing mechanism for supporting self-help improvement of housing became mayor issues in urban upgrading. As the UN-Habitat explains in the report “*The Challenge of Slums*” (2003, p. 132), upgrading programmes had three main objectives regarding urban improvement: i) *Provision of basic urban services* in the form of urban infrastructure, road construction, and public services. ii) *Provision of secure tenure for slum dwellers*, through *de facto* tenure, property rights or property titles, depending on the tenure situation and the environmental condition of the occupied land. iii) *Innovative access to credit*, which was directly linked with tenure status and urban regularisation processes.

Although it was clear that the underlying problem of informal settlements was poverty caused by high levels of unemployment and inequalities, planning for spatial improvement was less complex than planning for social development of low-income areas (Ward & Chant 1987). Urban planners used traditional technocratic and rational planning procedures to reorganise the urban layout of the settlements, trying to preserve the original form and not disturb the dwellings (Pugh 2000). Social issues were left untouched and unchanged, as residents remained segregated from social services, education and formal employment. Lucius Botes (2000, p. 46) labels these technological, financial, physical and material as the “*Hard issues*” and the focus of upgrading programmes. In contrast community involvement, decision-making procedures, the establishment of efficient social compacts, organisational development, capacity building, and empowerment are considered the “*Soft issues*” of urban development. Governments concentrated on the hard issues because the improvement in infrastructure and roads gave visible and measurable results. Conversely, the soft issues represented a hindrance in the planning and implementation of projects and required long-term learning processes of building community and institutional capacities for participatory decision-making, empowerment and organisational development.

These upgrading programmes were promoted by the World Bank with the “*Learning by Doing*” paper in the 1980’s. The Bank stepped back in the implementation and concentrated on financing urban upgrading programmes with a more complex approach. “*Shelter, infrastructure, transport, solid waste, business support, health, nutrition, education*”, amongst others, were included in the urban upgrading schemes (Zanetta 2001, p. 522). However, the lack of capacity of governments to implement multi-sectoral projects, along with the centralised institutional structure of most countries, hindered the replication or completion of upgrading projects.

The top-down approach in planning and implementing urban upgrading programmes gave rise to government owned projects, but the responsibilities of maintenance and provision of social services were unclear (UN-Habitat 2003). On the one hand, as a consequence of the de facto tenure, informal residents avoid paying taxes, thus for the municipality, these areas were never a priority for maintenance (Werlin 1999). On the other hand, the lack of involvement of communities and external actors in the planning and implementation process resulted in urban improvements disconnected from the social realm. Top-down planning hinders appropriation of urban improvements by communities, as residents feel dissociated from the planning and implementation process. The result of the convergence of these factors is the rapid deterioration of the outputs of urban upgrading projects (UN-Habitat 2003).



Figure 14: Deterioration of urban improvements in Rio de Janeiro

#### 1.6.4. Enablement

In the 1990's, the changes in national constitutions, decentralisation trends, along with lessons learned from past strategies, transformed the role of the state from a paternalistic provider a facilitator in the upgrading process (Giles 2003). The strategy was enablement, a *“legislative, institutional and financial framework whereby entrepreneurship in the private sector, in communities and amongst individuals can effectively develop the urban housing sector”*(Pugh 1994). The clearest example of an enablement approach promoted by changes in public policy was Brazil. The impact of favelas and informal settlements in the main cities of Brazil compelled the Brazilian government to include in the constitution the *social function of private property*. This new legislation aimed at *“(...) regulating the use and occupation, for social housing purposes, of public or private properties. It is used to recognize existing informal settlements as well as to define unoccupied areas of the city as areas for social housing”* (Rolnik 2012, p. 19).

Many Latin American countries have implemented this approach and introduced similar changes in public policy, aiming at starting legalisation processes in existing settlements. As Edésio

Fernandes (2011, p. 44) explains the concept of the *social function of property*, “*the occupants of private land have the right to be recognised as legitimate owners after a period of continuous and peaceful occupation, because, contrary to the original owner, the occupants have given the land a social function*”<sup>5</sup>. Central national laws define the minimum length of the occupation as well as the specific rights granted.

Enablement, supported by decentralisation processes allowed municipalities to devise independent urban upgrading strategies, apply directly to international financial institutions for funding, and finding new paths within institutional legal frameworks for tenure legalisation processes. Likewise, delegating authority, financial and legislative power to municipalities resulted in a transformation of local governments, fostering the creation of new public agencies. Likewise the new autonomy promoted coordination between existing departments for the implementation of urban development programmes, which demanded more than spatial improvement. Subsequently, poverty reduction strategies were transformed into urban upgrading programmes through in-situ redevelopment, legalisation of tenure, housing improvement projects, and the inclusion of some social development projects e.g. provision of community, education facilities, social services, legal advice.

The enablement approach eliminated the fear of eviction, granting informal settlers *de facto* tenure and occupation rights. Although the stigma of illegality remained in the popular imaginary, through the new laws, informal housing was recognised as the production of housing, fostering incremental construction, self-help initiatives and self-organisation of informal communities. *De facto* tenure has the potential to empower residents based on legitimacy (Macedo 2008), validating the efforts of individuals and communities. The approach allowed selective deregulation, flexibility and the increasing importance of CBO’s and NGO’s in the housing sector (Pugh 1994). Enablement also opened the door for different actors in urban development, introducing the concept of community participation in programme formulation. The idea of involving of communities in the planning process is a crucial step in the evolution of poverty reduction strategies into more holistic upgrading programmes.

Former strategies against poverty reduction based on relocation and social housing proved not only to be ineffective in reducing poverty and prevention of emergence of new settlements, but also inefficient in the investment of public finances (Rakodi 2001, p.214; UN-Habitat 2008, p.5). In-situ upgrading changed implementation procedures and the role of the state and communities in urban

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<sup>5</sup> Translated by the author from : “*los ocupantes de una propiedad privada tienen derecho a ser reconocidos como dueños legítimos después de un período de ocupación continua y pacífica pues, a diferencia del propietario original, estos ocupantes le han dado una función social a la propiedad*”. (Fernandes 2011, p. 44)

upgrading. However as the case studies presented in the next chapters will show, urban planning, in general, is still a top-down decision-making process where the idea of participation is utilised for negotiation purposes with communities to legitimise actions or facilitate implementation. Enablement brought occupation rights to the residents, but the lack of participatory practices in upgrading programmes resulted in sectorial projects without a vision and a lack of sustainability of outcomes.

### 1.6.5. The Integral Approach

The approaches to urban informality selected as case studies for this research utilised the *Integral Upgrading Approach* as the basis for the formulation of the programmes. The implementation strategy was based on in-situ improvement, in-situ essential relocation and acknowledgement of incremental construction as the production of housing. In order to maximise the use of financial resources, the programmes mapped each informal settlement and assessed the conditions of the urban infrastructure existent in the area. With the information about the area, the municipalities employed the integral upgrading approach to produce an action plan (Brakarz & Engel Aduan 2004, p.9). The integral approach could be described as a multidimensional strategy to urban development that considers the most essential needs of the population in individual and collective terms (UN-Habitat 2016). The main premises of the integral approach are (Brakarz & Engel Aduan 2004, p.13):

:

- Understanding Poverty as a multidimensional phenomenon with human social and economic aspects
- Identifying the different vulnerabilities amongst the urban poor for tailored social projects
- Prevent the generational reproduction of poverty
- Increase the social capital of the poor to reduce poverty
- The importance of family in overcoming poverty.

The integral approach works as a short-term plan for gradual interventions in areas that require a high input of financial, technical and human resources. Following the premises of the integral approach and applying them to the case of urban upgrading, integral upgrading programmes present three typologies of intervention (Cardoso 2007):

- Minimal Intervention: address the lack of public infrastructure and public services, reduction of environmental risks and tenure legalisation.

- Intermediate Interventions: include minimal interventions in addition to the provision of public spaces, improvement of mobility systems and environmental management.
- Intensive interventions are for areas in high environmental risk that require essential in-situ relocation and layout redesign to allow the provision of urban infrastructure, services and mobility systems.

In Chapters 3 and 4 the dissertation will introduce the Favela-Bairro Upgrading Programme implemented in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, and the Proyecto Urbano Integral implemented in Medellin, Colombia. Both programmes are examples of an interpretation of the premises of the integral approach applied to urban upgrading in Latin America.

### 1.7. The Evolution of Poverty Reduction Strategies

The analysis of approaches suggests a correlation between the process of emergence, proliferation, consolidation and regularisation of informal settlements, and the reactionary responses regarding public policy to address the problem. The first reactions were of repression, rejection and fear as informal settlements emerged and proliferated. Governments were unprepared for the exponential growth of poverty. Unrealistic development goals and rigid regulatory frameworks became the instruments for clearance and eviction policies, which only exacerbated the problem of urban poverty. Eviction of informal residents to the outskirts of the city had economic, social and spatial impacts on urbanisation expanding the city and challenging the provision of infrastructure.

Once informal communities reached a critical mass, urban policy started to understand some of the potentials of auto-construction and self-help. Non-Governmental Organisations –NGO’s- and civil movements made eviction practices more difficult for municipalities, forcing them to adopt a different strategy, the *Shelter Approach*. Under pressure for fast and efficient projects, along with the demand for visual outputs, *Shelter* projects present many advantages for governments. Despite the shortcomings, governments learned valuable lessons from the consequences of the *Shelter Approach*. On the one hand, it was clear that relocation only reproduces the problem of informality and created pressures on public infrastructure and provision of public services on the periphery. On the other hand, municipalities understood the need to bring public infrastructure to informal settlements and the importance of tenure in the consolidation and self-help process.

Relocation, provision of social housing and Sites-and-Services supported by patronage and aided self-help emerged from the understanding that the urban poor need financial, and technical support. However, the full potential of informal communities is yet to be acknowledged and utilised in the improvement of the built environment as participant actors in design, implementation and

maintenance of urban improvements. The consequences of the *Shelter* approach were stigmatisation of urban poor communities, urban gentrification and the consolidation of informality as an urban actor; despite governmental efforts, the result was the reproduction of poverty and expansion of informal settlements.

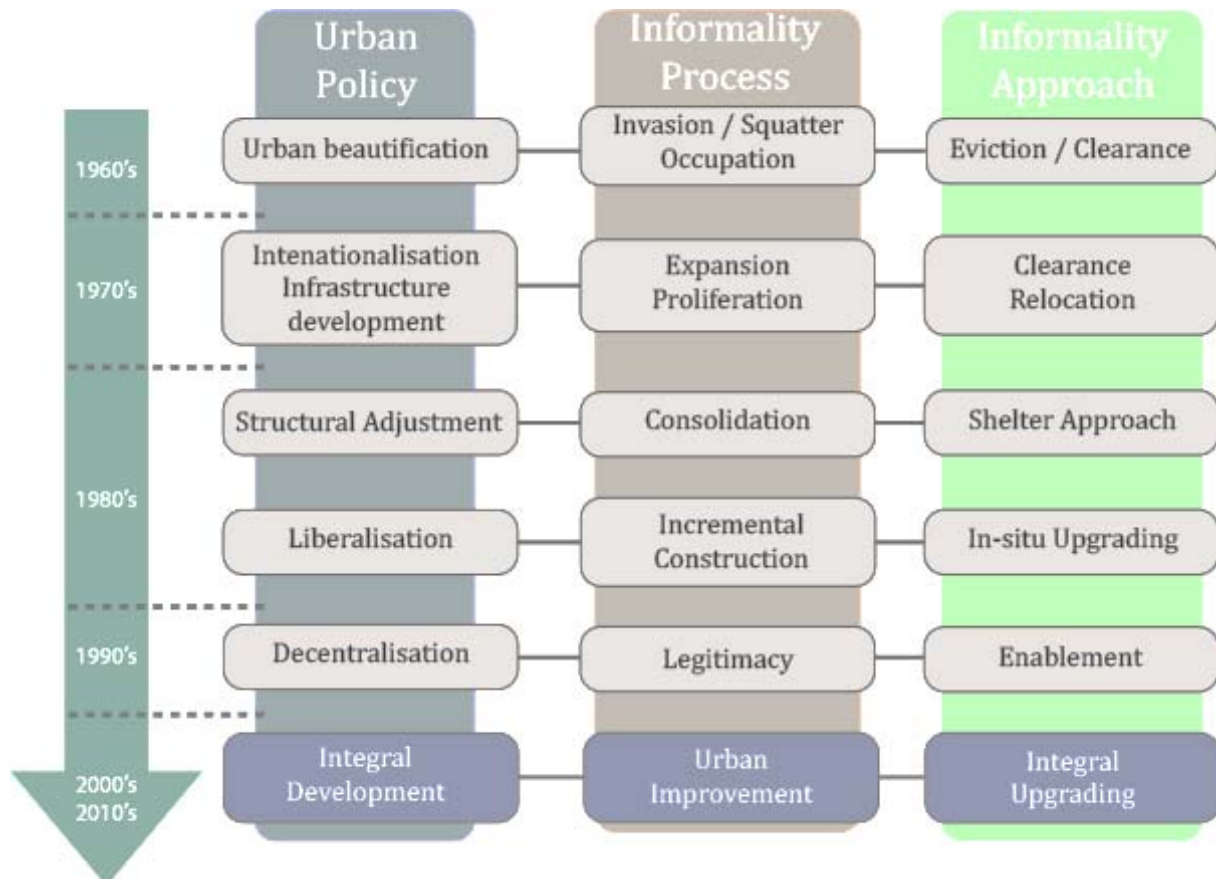


Figure 15: Evolution of Poverty Reduction Strategies. Elaborated by the author

The next stage in the evolution, promoted by changes in national constitutions brought tenure legalisation processes and in-situ urban upgrading. These were understood as a change in the perception of informal settlements, an acknowledgement of the existence of informality as part of the city. Although legalisation is beneficial for social development, the upgrading programmes only focused on spatial improvement, leaving the causes of informality unchanged. The last and current stage is the result of a learning process by governments, analysis of success and failure factors and an approach to integral upgrading, aiming for a change in the socio-economic condition of residents.

Eviction, relocation, *Sites-and-Services* and *in-situ* urban upgrading have a common aspect in the planning process that caused the restricted scope and limited success of these strategies: a clear



lack of participatory practices in planning, implementation or maintenance processes. Participation, whether it is community participation or active involvement of other actors e.g. private companies, NGO's, academy, etc., in planning practices, is essential for the legitimacy of projects, the effectiveness of measures, accountability of actions and sustainability of outcomes. Enablement has promoted participation in urban upgrading projects; however, as exposed by the case studies presented in the next chapters, the concept of participation has been misunderstood and misrepresented by municipalities, stigmatising participatory approaches and manipulating populations.

## **1.8. Conclusions**

The factors that motivated the mass migration of rural inhabitants to urban centres concealed the reality of urban life, as well as the difficulties in overcoming poverty. Contradictions between expectations and reality, combined with the unfeasibility of returning to the rural areas, forced the newcomers to create informal societies. Informal communities created a parallel city where residents relied on solidarity and creativity. These represented a solution for a problem of exclusion and inequity.

Later, the social networks and the resourcefulness of informal economies strengthened the position of informality in cities, making them an influential actor in urban expansion and development. Nevertheless, informal residents are deprived of their rights as citizens by the illegality of their tenure condition, preventing informal residents from accessing urban services e.g. Education, health, transport, etc., and limiting the opportunities for social and economic development. Furthermore, the urbanisation process generated dense urban areas on the fringe of formal neighbourhoods with environmental risks due to poor provision of public infrastructure.

Informality was considered as an undesirable side of Latin American societies, stigmatising the urban poor and denying them the possibilities for development. Thus, Illegal and informal urbanisation became the urban problem to solve in Latin American cities throughout the 1970's and 1990's as cities witnessed the expansion of urban perimeters from the hands of private and illegal developers. Local, national and international institutions redirected urban policy towards poverty reduction strategies to control and solve the problem of slums.

The former approaches were ineffective in understanding that informal communities are more than an agglomeration of poverty. Though they represent large parts of the Latin American society and reflect the shortcomings of governments and policy, informal communities also provide solutions to the needs of low-income populations along with labour force and creativity in the presence of

adversity. Relocation strategies disregarded investments and efforts of communities in the production of housing, neglected the importance of social networks and discredited the significance of informal communities in the construction of the Latin American society. On the other hand, governments misused the concept of self-help, leaving unsolved the real causes of informality.

Understanding informality provides more instruments for effective upgrading programmes, providing instruments to promote social development and improvement in the socio-economic condition of the urban poor, thus, generating a more comprehensive vision for the future of communities and urban areas. Moreover, top-down interventions in the urban fabric might have limited impact on the livelihood of the residents, as these overlook the complexity of relations between the inhabitants and the built environment. Thus, projects and planners lost credibility and legitimacy which created a trust gap between communities and the government.

Despite the decades of implementation of poverty reduction strategies in Latin America, the presence and influence of informal urbanisation in have barely decreased. This permanence of informality leads to the conclusion that these strategies have been ineffective in tackling the real causes of the problem. In contrast, if municipalities produced proactive approaches, urban upgrading would not only address the needs of informal and low-income communities but prevent the expansion and reproduction of poverty in cities.

## CHAPTER 2

### Research Design

#### 2.1. Introduction

One of the lessons learned from the study of former strategies against urban poverty is the need for a multiplicity of components in the programme formulation, e.g. legalisation of tenure, provision of basic infrastructure and social services, as well as a participation strategy, if the aim is to transform informal settlements into thriving consolidated neighbourhoods. Spatial, social and institutional are the main domains of projects planned within urban upgrading strategies, demanding diversity in programme objectives, as well as in the disciplines of the actors involved in the planning process. Urban development policies should comprise a diversity of projects, aiming at improving different aspects of urban life.

The research of urban upgrading programmes focused on improving the overall condition of informal communities led to the definition of a mixed methods approach for collecting and analysing literature and empirical data. Each method has been selected to achieve a specific objective in relation with different stages of the research. The following chapter will present the background and basis of the investigation approach by introducing former research realised by the author as well as the rationale and motivations for developing the topic. Moreover, the chapter will characterise the research methodology, illustrate the research process, and explain the selection of a mixed methods approach based on the research problem and questions.

#### 2.2. Previous Research

Previous research in the field of “*Sustainable Upgrading of Informal Settlements in Developing Countries*” (Restrepo Rico 2010) evidenced the main factors to address, in order to formulate comprehensive urban upgrading programmes. The previous research found many similarities amongst upgrading programmes located in different social and political contexts, i.e. the Favela-Bairro in Brazil, Kampung Improvement Programme in Indonesia, and the Baan Makong Programme in Thailand. These findings suggested that, although understanding the cultural context is essential to formulate integral strategies, the core constituents to promote sustainable upgrading are comparable, and can be classified regarding Physical Development, Legitimacy, Social Development

and Governance (Restrepo Rico 2010). However, the success and sustainability of programmes in city-wide scales are also dependent on the commitment of stakeholders, social networks, public-private partnerships and knowledge sharing, endorsing the emergence of community-based initiatives among urban dwellers.

### **2.2.1. Spatial Development**

Small-scale improvements have great impacts on the livelihood of the urban poor, empowering them to organise and execute community-initiated projects via the incremental construction of housing and public space. Basic infrastructure, combined with a secure connection to public services, reduce the living costs for the urban poor, improving the socio-economic condition of settlements. Access to services and mobility promote the creation of on-site employment and local retail (Jenks & Burgess, 2000). Urban Mobility and physical accessibility allow spatial and structural relationships with the urban structure, while open spaces become social places for recreational, communal and economic activities, providing the opportunity to develop community cohesion (Newman & Kenworthy 1999). Infrastructure and community facilities generate an overall improvement in the sense of place of the residents, which combined with increased incomes encourage incremental construction, consequent with the needs and resources of the family (Turner 1978)

### **2.2.2. Legitimacy**

Legitimacy allows individuals and communities to become part of the formal city, promoting a sense of place and participation. The urban poor understand their rights and obligations, as well as the opportunities and responsibilities in the development of communities.

The evolution of strategies in addressing informal settlements relies on the importance of legitimacy, since illegality hinders the possibilities for self-help, access to welfare, education and labour (Wakely et al. 2003). Upgrading programmes grant instant *De facto* tenure, eliminating the fear of eviction and mending the relation of the inhabitant with the city (van Horen, 2000). The degree of participation in decision-making processes, from planning to execution and supervision, legitimates the programme in the community promoting trust, as well as commitment from the city and the inhabitants (Brakarz & Engel Aduan 2004).

A difference has to be made between legitimacy and legality. Although legality is necessary for social development, legal tenure is no guarantee for legitimacy, neither for community

participation. Legitimacy is an implicit agreement established by the understanding of the programme, accompanied by the possibility to participate and influence decision-making (Macedo 2008). Additionally, self-organisation is essential for securing the means to finance improvements, protecting the vulnerable population. Community cohesion and legitimacy are encouraged through recognition of the ability of the poor to manage their resources, granting them renewed citizenship, which nourishes new partnerships with the municipality and the private sector (CODI n.d.).

### **2.2.3. Social Development**

Social development is a learning process where empowerment, social capital and community capacity foster further social and economic activities to support the human development of communities. Social development is the main component missing in upgrading strategies, also the reason for the limited scope and success. While physical results are important for legitimacy, social development signifies an improvement in the socio-economic condition of the settlement. The isolation of the poor is not only a physical limitation but is also a problem of restricted access to opportunities, ignorance about their rights and negligence of the state. Building social capacity encourages integration to the society (Sophon 2006).

Partnerships, shared ownership, collective tenure and legitimacy generate networks and spread knowledge. A horizontal structure of networks demands open spaces for discussion and participatory decision-making, mobilising the people towards integration and community cohesion (Newman & Policy 2008). Empowerment reduces vulnerabilities by promoting community-driven initiatives for physical, social and economic improvement. However, the strength of communities relies on the stability of organisations and legitimacy of actions. Community-based organisations build social capital, educate the people in participatory processes and provide working skills that could be employed later in the development of other settlements or the formal labour market.

### **2.2.4. Governance**

Governance brings together diverse sectors of the society, including communities, in the definition of public policy. Inclusive approaches demand the construction of city-wide networks to spread knowledge. Otherwise, improvements of informal settlements become isolated projects with restricted relevance in the overall development of the city.

Governments experienced a learning process, where they understood the limits of internationally driven initiatives along with rigid programme frameworks. Decentralisation was the institutional transformation which allowed the emergence of integral upgrading programmes. Local authorities realised the need for institutional reorganisation in order to answer the call for empowerment. Moreover, self-organisation demands participatory approaches for implementation and planning. Participation steers municipalities to innovate in policy and institutional structures, opening to social networks and including diverse stakeholders in decision-making processes.

The urban poor need guidance and financing opportunities, since community organisations are not sufficient to overcome poverty, illegality and stigmatisation. The municipality provides funding and guidance in management, while scholars assist in planning, the private sector in partnership with government agencies, and the community support implementation and sustainability.

### **2.2.5. Framework Synthesis**

The components exposed above are some of the lessons learned from the previous research, which had been organised and integrated into a framework, where each constituent was defined by the main components. Actions and instruments for the implementation are suggested, revealing that the understanding poverty leads to the identification of the real needs of low-income communities and the importance of including them in the upgrading planning process. Thus, the combination of the following components can be the basis for integral upgrading programmes.

Physical development embraces the provision of urban infrastructure, improved mobility and accessibility, creating a better quality of open spaces. These changes in the public realm encourage incremental construction of housing, which results in an overall improvement in the built environment. In order to implement these spatial improvements, the programme needs to include the community and diverse stakeholders in the planning and decision-making process, recognising the potentials of different actors in urban development.

Social development is the basis, as well as the outcome of sustainable development; a continuous cycle where empowerment, social capital and community capacity foster further social and economic activities promoting the development of skills and boosting the learning process of the community.

Legitimacy is an essential constituent for participation and encouragement of communities to become active in their environment, promoting a sense of place. The legitimacy of institutions,

organisations and associations allows knowledge transfer through social networks while producing new relationships between the inhabitants and the state.

Governance for the development of low-income settlements brings together diverse sectors of the society, including communities, in the definition of public policy. Participatory approaches demand social integration to avoid gentrification and isolation of projects. The community needs guidance flexible regulatory frameworks, along with financing that supports community-driven initiatives.

These components can be used to create a flexible basis, an integral structure to support the definition of upgrading programmes in developing countries, addressing the diverse dimensions of informal settlements and allowing adaptation of programmes to the context-specific conditions of each culture.

<b>Component</b>	<b>Elements</b>	<b>Actions</b>	<b>Instruments</b>
<b>Physical Development</b>	Urban Infrastructure Mobility & Accessibility Public Space Urban Environment	Public Services, waste management Road construction, public transport Urban renewal, community facilities Incremental construction, upgrading	In-situ multi-sectoral participative design Partnerships for implementation and financing Guided self-help, incremental construction
<b>Social Development</b>	Empowerment Social Capital Community Capacity	Participation, information cooperation Community cohesion, self-management Social networks, education, training	CBOs Knowledge transfer, self-training Small-scale empowerment, local economy
<b>Legitimacy</b>	Tenure Legality Participation	Property rights, de-facto tenure CBOs, inclusion, assistance, support Stakeholders' commitment, PPPs	Collective ownership, legal tenure Legitimacy of CBOs, guidance Shared ownership, responsibilities
<b>Governance</b>	Institutional Innovation Inclusive Decision-Making Integral Planning	Decentralisation, coordination Participation, enablement, citizenship Mapping, prevention, replication	Flexibility, innovation, reorganisation Diversity of stakeholders, encouragement, support for community-driven initiatives City-wide comprehensive development

*Table 1: Synthesis of former research results (Restrepo Rico 2010)*

### 2.3. Research Rationale

Integral upgrading programmes can confront the challenges of informal urbanisation in contexts of limited economic resources. Understanding the intrinsic dynamics of population change is recognising the inclusion and influence of poverty in urban spaces, the potentials of low-income communities and their real needs. The inclusion of different aspects of urban life in the formulation of urban upgrading programmes could prevent the further emergence of informal settlements (Moser 1995). However, for the integral upgrading approach to become effective and efficient, it needs to incorporate a participatory roadmap of a diversity of stakeholders, combined with a transformation in planning procedures.

An influential element in the transition from top-down approaches to participation is the legitimacy of residents living in informal areas. Legitimacy can be understood as the acknowledgement of the existence of the urban poor in the city and their right to citizenship, as well as their ability to become actors in urban development. Although not completely comprehensive of the dimensions of poverty, this recognition as urban dwellers and citizens modifies the perception of policies, programmes and encourages participation in urban projects

Community-based initiatives and participatory projects have shown the multiple strengths of communal work, financial effectiveness and efficiency of results to meet the specific needs of informal dwellers, thus, ensuring sustainability of improvements through a sense of place and empowerment (Pugh 2000). Nevertheless, these communities lack, in most cases, technical, financial and legal means for upgrading the built environment and connecting themselves to the city. Hence, the support of government agencies regarding funding, design, and management is essential, in cooperation with the private sector and professionals, in order to promote holistic approaches (Editorial 2001). Additionally, government support must come with institutional changes and flexibility to manage the unforeseen factors associated with informal settlements. Advice and guidance to address the needs of the people, solve local and context-specific problems, encouraging project replication and modifying measures to the evolving needs.

The poor are as well part of the city, calling for inclusive development policies. Responding to the challenges of informal settlements relies on the formulation of integral development strategies at a city-wide scale. At the same time, preventing the proliferation of informality is associated with decentralising the economy, social welfare and education, in order to reduce the need for migration, and diminishing the gap between rich and poor. The combination of these factors would result in the encouragement of social integration throughout the different sectors of society, especially in urbanised areas, where life quality decreases as the low-income population expands.



## 2.4. Research Purpose and Questions

The section above suggests a flexible structure for integral upgrading programmes; however, the participation of other actors is hindered by the lack of definition of the participation procedures, along with the instruments to achieve a participatory approach to urban upgrading. Latin America has experienced a rise in the proliferation of urban upgrading programmes, and several initiatives have been implemented, though with limited success. This research intends to expose and understand the importance, implications and demands of participatory practices in urban upgrading projects in Latin America, with the objective of explaining and understanding the requirements for including diverse actors in the formulation and implementation of integral upgrading programmes. The proposal of a methodological framework aims at providing the planning tools to government agencies, practitioners as well as communities to prepare participatory action plans within the programmes, moving away from the idea of governments as single stakeholders.

The limited success of improvements and top-down upgrading strategies has an impact on the quality and continuity of urban upgrading projects and the life quality of low-income communities. The character of ownership, the low commitment of stakeholders, and absent sense of place weaken the effectiveness of measures, compromising the effectiveness of outcomes and replication of projects. Fortunately, urban actors are gradually understanding the importance of active participation of communities in the development of their environment.

This research builds on the hypothesis that participatory integral upgrading would increase the effectiveness of upgrading projects by defining the action field of the actors, based on their interests, capabilities and responsibilities. The ultimate aim of the research is to propose a methodological framework for participatory integral upgrading programmes, as the means to guide the planning processes towards the development of an inclusive planning practice. In order to achieve the research aim, the dissertation addresses the main research question:

*How could participatory practices transform integral upgrading strategies into participatory upgrading programmes?*

The main research question comprises a series of sub-questions, with the aim to define the specific objectives and steer the structure of the research. These questions are:

- How is the situation of informal settlements in urban areas in Latin America?
- How is the state of the art of urban policy in Latin America and how has urban policy influenced the formulation and implementation of upgrading strategies?

- Which are the components of integral upgrading programmes implemented in Latin America?
- What is the significance of participation in urban upgrading programmes in Latin America?
- How could urban upgrading strategies be transformed into participatory upgrading programmes?

## 2.5. Research Stages and Objectives

With the purpose of answering the specific research questions, the research process has been divided into three stages (see Figure 16). The first stage addresses the first two questions of the dissertation enquiring about the condition of informal urbanisation in Latin America, the strategies against urban poverty and informality, and the evolution of urban policy and international upgrading trends. The second stage of the research focussed on understanding the planning processes and procedures for renowned urban upgrading strategies in Latin America, as well as the outcomes and outputs of said strategies and the impact of the results in the livelihoods of the urban poor. This phase examines in depth two upgrading programmes considered best practices, as examples of integral urban upgrading.

As complementary information and to establish a basis for integral upgrading programmes developed in Latin America, the research selected other 14 urban upgrading programmes implemented in Latin American cities for an abridged assessment of the programme components. The reasons for the combination of empirical research for two case studies and a more general review of other strategies is to support one of the claims of this dissertation. The literature review and proliferation of upgrading programmes in Latin America led to the claim that integral upgrading strategies are widespread throughout Latin America, and programmes share similar characteristics in the main programme objectives, target populations, expected outcomes and financial schemes. The results of this assessment are subsequently analysed through the lenses of critical theory and the theoretical framework of participation in urban planning, exposing the shortcomings of the programmes in producing inclusive planning processes and the misuse or misunderstanding of the concept of participation in urban upgrading.

The analysis of the results of the empirical and abridged investigation in urban upgrading strategies in Latin America produces a series of lessons learned regarding the introduction of

participatory practices in urban planning and integral upgrading, which are used as the basis for answering the last two sub questions explored in the third phase of the research. The analysis of upgrading programmes helped characterising the typology of participation of diverse actors in urban upgrading, as well as the institutional changes necessary for the formulation of a participatory integral upgrading programme. Moreover, employing the framework of strategic urban planning as the planning approach, the third phase of the research defines the action scales for participatory upgrading programmes, along with the stages of formulation, planning and implementation, in order to outline the methodological framework for participatory upgrading programmes, the ultimate aim of this research.

Applied Qualitative Research			
	Learning	Understanding	Theorising
Data Collection Methods	<b>Literature Review</b> Statistics (qualitative) Pattern-testing	<b>Empirical Research</b> Observation Elicitation Focus groups Literature review	<b>Iterative Theorising</b> Coding Categorisation Pattern analysis Literature review
Analysis Methods	<b>Deductive Research</b> State of the art Historical review	<b>Inductive Research</b> Case Studies Ethnography	<b>Abductive Research</b> Results Exploration Theory building
Objectives	Evolution & state of the art of: Informal settlements Participa- tion Urban upgrading Best practices Planning theory	Best practice outcomes planning process social processes CBO's potentials and problematics for participatory planning	Analysis & Assessment of results from empirical research  Methodological framework for participatory urban upgrading

Figure 16: Research design. Elaborated by the author

## 2.6. Research Design and Methods

### 2.6.1. Applied Research

The general objective and research question require the design of a research process which could answer the enquiries appropriately and resulted in the proposal of a thorough framework to guide the formulation of participatory upgrading programmes based on participatory practices. The research looks into the implementation of urban planning approaches in Latin America, analysing them through a specific theoretical framework to later produce results that could not only contribute to

the urban planning practice but also equip practitioners with the instruments promote participatory practices. The purpose of the research, the context, and the complexity of upgrading programmes, characterise this investigation as applied research (Hendrick et al. 1993; Huberman & Miles 2002)

### 2.6.2. Qualitative Research

Analysing the built environment requires an interpretive approach of the interrelations between urban inhabitants and the spatial condition of their surroundings. Mapping populations, densities, areas, and resources are essential for planning or designing a project; however, these quantitative methods would provide a narrow perspective of the reality of urban informality. As explained in the former chapters, poverty has multiple causes and manifestations. In the same way, describing, analysing and understanding the problems and necessities of informal settlements demands a holistic approach that not only considers the statistical figures but examines the internal dynamics of the settlements and the relations between state agents, municipal offices and residents. Multi-causal phenomena demand multi-causal explanations, and qualitative research allows the employment of a mixed methods approach and an interpretive approach based on the analysis of different typologies of data. Thus, this research is characterised as qualitative, as it is concerned about understanding and interpreting the impact of the planning process for urban upgrading programmes in the lives of the urban poor (Heyink & Tymstra 1993).

## 2.7. Analytical Framework

This research exhibits a simple linear structure in the analytical process (see Figure 17). Starting with the historical analysis of informality and the responses of governments regarding urban policy, to react to the growing urban informality.

In the learning phase of the research, the author observed a direct connection between the formulation of urban policy, the processes of consolidation of informal settlements and the evolution of urban upgrading strategies, from eviction until the latest strategy, integral urban upgrading. The evolution of poverty reduction policy led to the emergence of the integral upgrading approach in Latin America. The case studies selected for the empirical research are two programmes based on the integral approach, which have become best practices and examples of urban upgrading in Latin America. The *Favela-Bairro Programme* in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, and the *Proyecto Urbano Integral –PUI-* in Medellin, Colombia.

The next step and central part of the analytical process are the in-depth analysis of the two case studies and the abridged assessment of the other examples of integral upgrading, examining the consistency between programme objectives, components and outcomes, as well as the planning process in the two case studies. The assessment of the programmes will be later revised using the theory of participation in urban upgrading to discover, with the guidance of the strategic planning approach, the appropriate procedures for the adoption of participatory practices in the planning process of urban upgrading programmes.

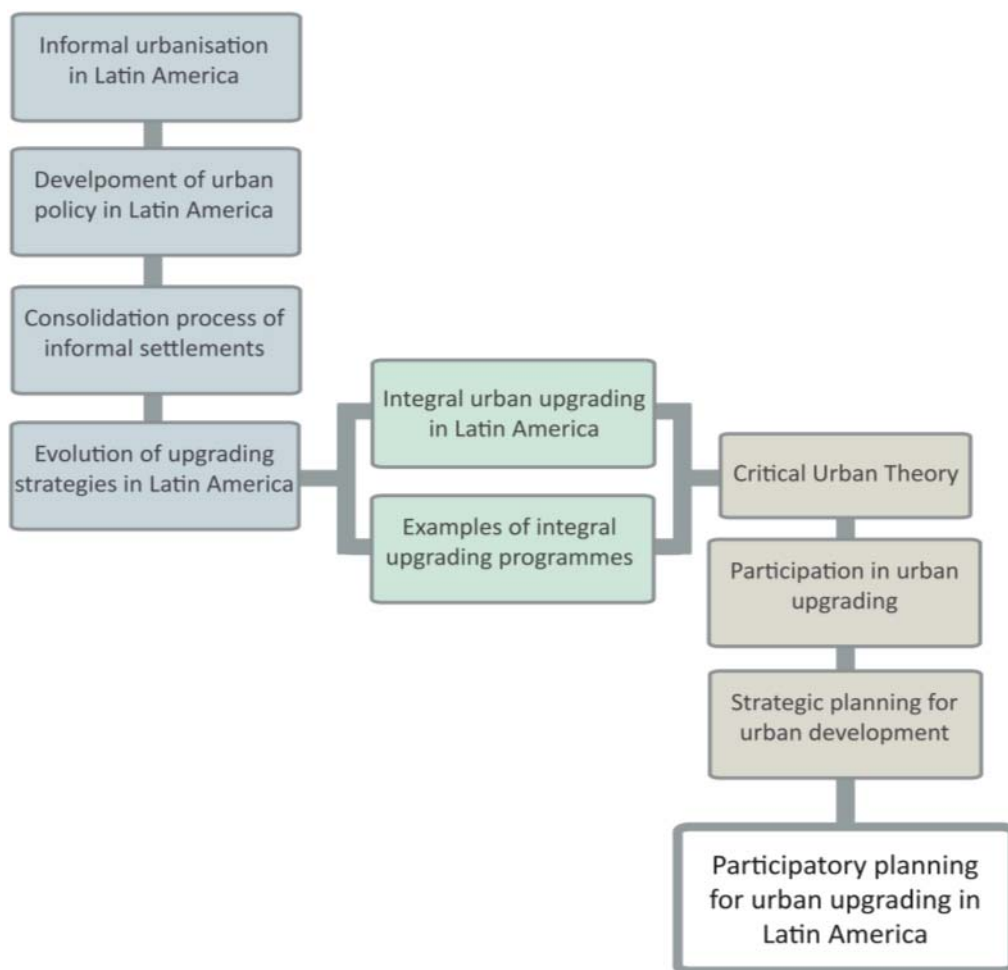


Figure 17: Analytical framework. Elaborated by the author

### 2.7.1. Literature Review – Deductive Analysis

Understanding, analysing and proposing a participatory framework are different goals that require the employment of different research methods (Eckert, C. et al. 2003). Therefore, the research employed a *mixed methods* approach to collect the data, answer the research questions appropriately, and achieve the specific objectives on each research phase. Thus, for the learning phase, the main data

collection method was a literature review of secondary sources e.g. books, articles, e-articles, municipal archives, etc. Additionally, the research collected statistical data from municipal web pages, which was interpreted in a qualitative manner, with the purpose of establishing the state of the art of informal settlements and urban policy in the two case studies. In this learning phase, the investigation was conducted as deductive research, having as main claim the connection between the development of public policy, the evolution of upgrading strategies and the consolidation process of informal settlements in the Latin American City. The deductive analysis starts with a claim, prepares a research question and a hypothesis, to be tested by the data collected in the study. Deductive research starts with a conceptual model (Gilgun 2013; Heyink & Tymstra 1993; Timmermans & Tavory 2012) that in the case of this dissertation was the previous research realised by the author (see section 3.2).

### 2.7.2. Empirical Research - Inductive Research

After the state of the art of informality and urban upgrading was described, the second phase of the research adopted an inductive thinking approach. The purpose of inductive thinking was to have an open perspective and receptive position towards the results emerged from the empirical research of the two selected case studies. Induction helped with the examination of the process of integral upgrading under specific conditions, the evaluation of the efficiency of programme outcomes, and in establishing the feasibility of generalising the research results for Latin America (Eckert, C. et al. 2003). The methods for the collection of data during the empirical research phase were:

- **Direct and Participant Observation:** The financial and time restrictions suggested mixed data gathering techniques, combining primary and secondary data. The primary data collection process from direct and direct observation of the outcomes of the *Favela-Bairro Programme* in Rio de Janeiro was facilitated by Prof. Dr. Dell Delambre, who is guiding the local neighbourhood leaders in a cultural and waste management project. The researcher participated in the project and was able to establish invaluable contact with the local leader Mrs Rosangela Tertuliano in the neighbourhood *Andaraí*, one of the first favelas to be upgraded by the Favela-Bairro programme. She provided information about the programme and the current grassroots projects implemented by the community itself and facilitated further contact with other residents. More direct observation was realised in other areas of the city where the outcomes of the programme have been used to promote tourism, facilitating the access to the areas. The direct observation process in Medellin was facilitated by

Arch. Juan Pablo Bedoya, who was a coordinator of one of the PUI projects and facilitated contact with local leaders and other architects involved in the programme.

- **Elicitation:** In both cases, the researcher could perform semi-structured interviews with programme coordinators and architects involved in the coordination and design of one or more upgrading projects<sup>6</sup> in the form of semi-structured interviews and informal conversations with the local leaders and residents. The interviews in both cities with municipal officials and department directors were facilitated through the attendance to conferences and seminars; the academic activities of the researcher was crucial for establishing contact with project leaders, coordinators, designers and architects.
- **Empirical data analysis:** The inductive character of the empirical research suggested the use of manual coding as the instrument for the analysis of the collected data and allowed a categorisation process without a pre-existing structure. The framework used in the analysis of the programmes (see Chapter 7) is the result of a categorisation and pattern recognition process. Furthermore, the inclusion of ethnography as one of the data collection methods strengthens the process of pattern recognition and provides insights into understanding the internal dynamic of informal settlements and institutional structures (Silverman & Patterson 2014). As a complement to the empirical study, the research used literature review and ethnography through the examination of local official publications, studies by local universities, municipal archives and books found in local libraries in Portuguese and Spanish.

### 2.7.3. Systematic Analysis - Abductive Research

The third phase of the research, the theorising phase, demanded a different approach for the analysis of empirical results, regarding the formulation of a methodological framework for participatory practices. The objective of producing a new methodological approach to participatory integral upgrading required more than inductive thinking, so the research adopted an abduction research approach. Abduction research, in the words of Timmermans and Tavory (2012, p. 168) “*reflects the process of creatively inferencing and double-checking these inferences with more data*”, an iterative process of data interpretation, theory building and validation, to test a hypothesis or

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<sup>6</sup> projects comprise all the activities and actions implemented in a specific area delimited by the programme

support the research claim (Heyink & Tymstra 1993). Abduction was chosen for the theorising phase because it allowed the systematic analysis of the programme assessment through the theory of participation in urban planning.

The researcher produced a matrix (see Chapter 8) for the systematic analysis of the programmes and from there evaluated the results of the empirical research. This process of systematic and theoretical analysis produced lessons learned from the implementation of non-participatory practices in urban upgrading. Later the results were combined with the strategic planning approach to produce the theory building chapter of the dissertation, which provides guidelines for the formulation of a participatory integral upgrading programme in Latin America.

The participant and direct observation, interviews and literature review of official documents served as a triangulation process for the verification of the information collected and reduced the influence of the researcher's bias as well as the bias of the persons interviewed in the empirical process. On the one hand, the previous review of official and academic publications prepared the field research and established the basis for the empirical analysis. On the other hand, the participant and direct observation provided a realistic perspective of the programme outcomes and the relationship between different actors with the programmes, confirming the position of the residents and local leaders towards the programmes, but questioning some of the claims made by the official publications.

## 2.8. Case Studies and Scope

The researcher is a Colombian architect and urban planner, whose previous research was focused on developing countries in the specific cases of Brazil, Indonesia and Thailand. Considering her cultural and social background, the researcher decided to conduct the investigation in the Latin American context, selecting two famous examples of integral urban upgrading. Moreover, the similarities in the expansion of urban informality, character and location of settlements, as well as a preliminary general research about the programmes led to the selection of Rio de Janeiro and Medellín as the focus of the study. A further reason for selecting the *Favela Bairro Programme* and the PUI was the availability of information. The recognition of both programmes as best practices in the region has resulted not only in the adoption of these models by other Latin American cities but also in the proliferation of studies about the two programmes in Spanish, Portuguese and even English, increasing the possibilities of this research of producing reliable results.

Some features exhibited by both cases suggested the need for an expansion of the literature review to other strategies implemented in, with the intention to observe the widespread strategies,



instruments and typology of projects executed. In total the in-depth analysis of the two case studies and abridged analysis of other examples covered ten countries and 16 programmes, finding many similarities amongst the programmes regarding spatial focus, actors, financing scheme, etc.

The criteria for the selection of the supplementary 14 urban upgrading programmes were:

- Programmes formulated and implemented between 1990 and 2012. As described in previous chapters, the emergence of the integral upgrading approach is considered to happen after the 1990's with the establishment of new legislation and legal frameworks.
- The programme could have a national country-wide guideline, but the formulation of projects and specific objectives should be a municipal initiative. This criterion avoided the study of national programmes with rigid frameworks that hindered the adjustment of objectives and expected outcomes to the local needs.
- The programme should have a spatial improvement component and tenure legalisation or neighbourhood legalisation component. This criterion ensures the character of in-situ upgrading programme. It is not necessary for the settlements to be 100% informal to be considered for an urban upgrading program. Thus a mixture of legal and informal housing was accepted.
- Programmes aimed only at legalisation of tenure without spatial improvement were not selected for the study, as they are characterised only as social programmes, and this research finds itself within the urban studies and urban planning realm.
- Latin America, as it is understood by this research does not comprise those countries which are part of the British Commonwealth, an overseas territory of any European country or considered a state within the United States of America because these countries present a different pattern of development.

The programmes selected for the abridged study in Latin America were:

Country	Programme
<b>Argentina</b>	Programa de Mejoramiento de Barrios – PROMEBA Habitat - Rosario
<b>Brazil</b>	Habitar Brasil BID-HBB Villa Barrio – Teresina Projeto Terra – Vitoria
<b>Chile</b>	Chile-Barrio
<b>Colombia</b>	Mejoramiento Integral de Barrios – Bogotá Programa Integral de Mejoramiento de Barrios (PRIMED) – Medellín

<b>Costa Rica</b>	Reducción de la Pobreza
<b>Guatemala</b>	Reducción de la Pobreza Urbana - Guatemala
<b>Mexico</b>	Habitat – Mexico city
<b>Nicaragua</b>	Renovación Urbana - Managua
<b>Peru</b>	Mi Barrio
<b>Venezuela</b>	CAMEBA - Caracas

*Table 2: Programmes selected for the abridged study*

## 2.9. Methodological Obstacles and Limitations

Both programmes, *Favela Bairro Programme* and the PUI, are renowned in Latin America as best practices for urban upgrading. This condition of best practices facilitates the research, due to the availability of information produced by universities and individual researchers, as well as the efforts of the municipality to capitalise on the programme's success. However, the title of best practices can contribute to a biased perspective of the programme and its outcomes. Although the municipal officials and architects interviewed were very objective and critical of some aspects of the programmes, higher ranking programme directors or coordinators in Medellin had a less critical position, reproducing, in some cases, the same statements published in the official reports and programme documents. Moreover, the researcher attempted several times to arrange interviews with the original programme directors and renowned architects, but the emails, phone calls and personal communication were rejected. Nevertheless, the data utilised for describing the case study programmes was collected from official publications produced by the municipality, the programme operators, and publications from local universities. The researcher understood the importance of the perceived success of these programmes for the future career development of the interviewees. Thus the semi-structured interviews realised to high ranking programme directors or coordinators were analysed with a bias filter and compared to field research findings, the studies and analysis realised by universities and research centres.

The archival research of informal settlements brings special obstacles in the collection of data. Although most of the neighbourhoods selected for the implementation of integral upgrading remain in conditions of illegal tenure, they are recognised as part of the urban area and included in the mapping documentation of the cities. However, the rapid population growth experienced by these settlements questions the reliability of the statistics and the official information provided by the municipality web

pages and local archives. Therefore, the statistical data is used only to describe the living conditions of informal dwellers, as general indicators, not as precise quantitative measurements.

Regarding the empirical study, the research presented security issues related to the presence of illegal actors in most informal and low-income neighbourhoods in Rio de Janeiro and Medellin, who control the access to the area and, in some cases, hinder a comprehensive study of the living conditions. To overcome this obstacle, the researcher contacted local activists, professors or architects involved in social or upgrading projects in these informal areas. Only through them was it possible to have access to some neighbourhoods for the direct and participant observation and interview local leaders and residents.

**CHAPTER 3**

**Case Study 1**

**The Favela-Bairro Upgrading Programme**

**Rio de Janeiro, Brazil**

### **3.1. Introduction**

This dissertation began with a chronological analysis of the causes of informality and the reactions of governments regarding urban policy and programmes to the problem of informal settlements. The literature review presented the evolution of poverty reduction strategies in Latin America, their impacts on the condition of informal settlements and the learning process of municipalities. Since the 1990's many countries have learned from the example of Rio de Janeiro in the effort to reduce the incidence of informality through the implementation of an integral upgrading programme, which combines spatial improvements and social projects to be implemented simultaneously by the municipality.

The objective of this chapter is to provide a description of the *Favela-Bairro Programme* as the leading example in Latin America for in-situ urban upgrading. In order to understand the learning process of the municipality to arrive at the integral approach, the dissertation gives a historical description of the causes of growth and proliferation of informality in Rio de Janeiro, and the programmes implemented to respond to uncontrolled urbanisation. Later, the chapter will introduce the objectives and components of the *Favela-Bairro Programme*, exploring in depth the outcomes and their effectiveness in addressing the problems described in the formulation of the programme in the literature. The analysis of the outcomes of the *Favela-Bairro Programme*, as well as the limitations, shortcomings and lessons learned will be presented later in Chapter 7. The next Chapter, studies the case of the PUI in Medellin, while Chapter 7 will offer a discussion based on the in-depth analysis of the programmes in Rio and Medellin regarding their participative approach, along with an abridged analysis of 14 other programmes implemented in Latin America.

### 3.2. The Emergence of the Dual City

Rio de Janeiro, a *Cidade Maravilhosa*, lingers in people's imaginaries as a city for entertainment and enjoyment. Rio is the second most important city in Brazil, with 6.320.446 inhabitants, and covering an area of 1.200 km<sup>2</sup>, with average densities of 5.265 people/km<sup>2</sup> (Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística 2016). Tourism and services are a strong part of the economy of the city, and globalisation has strengthened the position of the city as an entertainment centre for international tourists from every corner of the world. Though the entertainment offer is circumscribed to a small area of the city, tourists can find everything that is advertised, captivating visitors with an extensive offer of local and international events.

Since the 1950's, the urban poor have been growing rapidly in the city, increasing the incidence of informality and poverty in the fringes of the city (Perlman 2003b). While the rich enjoy the beach and high-end architecture of the south of Rio, a large percentage of the population in Rio struggles to survive in the informal city where inequality and poverty dominate the lives of urban residents.

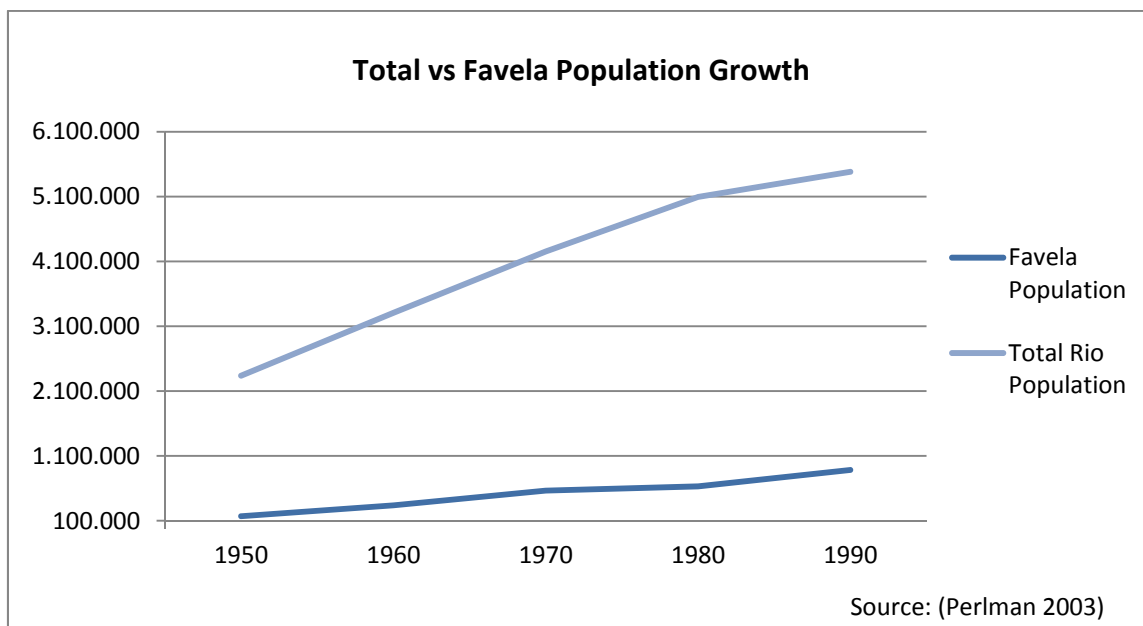


Figure 18: Population Growth in Rio de Janeiro 1950-1990

The main wave of population growth occurred between the 1960's and the 1970's, as an industrialisation process led by the shipping and exports trade after WWII (Hare & Barke 2002, p.226). Shipyards and the harbour attracted new residents, who located their dwellings around the new rail stations, extending urbanisation from stations through long access axes (Prefeitura do Rio de Janeiro 2001). The transformation of production activities, industrialisation, along with economic

crises, attracted large migration waves to a city that was not prepared to provide housing, infrastructure or services to growing low-income populations. The incoming rural population, equipped with only agricultural skills, lacked the expertise necessary for industrial employment, which resulted in rapid exhaustion of the unskilled employment opportunities offered by industrial activities (Faria 2011). Incoming low-income populations, combined with high unemployment rates resulted in a pauperisation process of the urbanisation of the city. By the end of the 1960's the consequences of migration, unemployment and poverty caused 34% of the population of Rio de Janeiro to live under the poverty line, many of them finding legal and illegal housing solutions in the favela areas (Perlman 2003b, p.1)

### 3.2.1. Managing Population Growth

Rio de Janeiro was the Brazilian capital until 1960. As the centre of government, the Rio had a strong influence on the Brazilian economy. The rise of an authoritarian regime saw the capital transferred to the newly built Brasilia. The transfer of power and institutions was an additional problem to face for the city since the municipal budget and the influence of the city weakened (Cavedon 2008). The centralisation of power in Brasilia produced top-down development plans for the Brazilian regions, guided by the vision of economic development through the construction of large infrastructure projects which supported national policies (Rezende 2010).



Figure 19: Rio de Janeiro State (Freitas 2011)

Later, in the decade of the 1970's the central government created the Metropolitan Regions which largely affected the city, changing the status of the Rio from a federal city-state to just a city and the capital of the newly established, larger *State of Rio de Janeiro*. The demotion from state to city meant fewer financial resources as well as difficulties in the administration of the urban infrastructure in the metropolitan area (Rezende 2010). As an attempt to manage the growth of the city, the region divided into administrative areas with the purpose of coordinating the provision of local services and increasing the efficiency of urban development.

These administrative divisions constituted later the *Planning Areas*<sup>7</sup> (see Figure 20), defining the limits of the formal neighbourhoods in the city. The administrative division has been altered through the years. The regularisation of some favelas and the inevitable acknowledgement of the influence of informal areas in the city have expanded the urban limits, as well as the formal urban expansion having its main focus on the south and west areas. Thus, the current administrative division of the city is composed of 5 Planning Areas, 33 Administrative Regions and 160 neighbourhoods in which large favelas such as *Rocinha*, *Jacarezinho*, *Complexo do Alemão*, *Cidade de Deus*, *Freguesia*, *Jacarepaguá* and *Maré* are considered now legalised neighbourhoods within the *Planning Areas* (Alem 2010).

Source: (Prefeitura do Rio de Janeiro 2016)

*Figure 20: Planning Areas of Rio de Janeiro*

The relocation of the capital to Brasilia in the 1960's had a great impact on the economy and status of Rio de Janeiro. As Vicente del Rio stated, Brasilia was built from “*an utopian need for modernism expressed in the sinuous fluidity of Oscar Niemeyer, while the elites grew richer and the*

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<sup>7</sup> Areas do Planejamento -AP-

*poor less hopeful and more numerous*” (Del Rio 2009). The city was to be relegated to a secondary place and lost relevance and influence in national policy conception, in addition to an evident decrease in financial and human resources that were also relocated to the service the new capital or the emergent financial city of Brazil, Sao Paulo (Tolosa 1996). Rio, once the federal capital and most important city of Brazil, was not prepared in urban, social or financial terms for the wave of migration, poverty and social injustice that were to occupy the city.

Public policy regarding informal areas continued to implement eviction, relocation and social housing through the decades of 1960’s and 1980’s, supported by the need for modernisation i.e. automobile friendly urban areas, and global trends of city *“beautification”* and the pressure of formal housing markets. In this sense, policy makers ignored the idea of redevelopment as a more appropriate tool for regularisation of informal settlements and used clearance to achieve an economic objective of satisfying the interests of real-estate markets, while achieving a politic objective of undermining the revolutionary potential of informal dwellers (Valladares 1978).

### **3.2.2. An Early Shelter Approach in Rio**

Although the existence of favelas is acknowledged by the Building Code of the city since 1937, the code itself established a prohibition of new buildings or incremental construction of existing housing. These building regulations hindered the improvement of low-income housing and consolidation of informal dwellings emerging in the vacant areas of the city. Between 1940 and 1943 the concept of Proletarian Parks is introduced in public housing policy through the construction of social housing located in closed areas with restricted access and a curfew (Macedo 2004).

The anti-poverty strategy of clearance of informal settlements was implemented and reinforced with a clear message for favela dwellers to return to their original towns. In the 1940’s and 1950’s, relocation to proletarian parks was the strategy that reinforced the idea of urban beautification, promising informal residents the return to their improved settlement once urban renewal was implemented (Macedo 2004). 4.000 inhabitants were relocated to proletarian parks, but the promise of renewal was never fulfilled (Gonçalves 2008). Although the strategy proved to be ineffective for solving the real causes of the emergence of favelas, clearance and relocation strategies helped to understand other needs of the low-income population, and include social services and community facilities in urban upgrading projects. As João Macedo (2004, p.177) explains, *“proletarian parks could be considered the first step in identifying, limiting and classifying favela populations”*. However, unexpected population growth and demand for developable land for large urban projects resulted in gentrification processes and prevented the upgrading or redevelopment of former favela locations.





Figure 21: Proletarian Park Gávea, 1970's Rio de Janeiro

### 3.2.3. The Morro & the Asphalt

The dualism in the conception of the city has been reinforced by ineffective approaches to the problem of the favelas. Initially, informal settlements were approached as public health threats (Macedo 2004), supported by sanitation and modernization movements, (Gonçalves 2008) stigmatising favelas as unhygienic populations. The favelas became synonyms of urban pathology, considered as social and economic parasites of the public budget, disordered agglomerations of homeless, unemployed individuals, “*marginal elements living in subhuman conditions*”<sup>8</sup> (Perlman 1976, p.42). In the same sense, Janice Perlman exposes one perception of favelas as “*inevitable blight, natural consequence of rapid urban growth*” urban areas that congregate “*cheap labour and easily bought votes, though still regarded as underproductive, naive politically and rather undesirable socially*” (Dean & Pearlman 1977, p.17)

The stigmatisation came with a characterisation of favelas as areas not only lacking public infrastructure but also highlighting aspects of the favelas which segregated them from the formal neighbourhoods e.g. the urban layout, temporality of construction material and the lack of paved roads. The latter feature became an important factor for the segregation and the spatial divide between formal areas with paved roads, called “*asphalt*” a symbol of legality and order (Piccolo 2009, p.96)

<sup>8</sup> Translated by the author from Portuguese

and the favelas located on the hills or “*Morro*”<sup>9</sup> in Portuguese. This perception of favelas and informality supported the implementation of aggressive clearance and relocation strategies against informal settlements between the 1950’s and 1980’s. Public policy aimed at reducing illegal housing in the city was based on the eviction of informal communities. The objective was to erase favelas physically from urban areas and mentally from collective imaginaries. Conversely, the implementation of clearance strategies resulted, not in the eradication of informality, but the relocation of the problem to the periphery of the city. Low-income communities colonised the surrounding hills with illegal and informal housing in areas with low market value, characterised by deficient or non-existent provision of urban infrastructure and public services (Cardoso 2007).

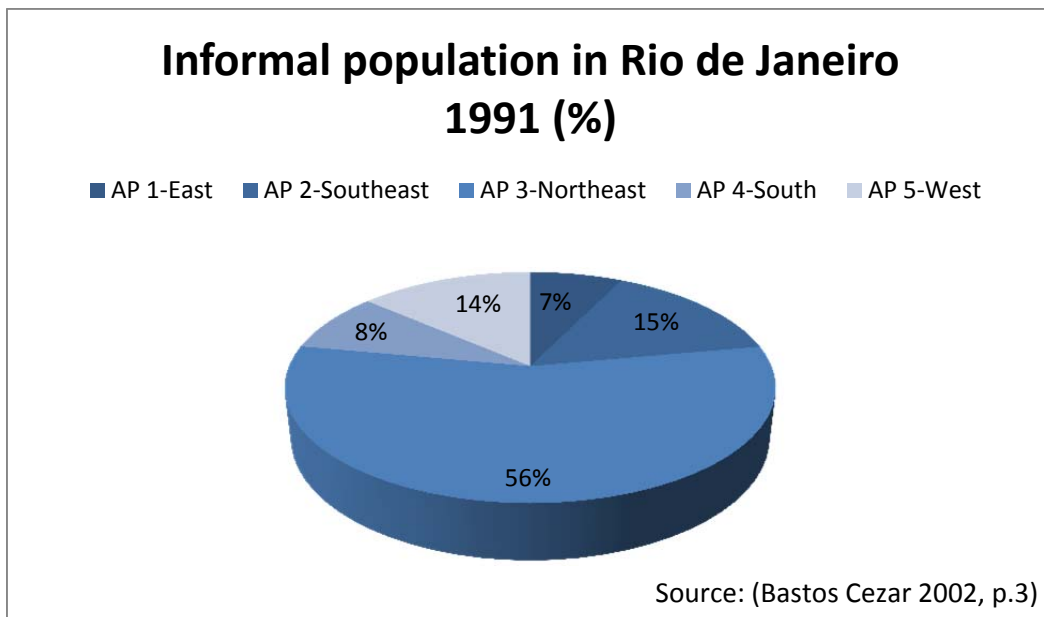
Between the 1980’s and 1990’s the rate of internal population growth in the city increased considerably, especially amongst the informal populations in the north and west of Rio de Janeiro. The area with the highest percentage of informal housing was the Planning Area 3 –AP3- (see Figure 20), a low-income area composed by 13 neighbourhoods on the north and north-east of the city, congregating 54,4%, of the total informal residents in the city (Bastos Cezar 2002, p.3).

The proliferation of informality in low-income areas such as the AP3 and the AP5 on the west of the city with 13, 3% of informal dwellers is the result of the densification and expansion of existent settlements. However, high-income areas in the south –*Zona Sul*- e.g. Copacabana, Ipanema, Leme, in the AP2, accommodated in 1991 the second highest percentage of the total informal population of the city, 14,5% (Bastos Cezar 2002, p.3).

In former times the transition from the *asphalt* to the favela was evident, nowadays, due to the consolidation of housing and the improvements made by upgrading programmes, the difference between the *morro* and the *asphalt* is always discernible, especially in the west areas and consolidated favelas. The consolidation of housing in the favela is related to the age of the favela and its location to centres of employment and trade. The process of consolidation and urban upgrading intended to blur the intangible limits between the formal and the informal (Perlman 2003b). Consolidation and incremental construction changed the temporary materials for brick and mortar, while the upgrading programmes reorganised the urban layout in informal settlements in accordance to the adjacent formal neighbourhood, as well as paving roads and building sidewalks to improve mobility in the favelas.

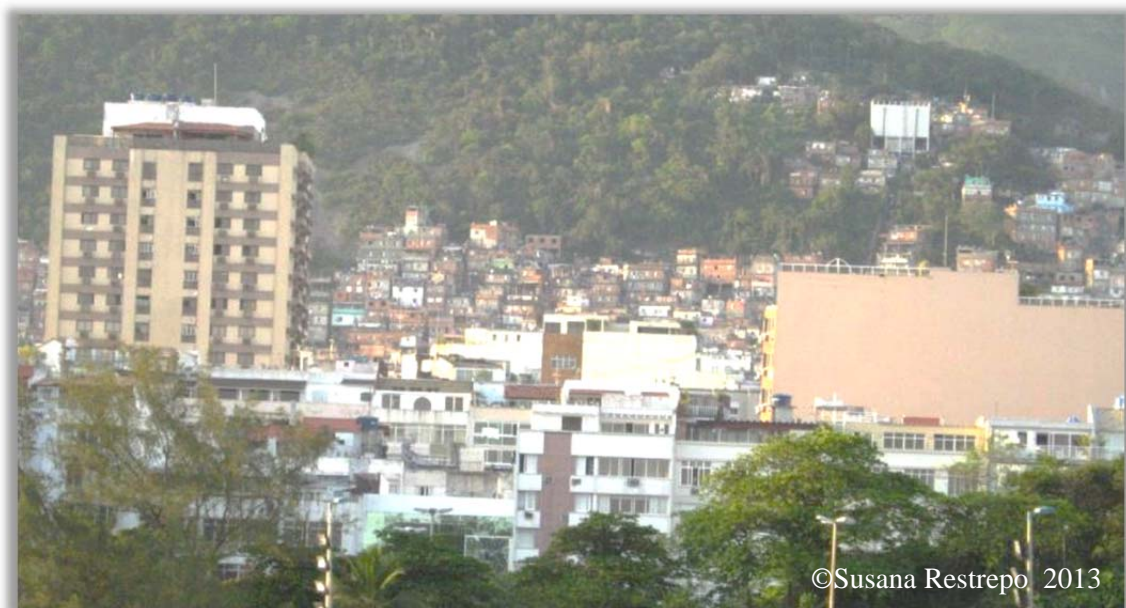
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<sup>9</sup> Morro, favela or community are native categories used to refer to the place of residence of popular classes, who, in this case, build housing on the mountain hills. These refer to the spatial location, but change meaning depending on the narrator. Translated from (Piccolo 2009, p.78)



*Figure 22: Distribution of Informal Population by Planning Area -AP-*

Thus, the border between the favela and the asphalt preserves many of the characteristics of the formal city, with wide streets, which follow the grid, connection to public services and high degrees of consolidation of housing. The further away from the formal urban limit, the tighter and more organic the urban pattern. Roads and plots are progressively reduced as the favela conquers the peak of the hills until the traces of urban life gradually disappear and merge into the surrounding forest



*Figure 23: Front neighbourhood Leme, background Favela Mangueira-Babilonia*

In most areas, favelas are the background image of the city, evidencing the segregation and differences in the socio-economic condition of residents. The north and west of Rio de Janeiro comprise the regions with lowest income in the city, higher population densities and lowest provision of services and welfare. The south accommodates the wealthy and touristic neighbourhoods and offers employment in the service sector for many Rio residents.

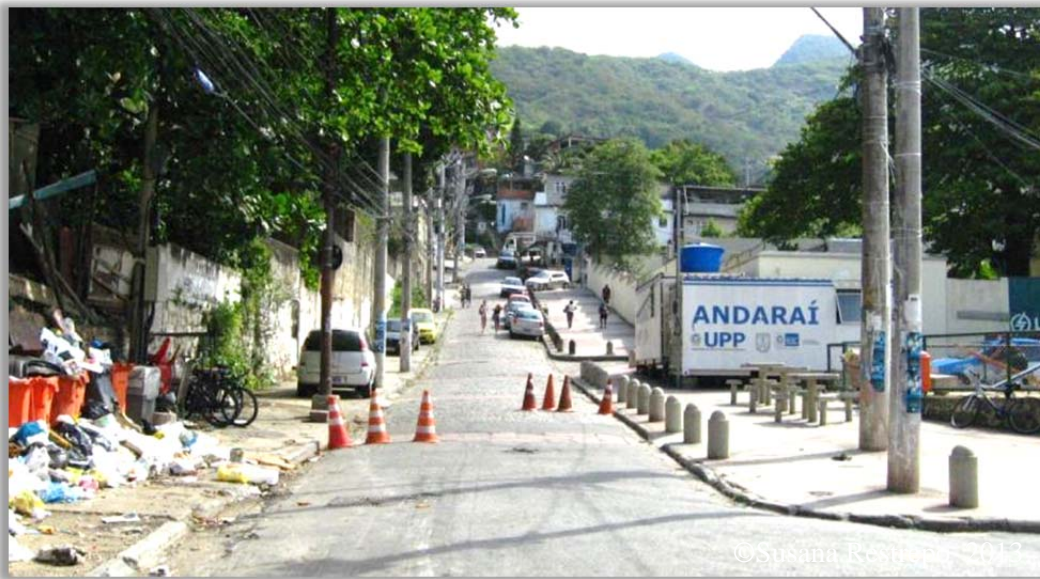


Figure 24: Entrance to Favela Andaraí, Rio de Janeiro

### 3.3. The Path to the Favela-Bairro Programme

Relocation as a strategy for solving the problem of informal urbanisation was socially unjust and unaware of the importance of social networks and solidarity for the urban poor. Low-income populations depend on solidarity if they are to survive in urban areas, where opportunities for social development and economic growth of low-income residents are insufficient or inexistent. Self-help represented the best option for informal communities to improve the condition of their dwelling. However, the illegal tenure situation signified environmental risks and lack of urban infrastructure and services. Nevertheless, informality thrived by the hand of self-help and became visible and critical mass in the city in the early 1980's. Although Illegality kept the municipality away, favelas were consolidated, and residents started learning about their rights and the potentials of self-help, collaboration and communal work in influencing politics as well as politicians. Favelas have the right political components for electoral processes since they became a cohesive complex, extremely strong in every level: family, voluntary and community associations (Reis Mendes 2006).

### 3.3.1. Self-Help in Rio de Janeiro

In the era of the dictatorship, some exceptional attempts were made by religious organisations and welfare institutions to implement in-situ improvement and construction of social housing. The social assistance initiatives also endorsed social assistance for marginalised populations and urban improvement projects with some principles of community participation. These approaches to aided self-help introduced, for the first time in urban areas, the concept of community development and resident associations. Nevertheless, the problem of informality was understood as a housing problem and the real causes of poverty were not addressed by any of the programmes implemented in the city (Gonçalves 2008).

Despite the measures against informality implemented in Brazil since the 1950's, by the 1980's favelas became an active part of the economy in Rio de Janeiro. Informality supports the livelihoods of middle and low-income communities and, at the same time, mobilises resources from informal to formal economies through housing production and informal self-employment (Smolka & De Araujo Lorangeira 2010). One of the reasons for the proliferation of self-construction is the difficulties in the tenure legalisation processes or permissions for housing improvement. The procedures are expensive and time-consuming.

In this sense, informality means illegality of tenure, but residents are protected from eviction by de facto occupation rights. This condition of de facto tenure without property rights characterises housing as “dead capital”, preventing residents from trading the dwelling in the formal housing market. However, for residents, informal housing is perceived as a material asset, and in informal economies, housing is used as an active capital, traded between informal owners and landlords. The trade produces liquid capital, transforming the dead capital into financial assets, transferring informal financial resources into the legal system (Reis Mendes 2006, p.30). Thus, the large majority of Rio's favelas remain informal. Whether legal or illegal, the dwelling is an asset for the urban poor, representing an investment of financial resources and time.

### 3.3.2. Government Change

The fall of dictatorship and rise of democracy in the early 1980's brought a different approach to the problem of informality in the city (Fessler & Berenstein 2003). The government change resulted in the abandonment of repression policies, allowing residents to come together and express their disagreements and opinions with the community. This freedom of expression gave rise to community associations as the voice of the urban poor in the city. The community movement later generated a

critical mass called for a different approach to the problem of informality and justified the inclusion of informal settlements in national policy making agenda.

In the 1980's Rio de Janeiro experienced extreme growth in the favela population as the economic growth attracted new waves of internal migration to the city. The growth of the city was led by a staggering 40% increase in the favela population between 1980 and 1990, compared to a 7,5% population growth in the formal areas of Rio (Perlman 2003, p.4). Additionally, former eviction and clearance strategies which were considered inappropriate and ineffective fell into disuse; hence, informality thrived while upgrading projects were focused on site-and-services and physical improvement by the construction of public infrastructure. Upgrading projects were based on public infrastructure, mobility and public facilities, while housing was left to be improved by residents through self-help.

Agencies such as CODESCO –Community Development Company- emerged in 1968 (Abramo & Faria 1998) proposing in-situ improvement projects and infrastructure provision with local labour and financing of housing improvement. Urban integration with surrounding neighbourhoods, Legal tenure, property rights and avoiding relocation became important elements in the approaches implemented by the agency, which would translate later into the conceptual basis for the formulation of upgrading programmes. The institution valued self-help, aimed at preserving social networks and encouraged residents to create community associations legitimised by the local population and recognised as representatives of informal communities (Macedo 2004). Despite the benefits of self-help for low-income populations, self-help has many limitations regarding technical, financial and human resources i.e. incremental construction is effective for slow housing improvement, but the safety of the dwelling is questionable due to the lack of technical guidance.

Conde & Magalhães, precursors of the *Favela-Bairro Programme*, explain the limitations of utilising urban upgrading strategies focused only on spatial improvements to solve urbanisation problems in fast-growing cities as: “*The solution to housing problems in favelas and settlements evidenced the need for a complex social dynamic, constituted by networks and self-help systems in order to facilitate housing production, however, this solution was insufficient for the production of the city*” (Conde & Magalhães 2004b, p.51).

### **3.3.3. Projeto Mutirão 1981-1983**

Projeto Mutirão was an in-situ upgrading programme based on the provision of urban infrastructure, implemented in more than 60 favelas (Cardoso 1996, p.40), including some of the largest ones such as Rocinha. The programme focused on the construction of sewage, rainwater

collection, road construction and improvement of public spaces. The implementation of the programme introduced the idea of community involvement in urban upgrading as paid or voluntary labour. The work done by residents working in their neighbourhood was labelled “*communal urbanisation*”<sup>10</sup> (Pereira Bahia 2000, p.94). The programme became the only presence of public power in favelas (Conde & Magalhães 2004b) and was later included in the framework of PROFACE.

### 3.3.4. PROFACE 1983-1985

Projeto Mutirão was transformed into the PROFACE programme by modifying the conditions of self-help with the inclusion of remunerated individual labour in weekdays and communal labour on weekends. PROFACE presented a more integral proposal for upgrading, including within one single framework public services, garbage collection, public lighting and plot regularisation through the programme *Cada Família um Lote* –one plot one family- (Soares & Soares 2005). The programme tried to legalise and bring infrastructure for 400 informal plots (Correia 2006, p.36).

For the initiative to be successful, an institutional transformation had to take place inside the municipality. The programme required inter-institutional coordination, the joint action of different municipal agencies simultaneously, as well as capacity building for professionals. The officials and designers associated with the programme had to learn about community participation, acceptance of community capabilities for proposing creative solutions, and understanding the importance of preserving social and cultural structures of favelas. The acceptance of favela dynamics meant utilising the existent urban systems to optimise the investment of resources. PROFACE demanded communication between the municipality and community associations, but these interactions between power-holders and needed communities resulted in the exploitation of the vulnerabilities of the urban poor and boosted corruption, patronage and hampered legitimacy of community participation in upgrading projects (Reis Mendes 2006).

In 1987 the municipality decided to modify upgrading programmes with the objective to develop more efficient and effective programmes consequent with the needs of favelas and popular settlements. Again, the municipality of Rio experienced institutional reorganisation in order to guarantee effective participation of communities in project diagnostics, as well as the definition of internal codes and normative for maintenance of outcomes, along with the rejection of practices focused on deficit factors (Reis Mendes 2006).

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<sup>10</sup> Urbanização comunitária (Pereira Bahia 2000, p.94)

Programme	Year	Components	Instruments
<b>Projeto Mutirão</b>	1981	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Accessibility</li> <li>• Road pavement</li> <li>• Public services</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Technical assistance by municipality</li> <li>• Provision of construction materials</li> <li>• Construction by self-help and voluntary work by residents</li> </ul>
<b>PROFACE</b>	1983	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Accessibility</li> <li>• Road pavement</li> <li>• Public services</li> <li>• Public lighting</li> <li>• Tenure regularisation</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Unbiased selection of favelas</li> <li>• Participative Processes</li> <li>• Utilisation of existing spatial, social and cultural structures</li> <li>• Integration of public agencies</li> <li>• Communication between government and community associations</li> </ul>

*Table 3: In-situ upgrading strategies in Rio de Janeiro. Elaborated by the author*

As shown in the table above, the programmes evolved from an aided self-help strategy to a spatial upgrading strategy which attempted to include communities in the improvement process. However, misused participation in marginalised communities transformed into patronage and politicisation of decision-making since the change from informality to legalisation depends on city-wide, political decisions more than on the costs of urbanisation (Fontes & Coelho 2012). Thus, the participation idea mutated into corrupted practices for electoral purposes and created an opportunity for illegal actors to take control of urban areas through corruption practices and use of violence (Lopes de Sousa 2000). Organised crime affects the legitimacy of community associations, weakening institutional and democratic processes. Simultaneously, violence generated a socio-spatial fragmentation of the urban fabric while reinforcing stigmatisation of informal settlements and establishing a duality between the reality of favelas and the city (Reis Mendes 2006).

### **3.4. Institutional Transformation and the Social Function of the land**

The new political framework brought by decentralisation processes in the late 1980's demanded a new management structure. Urban development acquired a more holistic character, including social, economic, financial and institutional strategies. The decentralisation process required a reorganisation of the institutional structure. Claudio Acioly (2001) describes the new institutional structure as composed by five macro-function group for social development, economic development, urban development, city management and finances. These groups were accountable to the city mayor, and each had a corresponding secretary to formulate policy and coordinate urban development



strategies. Additionally, the municipality organised monthly meetings called the G54 group, composed of 54 first-rank officials and department leaders. The G54 provided the mayor greater control over policy formulation by defining public policy, establishing roles of secretaries and agencies, organising inter-institutional coordination and resource allocation. Moreover, the creation of sub-municipalities with *ad hoc* appointed sub-mayors allowed decentralised control over specific actions or projects within the *Planning Areas -AP's-*. Although the new administrative structure and the decentralisation facilitated communication between local leaders and municipal agencies, control and decision-making for urban development projects remained in the hands of the G54 group as these sub-municipalities lacked autonomy in the budget and resource allocation (Acioly 2001, p.512).

The institutional reforms and the legal changes were essential for the conceptual change which allowed the formulation of more holistic upgrading programmes. The new constitution drafted in 1988 gave municipalities autonomy for the formulation of local urban policy, along with the allocation of resources and redefinition of decision-making processes. The constitution established legal instruments to enforce the “*social function of property*” based on the legitimacy of tenure instead of legality (Macedo 2008, p.261). The new policy approach granted municipalities the legal framework to change land uses, negotiate with landowners and initiate tenure legalisation processes in informal settlements.

### **3.4.1. Plano Diretor – The Master Plan for Rio de Janeiro**

Municipalities took up to two years to comprehend the changes brought by the new constitution, as well as processes in the decentralised institutional structure. The newly gained autonomy encouraged cities to create a new vision for their development, focused on the local strengths and allowed tailored measures to respond to specific urbanisation problems. In Rio de Janeiro, the economic development of the city was linked to internationalisation (Reis Mendes 2006; Pereira Bahia 2000), since a large proportion of the economic activities in the city are based on tourism and the service sector. However, the decayed image of the city hindered the internationalisation objective with favelas framing touristic neighbourhoods and sprawling throughout the north of the city. One decade of poverty reduction strategies had virtually no impact on the condition of informal areas, thus with the new legal framework, the municipality had a new opportunity to address informality with a new approach.

Understanding the role of informality in the city, also led to recognise the importance of a broad master plan for the metropolitan area of Rio de Janeiro, which had as main objective the inclusion of favelas in the formal city and creating a new identity. The municipality wanted to change the stigma of *the favela* and create the idea of *popular neighbourhoods*, granting favelas the title of *Areas de Especial Interesse Social*<sup>11</sup> –AEIS or ZEIS in Portuguese-, in order to include them in housing programmes. The ZEIS allow the definition of a limited perimeter for special urbanisation, facilitating the use of special legal instruments for urban regularisation and de facto tenure, where the occupation rights of the population are protected (Cardoso 2006; Irazábal 2009; Clichevsky 2006). These ZEIS were based on the social function of property and could be used by the municipality to develop different areas of the city consequently with the most pressing needs. Most ZEIS have been used for the urbanisation and improvement of favelas, but this instrument is useful also for the redevelopment of derelict areas of the city, or regularisation of buildings which do not meet the construction code (Rolnik 2012, p.19; Macedo 2008, p.265; Reese 2003).

The ZEIS were the result of the change in the constitution of Brazil in 1988. The constitution produced a set of regulations for municipalities called “*Estatuto da Cidade*”. Although the *Estatuto da Cidade* was only sanctioned in 2001, the law was proposed in 1988 and since then has been used for the redevelopment of Brazilian cities. It is an “*innovative law that opens the possibilities for development of urban policy through the implementation of urban reform instruments for promoting social inclusion (...) taking in account urban, social and political aspects*” (Baldissera et al. 2006, p.9). The *Estatuto da Cidade* gave birth to the master plan for many Brazilian cities, an instrument for urban development and expansion of the city. The master plan for Rio de Janeiro is called *Plano Diretor*, and defines the instruments, principles and guidelines for urban development in the city (Pereira 1991).

Objectives of the *Plano Diretor* for Rio de Janeiro in 1992:

- Balance urban development with environmental protection and culture
- Improve access to land, housing, employment, transport, public facilities and services for the population.
- Direct the growth of the city areas, conciliating sanitation, mobility and other public facilities.
- Promote equitable distribution of infrastructure and urban services.
- Encourage to defend collective interests, reinforcing citizenship.
- Establish instruments for community participation in urban planning and accountability of implementation.
- Promote the accomplishment of the social function of urban property.

(Pereira de Freitas 1991, p.63)

**Box 3: Objectives Plano Diretor**

<sup>11</sup> Areas of Special Social Interest

The *Plano Diretor* is an instrument for land use management and the definition of integration and communication systems. It is conformed to a defined normative for urban planning and embedded within a general vision for the city (Lopes 1998). The *Plano Diretor* regulates planning actions on urban land for public and private actors, driving towards a proposed vision for the future of the city. The regulations established by the *Plano Diretor* work as policy normative and are mandatory for all citizens (Saule & Rolnik 2002). The *Plano Diretor* of 1992 defined the urban limit of the city, availability of resources and characterised neighbourhoods accordingly with the social, economic, urban, and environmental conditions of each area (Faria 2009).

Using the ZEIS as a planning instrument, the *Plano Diretor* defined Favelas as residential areas characterised by the occupation of low-income population, lack of urban infrastructure and public services, narrow irregular roads, plots with irregular form and sizes, and constructions conflicting with the legal pattern. Along with this definition of favelas, the master plan considered consolidated informal areas as popular neighbourhoods only a step away from the integration to the formal city (Gonçalves 2008), delegating the responsibility of urban improvement onto the municipality.

### **3.4.2. Strategic Plan for Rio de Janeiro**

Along with the *Plano Diretor*, Rio de Janeiro devised a strategic plan for its metropolitan area in 1993 as a cooperation agreement between the municipality, the *Trading Association* and the *Federation of Industries of Rio de Janeiro* (Reis Mendes 2006, p.51). The Rio strategic plan prioritised urban development projects and established a vision for the city. The strategic plan defined objectives and time limits for urban development projects in the metropolitan region and was based on the consensus of diverse urban actors. The decision to produce a strategic master plan for the region as a guide for urban and regional development provided the municipality with the instruments to legitimise the implementation of large urban projects (Borja & Castells 1997). A strategic plan contains a set of strategies for the development of the city; however, these strategies are not defined regarding specific projects or actions to be implemented. For the formulation of specific projects, the city had to observe the guidelines established by both the *Plano Diretor* and the strategic regional master plan for each area of development. Within the plan, the urban development group was in charge of formulating public policy for the inclusion of favelas in the urban fabric. One of the actions of the strategic plan i.e. Strategy 4: *Rio Integrado*, aimed at integrating the city, renewal of the urban fabric and revitalisation of neighbourhoods by means of improving the built environment (Reis Mendes 2006). The inclusion of favelas in the formal city would create a new identity for favela population and

change the stigma associated with informal settlements. As a result of this strategic dimension, in the decade of 1990's, the city formulated seven housing programmes consequent with the strategies proposed by both guidelines. The *Favela-Bairro Programme* emerged from the *Rio Integrado* strategy as an urban improvement programme operated by the *Secretaria Municipal do Habitação*<sup>12</sup> - Municipal Housing Secretary-. *Favela-Bairro* was a reaction to informal urbanisation, proliferation and densification of favelas and became the main upgrading strategy of the municipality of Rio de Janeiro in the 1990's.

### 3.5. The Favela-Bairro Programme

The strategic plan established a vision for the city, which would combine diverse urban actions toward a common objective, upgrading informal areas. The *Favela-Bairro Programme* is the result of decades of learning from ineffective initiatives against urban poverty and urban informality and a slow learning process about the underlying causes of informality. Understanding the process of informal urbanisation as a solution to a need for shelter (Guaraldo 1995) encouraged the formulation of a series of consecutive in-situ upgrading and housing programmes that eventually evolved into *Favela-Bairro Programme*.

The change of political situation in the 1980's motivated public officials to find new approaches to the problem of favelas, which could respond to the interest and necessities of informal communities; due to the large numbers of the population located in favelas, the municipality understood the unfeasibility of relocation or eviction. The objective was to start publicly-driven redevelopment projects that allowed informal populations to remain in the occupied areas, promoted settlement consolidation and social integration (Andreatta 2002). As part of the new approaches emerged in 1994 the "*Programa de Urbanização de Assentamentos Populares do Rio de Janeiro – PROAP-* better known now as the *Favela-Bairro Programme*" (Brakarz & Engel Aduan 2004, p.5). The programme was the result of an evolution of policy and upgrading strategies, from eviction and proletarian parks, to *Sites and Services*, and finally to in-situ urban upgrading.

The *Favela-Bairro Programme* was considered an integral approach to urban upgrading (Brakarz & Engel Aduan 2004). Former poverty reduction strategies used sectoral targeted interventions aimed at addressing an isolated existing problem, investing public resources in a sectorial way, and producing temporary solutions to resistant urban problems. Conversely, the integral approach of the *Favela-Bairro Programme* was planned on a neighbourhood scale, addressing multi-

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<sup>12</sup> Municipal Housing Secretary

sectorial basic needs of medium size favelas, while implementing short-term -2 years- projects (Cardoso 2007).

The Favela-Bairro Programme highlighted the importance of a long-term plan for future projects, as well as a vision to guide diverse urban actions toward a common objective, in this case upgrading informal areas of the city. The initiative attempted to promote integration between formal and informal areas through physical transformation and social development (Andreatta 2002). In this sense, the municipality devised a set of planning instruments for the regeneration and revitalisation of informal areas, which would improve the urban conditions and the spatial connection of the favelas to the formal city.

### 3.5.1. Intervention Model

The definition of the integral approach by José Brakarz & Wanda Engel (2004) characterises the *Favela-Bairro* as an integral approach to urban upgrading, which combines localised spatial interventions with human and social development projects, supported by a community participation component. The programme considered the context-specific conditions of each area, designing an intervention plan tailored for each favela. Following the premises of the integral approach, the Favela-Bairro would address the unsatisfied basic needs of most low-income and informal communities in Rio de Janeiro. However, because of the political dependency and importance of the programme in the urban agenda the programme had only a short-term vision -2 years-. Thus, the integral approach had to be implemented by executing diverse spatial and social projects almost simultaneously. This challenge demanded a strong coordination unit. Therefore, the *Municipal Housing Secretary* created an *Executive Secretary* that functioned as a coordination channel between different municipal agencies and architecture offices in charge of project design and implementation.

For the design and implementation of projects, the municipality proposed a public competition, which resulted in a broad set of methodological approaches for urban upgrading proposed by the participating architects and architecture offices. According to the programme description of Luis Paulo Conde & Sergio Magalhães (Conde & Magalhães 2004a), the public competition produced a set of selected projects which shared similar objectives in different favelas and exposed a flexible methodology, coherent with the measures suggested by the municipality.

The methodological approach, in addition to the general objectives proposed by the programme, produces an Urban Project –Projeto Urbanístico- as a structural element for the production of the public space system, integrating local demands (Reis 2006, p.124).

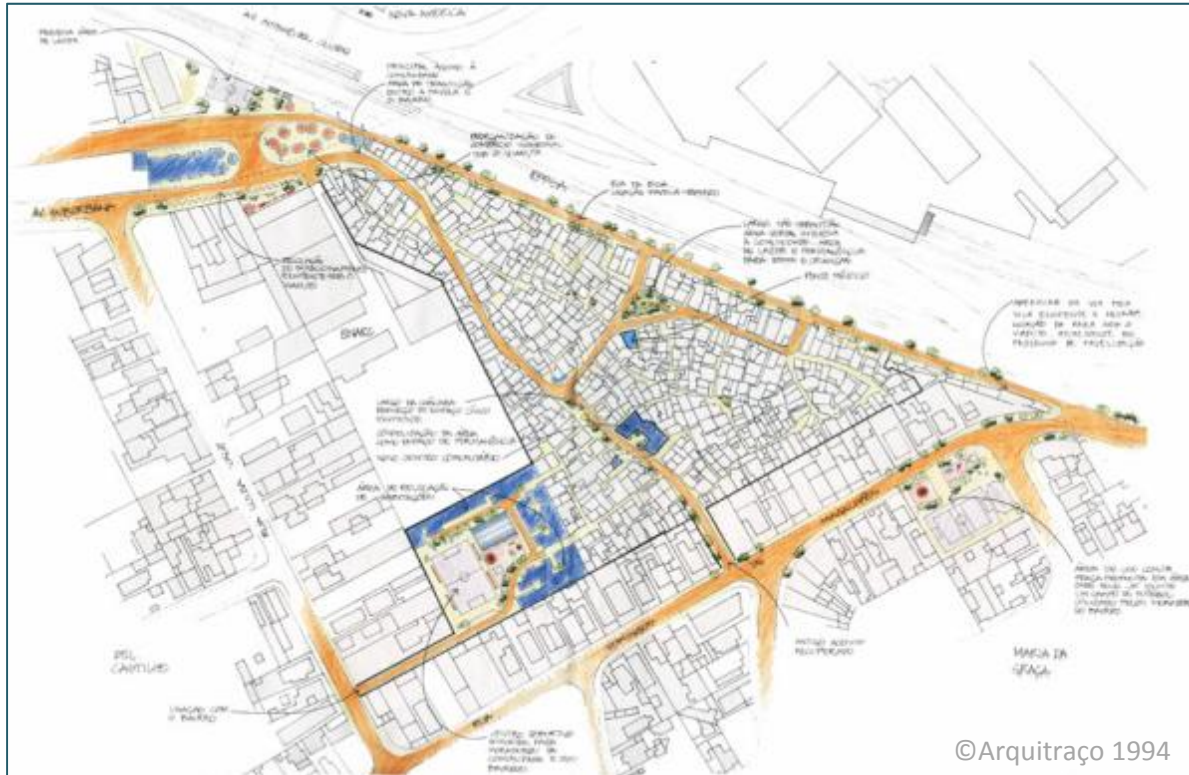


Figure 25: Example of an intervention scheme. Favela Chácara del Casthilo

### 3.5.2. Actors and Responsibilities

The city realised the need for a coordination committee that could synchronise the municipal secretaries, as an attempt at an integrated urban development approach (Acioly 2001). The municipality established an executive coordination team called the *Grupo Executivo de Programas Especiais de Trabalho de Assentamentos Populares -GEAP-*. The main responsibility of the GEAP was to coordinate the implementation of housing policy in the city, including the planning and implementation of the Favela-Bairro Programme. The GEAP was composed, amongst others, by three main municipal secretaries: *Secretaría Municipal de Urbanismo -SMU-* in charge of urban planning in the city. *Secretaría Municipal do Habitação -SMH-*, in charge of housing policy. *Secretaría Municipal de Obras y Serviços Públicos -SMO-* for the provision of public services and public works. Moreover, the *Secretaría de Desenvolvimento Social -SMDS-* in charge of social development projects (Cardoso 1996, p.43). In the GEAP group were also included NGO's and organisations working in the favelas. The composition of the group with municipal secretaries signified the

availability of financial, technical and human resources to invest in urban upgrading. The different specialities of each secretary provided the expertise for the proposal of diverse projects in spatial and social improvement. The GEAP mobilised their operational muscle to collect the visions, needs of favela residents, and proposals for urban improvement. These were the main input to formulate a framework and guidelines for housing policy in Rio de Janeiro in the 1990's (Prefeitura do Rio de Janeiro 1996, p.5; Gonçalves 2008). The GEAP was in charge of mapping and proposing the framework, but planning was still in the hands of the different secretaries.

The *Favela-Bairro Programme* was operated by the SMH, in charge to formulate, oversee and manage the programme, coordinating actors and managing budgets (Riley et al. 2001; Acioly 2001). The programme became the expression of the integrated approach, responded to the immediate problems of the city, and provided tangible outputs (Brakarz & Engel Aduan 2004, p.11). The SMH functioned as a communication bridge between the municipal agencies for the coordination and simultaneous implementation of spatial and social projects (Larangeiras 2013b). The SMH adopted a management-by-projects approach for the implementation of the programmes, delegating to architecture offices the responsibilities of design and execution of the spatial improvements (Carvalho 2013).

In the first stage of the Favela-Bairro, 1994-1998, the community participation strategy was focused on architecture offices, and municipal officials are discussing proposed projects through workshops, visits and assemblies. Consultation with community associations about common needs for the project design facilitated the acceptance of projects amongst residents as well as the work of architects and construction companies (Rojas 2010, p.180; Carvalho 2013). In turn, the communication of municipal officials with the residents associations and the involvement of community associations would grant recognition to self-organisation, legitimise communities, boost the sense of place, and encourage appropriation of projects (Irazábal 2009). In this first stage, the participatory component of the *Favela-Bairro Programme* was focused on the role of residents as beneficiaries of the programme (Magalhaes & di Villarosa, p.7).

The programme adopted a more participative approach to spatial improvement than former initiatives. Municipal officials, who worked in previous poverty reduction strategies and upgrading programmes, understood the need to transform planning processes and programme objectives to allow participation of other sectors of society. Compared with the previous attempts in the 80's and early 90's, the *Favela-Bairro Programme* offered innovative solutions to urban upgrading. With the involvement of private architecture offices for design and implementation of projects, the municipality introduced more diversity in the designs. The inclusion of the private sector in project implementation

had the objective of bringing better quality projects to the urban poor, along with control over budgets and schedules (Carvalho 2013).

For the second stage of the programme, in 2000, the residents demanded a stronger social component, including more social projects and demanded the formulation of a social action plan for social development and community participation (Brakarz & Engel Aduan 2004). Learning by doing led municipal officials and architects to redesign the involvement of communities in the planning process. The participation component evolved from a top-down strategy to a more participatory scheme, allowing communities to discuss projects with architects in the design stages. For the municipality, understanding the significance of participation was essential for the development of community capacities, social cohesion and self-organisation.

### 3.5.3. Programme Scope

The city and the programme make a distinction between *favelas* and *irregular settlements*<sup>13</sup> regarding the situation of *tenure*. Favelas are considered areas with illegal tenure and illegal occupation, where the residents have acquired the land only through illegal occupation without any consent of the owner, thus the condition of tenure and occupation in favelas is illegal. Irregular settlements are the results of illegal plot subdivision, illegal transaction, or an informal property title that has not been properly expedited through the legal procedures. In irregular settlements, the landowner is aware or in charge of the land subdivision process and informal transaction of property, but due of the costs of bureaucracy and permissions, the subdivision and purchase of the land are not declared to the municipality (Della Noce 2008, p.22).

The *Favela-Bairro Programme* in 1994 initially focused on 15 small and medium-size favelas and irregular settlements<sup>14</sup>, with about 500-2.500 housing units (Reis Mendes 2006, p.125) financed by the municipality of Rio de Janeiro. The first idea of the municipality was a locally financed integral upgrading programme; however, to cover the demand for services and expand the programme scope, the municipality reached out to the Inter-American Development Bank -IDB- (Acioly 2001, p.515). In 1995, the IDB granted the city a loan of US\$180 million, which, combined with other US\$180 million invested by the city. The first stage 1994-1998 benefited 55 favelas and eight irregular settlements.

The second phase, 2000-2004, aimed at improving 89 favelas and 17 irregular settlements (IDB n.d.; Brakarz & Engel Aduan 2004, p.7; Rojas 2011, p.160). The municipality had to restructure the programme for the second phase due to the demands of the inhabitants to include services for

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<sup>13</sup> Loteamentos irregulares



support of vulnerable groups (Brakarz & Engel Aduan 2004). Moreover, these demands of the residents encouraged the municipality to produce a second phase of the programme with a stronger participative component than the former stage. According to Conde & Magalhães, the impact of the *Favela-Bairro Programme* reached in total 210 favelas and Irregular settlements and 632.980 inhabitants (Clichevsky 2006, p.87). The initial results of the spatial improvements gave the programme visibility, giving it legitimacy and acceptance among Rio's residents. The visibility also attracted the special attention of the favela population, and through the community associations, the residents demanded a broader, more holistic approach that included social services

#### **3.5.4. Programme Objectives**

The general objective of the programme was the spatial and social integration of the city using urban regeneration and revitalisation projects, which would improve the conditions of consolidated informal settlements, improving the connection of the favelas to the city. The spatial connection of the community to the city is essential for social integration, namely, the permeability of social borders, public and private transport accessibility from and to favelas and internal mobility of the population (Fiori et al. 2001). On the other hand, the programme proposed the introduction of social services e.g. healthcare centres, children care and education facilities, in order to broaden the spectrum of projects and achieve the objectives of social development proposed by the integral approach.

The first essential step of the programme towards integrated urban upgrading was the acknowledgement of the informal dwelling as the production of housing. This recognition granted informal residents with de facto tenure and legitimised the efforts of informal communities in self-help and the importance of incremental construction in the urbanisation process (Prefeitura do Rio de Janeiro 1996). De facto tenure, along with the concept of occupation rights granted by the ZEIS status, was crucial for the consolidation of the favelas. The ZEIS status became an instrument to circumvent traditional laws and regulations for granting legality of tenure, generally unavailable for areas with illegal tenure. Although the focus of the programme was the improvement of the urban condition and connection of the favelas to urban services and infrastructure, an urban regularisation programme was implemented along with the *Favela-Bairro* to legalise the existent informal housing. However, this process was complicated and time-consuming, and the number of legalised units was low (Clichevsky 2006).

The main objective of the spatial improvement was reducing the environmental risk and improving the condition of the public realm in informal areas in the city. The design devised by each architecture office brought a renewed sense of belonging and identity, as well as the creation of new social referents. Local cultural landmarks facilitate understanding the area as a neighbourhood and promote social networks as well as the appropriation of the public space by the residents. The *Favela-Bairro Programme* concentrated on local scale improvements, but the cumulative effect of the improvements in all favelas was expected to have a city-wide impact (Reis Mendes 2006).

***General objectives of the Favela-Bairro Programme***

- Basic package of infrastructure
- Provision of social services
- Community participation in projects
- Coordinated implementation
- Integral planning
- Environmental improvement
- Social integration, mobilisation and transformation
- Spatial improvement
- Preservation of local identity
- Inclusion of preventive strategies

(Brakarz & Engel Aduan 2004)

***Box 4: General objectives of the Favela-Bairro Programme***

### **3.5.5. Neighbourhood Selection**

The municipal authorities in Rio mapped favelas, ranking them accordingly to poverty indicators, cost-effectiveness, and strategic development factors. Household income, the number of family members, literacy, and social composition, defined the socio-economic level of households and incidence of poverty in favelas (Soares & Soares 2005). Likewise, an assessment of the built environment, e.g. informal tenure, inadequate housing, shortages or deficiencies of basic infrastructure and social services, environmental risk, etc., in each favela served as an indicator of the financial investment required for the improvement of the neighbourhood, creating a cost-per-family indicator. Favelas with a cost-per-family of maximum US\$4.000 were the main targets of the programme (Cardoso 1996, p.45).

The last aspect for selecting beneficiary favelas was the “*strategic dimension*”, aimed at broadening the impact of projects by improving favelas located in the same area. The preferred areas were favelas with established and strong community organisations, which would mutually benefit from the development of the surrounding neighbourhoods. These factors were then used by the municipality to rank favelas and prioritise urban projects (Brakarz & Engel Aduan 2004, p.6).

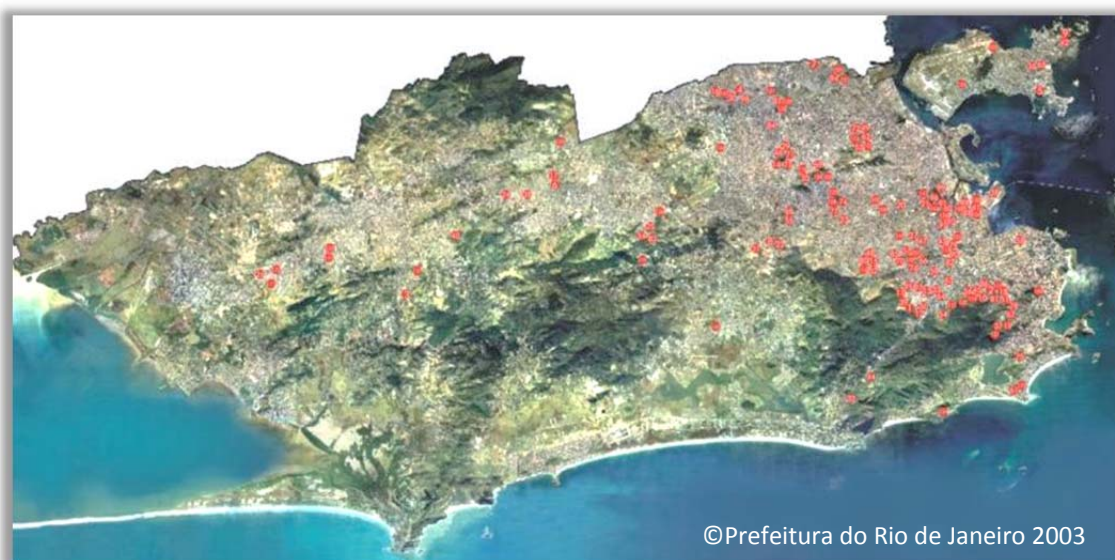


Figure 26: Interventions of the Favela-Bairro Programme in Rio de Janeiro

### 3.5.6. Programme Components

The integral approach adopted by the city brought together spatial and social projects to be simultaneously implemented in favelas. Therefore, the programme developed a “*Territorial Based Integrated Development Approach*” for the spatial improvement and a “*Life-Cycle Approach*” for the provision of social services and reduction of vulnerabilities (Brakarz & Engel Aduan 2004, p.14).

#### *The Spatial Improvement Component*

The consequences of poverty are similar in every favela; however, efficient implementation and effectiveness of projects depend directly on mapping and understanding context-specific needs of communities. The *Territorial Based Integral Development Approach* provided the methodology to diagnose necessities and tailor projects, which would address the specific needs. The selection process defined the borders of the interventions, defining the scope of projects as well as the direct and indirect impact of the programme. As Brakarz & Engel Aduan (2004, p.14) explain, the *Territorial Integrated Approach* is a “*combination of multi-sectoral interventions in a confined territory enhances their individual impact and facilitates their assessments*”.



*Figure 27: Spatial improvements of the Favela-Bairro Programme*



*Figure 28: Garbage collection services in Favela Andaraí*

The programme developed a vision for transforming informal settlements into consolidated urban areas by means of spatial and social transformation. The physical connection of communities to the city is essential for urban integration of favelas. Thus the basic objective of the programme was improving mobility by opening the borders of favelas with roads and pedestrian networks (Acioly 2001). Allowing access from and to the favela generated permeability of social borders, the internal mobility of population along with access to the state to urban areas formerly controlled only by informal or illegal actors (Fiori et al. 2001). Likewise, construction of community facilities for social services, health centres and the introduction of a diversity of land uses to the area improve social conditions while promoting social integration (Reis Mendes 2006), encouraging the emergence of cultural, economic or commercial activities among residents of different areas.

### ***Social development***

As expressed in former sections, the social component was not defined on the initial formulation of the programme. The first stage focused mainly on the spatial projects, but the pressure of communities forced the municipality to restructure the programme in order to include social services provision. The social component was based on the *Life-Cycle* approach addressing the “factors that hinder social development of the poor citizens in each stage of their life-cycle” (Brakarz

& Engel Aduan 2004, p.15). The approach divided the community into age groups, designing social projects accordingly to the needs of each age group. These social services were coordinated by the CEMASI –Centres of Integrated Social Assistance- present in most favelas. The main objectives of the social projects are described by Brakarz & Engel Aduan (2004, p.16) as:

- **Children 0 - 6 years:** provide children care and initial education within the neighbourhood with the purpose of allowing women to become part of the labour market, breaking the circle of inherited poverty.
- **Children 7 – 14 years:** promote education and complement the learning process.
- **Youth:** provide professional training and encourage school attendance.
- **Elderly:** Centres for elderly care, also with the purpose of allowing family members to work.

### 3.6. Conclusion

The emergence of favelas in Rio de Janeiro was initially inter-urban migration, later fuelled by population growth. Rio de Janeiro was unprepared for the prompt population growth. The favelas grew and proliferated encouraged by the lack of affordable housing as well as high rates of unemployment, economic reforms and unstable social structures. These factors created a segregated city that survives today. Spatial and social segregation between formal and informal neighbourhoods is observable in the urban morphology of the city. Rio de Janeiro is a divided city, a place of disparities; the tourist city eclipses the real city, vast middle and low-income neighbourhoods characterised by social inequality, poverty and informality.

The centralised government system hindered the formulation of context-specific urban development programmes as municipal initiatives since cities lacked the financial means and political autonomy to react appropriately to allocate resources to specific urban problems. Two decades of forced eviction and clearance strategies only generated distrust in governments and the reproduction of poverty. The ineffectiveness of eviction strategies led to the implementation of in-situ upgrading schemes, which recognised the existence of poverty and informality as actors in cities. However, only a constitutional change allowed municipalities to formulate context-specific upgrading strategies and include a social component. In-situ upgrading strategies with a social component acknowledge incremental construction as the production of housing, legitimising communities and granting *de facto* tenure to informal residents. The newly regained citizenship encouraged self-organisation, resulting in the last evolution of upgrading programmes from top-down approaches to include a participatory component in which communities, as well as the private sector, were considered actors in the

improvement of the urban space. The *Favela-Bairro Programme* paved the path for integral programmes to be developed in Latin America, serving as an example of a municipal strategy that proposed, instead of projects, a methodology for planning urban upgrading programmes in contexts of informality and poverty.

## CHAPTER 4

### Case Study 2

# The Proyecto Urbano Integral –PUI- Medellin, Colombia

## 4.1. Introduction

The last chapter introduced the *Favela Bairro Programme* and how the municipality of Rio de Janeiro understood the importance of in-situ upgrading and the integral upgrading approach. The process in Medellin also capitalised on past experiences and made good use of new legal frameworks. The *Favela Bairro* presented a successful programme in terms of legitimacy, recognised internationally as a best practice in integral upgrading. The *Proyecto Urbano Integral*<sup>15</sup> –PUI- is a new generation of integral approaches to urban upgrading, collecting those local and international lessons to produce a programme that has as stronghold the institutional transformation component.

The chapter explores the process of informal urbanisation in the city and the different causes for expansion of informality. Similar to other countries in Latin America, Colombia suffered a dramatic increase of urban poor in the 1980's, but the situation got more sombre with the incursion of illegal actors in cities. The arrival of the city to integral upgrading is late, and this chapter will describe the learning process of the municipality from overlooking informal settlements to producing a programme considered best practice in urban upgrading.

The purpose of this chapter is to describe and understand the planning process behind the formulation and implementation of the PUI. However, to have a holistic understanding of the PUI, the research had to look into the legal framework within the PUI was embedded. The result was the realisation that, although the PUI has been presented around the world as a programme in itself, the research revealed that the PUI was initially defined as the implementation instrument of a larger urban regeneration programme, the *Programa de Mejoramiento Integral de Barrios*<sup>16</sup> -PMIB-, developed by the Municipal Planning Department in Medellin. Therefore, this chapter first describes and explores the planning process for the PMIB that served as the legal and regulatory framework for the implementation of the PUI. Later the chapter will explore the planning process for PUI, where the reasons for the confusion between the PMIB and the PUI will be explained.

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<sup>15</sup> In English: Integral Urban Project

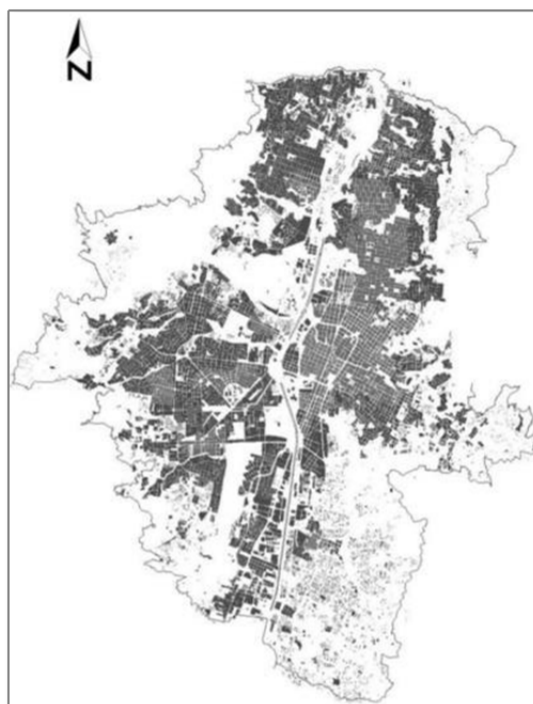
<sup>16</sup> In English: Integral Neighbourhood Improvement Programme

The PMIB produces two implementation instruments: the PUI and a programme for urban regularisation and legalisation of tenure -PLRU-. The research deliberately avoids an in-depth exploration of the PLRU because, although the PLRU accompanies the implementation of the PUI, it lacks a generalised structure and methodology of implementation, and in most cases, the two instruments were dissociated programmes with different legal processes. This chapter will provide a description of the PMIB and PUI programmes. Similar to the last chapter, the critical analysis of the programme will be presented in chapter 7 after the theoretical framework of this research is explored.

## 4.2. Informality as the Production of Housing

Colombia is a country with an immense diversity in race, population and geography. The cities vary in location, climate, and even culture. However, all cities share the same common characteristic, the urban area is expanding due to the proliferation of poverty. 20% of the low-income residents live under Unsatisfied Basic Needs -UBN-<sup>17</sup> and reside in low-income or informal settlements. Informal housing account for 16% of the total of urban housing in the country and 6% of the population in Colombia live in chronic poverty conditions (Vergel Tovar 2010, p.66). The condition of informality is characterised by a lack of basic public infrastructure, illegal housing generally in environmental risks and inappropriate materials for shelter construction.

Medellin, the second largest city in Colombia, is located on the banks of a medium size river inside a narrow valley that stretches 60km from north to south. The city is the largest municipality in a conurbation of 10 medium size towns, comprising 105 km<sup>2</sup> of urban territory with an average density of 3.202 pop/km<sup>2</sup>. The population in Medellin and the metropolitan area is in continuous growth, accommodating 2.5 million



*Figure 29: Current urbanisation in Medellin.  
Elaborated by the author*

<sup>17</sup> "The Unsatisfied Basic Needs indicator refers to the satisfaction of a minimum level of basic needs, and reflects a structural and particular poverty, using five simple indicators: Improper housing, critically crowded housing, housing with improper utilities, housing with high economic dependency, housing with school age children that do not go to school. A home in one of the five indicators is considered poor. If the house has two or more indicators, it is considered in misery" (Merchan Bonilla & Arcos Palma 2011, p.162)



inhabitants in the city, 3.7 mill inhabitants in total in the metropolitan region (Área Metropolitana del Valle de Aburrá 2014). The geographical situation of the city constrains the limits of urbanisation and the spatial expansion. High steep mountains dominate the background while the river created central plains prone to natural flooding. The areas for safe urban development have been defined and limited by nature.

The city has experienced a prompt population and urbanisation growth since the 1950's caused by an industrialisation process, later encouraged by military conflicts and violence in the countryside (Betancur 2007). Between the 1950's and the 1970's the population of the city grew significantly, attracting 600.000 rural inhabitants to the undeveloped city. The newcomers found shelter in informal and low-income neighbourhoods located mainly in the north and central hillsides of the valley, where slopes may reach up to 64% (Echeverri et al. 2012, p.34). The high slopes make housing construction not only difficult for formal and informal developers, but also an environmental risk for inhabitants and the city in general.

Many of these new residents lacked the skills necessary to succeed in an urban area; their literacy and education levels were extremely low, as were the possibilities to find jobs that would allow social mobility. These new residents accounted for a 50% increase in the total city population, and most of them became part of the workforce for the industrialisation process of the city and the country (Alcaldía de Medellín 1996, p.29). In the 1960's and 1970's, large manufacturing companies established in the north of the city and absorbed the incoming unskilled workers.

#### **4.2.1. The First Expansion– An Industrialisation Process**

The urbanisation in Medellín could be divided into two urbanisation waves or expansion processes. The two urbanisation processes present different characteristics in housing construction and occupation condition. In 1928 the city was a small town of 120.000 inhabitants. Until the 1950's the city experienced a progressive but controllable growth changing from a colonial town to a small municipality. With the arrival of industrialisation processes in Latin America in the late 1950's the city transformed rapidly by the hand of a prompt urban expansion process fostered by a fast population growth. The city established itself as the industrial centre of the country, thus in only 20 years, the population of the city doubled, reaching 358.000 inhabitants (Primed 1996a, p.26-28). This first expansion was characterised by the construction of informal housing by private developers linked directly with the booming manufacturing companies.

The entrepreneurs and the owners of large factories also owned the available developable land in the valley. The factories built housing units on the north of the city on the owner's land to

accommodate the employees and their families. These residents employed in the booming industries had the financial means to pay moderate prices for housing, public services and could develop their dwelling through incremental construction over the years (Coupe 1993).

Private developers played a great role in the first expansion and development of the city, creating middle and low-income neighbourhoods and accommodating the incoming migrant population. These dwellings produced by private developers addressed the demand for affordable housing; residents were given property titles by the landowner, and housing units were sold with the tacit promise of social mobility and a feasible socio-economic improvement in the future. However, the condition of tenure remained informal, since the legal procedures for land purchase were neglected. Nevertheless, factory owners provided education and some social services for their employees, which eclipsed the risks of informal tenure and for many families living in conditions temporary informality was perceived as *“living the potentiality of a better future”* (Coupe 1993, p.80).

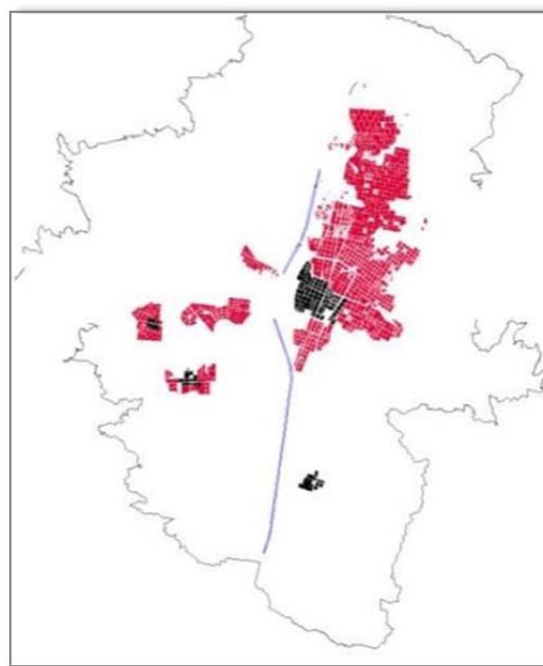


Figure 30: Medellín's first expansion 1930-1960.  
Elaborated by the author

The informal tenure condition characterised these developments as illegal. However, the municipal officials overlooked the informal urbanisation process because the quality of housing was acceptable and the urban layout of the development mirrored the traditional grid of the formal city. Although residents had property titles, this mode of urbanisation was considered informal because the new neighbourhoods were not formally included in the city's development projections. The informal neighbourhoods were disconnected from the public infrastructure networks. Though following the formal grid, in aesthetic terms the new developments disrupted the image of the city with irregular alignments of facades, sidewalks, and street width (Coupe 1993). These traditional alignments and measurements were de facto regulations, established by the traditional building practice, not by a formally institutionalised building code. The lack of formal regulations benefited the informal urbanisation as they were not violating the laws but breaking with cultural traditions.

Just as urbanisation with informal property titles in Rio was labelled irregular settlement, in Colombia the same urbanisation process is labelled *pirate urbanisation*. Thus, private development gave birth to pirate urbanisations. Francoise Coupé describes these as “*settlements in private land, divided and sold by the owner without conforming to urbanisation laws and consolidated by incremental self-help*” (Coupe 1993). Pirate urbanisations became the system for urban growth, providing housing for middle and low-income residents. However, at the same time, the lack of communication with public authorities and services providers created a problematic in relation to public services provision (Coupé 1993). Urban infrastructure reached only formal neighbourhoods, and fast urbanisation challenged the effectiveness and efficiency of decision-making processes in the city halls.

Despite the informal status, the conditions in which pirate urbanisation emerged were essential for their acceptance as parts of the city in future decades. The urban morphology was designed to follow the existent urban grid that characterises Latin American cities, and developers established a specific length for housing blocks to make the construction of public infrastructure networks feasible in the future. Therefore, these informal urbanisations were rapidly regularised and legalised, preventing their stigmatisation. In 1960 appeared the first planning office in Medellin (Sánchez 1985, p.5). In 1963 the planning office extended the former urban perimeter to include the newly consolidated informal settlements built by the factories (Primed 1996a, p.30). The existence of a planning office signified formal regulations and administrative processes for housing construction. It also represented the beginning of penalisation and stigmatisation for future informal settlers.

#### **4.2.2. Master Plans & Urban Policy**

Before the emergence of guerrillas, drug traffic and paramilitary organisations, the city was a thriving and growing metropolis that led the industrialisation process of the country and congregated powerful companies, landowners and politicians. Laws were formulated by economic powers, and building regulations only covered alignments and configurations along the river or streams. The economic power of factory and land owners exerted great influence over the goals, vision and direction of urban development, facilitating the expansion of the city through the construction of housing for company workers.

With the creation of the National Planning Department in 1958 and its reformation in 1968, urban planning was introduced into public policy as the means to strengthen territorial management (Ramírez Ríos 2011a, p.53). Thus, national and municipal development plans emerged as planning instruments with the purpose of “*achieving optimal conditions for the development of cities and their*

surrounding areas in physical, social and administrative aspects (...) based on modern urban planning techniques and urban-regional coordination”<sup>18</sup> (Ramírez Ríos 2011a, p.57). The strategy of the central government to address the housing deficit was guided by the *Territorial Credit Institute* with the purpose of regularising and formalising the phenomenon of informality, and the construction of working class neighbourhoods. The Institute created a social housing policy that eliminated the first payment in housing credit and promoted collective self-help construction programmes (Coupé 1993). Nevertheless, the production of social housing without a master plan or specific urban guidelines for connection to public infrastructure imposed further demands urban infrastructure and services provision.

### ***Urban Planning in Medellin***

Master plans produce regulations and guidelines for the development of urban areas. The formulation of former master plans in Colombia neglected community participation and misrepresented the reality of low-income communities located in the periphery of the city (Coupe 1993). Between the years of 1948 and 1952 the city adopted a *Pilot Plan* conceived by *Paul Lester Wiener* and *Jose Luis Sert*, both disciples of the modern movement. The plan would serve as a master plan, guiding the development of the future metropolis. This plan observed *LeCorbusier's Athens Chart* (Eardley 1973), included zoning, traffic layout, and redefined the borders of the city as guided by the CIAM principles (Rodriguez 2012, p.12). The introduction of the building code and master plan allowed the formal connection of the pirate neighbourhoods to public infrastructure and the consequent legitimacy and legalisation of tenure. The master plan defined road construction, zoning, public infrastructure provision, and housing construction, along with the urban perimeter and city extension. The connection of pirate neighbourhoods to public infrastructure attempted to eliminate the stigma of informality and served as the means for neighbourhood and housing regularisation (Coupé 1993).

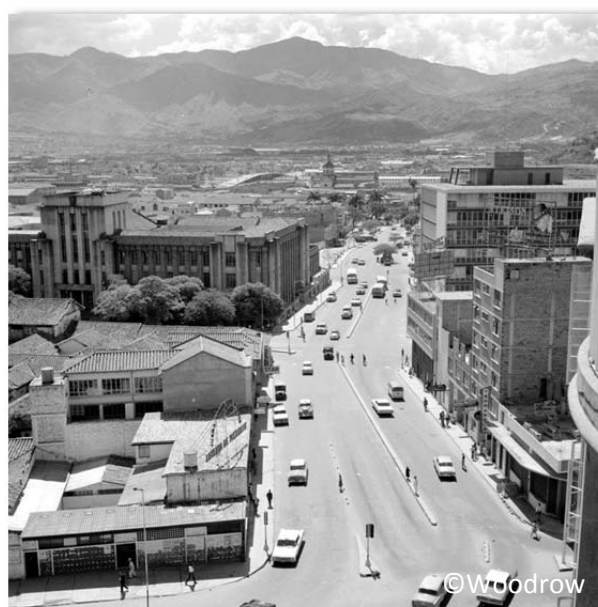


Figure 31: Medellín's modernist centre, 1969

<sup>18</sup>Translated by author from (Ramírez Ríos 2011a, p.57): „Lograr condiciones óptimas para el desarrollo de las ciudades y su area de influencia en los aspectos físico, económico, social y administrativo (...) con base en técnicas modernas de planeación urbana y de coordinación urbano regional“

The master plan of Wiener & Sert was a top-down approach to urban development that imposed a modernist view of a growing city. The plan disregarded participation, mass-transport systems, non-motorised transport and low-income housing. Furthermore, industrialisation processes should bring economic growth, increase in national income, a decrease of unemployment and technical progress (CEPAL 1950), which would reflect directly in an improvement of life quality. However, as stated before, the idea of industrialisation in Latin America attracted a migration wave of rural, unskilled populations, generating densification, urban expansion and housing deficit.

The master plan was partially implemented, with a traffic axis along the river bank running north to south and zoning on both banks for institutional and public buildings. The plan defined the urban morphology and mobility structure following the insinuations of the valley's geography and the already growing urbanisation along the floodplains (Área Metropolitana del Valle de Aburrá 2007). Moreover, the large-scale projects proposed by the plan demanded a high investment of financial resources for implementation. Projects such as the canalisation and redirection of the river, in addition to the construction of the large roads system along the riverbanks, required a powerful financial muscle and effective planning.

Overlooking the future consequences of industrialisation the master plan was the echo of paternalistic urban policy, discordant with the local process of urbanisation between 1960's and 1980's, as zoning projections were unable to accommodate the prompt population growth. The plan focused on zoning and spatial structuring of the metropolitan area which, in the long term, made it unattainable in terms of housing demand, social development and financial resources. The dependence of the city on the centralised national budget limited the scope of the intervention leaving many projects to be implemented in the next decades. The full implementation of the zoning proposed by the Wiener & Sert plan could have resulted in an even more segregated and divided city. The plan was never completed, as the upcoming world economic crises of the 70's deeply affected national finances. Thus, informal settlements emerged and continued expanding fuelled by poverty and the implementation of inadequate public policy. This course of action continues through the 60's and 70's; the formal city grew in wealth and consolidated former pirate neighbourhoods on the flat areas of the valley while informality and violence colonised the surrounding hills.

The urban planning practice in the institutional sphere in the 1970's and 1980's was a consulting instrument for high levels of government. When it was institutionalised in 1989, it became a rational and rigid public policy framework, producing technocratic plans and urban projects reactive or inappropriate for the urban reality (Ramírez Ríos 2011a). The influence of the *National Planning Department* could be observed on the widespread of planning approaches adapted from international development institutions throughout the national context i.e. *laissez-faire* policy for housing that

benefited mostly middle-income residents while neglecting the needs of the poorest urban inhabitants. In contrast, while the government implemented ineffective anti-poverty approaches, the academy gradually understood the importance of local knowledge and communities in decision-making and planning (Ramírez Ríos 2011a). Some local planning professionals and scholars directed their interests towards understanding informality and the emergence of illegal settlements in the city as well as the effect of the proliferation of informal settlements on urban development. Professionals and scholars criticised the government approach linking the prompt expansion of informal settlements with the implementation of top-down non-participatory urban policy and recommended participatory approaches to urban planning (Ramírez Ríos 2011b). However, local governments around the country ignored the recommendations and opted to follow the traditional internationally accepted policy approach.

#### 4.2.3. The Second Expansion – Violence and Poverty

From the 1960's on, the city expanded through formal and informal private urbanisation. Along with the new legal housing developments for middle and high-income populations, the fringe of the city accommodated the low-income and urban poor populations, colonising the surrounding hills. Unlike the first expansion, this second informal urbanisation wave was characterised by illegal occupation on private land and the emergence of temporary informal settlements.

The population of the city continued growing fast. Although the industrialisation boom was slowing down, many middle and high-income families had access to new housing through credits from national financial institutions (Mesa Sánchez 1997), fostering the growth of the

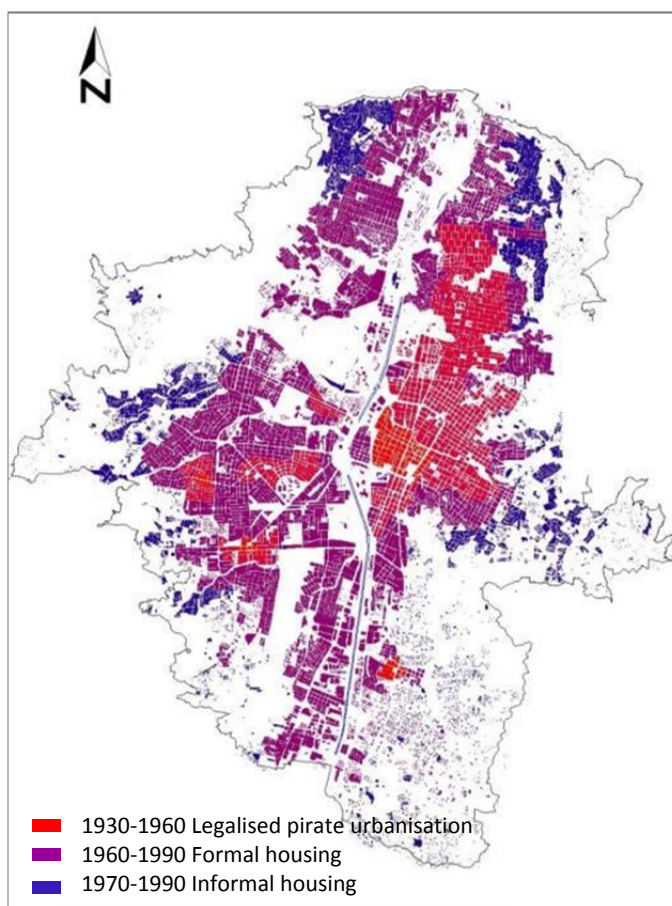


Figure 32: Medellín's expansion 1930's - 1990's. Elaborated by the author

construction industry. Access to credit and production of housing by state companies generated a densification process in the existent neighbourhoods and created many new neighbourhoods on the plains along the river, the city centre and the south (Cadavid Monroy 2010). The population growth in formal areas offered informal jobs for the poorest inhabitants, attracting the urban poor who established temporary housing on the fringes of the growing city.

The situation of the new informal dwellers in the second informal expansion of the city was very different from the first urbanisation wave. The populations who arrived in the 1960's and later were expelled from rural areas by violence and military conflict and forced to move to urban areas in an attempt to save their lives. In the 1950's the guerrillas of Colombia were created, and a civil war started in the rural areas of the country. Farmers and peasants were forcibly displaced from their lands by the guerrillas, and the only option was a migration to urban centres (Irazábal 2009).

The socio-economic condition of displaced rural populations was worse than the socio-economic condition of the urban poor. Moreover, the availability of employment in the city was affected by the decline in industrial production. Industrial activity was affected by globalisation, and the response was a restructuring process that saw wages reduced, labour intense jobs subcontracted (Betancur 2007) and a spike in poverty incidence in the country. In 1972 the population of Medellín was 1.2 million inhabitants, with 50% of this population living in informal settlements (Primed 1996a, p.29).

In addition to the influx of low-income rural inhabitants, the 1970's brought the world economic crises. The incoming impoverished, displaced rural populations located on the periphery of the city adjacent to the working class quarters, where land was illegally occupied and traded. Unlike the legitimised former pirate neighbourhoods, these new illegal settlements had no possibilities of future legalisation of tenure or construction of public infrastructure. The second urbanisation wave saw private land occupied without formal or informal permission and dwellings built with temporal materials, e.g. cardboard, wood, metal sheets, etc., found in waste products of industrial sites or residential garbage. Illegal housing and informality redefined the city borders and established new modes of urbanisation as a response to the deficit of affordable housing for low-income and poor populations as self-help, and informal occupation became the only housing production mode.

The characteristics of the second urbanisation wave engendered the exploitation of informal inhabitants by illegal actors, who recognised the vulnerability of these communities. Informality became a synonym of urban injustice, inequality, and a reflection of the deficiencies of governments in responding to urbanisation needs. Informal settlements arose as *“a logical product of the political and social system, the historical moment and urban land markets”* (Coupe 1993, p.5). The fast emergence

of informality engendered fear towards mass concentrations of poor communities which transformed informal settlements into threats to modern development.

#### 4.2.4. The Consolidation of Informality

Large populations found their niche and home in the new informal settlements. These concentrated not only workforce but also collective purchasing power and the creativity for boosting the local economy. The critical mass demanding legalisation and connection to urban infrastructure forced the city to adjust urban development regulations.

Though tenure remained informal, the provision of public services in informal areas was modified, allowing the companies to connect informal housing without the property title. The state also responded to this critical mass with the creation of a municipal agency in charge of informal urbanisation and housing legalisation. The agency provided legitimacy to consolidated informal settlements and proposed a separation, in terms of urban planning, between housing construction and infrastructure provision in the city. Thus was created the municipal *Public Services Company* –EPM- (Coupé 1993).

The 1980's are seen as the lost decade for Latin America not just in the economic perspective, but also regarding sustainability. The SAPs promoted by the international financial institutions, combined with drug traffic, violence and social conflicts, reinforced inequalities and worsened poverty in rural as well as urban areas. Medellín became a symbol of fear and violence, where drug lords decided on every aspect of urban life, created invisible borders and established a special mode of living for the residents of low-income neighbourhoods (Cavedon 2008; Puerta Osorio 2011; Restrepo Echeverri 2012). The state reach was limited by the power of drug cartels; hence, urban development was constrained to the areas where the state had access, leaving low-income and informal communities at the expenses of illegal actors.

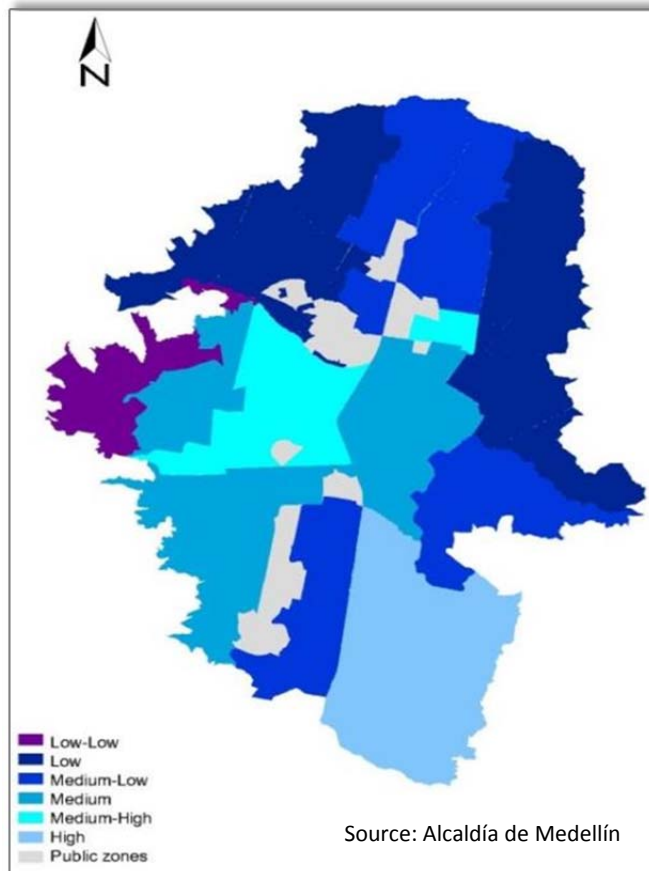


Figure 33: Housing socio-economic condition. Elaborated by the author



The weak regulations for urban development and the arrival of a social stratification planning approach in the 1980's produced a segregated city, a social and spatial duality that affects the perception of different neighbourhoods as well as the possibilities for social development and economic growth of low-income communities. Medellín is a city legally divided into six socio-economic strata. The social division was established by the *National Planning Department* in 1993 with the objective of facilitating the allocation of subsidies to low-income families and differential costs for public services in poor urban areas (Rosero 2004).

The system categorised each housing unit into six socio-economic strata giving them a corresponding stratum number, i.e. 1 for the poorest population, 2 for low-income, 3 medium-income, 4 and 5 for medium-high income and 6 for high-income housing. The stratification was used as an instrument for localising social programmes, urban policy and urban development, but also reinforced urban segregation by legally designating degrees of poverty or wealth to urban inhabitants. The richest areas of the city were designated stratum 6 and 5 and are located in the centre and south-east of the city. The middle class lives close to the rich areas and are classified as strata 4 and 3 covering the west and central floodplains. Low-income areas are classified as strata 2 and 1, located on the hills, especially agglomerated on the north of the city, where pirate urbanisation processes were intensive in the 50's and 60's.

#### **4.3. PRIMED, the Predecessor of Integral Upgrading**

The arrival of the new constitution and decentralisation approach in 1991 conceded Colombian municipalities more decision-making power, along with administrative autonomy. The urban reform in 1989 simplified the expedition of property titles for informal areas as a process for social housing production, thus facilitating regularisation processes (Vergel Tovar 2010). The autonomy to influence resource allocation, prioritise projects and define urban policy locally encouraged the formulation of diverse development approaches, as well as upgrading strategies. However, the proliferation of informal settlements led to the association of illegality and poverty with informal and low-income neighbourhoods. This derogatory perception of the urban poor built a stronghold in the urban environment as well as in the minds of the society. Informal areas were stigmatised by the inhabitants and municipalities alike, describing them as “*sub-normal settlements*”(Alcaldía de Medellín 1996); at the same time these informal areas experienced a progressive consolidation and established themselves as an unplanned, illegitimate, but very successful model of urban expansion.

### 4.3.1. The Beginnings of the Integral Approach in Medellín

As explained in the second chapter of this dissertation, earlier approaches in urban upgrading in Latin America had followed the directives of the World Bank, focused on the improvement of the built environment through spatial upgrading. Colombia was not the exception; eviction, the shelter approach and sites-and-services had been the strategies to improving the condition of informal settlements in the country and had proven to be insufficient and ineffective in addressing the expansion of informality. Capitalising on the new administrative autonomy and as an attempt to counteract the power of illegal actors in the informal and low-income areas, in 1993 the city formulated the first in-situ urban upgrading programme in the country called *Programa Integral de Mejoramiento de Barrios Subnormales en Medellín* – PRIMED- (Quiceno et al. 2008, p.45). The PRIMED proposed an in-situ spatial improvement approach that protected the local identity and valued the self-organisation capabilities of informal dwellers (Velásquez & González 2003). PRIMED was a middle-term vision programme established through a cooperation scheme between the municipality, the central government and the German Bank of Development and Reconstruction – KfW- (Betancur 2007). The programme proposes the improvement of the quality of life through urban planning instruments and governance mechanisms with the aim of institutionalising urban upgrading programmes (Alcaldía de Medellín 1996).

Informal settlements were already considered a problem in the Latin American city. However, in the Medellín case, the high incidence violence in low-income and informal areas, combined with the power of drug cartels, attracted the attention of the national government, which led to the establishment of a special programme only for Medellín, called *Consejería*<sup>19</sup>. The purpose of the programme was “(...) to address the problems of violence, governability and social decomposition in low-income neighbourhoods” (Betancur 2007, p.2). *Consejería* proposed the PRIMED programme for upgrading the informal neighbourhoods, based on six main methodological approaches:

- Independent administrative structure for autonomy in resource allocation.
- Inter-institutional cooperation for project coordination.
- A clear focus defined by intervention scales and consolidation levels of the settlements.
- A comprehensive approach to tackling urban deterioration, illegality of tenure, unemployment, illiteracy, environmental risks, social conflicts and lack of legitimacy of governmental structures.

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<sup>19</sup> Counseling

- Continuity in the form of partnerships for maintenance.
- Community participation for project appropriation and sense of place (Alcaldía de Medellín 1996; Betancur 2007, p.5).

#### 4.3.2. A Short Assessment of PRIMED

Proposing a programme for the regularisation of informal settlements allowed the municipality the creation of a special regulatory framework that reflected the lessons learned about informal urbanisation. The special framework as a process outside the traditional and formal urban planning process conceded more flexibility for the municipal officials to plan and design urban projects which would not completely abide by the planning regulations utilised in the formal areas of the city, thus facilitating the connection of informal settlements to the existent formal urban fabric. However, the utilisation of a special legal framework outside the formal planning regulations signified a dependence of the programme on political decision-making for the acceptance of the special regulations; this generated a process of politicisation which prevented the continuation of the programme by subsequent administrations. The PRIMED fell short in achieving the institutionalisation objective and depended on external funding and political will.

The PRIMED understood the need for early urban condition diagnostic, community participation in the planning stage, and established specific objectives based on a broader vision of urban upgrading and governance. In addition to the spatial improvements, PRIMED intended to institutionalise the programme for project continuity. Institutionalisation combined with promotion of community participation in the solution of local problems would result in efficient and sustainable interventions (Alcaldía de Medellín 1996). According to the perception of the residents, the life quality improved regarding mobility, provision of public services, incremental construction and connection to the city infrastructure. However, some residents considered the programme a failure in the social component. The programme was strong in spatial upgrading and weak in building community capacities for social development. In terms of governance, community participation was understood by the programme as a process of negotiation, consultation and legitimacy of projects (Betancur 2007, p.9). The PRIMED was the first experience in implementing an integral approach to urban upgrading in Medellín, and as such, institutions, agencies and communities lacked technical and managerial capacities for implementation of urban upgrading projects with a participatory perspective. The results of the programme could be observed mainly as spatial improvements of the built environment.

Simultaneously to PRIMED other sectorial upgrading projects were implemented by different municipal agencies in the 1990's, as a response to the increased informal urbanisation covering the

hillsides of the valley. Some programmes were triggered by environmental risks and disasters; others were legalisation programmes as an attempt of the state to have presence and control over informal settlements. Similar to PRIMED, these sectoral projects and programmes depended on political will of the mayor in office for the allocation of resources and simplification of bureaucratic procedures for technical and financial coordination. Uncoordinated sectoral projects showed a low impact and limited lifespan of the results. The PRIMED was the only multi-sectoral presence of the state in low-income and informal settlements in the city. The termination of the programme in 1998 saw the retirement of the state, yet again, from low-income areas (Velásquez & González 2003).

#### **4.4. Programa de Mejoramiento Integral de Barrios -PMIB-**

In 2004, after six years of neglect of informal settlements in Medellín, a new style of administration came to power, with a development plan that made emphasis on education for social development. The new government recapitulated the lessons learned from the PRIMED and capitalised on the positive image left by the programme in the community in the 1990's. The new mayor gave full support to the formulation of a new integral neighbourhood upgrading programme, the PMIB, for low-income and informal settlements in the city (Escobar Arango 2014), a locally financed and defined strategy against urban poverty based on in-situ upgrading and in-situ essential relocation.

##### **4.4.1. A Legal Instrument for Urban Visions**

In 1997 a set of national laws gave rise to the *Plan de Ordenamiento Territorial -POT-* a municipal development plan for the larger cities in the country. Municipalities with more than 100.000 inhabitants were obliged to formulate a legally binding land use municipal plan which provided regulations for urbanisation and the protection of rural areas (Unidad de Asentamientos en Desarrollo y Vivienda 2007, p.9). The POT was first formulated for Medellín in 1999. The POT is considered urban policy, producing a set of regulations and guidelines for the development, and an instrument for consolidating a regional vision, equity and sustainable development. Similar to the case of Rio, the new legal framework that produced the POT emphasised the “*social and ecological function of property, the prevalence of general interests over the particular, and the equitable distribution of burdens and benefits of urban development*” (Concejo de Medellín 1999, p. 1-3). The national law established the use of smaller scale master plans for the development of large areas in cities. These

were to be in accordance with the municipal POT and demanded the inclusion of urban improvement projects. Furthermore, the new law compelled municipalities to formulate medium-term strategies for social housing production, urban upgrading and environmental risk mitigation, as the means to react to prompt urbanisation in larger urban areas. The main legal instruments for the enforcement of the POT and implementation of the master plan were land use management policies for urban upgrading as well as financing urban projects through land appreciation (Vergel Tovar 2010).

#### 4.4.2. Pro-Poor Urban Policy

Along with the definition of an urban vision, the new law also provided instruments for granting occupation rights to informal residents, production of public space, provision of public urban infrastructure in low-income neighbourhoods, and essential relocation for residents in environmental risk. The objective of this new legal framework was to reduce the incidence of poverty and informality in cities. However, the change in the regulations for tenure and provision of infrastructure in informal areas encouraged the Municipal Planning Department –DAP- in Medellín to formulate an urban improvement programme. The PMIB was embedded within the POT and would be used for the prioritisation of the urban improvement in the form of a spatial development and neighbourhood improvement programme. The implementation of the PMIB was based on two planning instruments for a limited urban area: *Proyectos de Legalización y Regularización Urbanística –PLRU-* a programme used exclusively for the legalisation of tenure and the regularisation of public projects in the selected area; and *Planes Parciales de Mejoramiento Integral* (DAP 2007), used as the implementation instrument for the urban upgrading process, which would be later renamed *Proyectos Urbanos Integrales –PUI-*.

The PMIB became the basis for the formulation of upgrading projects in informal and low-income areas which required spatial improvement as well as regularisation and provision of social services. The general objectives of the programme focused on (Alcaldía de Medellín 2009, p.29):

- Improvement in the life quality, housing conditions and built environment of settlements.
- Solve the disparity of the urban system, rationalise land uses, recognise the social production of habitats and harmonising spatial planning with social, economic, cultural, environmental and political development.
- Prioritisation of projects and formulation of stages for short, medium and long-term public investments.

- Develop regularisation processes for familiar, collective and public ownership.
- Consolidation of a city model

#### 4.4.3. Rationale for the PMIB

The PMIB became the regulatory framework for the development of low-income areas, urban upgrading in informal settlements, as well as neighbourhood consolidation projects in formal areas. The programme concentrates efforts on low-income areas classified in three treatment categories. The classification examines the consolidation level and legal situation of housing and public spaces, categorising urban areas into three Urban

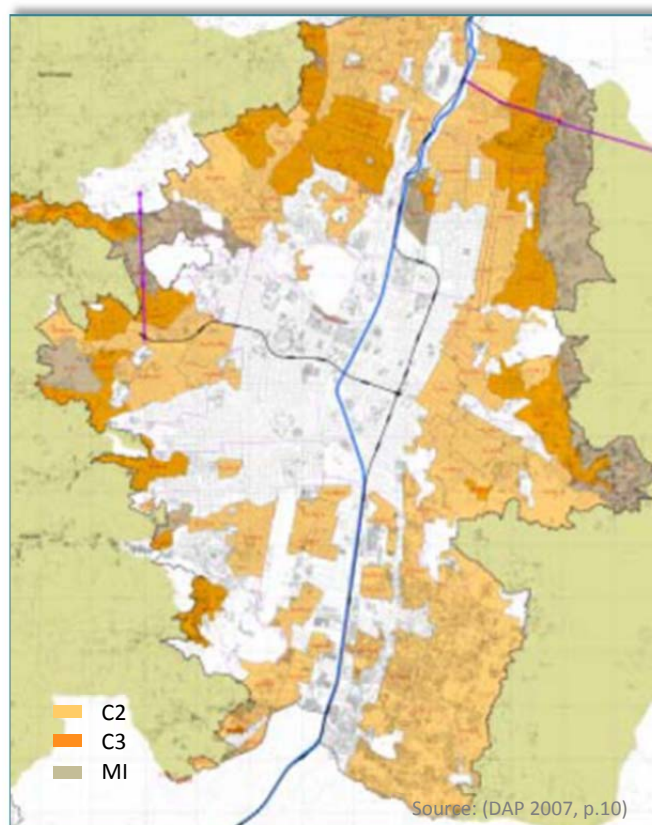


Figure 34: Urban Treatments plan for the PMIB.

Treatments<sup>20</sup>: Integral Improvement –MI- for informal settlements and areas with Unsatisfied Basic Needs (see section 5.1); Consolidation 2 –C2-, and Consolidation 3 –C3- are the categories for low-income neighbourhoods in need of urban redevelopment or improvement (DAP 2007).

Although migratory movements to the city have decreased, Medellin is a city still in expansion. The figure 34 illustrates the location of the three urban treatment categories with the MI treatment in light brown. As observed on the plan this expansion is explicit on the fringes of the city, especially in the north-east and west where informality is still growing.

A visible feature of the differences between the urban treatments is the urban layout. On the areas further away from the river, the grid that characterises formal neighbourhoods starts to merge with the topography of the hills, creating a more organic pattern. Undefined patterns are associated with informal settlements lacking legal tenure and enduring extremely difficult living conditions with an inexistent or informal connection to public infrastructure, limited presence of public transport services and general urban services (Echeverri Restrepo & Orsini 2006, p.135).

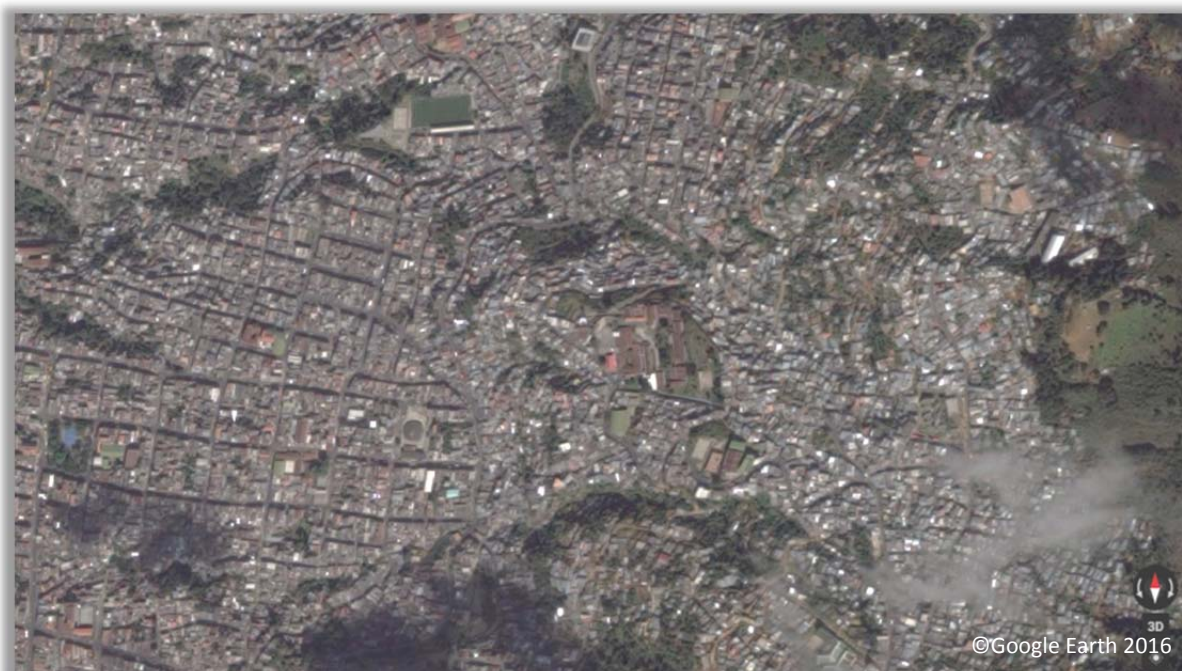
The Urban Treatments plan also shows areas closer to the river which are categorised as C2 and C3. Most of the C2 areas, in light yellow, located on the north are the legacy of the first informal

<sup>20</sup> Tratamientos Urbanísticos

expansion of the city between the 1930's and 1960's (see section 5.1.1.). These are formerly legalised pirate urbanisations still in need of urban improvements.

The C3 areas, in darker yellow, can be associated with the second informal expansion of the city (see Section 5.1.3.) as they present a mixture of legalised and informal neighbourhoods with high population densities and legally established but deficient connections to urban infrastructure and services (Echeverri & Orsini 2006, p.135). The difference between the C3 areas and MI treatments is that housing units in the MI urban treatment are considered informal settlements with illegal tenure, illegal occupation status, low levels of consolidation and structural deficiencies but prone to consolidation and urbanisation (DAP 2007).

Despite the legal tenure status of the C2 and C3 areas, the living conditions are in great need for improvement in terms of housing standards, overcrowding, access to social services, urban mobility, and public spaces for recreation and social development. The categorisation into MI, C2, and C3 serves as a guide for the prioritisation of urban development and upgrading projects giving them a timeframe for short, medium or long-term development. Each one of these treatments demands special legal and financial instruments which consequent with the POT, therefore the PMIB becomes a diagnostic and planning process that establishes the legal framework for the design and implementation of upgrading projects in low-income areas.



*Figure 35: C3 grid and MI organic patterns, Medellín*

#### 4.4.4. Planning Process of the PMIB

The PMIB performs a preliminary diagnostic function to identify the problems of the built environment in the urban treatment areas, in accordance with the vision of the municipality and the legal standards. The programme makes a clear distinction between the public space system and the private space system. The public space system diagnostic identifies the qualities of open spaces, community facilities, urban infrastructure and services provision and housing areas in environmental risk. Subsequently, the analysis identifies areas suitable for the development of public facilities, defining a land use scheme for future projects. In Medellin, public space is considered a priority, providing the community spaces for social interaction and the coexistence of different actors. Open and public spaces function as places for social equality and are used as indicators of the urban quality of the settlement.

The private space system analyses housing qualities and the possibilities for consolidation and legalisation of tenure. In many cases the illegal condition of consolidated housing demands for exemptions in the regulations and special treatments for legalisation or relocation. The programme aims to produce a balanced land use mixture between housing, economic and commercial activities responding to the needs of the residents. Incremental construction, social housing, regularisation and increase in densities affect the public space system directly. Thus the programme attempts to anticipate the demands of densification processes on public infrastructure, open spaces and services while avoiding gentrification (Unidad de Asentamientos en Desarrollo y Vivienda 2007, p.30)



*Figure 36: Public spaces under the Metro-Cable station used for social projects, Medellin*



The PMIB planning model proposes seven consecutive planning phases<sup>21</sup> which comprise technical studies, expert consultancy, field trips, diagnostics, master plan, strategic projects, approval and coordination from municipal entities, institutionalisation and production of technical documents and plans. Additionally, the programme established two transversal stages e.g. Geographic Information System -SIG- to deliver the necessary technical information for decision-making; and the participation, communication and consultation strategy to compile expectations, necessities and priorities of communities and include them in the master plan definition process (Unidad de Asentamientos en Desarrollo y Vivienda 2007, p.41). The programme phases are described by the DAP (2007) as the following:

***Phase 1: Technical studies***

With the objective of formulating an integral upgrading programme, the municipality undertakes an urban analysis and diagnostic stage for the identification of problems in the built environment, characterisation of the legal and socio-economic condition of communities along with the potentials or possibilities for consolidation and urban upgrading of the area. The analysis is performed through a review of information collected from municipal statistics and archives, which provide the basis for legality and legitimacy procedures while allowing a holistic comprehension of the occupation and consolidation history of the settlement. The cartographic data contributed by the city's geographic information system –SIG- about plots, cadastre, occupation status, is later used in the formulation of the PLRU, the preliminary master plan and the legislative guidelines for the future development of the neighbourhood.

***Phase 2: Field trips***

The DAP realises field trips through the settlements to verify the diagnostics and identify potentials for the consolidation strategy, along with the dynamics of the settlement. Field trips are an important stage in the planning process because municipal officers and planners are seen in the neighbourhoods, they can experience first-hand the dynamics of the area, identify most pressing problems, and recognise urban and social elements essential for an integrated strategy.

The plan employs academic institutions for the evaluation of three dimensions of the built environment: socio-economic, spatial and environmental. Within these three dimensions, the diagnostic examines social issues e.g. education, health, employment, community participation, among other issues. The spatial appraisal of public spaces studies the mobility, infrastructure, housing location and tenure, along with the function and condition of communal facilities and the environmental condition of rivers and creeks, flora and fauna. In general, most aspects of urban life are

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<sup>21</sup>The source for the PMIB planning phases and their description were found in a document produced by the municipality in 2007 which defines the PMIB within the POT and regulatory framework (DAP 2007)

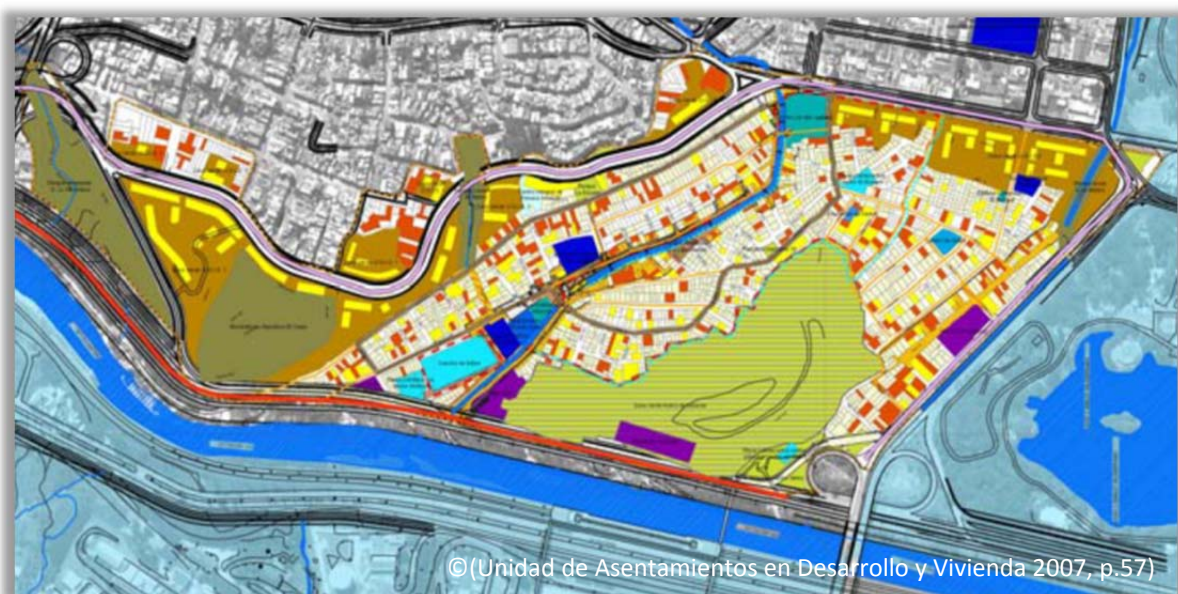
under inspection. However, as anthropologist Natalia Quiceno exposes, one of the most influential issues in the life of the urban poor in Medellín is the social conflict stimulated by drug traffic, and regrettably, this issue is deliberately neglected by the urban evaluation (Quiceno et al. 2008, p.55).

### ***Phase 3: Preliminary Master Plan***

The results of the diagnostic and field trips serve as the basis for the formulation of a preliminary master plan as a land use management model. This plan identifies intervention areas and deficiencies of public infrastructure or public spaces, establishing guidelines for land uses, areas for environmental protection, as well as housing in need of consolidation, legalisation or essential relocation. The preliminary master plan is a macro-planning instrument that defines relationships between the existent elements of the urban structure, social behaviours related to urban development and areas for future projects.

### ***Phase 4: Consolidation of the Preliminary Master Plan***

According to the PMIB formulation, the preliminary master plan also defines the purposes of the future PUI, objectives, and legislative frameworks for spatial and environmental improvements. Likewise, the plan outlines the guidelines for special infrastructure, areas with special social or urban character to be preserved throughout the implementation of the programme, housing in need of consolidation, financial and project management models, as well as the timeline of the programme.



**Figure 37: Preliminary master plan PMIB Moravia. Medellín**

The scope of the preliminary master plan is defined for a territorial scale<sup>22</sup>, without designing the specific projects, but establishing the legal instruments to make feasible the implementation, consequently to national, regional, and municipal urban policy. The master plan recognises the context-specific conditions of the occupation in regards to the informal or illegal status of buildings and public spaces. This consideration of localised characterisation could suggest special changes in the existent land tenure regulations or create legal exemptions to the norm, in order to provide occupation rights, legal tenure or property rights to the residents and legally include the territory into the urban structure of the city.

### ***Phase 5: Urban Project Profiles***

Thus the PMIB is formulated to produce two urbanisation instruments that become the basis for urban improvement projects. One typology of instruments is a preliminary master plan on a territorial scale explained in Phase 4, drafted by the DAP and contains land uses and regulations. The scale of the preliminary master plan prevents the DAP from detailing the typology of projects and intervention to execute in the specific neighbourhoods. The preliminary master plans define the urban, environmental and social components for future developments in the defined territory. The responsibility of the DAP is limited to the planning process on a territorial scale.

The next phase of the planning process is the definition of the intervention strategy for the selected area. This phase is delegated to the *Empresa de Desarrollo Urbano –EDU–*. The EDU is a “state-owned industrial and commercial company (...) with administrative and financial autonomy, with the purpose of urban and real estate management and operation”<sup>23</sup>(EDU 2017), with the capacity of contracting private companies for the implementation of urban projects (Orsini 2013). The EDU is in charge of interpreting the guidelines of the preliminary master plan and formulating an implementation strategy for the PUI<sup>24</sup> (González 2015). A description of the PUI will be presented in section 5.5.

The other typology of projects is the PLRU, formulated by the DAP it provides the legal framework for the implementation of urban upgrading in informal settlements, a framework for a communication and educational process for the communities to be legalised. The PLRUs support the implementation of the PUI’s, but can also be implemented in other areas outside the PUI as tenure legalisation processes (González 2015). Both the PUI and PLRU are included as instruments of the

<sup>22</sup> The plan covers the urbanisation with similar characteristics regardless of the political division of the city

<sup>23</sup> Translated by the author from: La Empresa de Desarrollo Urbano **EDU**, es una empresa Industrial y Comercial del Estado con personería jurídica, patrimonio propio y autonomía administrativa y financiera, que tiene como objeto principal la gestión y operación urbana e inmobiliaria

<sup>24</sup> The literature suggests that the EDU team considers the PUI as an urban upgrading programme in its own right. However, the research came to the understanding that, despite the conceptions of the EDU, the PUI could not have emerged without the legal and regulatory framework prepared by the PMIB planning process.

PMIB. However, the PUI is a short-term urban regeneration strategy, while the PLRU is a medium-term legalisation and urban regularisation instrument, analysing the conditions of the built environment in relation to the municipal legal framework (Velásquez-Castañeda 2013).

In addition, to the PUI and PLRU, the DAP defines the location and framework for urban macro-projects, e.g. The Cable-car or the public libraries, which would serve as catalysts for the urban and socio-economic development of the selected area.

#### ***Phase 6: Project Decree for Urban Legalisation.***

This phase serves as the legal approval instrument that precedes the implementation of the PUI and PLRU on prioritised territories. The PUI's strategy must be sanctioned as a decree and comprises project objectives and principles, scope, location, regulations specificities on the master plan, management model, financing scheme and land management. The strategy also includes spatial and technical design and implementation as well as the participation and communication strategy (González 2015).

#### ***Phase 7: Technical Documents.***

The last stage of the PMIB is the compilation of the technical and legal documents which describe and characterise the PMIB interventions and are collected in archives and libraries.

<b>Milestones</b>	<b>Phase</b>	<b>Instruments</b>	<b>Objectives</b>
<b>Diagnostic</b>	Phase 1: Technical Studies Phase 2: Field Trips	Bibliographic, cartographic and cadastre research Experts consultancy Field trips	Identify the past, ongoing and possible future projects implemented by different municipal agencies. Mapping and understanding urban problematic and potentials.
<b>Master Plan</b>	Phase 3: Preliminary Master Plan Phase 4: Consolidation of the Preliminary Master Plan	Institutionalised land use and public infrastructure management	Zoning for efficient urbanisation, reduction of risks and connection to public infrastructure networks
<b>PUI</b>	Phase 5: Urban Projects Profiles	Project formulation, design and implementation strategy	Definition of improvement projects accordingly to objectives and vision. Prioritisation of projects, alignment with local development plans and participative budgeting.
<b>PLRU</b>	Phase 5: Urban Projects Profiles	Legal consultancy and land management	Legalisation of tenure and regularisation of urban improvements
<b>Project Consolidation</b>	Phase 6: Project decree for urban legalisation Phase 7: Technical Documents	Project institutionalisation Technical documents for project planning and design	Consolidation of project information

*Table 4: Synthesis of the planning process of the PMIB<sup>25</sup>*

<sup>25</sup> Elaborated by the author from (DAP 2007)

### ***Transversal Phase: Geographic Information System.***

For urban planning and the implementation of any urban project, it is essential a complete set of digital mapping of the area characterising tenure, uses, dimensions of plots, road and mobility systems, hydrological system, urban morphology, etc. Likewise, the DAP identifies the overlapping uses and treatments accordingly to the POT. The DAP team maps the areas, producing a detailed cadastre plan and establishes relations between the needs and the original land use plan.

The PMIB aims for “*public urbanism*” with active community participation and a learning process through urban agreements, which materialise the expectations of communities and facilitates implementation and control (DAP 2007, p.40). The participation and communication strategy utilises community workshops, skill training and control committees in order to identify the needs expectations and community initiated projects.

### **4.5. Integral Urban Project –PUI-**

The *Integral Urban Project*, PUI, is recognised by the DAP as the action-oriented stage of the PMIB and was included in the municipal development plan of two consecutive governmental cycles from 2004 to 2011 (Puerta 2011). Moreover, the PUI functioned as a strategic instrument for the transformation of informal and low-income neighbourhoods of the city, aiming to improve the life quality of poor residents and, in some cases, complement and expand the impact of infrastructure macro-projects developed in the areas (Echeverri & Orsini 2006). The EDU developed master plans for five PUIs in low-income areas of the city. Three of them were implemented between 2004-2011, the remaining have been hindered by changes in government.

For the development of the PUI, several governmental agencies were involved in the planning, design and implementation process, along with four decentralised institutions. However, as the EDU is the operator of urban development projects in the city, the management of the PUI needed to be embedded within the institutional structure of the EDU with a project director and special management model to facilitate coordination with external agencies and decentralised institutions.

The stronghold of the EDU is the implementation of spatial projects. The PUI, as an integral approach to urban

#### **Management Actors in the PUI:**

- DAP
- Private Mayor Secretary
- Public Works Secretary
- Finance Secretary
- EDU Management
- PUI Management

Source: (Puerta 2011, p.85)

**Box 5: Management Actors in the PUI**

upgrading, demanded projects along the social line to be developed simultaneously with the spatial improvement. Thus, the actors involved in the management of the PUI accepted the responsibility for inter-institutional coordination amongst public and private actors; management of contracts with private companies and formulation of strategies to facilitate implementation, resource allocation and administration, control of execution, social development, promotion of government involvement, as well as promotion of public policy formulation for culture, livelihoods and security. In the case of the PUI needing a housing component, the management also coordinated with housing agencies (Puerta 2011, p.85). The EDU established four main stages<sup>26</sup> for implementation of the spatial system based on the preliminary master plan of the PMIB, the plan for tenure regularisation<sup>27</sup> and spatial intervention legal framework (Puerta 2011, p.84).

The methodology of the PUI was developed with an emphasis on the feasibility of implementation, devising a detailed local plan for a defined area as a guide for specific urban improvement projects. The PUI wanted to follow the principle of “*investing the most resources in the poorest and most violent areas of the city in the search of urban transformation*”(Botero et al. 2014, p.82). The rationale for the formulation of the PUIs is the complexity of developing a detailed implementation plan on a city-wide scale for urban upgrading or improvement. The PUI reduces the scale of the PMIB from a territorial to a neighbourhood scale, producing the detailed plan for the area and facilitating project specificity and increasing the effectiveness of the results. The limited scale of the PUI allows the specialisation of strategies in accordance with the local needs and the conditions of the built environment.

#### **4.5.1. PUI Stage 1: Planning**

The planning stage defines the scope or operation area for the PUI, as well as the project components, institutional collaboration scheme and the management model, for the selected area (Puerta 2011, p.84)

##### ***PUI Scope***

The PUI as an implementation instrument operates on a limited area within the territorial scale defined by the PMIB. The selected area could cover the complete extension of the PMIB preliminary

<sup>26</sup> The source of information for the description of the PUI stages is (Puerta 2011)(EDU 2006)(EDU 2011) (Hernández & EDU 2013), these sources are documentation processes developed by the EDU, where the ideal formulation of the PUI is defined.

<sup>27</sup> The direct translation of regularisation into Spanish is understood by architects, planning professionals and municipalities in Colombia as the legal framework for spatial urban interventions on which the programme grounds the urban improvement project in accordance with the territorial development plan established for the city.

master plan or only cover selected number of neighbourhoods and settlements which share similar urbanisation characteristics and issues inside that perimeter. In the same way the DAP officials make field trips to the different Urban Treatment areas, the EDU team revisits the areas proposed by the preliminary master plan, analysing the local conditions as well as the relationships between the neighbourhoods. The DAP and EDU teams are different and have different objectives when visiting a neighbourhood. The EDU analysis serves to familiarise the team with the area, identify common and expected problems and assess the expected impact of the PUI on the neighbourhood and a city-wide scale. The diagnostic stage analyses in detail and at a smaller scale the urban form, mobility, urban fabric, environmental risk, land uses, and condition of buildings (Empresa de Desarrollo Urbano - EDU- 2006, p.36). The assessment of the urban condition of the neighbourhood is an important tool for the definition of effective urban improvement projects.

The EDU utilised the *Human Development Index* –HDI- for measuring life expectancy, education and illiteracy rates. The HDI is one way to assess the standard of living, in accordance with the cost of life and the country's GDP. However, as the municipality expressed “*the definition of HDI is very subjective to the personality and built environment where the individual lives and develops*” (Empresa de Desarrollo Urbano -EDU- 2011, p.38). These measurements provided a detailed diagnostic and identified the areas with higher needs for intervention, also guiding the team towards the next step in the planning stage.

After the selection of the area, the EDU team defined the intervention polygon that would become the area for the implementation of the urban improvement. Having a limited area helped to concentrate the interventions and highlight the visible results of the PUI (Santana 2013). The definition of the polygon is not necessarily linked to the legal administrative division of the city. The local dynamics and social conflicts present in low-income areas create invisible borders and generate special relationships amongst the residents. The guidance of the residents was essential to identify the invisible borders and dynamics of the neighbourhoods. Each neighbourhood has a legally established residents association called *Junta de Acción Comunal* –JAC-. The JAC is a civic, non-profit organisation composed of democratically elected residents that serve as a communication channel between the municipality and the community (Hernández García 2008, p.32).

#### **4.5.2. PUI Components**

The next step in the planning stage 1 identified the necessary project components for addressing the problems and necessities of the area. The expected results of the PUI are the development of polycentric urban systems that concentrate the necessary urban infrastructure, public

services and community facilities for each neighbourhood, articulated to the city infrastructure and service networks. In the words of Cesar Hernandez, a former manager of the PUI, *“the PUI is an instrument for the intervention on the territory that comprises spatial, social and institutional in order to solve specific problems in a defined area, implementing all development tools simultaneously”* (Hernández 2013). The tools for urban development defined by the EDU and the municipality are focused on the coordinated improvement of the built environment, social intervention, institutional governance and community participation (Botero et al. 2014, p.82). The objectives of the PUI aimed at addressing the three main components of urbanisation in the city, namely: physical, social and institutional.

### ***The Physical Component***

The physical component defines the spatial features in need of improvement, guided by the preliminary master plan defined for the area. Most areas selected for improvement by the PMIB are in need of similar spatial improvement projects, e.g. urban infrastructure, public services infrastructure, mobility, construction of community facilities and public spaces for education and recreation. Environmental risks such as recovery of rivers basins, waste management facilities and housing for essential relocation are also common problems in informal and low-income areas. The PUI, as an instrument for urban improvement, directs its efforts towards the improvement of open and public spaces or areas for environmental recovery. Housing production, incremental construction or housing improvements are not within the main objectives of the PUI. Nevertheless, the PLRU works on tenure issues and can develop special projects for social housing construction in areas where essential relocation is necessary (Puerta 2011).

The purpose if the physical component is improving the quality of public and open spaces and reducing environmental risks, responding to the needs of the area, the geography and the specific conditions of the built environment. The spatial transformation also brings environmental recovery of risk areas and redefinition of mobility for the neighbourhood. Along with the construction of roads, sidewalks and public spaces, the PUI coordinates the connection of the area to the public services networks and provides community facilities for health, education, recreation, and culture (Botero et al. 2014, p.82). New interventions renew the built environment working over the scars left in the urban fabric by years of illegality, violence, the absence of the state and social segregation (Escobar Arango 2014). The physical component is the visible, tangible output of the PUI, improving the condition of the neighbourhood but also making public investments visible for other communities.

Although the programme emphasises the improvement of public spaces and public infrastructure, when looking at the different sectors of the intervention polygon, the built environment suggests a distinct character for each sector. The decision-making about the typology of projects to be



implemented in the area has an important impact on the social development of communities. The typologies of projects in each sector shape the character of municipal actions for the area, indicating the necessary inter-institutional partnerships for design, execution and maintenance. Municipal actions integrated spatial improvements with public infrastructure, mobility and services provision establishing different emphases, consequent with the urban condition of the neighbourhood.

### ***Social Component***

The definition of the PUI by the EDU described a programme with a social component strong in community participation and communication between institutions and communities (Hernández 2013). The objective of the described social component was strengthening community organisations, promoting leadership and stimulating the regeneration of social networks. The social component could promote community cohesion and improve relationships between residents that have been historically confronted due to invisible borders created by local illegal actors. The EDU idea of the inclusion of a social component arose from the lessons learned from the PRIMED (see section 5.3) in addressing informal communities and the importance of including them in project design (Santana 2013).

The social component aimed at mobilising communities, informing residents about projects and preparing them for the design and implementation process. The communication process was formulated to bring the state closer to the residents and mend some fences created by past administrations. The proposed objective was to produce effective participation for local problem solving by means of community capacity building, technical assistance and implementation of projects with public funds, making specific emphasis on the acknowledgement of community associations and social networks. The PUI pre-supposed that the outcomes would stimulate a sense of place and belonging to the neighbourhood (EDU 2011, p.48).

#### Activities of the Social Component:

- Informative assembly
- The establishment of an auditing committee
- Meetings with the community
- Meetings about the municipal development plan
- Sectorial meetings with the working team
- Proposal for social intervention and communication strategy

(EDU 2011, p.48)

**Box 6: Activities of the Social Component**

The establishment of a social workers team to initiate contact with these communities is essential to the success of the programme, and depending on the social conditions of each neighbourhood the team would address different local leaders to begin a “*sensitisation process*” with the communities. As expressed by architect Marcia Caro on an interview, generally in these areas single mothers are the most common familiar nucleus found and the sensitisation project became a domestic process (Caro 2014). However, as stated by various architects that worked in different PUI

the social workers were an outsider team with few connections to the design team and the relationships developed between designers and communities depended on the personal willingness of the architect to walk the area and talk to the residents. The social team contacted the JAC and other legally established resident organisations, and through them, they developed the social processes for project legitimacy, negotiation and communication with communities.

According to the literature, the social component utilises participatory planning processes for the legitimacy of actions over the territory. The involvement of local community associations and NGO's improves the living conditions, economic situation, guarantee the restitution of housing rights, along with the development of strategies for employment generation and social cohesion (Puerta 2011, p.84). Together with architects and technicians the social team and local leaders made field trips through the neighbourhood identifying problems and necessities. These field trips were necessary to establish the presence of the designers in the area and for the architects to scout the neighbourhood and understand the conditions of the built environment as well as the social networks and economic situation of the residents (Bedoya 2014).

The joint work with the local leaders would help designers diagnose problems and necessities. In the same sense, the design team would need to confront their perceptions of the reality of the residents. Thus, the PUI established an "*imaginaries workshop*" as an initiative to link the urban design with the community expectations. *The imaginaries workshops* congregated not only the leaders of community associations but also the residents, dividing the neighbourhood into sectors, delimited by intangible but real borders established by social relations and networks (Cárdenas 2005; Bahl 2011; Rodriguez 2012; Orsini 2013). In some areas, rival communities met at the workshop, and the function of the social team was transformed from communicators to mediators. The interest of communities in participating in the workshops constantly grew. Nevertheless, the meetings demanded time and effort from the design team and the residents. Organising, motivating and negotiating with informal or low-income communities demands patience from all urban actors, as well as commitment and endurance. If all the actors are to understand the consequences of implementing the upgrading programme and the importance of involvement in the process, communities must be provided with the opportunities to express ideas, concerns, opinions and expectations. In the same way, communities should have the opportunity to challenge the views of the designers and municipal officers (Mitlin & Thompson 1995, p.249).

As described in Chapter 2, urban upgrading usually involves informal urbanisation with deep roots into illegal plot division, squatting, and in the case of Latin America, most areas susceptible of upgrading are dominated by illegal economic activities. Therefore the presence of the municipality in these communities is undesired and usually met with apprehension and disbelief. The first contact with

the community was essential for implementation and acceptance of projects, the social team must first negotiate the terms of bringing architects and technicians into the area with the illegal actors, and then the participation process through the community organisations can be initiated. On the contrary, a forceful initial contact with the community would mean the resistance of illegal actors and the reluctance of residents to act against the de facto leaders of the community. The sensitivity of managing the process of insertion of the state in informal or low-income communities determines the success or failure of the programme regarding community acceptance and social development.

From the mayor's office perspective, the social component seeks to integrate the non-physical outcomes of the PUI, build trust and apply governance instruments on the territory. Throughout the implementation of the PUI, the EDU and the municipality labelled the outputs and processes developed for the PUI as "*Social Urbanism*", and described them as an "*urban policy approach* [supported and promoted by the mayor] *focused on reducing the profound social debt accumulated for decades and violence problems*" (Echeverri & Orsini 2006, p.138)

### ***Institutional Component***

The institutional component was developed from the recollection of the lessons learned from PRIMED. One of the main successes of PRIMED was the consensus among public agencies and the inter-institutional governance as a process, giving as a result technical and budgeting commitment of the agencies to the programme (Alcaldía de Medellín 1996, p.104). Likewise, the coordination of governmental agencies, the definition of inter-administrative contracts and the implementation of urban policy instruments for the legalisation of tenure demanded the conception of a particular management model supported and led by the private secretary of the mayor.

According to the former *Private Secretary* of the mayor, the municipality created a "*Project Management Organisation*" –PMO- for the coordination of the PUI and avoiding politicisation. The PMO tried to balance the influences of stakeholders, define the general objectives of projects, and control budgets and schedules. The PMO and was granted the power to adjust legal regulations to the needs of the PUI in order to facilitate implementation (Escobar Arango 2014). The PMO also allocated maintenance responsibilities of the expected project outcomes onto the respective municipal agencies, facilitating institutional communication between agencies and giving each project a distinctive character from the planning stage.

Characterising the PUI components allowed the classification of urban problems and facilitated the definition of municipal actions to be implemented, as well as the need for collaboration among institutions for addressing the needs of communities in a holistic way. In this first stage, specific projects for each neighbourhood are not yet designed. The PUI components highlighted seven project typologies called *Lines of Action and* established the need to integrate them to respond

effectively to the needs of the community while managing financial and human resources. On the institutional sphere, the lines of action involved several municipal departments and agencies which demanded a coordination body, the PMO created by the mayor's office, and collaboration amongst them for the planning and implementation of projects.

<b>Line of Action</b>	<b>Objectives</b>	<b>Municipal Department / Agency</b>
<b>Basic Social Services</b>	State responsibility to provide basic social services and facilities for education, health, sport and recreation	Education Secretary Health Secretary Sports and Recreation Institute
<b>Basic Community Services</b>	Satisfy the needs of individuals or collectives in culture and religion	Secretary for Public Works Secretary for Citizen Culture and Social Development Public Services Provider –EEPPM- Waste collection agency –EEVVM-
<b>Housing</b>	Legalisation of tenure and connection of dwellings to public services infrastructure	Housing and Environment Social Institute –ISVIMED-
<b>Infrastructure</b>	Extension of municipal public services networks Extension of mobility networks and improvement of public transport system	Secretary of Public Works EEPPM EEVVM
<b>Environment</b>	Land use management, environmental protection, neighbourhood consolidation, development, renewal or redevelopment.	Secretary of Public Works Secretary of Environment Secretary of Housing
<b>Social programmes and Project Management</b>	Promote social organisation and community participation Prevent and decrease social risks of disability, destitution, displacement, seniors, single mothers, community mothers	Secretary for Citizen Culture and Social Development Secretary for Social Wellbeing Secretary of Government
<b>Security, Cohabitation and Institutions</b>	Guarantee order, control crime and violence. Security, justice administration, cohabitation and peace. Institutional buildings	General Secretary Secretary of Government

*Table 5: Lines of Action PUI* Elaborated by the author from (EDU 2011, p.53-55)

### ***PUI Institutional Management Model***

The definition of the three programme components allocated responsibilities on stakeholders. The EDU and the Private Secretary as management were in charge of coordinating the involvement of different municipal agencies consequently with the evolution of projects in the institutional component. The social team mobilised, negotiated and communicated projects to communities in the social component, while design teams defined specific spatial projects to be implemented in the area for the physical component. Each component had precise objectives; the efficient implementation of

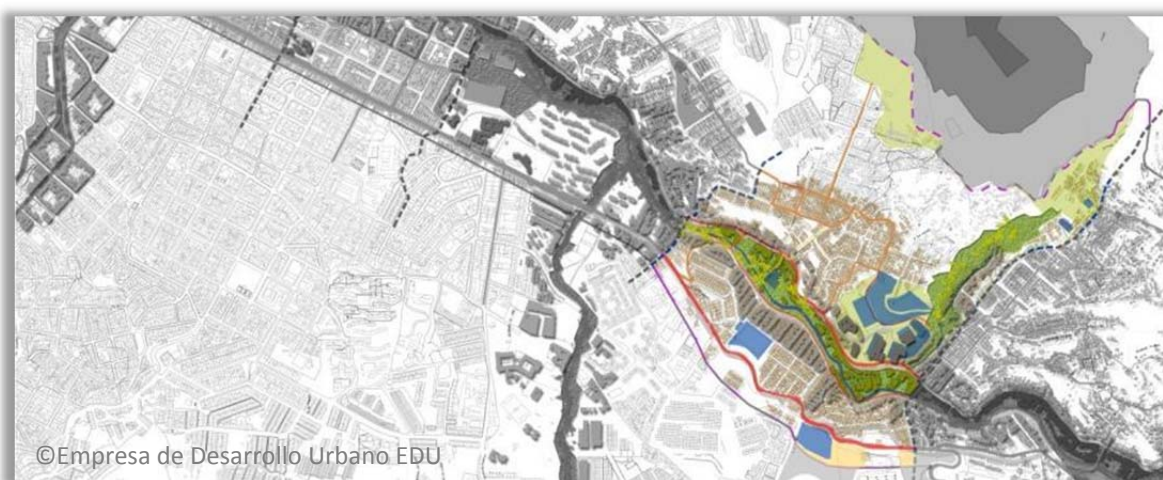
all three components simultaneously over a territory would strengthen the legitimacy of projects and produce urban elements that foster social development and sustainability.

The complexity of urban projects demands careful control and management of diverse municipal entities, along with the allocation of resources, implementation schedules and unexpected situations that arise during the construction of the city. Therefore, the municipality designated the EDU as operator of the PUI, delegating onto the EDU the responsibility to coordinate agencies for each of the PUI developed in the city. Likewise, within the EDU a hierarchical managerial structure was defined to establish roles, responsibilities and compromises.

The management model for the PUI included: Institutional Advisory Group, General Project Management for inter-institutional coordination, Implementation Director, Support Group, Operation Group and Municipal Advisory Group for project continuity. This management model generates inter-institutional agreements for operation and implementation which allow the municipality to allocate the necessary resources to the PUI through the designated municipal agency (Empresa de Desarrollo Urbano -EDU- 2011, p.55)

#### 4.5.3. PUI Stage 2: Detailed Master Plan

The analysis of problems, project typologies and social issues proposed in the first stage produces data for the formulation of a detailed intervention plan for each polygon identified in the action area. The EDU architect and urban designers gather all the data collected in previous steps and produce a detailed intervention plan with articulated projects that address holistically local problems while capitalising on the opportunities and potentials found by the analysis.



*Figure 38: Example of the detailed intervention plan. Project Las Estancias, PUI Comuna 8*

Based on the collected data, the programme defines the specific objectives of improvement projects, along with the actions to be developed by each project component and exact location of those actions. Furthermore, this stage established budgets, community participation settings and implementation schedules (Puerta 2011).

#### **4.5.4. PUI Stage 3: Operation**

Following the intervention plan, the EDU team proposed a “*project profile*” as a framework that establishes general design guidelines consequent with the city’s development plan. The project profile defines regulations for the design of public space, urban greenery, as well as technical regulations for provision of public services and other legal frameworks applicable to the localised projects. (EDU 2011). The project profile is, in essence, a tool for shaping the PUI into the existing legal urban framework of the city, and finding exemptions for essential actions not included or hindered by policy regulations; e.g. special needs of education, sports or cultural projects, tenure regularisation, essential relocation, extension of public services networks into informal areas, etc. The project profile produced a set of architectural and urban plans for spatial improvements, localising specific action and visualising the impact. The profile highlighted the residences to be affected, as well as the technical design for infrastructure and public spaces which allow technical validation and studies of project feasibility (EDU 2011, p.160). Later, the profile would be socialised amongst the community by the social team, and the design scrutinised and adjusted accordingly to the community perception. Thus the intervention plan is subdivided into localised project profiles, and after confirmation of financial feasibility and community’s acceptance, the EDU proceeds to produce the definitive designs for projects.

The EDU as the operator has the competence to negotiate inter-institutional cooperation agreements, as well as contract construction companies for the execution of projects. After the project is approved by both communities and government agencies, the EDU delegates the actual spatial execution on the selected construction company and delivers the final project plans. Henceforth, the EDU becomes an auditor and provides the architectural and technical advice when needed for the project, in addition to facilitating communication between the contractor and the community for construction. Furthermore, the task of the EDU as auditor involves also establishing agreements for the operation of projects after delivery, along with designating responsibilities of actors for the future operation of public spaces, social facilities and spaces for culture and recreation.

#### 4.5.5. PUI Stage 4: Delivery

Many projects proposed by communities are either unfeasible under the legal framework or require other approaches for implementation. Therefore, the PUI, on the completion of projects revises the possibilities for replication of the programme, in accordance with the POT and the municipal development plan, in order to find coherence and abide by the municipal normative (EDU 2011, p.162). Project delivery signified the retreat of the EDU from management. The EDU entrusted maintenance responsibilities to designated municipal agencies. Once the projects are delivered to the community and the municipality, the agreements instituted amongst municipal agencies for cooperation and collaboration effective as projects are open for public use. Moreover, the work of the social team together with the commitment of designers to work with communities should generate appropriation of urban spaces by communities; engender a sense of place and belonging, which would encourage residents to maintain public spaces while strengthening the possibilities for sustainability of results.

#### 4.6. Conclusions

Two consecutive migration waves, one caused by deficient agricultural policy and the illusion of industrialisation; a second one caused by political and social conflicts on the countryside, pushed many rural inhabitants to urban areas. The urban poor were condemned to poverty, inequality and segregation. Unemployment, population increase and economic crises, combined with the social conflict, resulted in the establishment of informality in the city as the only means of survival.

Later, in the 1980's, the social conflict outside and inside urban areas meant the control of low-income settlements by illegal actors, preventing social development or any improvement in the quality of life of the urban poor populations. The urban upgrading approach arrived late to the political agenda in the city, but the first attempt of the integral approach, the PRIMED, gave important results and built capacities of the municipality for inter-institutional collaboration and the formulation of a refined integral upgrading programme.

Although the programme was partially successful in achieving the proposed objectives and was cancelled with the change of administration, PRIMED left essential lessons for agencies, professionals, communities and the municipal government about the importance of a holistic vision of urban upgrading and the inclusion of communities in the planning process. The government understood the need for coordinated action of different agencies, along with participatory practices for sustainability of outcomes. However, due to the lack of institutionalisation and electoral cycles, the

implementation of upgrading programmes depends on political will. Thus, Medellín would have to wait six years for the implementation of the integral approach to be resumed.

The PMIB is an attempt at institutionalising urban upgrading in the city. Based on the POT, the programme identifies the areas in need of urban upgrading, producing a framework for consolidation, urban regularisation and legalisation of tenure. The PUI is the next step in the integral approach in Medellín. The PUI is the operational branch of the PMIB, downscaling the PMIB to local interventions and coordinating the implementation of the programme.

The formulation PUI component is clear: physical for spatial improvement, social for community development and institutional for inter-institutional collaboration. The widespread recognition of the PUI evidences the success of the physical component. However, the socio-economic condition of the beneficiary communities remained unchanged. The social component was undefined in the planning stage, limited to a communication and negotiation approach for the legitimacy of the programme and acceptance of project implementation. In the PUI, the inclusion of a real participatory design practice meant, for the municipality, the risk of not completing the projects before the end of the government cycle. In other words, if the design process and the participatory process were to be co-dependent, the mayor would not have had the opportunity to inaugurate the projects. Lack of visible projects at the end of a government cycle would have been seen as a failure for the administration, even though a real participative process could have increased the sustainability of projects as the residents developed a sense of place, belonging and appropriated the projects as a community.

The institutional component could be considered relatively successful. The municipality found a management model for planning and implementing socially complex projects. The institutional capacities developed by the PUI have accelerated the replication of the programme in other areas and legitimised the administration. Nevertheless, the programme failed in achieving the institutionalisation of the PUI, and the integral approach was relegated to small spatial interventions in the last four years. The change in administration in 2012 again hindered the learning process and the evolution of the integral approach.

Despite the lack of a functioning social component, the city continues selling the PUI as best practices in integral upgrading with community participation. The programme had no evaluation component. After four years of discontinuity, only a few scholars, who were the coordinators of several projects in the EDU, have collected the experiences of the PUI. Most perspectives lack a critical view, presenting an idealised version of the programme and neglecting to recognise the shortcomings and lack of a participative approach to urban planning.



## CHAPTER 5

### Participation and Strategic Planning for Urban Upgrading

#### 5.1. Introduction

Urban planning in Latin America is characterised by a strong top-down planning and decision-making process dominated by city mayors and municipal planning departments. The top-down process discourages other actors from participating in urban projects. Thus, governments have the monopoly of urban development and the freedom to initiate and cancel projects accordingly to the political interests. The case studies examined in the former chapters are an example of the municipalities understanding the need for participation in urban upgrading. Both programmes include in the formulation a social or participation component, which evidences the transformation of anti-poverty programmes into a more flexible and inclusive approach. However, participation has been misunderstood and used as the means to legitimise programmes, projects and administrations, without granting the population a real opportunity to influence the design, let alone participate in decision-making. Informal communities present challenges in terms of legality, relationships with the state, resources and vulnerabilities. The misuse of participation suggests a lack of a clear methodology for participatory practices in urban upgrading. The aim of this dissertation is proposing a methodological framework for the formulation of participatory integral upgrading programmes.

The research utilises three main theoretical backgrounds for the analysis of the case studies and the subsequent inclusion of participatory practices in urban upgrading programmes. The assessment of both cases will be presented in the next chapter after the theoretical background, and the concepts of participation and participatory practices have been defined for this research in this chapter. For the case study assessment, the research utilised critical theory as the means to analyse urban upgrading programmes implemented in Latin America. Critical theory looked beyond the notoriety of the two studied programmes and helped identify the main characteristics of these initiatives, understand the reasons for the limited impact in the livelihoods of the urban poor, as well as the temporality of the outcomes. Likewise, the critical perspective helped to identify the main features of the planning process and the obstacles for participation, which compel municipalities to exclude other actors from programme formulation and design.

Next, the theoretical framework concentrates on the participation of different actors in urban projects, exploring the rationale for the inclusion of participatory practices in urban upgrading, as well as the obstacles and possible outcomes. Later following the idea of participatory urban development

the chapter explores strategic urban planning as the action-oriented theoretical basis for the formulation of participatory urban projects. The theory of strategic planning will then be applied to the lessons learned from the analysis of the case studies in order to propose the methodological approach to participatory integral upgrading.

## 5.2. Critical Theory for Urban Planning

The critical theory in this research is used to assess the consistency between the objectives proposed by upgrading programmes and the results achieved by upgrading projects, focusing on planning as a learning and capacity building process. Critical theory supports the applied research character of this investigation, with the analysis of the current situation of urban upgrading programmes, but with a vision of an urban upgrading planning process that fosters social development among vulnerable populations.

Critical theory is an action-oriented evolution of *communicative action theory*, emphasising the importance of interactions amidst actors in urban planning while identifying the factors that distort communication (Forester 2007). By recognising the significance of meaningful and sincere communication, it is possible to understand the importance of gathering the different typologies of knowledge, representing the different actors involved in the urban planning domain. Professionals, technicians and practitioners bring pragmatic and technical knowledge based on professional experience; communities offer experiential knowledge, first-hand understanding of the conditions and dynamics of the built environment, while the scholars provide theoretical knowledge enhancing the possibilities for innovation.

Critical theory also identifies the interests of different stakeholders and the impact of particular interests in shaping the future of cities, as well as the agents for social change. The objective is introducing a transformative approach, which directs efforts towards constructing sustainable urban communities. For urban practices to be transformative, these require creativity for defining a coherent vision and objectives (Albrechts 2010, p.4), as well as a clear vision of the expected outcomes for short, medium and long-term development. The use of transformative practices in the planning process could lead to finding innovative, effective solutions to urban problems, allowing adaptability and flexibility.

Critical urban studies entail a context-specific systematic analysis of the social conditions, inequities, conflicts, power relations, and institutional structures which affect urban processes while establishing the potentials for empowerment and social development (Brenner 2012). Critical urban theory analyses the outcomes of urban development through the power relations between actors, understanding social constructs. The analysis establishes a basis for an objective evaluation of

planning and decision-making processes, along with the possibilities to transform those power relations and achieve the vision of urban development. In other words, it is an attempt to objectively describe and understand the status quo of urbanisation, questioning reality and exposing the desirable outcomes and unsatisfactory shortcomings (Marcuse 2012). A critical analysis of planning processes, implementation and outcomes of urban projects would result in a learning process for government agencies and practitioners, fostering the evolution and transformation of planning practices from the traditional top-down approach to a more inclusive planning practice. However, the evaluation of programmes is seldom included in the programme formulation in Latin America.

### 5.3. Participation, a Powerful Discourse

Community participation has been in the centre of the political discourse in Latin America for the past two decades, a symbol of the transformation of decision-making procedures to address urbanisation issues. However, the planning practice in Latin America continues governance procedures (Irazábal 2009), employing the traditional top-down planning approach. As Caroline Moser states, the spatial projects implemented in developing countries are “*essentially technical in nature, with the social aspects, which include community participation, considered of secondary importance*” (Moser 1989a, p.125). The “*technical rationalist*” approach to planning disregards the creativity, along with the solutions proposed by communities (UN-Habitat 2009, p.192). The inclusion of participation in the rhetoric of municipalities is an important step in leaving behind the rational, technocratic approach, in which professional expertise and technical knowledge guide the planning practice (Irazábal 2009; Botes 2000).

A restricted concept of participation is being used in Latin America as the means to facilitate project implementation, overlooking the potential of inclusive decision-making. As described in the case studies, municipalities consider participation in urban projects a process of information of communities or, in the best cases, a process of socialisation of projects to legitimise the intervention plan. Instead of becoming an opportunity for empowerment, it has been used to disguise the underlying purposes of urban projects. The misuse of the concept of participation by planners, politicians and municipal officials has transformed the perception of participation in communities.

The form of participation used currently for urban projects in Latin America could be described as “*Nominal Participation*”, referring to the practice of participation to mobilise communities and legitimise projects. Participation in this context only exists by name, governments take advantage of the needs of communities to promote project legitimacy, but the communities have no real power to influence the planning or implementation process (White 2010, p.8). This mode of participation is widely used because it protects the municipality’s interests. Thus, community

participation is indirect, never including communities as part of the planning body (Imparato & Ruster 2003).

### 5.3.1. A Rationale for Participation

Participation in urban planning, in its ideal definition, should be understood as the basis for power redistribution in every sphere of urban life (Arnstein 1969). Several definitions of participation agree on its fundamental nature as an active social process (Paul 1987), in which diverse private, civil and public stakeholders have the possibility to have a meaningful influence on decision-making. Participation could increase the effectiveness of programmes, increasing the feasibility of project completion; and lead to the empowerment of communities to produce community-based initiatives (Paul 1987; Moser 1989; White 2010). The multi-stakeholder approach helps to adjust the objectives of urban development to the context-specific needs and builds capabilities among actors, understanding the potential for self-organisation and collective action of urban residents.

Caroline Moser suggests that participation should be used as the means of urban projects to mobilise actors, increase effectiveness, efficiency and facilitate implementation, but also as an end itself, granting communities the right to participate in the improvement of their environment. Furthermore, Moser describes participation as “*self-generating activity, (...) a learning process which builds self-reliant co-operative spirit in communities*” (Moser 1989a, p.83). The process of participation empowers communities, encouraging the emergence of community-based initiatives. Moreover, Sherry Arnstein in “*A ladder of citizen participation*” (1969) associates real participation with citizen power, as the means to engender social change through the redistribution of power among excluded populations. Likewise, Caroline Moser (1989a) defines participation as a means to bring equity back into urban development through the mobilisation of residents. Participatory approaches identify necessities and opportunities, along with potentials of communities and available resources for urban development (Mitlin & Thompson 1995), simultaneously enhancing effectiveness, efficiency, responsiveness and accountability of projects (Imparato & Ruster 2003), while increasing the possibilities for transferability of projects to other settlements or urban areas.

### 5.3.2. Defining Community Participation in Urban Projects

Community participation is associated with community development. As a programme component, community participation becomes a social process with political impact, a means of mobilisation, though rarely allowing communities to choose the manner of involvement (Gilbert & Ward 1984). Objections to projects are invited but not considered, increasing the opportunities for

patronage and transforming participation into the means by which programmes are legitimated. This fictional participatory process ends with the inauguration of the project and withdrawal of municipal workforce (Nientied et al. 1990).

### ***Community Non-Participation***

Marissa Guaraldo characterises typologies of non-participation as Conspiracy and Self-management. Conspiracy could be illustrated by the position of governments in the 1970's and 1980's with municipalities actively rejecting the existence of informality in cities and utilising anti-poverty policy to evict the poor. Self-management is the reaction of the urban poor to the neglect and oblivion of governments to address urban poverty (Guaraldo 1996, p.439-440).

Sarah White (1996, p.8) categorises participation into “*Nominal, Instrumental, Representative and Transformative*”. A parallel can be observed between White's definitions and Arnstein's understanding of the different levels of participation (see Table below): *Nominal participation* manipulates collective interests in order to legitimise projects and avoid strong opposition from communities. Linked to this definition of nominal participation are the definitions of Sherry Arnstein who categorises *Manipulation* and *Therapy* as forms of *Non-Participation*. These forms of non-participation represent the position of the municipal official as the power holder who attempts to deliver a solution drafted without the consent of the beneficiaries (Arnstein 1969, p.217).

### ***Community Miss-Participation***

The second category in White's definition is *Instrumental participation*, used to facilitate implementation and increase efficiency. Communities are seen as a labour force for project implementation. In this type of participation, neither communities nor private or external actors have the opportunity to influence decision-making, the concept of participation is focused on communities and used as the means to lower costs and expedite project completion (White 1996, p.8). Unpaid mandatory work represents longer working hours for the residents who have informal jobs, reduces the time spent with their families and exploits the needs of the urban poor. Instrumental participation for the poor is perceived as a burden (White 2010) instead of an opportunity to influence development.

Instrumental participation relates to Arnstein's *Tokenism* (1969, p.217), using *Information, Consultation* and *Placation* to avoid opposition from communities. For Arnstein, tokenism legitimises urban projects as communities are informed about urban projects and, in some cases, residents are even consulted through surveys and statistical counts. However if the feedback is not considered for project definition, the consultation process becomes just a form of project legitimacy. Placation is used as the means to control an organised community. Members of the residents association are included in project decision-making procedures, but their influence in the process is diminished by the lack of understanding of the decision-making procedures, or are easily overlooked by the municipal officials.

It is a form of representative democracy in which the community representative is powerless (Arnstein 1969, p.220).

Marissa Guaraldo, in her interpretation of Arnstein's ladder, characterises *Diplomacy* and *Information* as forms of manipulation. Diplomacy has been stimulated by the aid provided by Non-Governmental Organisations –NGO-, and the willingness of the urban poor to improve their living conditions through self-help. In this typology of manipulation, the government expects self-organisation and NGO aid to deliver the improvements which would be the responsibility of municipal agencies (Guaraldo 1996, p.438). Though the involvement of communities in project implementation enhances a sense of belonging and fosters appropriation of the outcomes, compelling the urban poor to work in urban projects without economic remuneration hinders their own economic growth. Since low-income inhabitants lack the financial means to cover the costs for legalisation processes or pay for housing renewal, governments use the labour force to lower implementation costs. Community labour presupposes that beneficiaries are unemployed or inactive; however, as explained in Chapter 2, surviving in urban areas forces low-income inhabitants to find informal jobs or create home-based enterprises. Information consists in notifying the beneficiaries of the projects, their rights and obligations, but excluding any form of feedback or discussion with them. These categories of participation attempt to sensitise inhabitants to upcoming urban projects, but offers no participation of the civil society, in decision-making or project discussion. Sharing urban development intentions works as a first step in reaching out to communities. Nevertheless, projects will be implemented with or without the opinion of residents.

### ***Community Participation***

The next and last step in the definition of community participation in urban projects is the inclusion of communities in the project definition, planning, and implementation process, allowing them to have a meaningful influence in the decision-making process. For White this form of participation is considered *Representative* and *Transformative*, allowing all actors to come together and become active in the discussions about urban development. White describes transformative participation as an empowerment instrument, where “*the practical experience of being involved in considering options, making decisions, and taking collective action (...) is itself transformative*” (White 2010, p.8). Embracing transformative participation is an opportunity for formulating tailored projects, as agencies become more responsive to the needs of communities, instead of adjusting people to programmes (Batley 1983).

Arnstein is focused on empowering citizens and divides this category into *Partnership*, *Delegated Power* and *Citizen Control*. These three are forms of redistribution of power and empowering communities to influence social reform (Arnstein 1969, p.216). Through partnerships, the citizens can negotiate power with other actors and establish ground rules for joint decision-making this

typology works with a form of broad legitimised representative democracy in which self-organisation is essential for the negotiation process. Delegated power refers to a form of participation in which citizens dominate the decision-making, having municipal officials as a minority in the process. Lastly, in citizen control, the residents are fully in charge of every aspect of the programme, from design to maintenance and budgets (Arnstein 1969, p.221-223).

Guaraldo labels this last stage as *Support*, comprising *Conciliation*, *Partnership* and *Empowerment*. Conciliation takes the form of representative democracy in which decisions are accepted and confirmed by the citizens. An issue with representative democracy is the danger of imposing decision over minorities in the representative decision-making process. Partnership balances more the power struggles by granting the citizens a position to negotiate with municipal officials and demand a higher degree of government responsibility in the projects. Empowerment for Guaraldo reaches to the level of Arnstein's Delegated Power, where citizens are a majority in the decision-making process but there is also space for the involvement of the government or other external actors in the decision-making (Guaraldo 1996, p.435-437). Sharing power and decision-making increases the commitment of government bodies and enhances the financial sustainability of projects when these are implemented in low-income areas.

White	Arnstein		Guaraldo	
Nominal	Non-Participation	Manipulation	Neglect	Self-Management
		Therapy	Rejection	Conspiracy
Instrumental	Tokenism	Information	Manipulation	Diplomacy
		Consultation		Information
		Placation		Dissimulation
Representative	Citizen Power	Partnership	Support	Conciliation
Transformative		Delegated Power		Partnership
		Citizen Control		Empowerment

Table 6: Comparison of participation typologies Sources (White 1996; Arnstein 1969; Guaraldo 1996)

#### 5.4. Participation beyond the Community

Glen Bowen broadens the scope of participation to other actors in urban development, modifying the perception that participation is only limited to the end beneficiaries. As Bowen expresses, "*Participation is the inclusion of a diverse range of stakeholder contributions in an on-going community development process, from identification of problem areas to the development, implementation and management of strategic planning*" (Bowen 2008, p.66). Therefore, the meaning

of participation adopted for this research and the analysis of the case studies is: The social process by which public, private and civil actors are acknowledged as equally influential in urban development and become active stakeholders in the improvement of the built environment. In other words, Transformative participation in urban projects demands power sharing and negotiated conditions of programmes and policies between the actors in urban development (White 1996).

Jane Jacobs considers diversity to be the key to creative urban environments, explaining in an interview “*in diverse urban environments entrepreneurs can benefit from the varied availability of knowledge, know-how and skills*” (Hospers & Dalm 2005, p.5). In responding to the challenges of urbanisation, the planning practice could be considered an *innovative-normative* process, where creativity and understanding of the real conditions of urban areas are essential for finding an action-oriented response to urban problems (Albrecht 1985, pp.19–20). Inferring from Jacobs statement about the benefits of knowledge diversity, the planning practice would profit from a diversity of actors sharing different typologies of knowledge. The ideal scenario would be a balanced input of all types of knowledge, leading to consensus and agreement, instead of planning being dominated by professionals and technicians, exercising coercive power over experiential and theoretical knowledge. Bringing together all types of knowledge requires revisiting the current practices and restructuring the interactions and communication processes between actors (Albrecht 1985).

Bringing the stakeholder diversity and the need for different typologies of knowledge to the field of informal urbanisation, a UNDP Report proposes three main elements for “*a political strategy for poverty eradication*” (UNDP 1997, p.94)

- *Political empowerment for poor people*: capacity of communities for self-organisation and collective action to influence decision-making
- *Partnerships for change*: networks and agreements with all actors in urban development to ensure human development.
- *Enabling a responsible state*: offer spaces for democratic discussion of urban issues, promoting public-private partnerships.

These elements translated to urban planning could be understood as the need for participatory practices for the formulation, design and implementation of urban development projects and programmes. The political empowerment of communities could be achieved through capacity building and practical learning processes of participation in project definition. Partnerships for change could be implemented with the participation of other civic actors in the formulation, implementation, and maintenance of urban projects; and enabling a responsible state refers to better governance practices and spaces for free participation of diverse actors. Through access to decision-making, actors have the possibility to demand participation in other areas of urban life (Moser 1989a). Planning is thus transformed into a political process driven by diverse actors and different interests, which promotes democratisation and decentralisation.



For this research the actors involved in urban development have been characterised into four categories, depending on the possible contributions, interests and responsibilities in the development of the built environment. The categories are *Public, Civil, Private and External*. The next sections will expand on these categories.

#### **5.4.1. Public Actors in Urban Development**

From these main elements for poverty eradication, enabling a responsible government would suggest not only the involvement of municipal departments and public actors in urban upgrading programmes but also restructuring the decision-making process to open planning practices to democratic processes. Democratic planning is related to power allocation (Botes 2000). Although democratisation of planning allows communities, the private sector and non-profit organisations the opportunity to engage in decision-making, it is the responsibility of governments to provide the necessary human and technical resources with the capabilities for planning and management of urban projects that improve the quality of life of urban dwellers (Blair 1979).

The involvement and leadership of public actors are crucial for successful urban projects. Public stakeholders are necessary for project financing and legal regulations (Imparato & Ruster 2003). Nevertheless, municipal officials must be equipped with the capabilities for motivating participation among communities, manage interests of all actors, as well as capacities for coordinating communication, promoting agreements or accepting responsibilities. Moreover, if the purpose of projects is to improve the quality of life of urban dwellers, the responsibilities of public agencies must extend beyond project implementation. Though public-private or public-community partnerships could work for spatial project maintenance, the provision of social services cannot be supported by communities. As exposed in the case studies, without the long-term commitment of governments to support spatial and social development projects, the improvements of urban development decay rapidly.

#### **5.4.2. Civil Actors in Urban Development**

Civil actors include the direct beneficiaries of urban development projects i.e. residents, community-based organisations –CBO’s-, residents associations<sup>28</sup> and local community leaders. Participation presupposes homogeneity of beneficiaries, similar particular interests, and generalised

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<sup>28</sup> Residents associations include all legally established groups. In Colombia they are called “Local Action Boards” –Juntas de Acción Comunal- in Brazil they are the resident’s associations -Associações de Moradores- these are non-profit civil organisations, which gather efforts and resources for solving the most pressing needs of the community (Hernandez 2008, p.32)

capabilities for consensus (Soen 1981). In contrast, for a participative process to foster social development at the community level, the process must consider the diverse interests of formal, informal landlords, tenants, squatters, as well as home-based businesses, private actors and NGOs working in the area. The motivation for the participation of residents in project discussions depends on the individual needs of the residents, as well as the time-effort-benefit relation (Awortwi 2012), along with the possibilities to influence project definition (Dinham 2007).

In this research, planning is considered as a capacity building process for both governments and communities alike, developing skills for self-organisation, management and democratic processes. In order to understand the interests of the collective and shape urban projects accordingly to the priorities of communities, residents should go through a process of “*direct democracy*” where they make decisions by themselves (Mohammadi 2010, p.5). Direct democracy refers to the process of all residents expressing their particular interests and visions for their neighbourhood, along with possible solutions, with the guidance of public, private and external actors. This direct democratic process not only helps to highlight the needs of the neighbourhood but also gives voice to residents who otherwise would not be involved in the decision-making. Participation of ordinary inhabitants in participatory processes would bring them in contact with projects, provide comprehensive information for planning and implementation, legitimise urban actions while raising awareness about limitations and potentials of urban development, as well as their role as beneficiaries in the improvement of the built environment. Direct participation would increase confidence through the acknowledgement of local knowledge, building capacities for promoting participatory practices among all actors (Mitlin & Thompson 1995).

Though a direct democratic process is necessary to identify urban needs and connect with residents, the heterogeneity of communities and the complexity of urban projects make direct participation of all residents in decision-making is unrealistic. Communities, when not previously exposed to participatory practices, lack the skills for participatory decision-making in urban projects (Soen 1981), making direct participation in programme planning unattainable. Therefore, Hamid Mohammadi recommends “*indirect democracy*” processes, where decisions are made by representatives of the collective (Mohammadi 2010, p.5). Likewise, Dan Soen (1981) considers that participation should be exercised through representation.

Carrying on with the idea of indirect democracy, CBO’s embody many of the neighbourhood needs, as self-organised community bodies. Although necessary in every context, CBO’s are more likely to appear in cases of recent illegality and fear of eviction, when the need for infrastructure is oppressing the possibilities for survival or when crises arise in the settlements (Ward 1984). The emergence of a CBO highlights the importance of the urban issue for the community, along with their main interests. The importance of these CBO’s as social structures cannot be measured in terms of

financial or material resources, the influence of these organisations is associated to the mobilisation of human resources (Ziss 1987), which translate as local knowledge, social networks and labour force. CBO's provide legitimacy to the decisions made by residents, initiate local actions and could become catalysts of social change through empowerment of communities.

Indirect or representative democracy signifies delegating power to a designated person or elected body. This representative leader might be a democratically elected person or a community leader not legitimised by their work in the community though not legalised politically. The figure of the local leader is crucial in a participative process. Local leaders are subject to the community's will, chosen based on experience, relationships with the residents and knowledge about the neighbourhood (Gómez et al. 2012). Local leaders have legitimacy from their communities, making them the ideal communication channels to mobilise and initiate a participative process leading to the selection of a legitimised representative for the community in the decision-making.

### **5.4.3. Private actors in Urban Development**

The involvement of the private sector is beneficial for the quality of the projects, budgets, schedules and also for social development through skills training, capacity development or direct employment. The government as enabler must engage the interest of the private sector appealing to their profit-oriented nature but also appeal to the “*corporate social responsibility*” to help improve the socio-economic condition of residents (Kranz 2011, p.45). The actors from the private sector could include engineering and architecture firms, building contractors, business managers, quality control experts, technicians, socio-technical support, materials suppliers, landowners, infrastructure providers, financing institutions, etc. (Imparato & Ruster 2003).

### **5.4.4. External Actors in Urban Development**

External actors constitute the stakeholders who are outside the municipal, civic or private sector structure. The character of poverty reduction strategies presented in former sections suggests that the main external actors are non-profit organisations such as universities, urban research centres, NGOs and international aid agencies e.g. World Bank, IBD, GIZ, KfW, etc.

Universities and urban research centres are proficient in gathering theoretical knowledge and can analyse the benefits and disadvantages of projects adequately, in addition to facilitating the assessment of the urban and social conditions. Participation of scholars and researchers in urban planning brings a theoretical perspective and could expand the vision for the settlements or help define

the objectives and nature of technical assistance needed for projects (Steinberg & Miranda 2005). The neutral nature of universities can be utilised for balancing interests, necessities and resources. Moreover, partnerships with research centres serve as a means for knowledge transfer and could be used to build capacities among municipal agencies, community representatives and private actors.

Non-profit organisations are a source of local knowledge from an outsiders' perspective but with stronger connections to communities than the municipality or scholars. Non-profit organisations or NGOs are present in low-income neighbourhoods, providing social services or support for the most vulnerable communities. They perform advocacy work focused on promoting governance, human rights and legal aid, supporting grassroots initiatives in every sphere of urban life and mobilising actors to initiate bottom-up development (UN-Habitat 2003). These organisations often can attract the attention of the state through their institutional networks, becoming a voice for the marginalised and poor communities (Chen et al. 2011; Satterthwaite 2001) acting as intermediaries between communities and governments.

Additionally, NGOs can receive direct funding from external donors (UN-Habitat 2003), mobilising financial and human resources to support small-scale improvement projects and initiate participatory processes (Satterthwaite 2001; Steinberg & Miranda 2005) encouraging the emergence of grassroots movements. Though the work of NGOs in low-income neighbourhoods is important as a communication and resources channel, generally these organisations work isolated from government agencies, focusing on promoting community initiatives and social projects, but lacking the technical capacities for analysing proposed urban projects (Satterthwaite 2001) or guiding a local urban planning process. Capacity building in participatory practices for NGOs could facilitate community mapping, mobilisation, and information. NGOs could help resolve internal community conflicts as well as guide the selection of community representatives, legal procedures and citizen rights. These functions would increase the possibilities of communities to have a holistic understanding of projects and their implications.

Aid agencies rarely have contact with CBOs or civil actors; they work on an institutional level providing technical guidance for programme formulation or institutional restructuring. Although external financial support comes with rigid institutional structures and bureaucratic procedures, the involvement of aid agencies is important for capacity building and knowledge transfer among governments. As expressed by David Satterthwaite (Satterthwaite 2001) aid agencies finance and influence project definition, but the design and implementation are executed by municipal agencies. Despite the rigidity of the regulations of aid agencies, the publications of the World Bank, The Inter-American Development Bank, UN-Habitat and other aid agencies transfer knowledge, advertise best practices and spread new techniques and methodologies or approaches to urban planning. Furthermore, the presence of aid agencies and external actors decreases programme politicisation and

boosts continuity, as governments seek to renew development loans through the formulation of new phases of urban programmes. Likewise, meeting the requirements for loan renewal signifies accountability of results, processes and budgets, which reduces the possibilities for corruption.

## **5.5. Strategic Planning, a Participatory Approach**

A critical evaluation of former practices sets the tone for the exploration of a participatory practice with a diversity of actors in the planning process. Now, with a clear characterisation of participation concept and the actors involved, the dissertation sets up to define the appropriate approach for participatory planning.

Participatory planning is gradually being accepted in the world as the means to produce more effective, efficient and legitimised projects in urban environments (Schneider 1999). Participatory planning steers the planning process towards consensus building and effective projects. It is a process of learning for public actors about the dynamics of communities and the problems of the built environment. It encourages self-organisation, community initiatives and empowerment for communities and brings private and external actors closer to the realities of cities. In this sense, participatory planning encourages the involvement of different sectors of society, enhances accountability of urban interventions while promoting democratic processes. The different perspectives of actors provide a broader and more holistic view of the issues in urban environments and the unforeseen impact of urban projects (Rider 1983).

### **5.5.1. Consensus Building for Balanced Participation**

The tools that allow stakeholders to influence decision-making require a transformation of the planning process, value and use local knowledge, as well as a participatory structure that connects, strengthens and enhances the capabilities and potentials of each actor (Imparato & Ruster 2003). Defining the participatory planning structure requires an institutional transformation that aims at generating an empowering environment, where participation is understood as the instrument to achieve an improvement in the livelihood of the urban poor and integral development.

Establishing a methodology for participatory planning in urban projects could bridge the gap between the traditional top-down planning process and self-organisation or bottom-up initiatives (Imparato & Ruster 2003), bringing together all the actors of urban development while defining roles, responsibilities and commitments. Participatory practices are based primarily on effective communication that expresses the real interests of the actors, moving from “*competitive interest*

*bargaining to negotiative consensus building*” (Brand & Gaffikin 2007, p.306). Consensus building is a social process that allows discussion of interests, objectives, conflicts and differences, aiming at finding a common solution to solving existing problems. As Judith Innes (2004) explains, consensus building is a time-consuming activity, though helpful in finding creative solutions in contexts where traditional planning has proven ineffective. Consensus building manages the interests of all actors, promoting a dialogue based on equality among participants. The positions of actors are expressed, along with their interests, priorities and agenda. The procedures for communication are defined by the participants with the purpose of achieving agreements, satisfying particular interests and consolidating a common vision for the planning process (Innes 2004).

### **5.5.2. Strategic Planning for Urban Upgrading**

Strategic urban planning<sup>29</sup> is “selective, action-oriented and participatory” (Narang & Reutersward 2006, p.4). An approach that defines the basis for participation, managing expectations and activities of actors in the time-frame of the urban programme (Steinberg 2005). Strategic planning assesses the condition of cities from different perspectives, including urbanisation, provision of services and environmental condition, but also social development problems, as well as the potentials of the city to overcoming the existent issues (Narang & Reutersward 2006). As exposed in former sections, urban upgrading demands creativity, which could be stimulated by the inclusion of diverse actors in the planning process. Strategic planning functions as a learning process based on consensus building (Birkmann et al. 2014), for diagnosing the most pressing problems of low-income communities. The planning process identifies capacities, abilities and resources available from each actor. The actors devise a general objective as the long-term vision for development, along with specific objectives for prioritising projects and allocating responsibilities (Steinberg 2005). One of the aspirations of strategic planning is achieving the appropriate level of participation of each actor accordingly to the specific circumstances, project objectives, constraints and opportunities (Paul 1987; Imparato & Ruster 2003).

### **5.5.3. Characteristics of Strategic Urban Planning**

Strategic planning is a government-led process which aims to bridge the gap between top-down urban planning and community-based initiatives (Steinberg 2005). The purpose is to create consensus and produce decision-making procedures that reflect the collective vision of the stakeholders and produce effective, coordinated actions on various urban sectors (Bryson & Alston

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<sup>29</sup> In the previous chapters the author mentioned strategic plans used in Rio de Janeiro. The strategic planning concept used in this section of the dissertation refers to the process of participatory planning in urban projects, different from the policy guidelines documents called strategic plans utilised in many countries for urban development

2005). The main characteristics of the strategic planning approach are (Khalifa 2012; de Graaf & Dewulf 2010; Khalil 2012; Birkmann et al. 2014; Steinberg 2005):

- Recognition of the importance of the urban context and the constant changes in the built environment, understanding the challenges and opportunities posed by urbanisation. Give communities a voice in decision-making, bringing a realistic perspective of the built environment based on daily routines, resulting in an accurate depiction of the impact of the urban condition on the lives of the residents.
- A multi-stakeholder approach to assess needs, potentials and facilitate implementation. “*Strategic planning is about making plans with stakeholders, instead of making plans for them*” (de Graaf & Dewulf 2010, p.473). The inclusion of different stakeholders is crucial for ensuring project completion regarding financing, support for social development initiatives and legitimacy of democratic planning processes.
- Planning as a continuous process, calling for new coordination of governmental, grassroots and private initiatives, balancing objectives with available resources and feasibility of implementation. Each actor has resources to contribute to the programme. The establishment of communication channels between actors enhances the possibilities for collaboration and joint action, as long as the government facilitates the transformation of the traditional planning process into a participatory approach. Moreover, allocation of responsibilities to civil and private actors promotes a sense of place and increases the possibilities for maintenance after project completion.
- A feasible action plan for implementation, which facilitates the translation of objectives into sectoral projects. Strategic planning allows actors to pose inquiries about project design and implementation processes, grounding project planning and definition, in accordance with the realities of the population and available resources.

#### 5.5.4. The Strategic Planning Process

The strategic planning approach advocates for the creation of a flexible and adaptable set of guidelines for participatory planning to guide urban actors through the decision-making process for a context-specific programme. In other words, utilising the different typologies of knowledge available, actors define collaboration procedures and strategies to tackle urban problems, as well as priorities and actions. The purpose of the strategic planning approach goes beyond consensus building; it aims at producing a participatory, as well as an implementation framework, focusing on development of projects (de Graaf & Dewulf 2010) which can be readjusted to the emergent issues, “*strategies evolve as needed*”, adjustment and adaptation are part of the strategic planning process (Rider 1983, p.77).

Formulating a strategic planning process with a long-term vision could boost project continuity while fostering institutionalisation of strategic planning procedures into the organisational framework of the municipality. From Marwa Khalifa (2012, p.60), Bryson & Alston (2005, p.23) and

Ghada Hassan et al. (2011, pp.207–208) the research can identify the following phases of a strategic urban planning process with the government as a promoter:

#### ***5.5.4.1. Phase 1 - Stakeholder Mobilisation***

The stakeholder mobilisation relies on a clear communication of the purposes of formulating a strategic planning process. Clear communication facilitates the involvement of public, private civic and external actors, and building consensus to determine capacities, resources and interests in the projects. With interests, resources and capacities identified, the actors could make participation agreements, ensure involvement and mutual support. The government as the promoter should work as an initiator of participation, but the stakeholders must define a collaboration strategy and a coordination body which communicates ideas, strategies and problems among the involved actors. The definition of the collaborative approach and partnerships for the next phases will become the foundation for participatory planning and implementation.

The stakeholders' consensus must balance power relations and establish a communication scheme that allows unrestricted dialogue between actors. Important issues to be addressed by the consensus are (Bryson & Alston 2005, p.21): programme, project and outcomes ownership; responsibilities of the ownership; purposes of the planning process; strategies for adjusting the participatory strategy and the programme.; management structure; and benefits for each stakeholder.

#### ***5.5.4.2. Phase 2 – Mapping***

Mapping refers to the process of information collection about the area to be intervened. It could be a citywide mapping or a community mapping process. Mapping helps identify urgent problems, risks and necessities, but also can help understanding population dynamics, potentials for development and priorities for the different actors. Mapping could spark a deeper understanding of the connection between the built environment, communities and other actors of urban development (Archer et al. 2012). This mapping phase produces plans, statistics, as well as sociological and urban descriptions of the condition of urbanisation.

#### ***5.5.4.3. Phase 3 – Assessment***

With the data and information gathered in the mapping stage, the stakeholders analyse the condition of the urban environment regarding the purpose of the programme, identifying the most pressing problems and potentials of the possible implementation areas. The mapping and the assessment could be delegated to external actors. Universities and local research centres have the experience, baggage, human resources and capacities for producing a more objective and comprehensive analysis of the situation, also recognising possibilities for development. This phase could produce preliminary master plans and descriptions.

#### ***5.5.4.4. Phase 4 – Conceptualisation***



A holistic understanding of the condition of the territory, combined with the purpose of the planning process established in the first stage, should produce a holistic vision for the future of the city. Strategic planning proposes a different set of visions and objectives to make the project feasible and the development process adjustable. The long-term commitment of actors is the most difficult to achieve. Thus the process must establish a long-term vision for the development i.e. 8-12 years, which acts as an umbrella, covering the general objectives and purposes of implementing the development projects. The long-term vision will foster project continuity and could avoid politicisation (Miranda 2004). A medium-term vision could give governments the possibilities to achieve development goals within the electoral cycle while continuing the project on the long-term plan. A short-term vision is necessary for the development of coordinated, effective, localised projects.

#### **5.5.4.5. Phase 5 – Strategy formulation**

The definition of visions and objectives, along with the assessment of the urban condition produce a set of problems and priorities to be addressed by urban development. The problems and priorities can change depending on the vision to which they belong i.e. short-term priorities could be associated with spatial issues, medium-term priorities could be environmental and social risks, while long-term issues could be linked to the consequences of more intangible problems, such as poverty or inequality, and the effects of external factors on urban development. A “*strategy is a pattern of purposes, policies, programs, projects, actions, decisions, and resource allocations (...). Strategies can vary by level, function, and time frame*” (Bryson & Alston 2005, p.97). The strategies define the specific objective of future projects as well as the milestones towards a satisfactory execution of the projects.

#### **5.5.4.6. Phase 6 – Action plans**

The action plans are the design and implementation stage of the strategic planning process. There should be at least as many action plans as there are development strategies since these are the practical approach to solving the problem. These action plans should clarify the partnerships, actors, resources allocation, and responsibilities in the implementation and maintenance. They should also define the specific objective of the project or programme and the target population, along with the participatory planning design and implementation process (Bryson & Alston 2005). Once responsibilities are delegated, the plan is executed, and project implementation could start.

#### **5.5.4.7. Phase 7 – Strategies Assessment and adjustment**

The assessment of milestones within the action plan or the strategy serves as a referent for the evaluation and adjustment of the strategic planning process. The outcomes are analysed in regards to the *Phase 5* the strategy formulation, in a feedback loop, in order to adjust the strategies to emergent or unforeseen situations.

## 5.6. Conclusions

The obstacles to participation are associated with the lack of experience and capabilities of the municipality to implement participatory practices and the need for administrations to produce fast, visible the investments in the urban realm. The active participation of actors is time-consuming and opens the possibilities for higher accountability of budgets and actions, making the municipality more vulnerable to criticism and citizen control.

Nevertheless, when aiming at reducing inequalities and social segregation in Latin American cities, the benefits of participation eclipse the obstacles. Communities in Latin American cities have long traditions of self-organisation and leadership. On the other hand, the state has recognised the importance of community participation in urban upgrading projects. The participation of other actors is sporadic but could become the basis for comprehensive analysis of the status quo and proposition of innovative solutions to the problems of the urban poor. The actual obstacle was, then, the lack of a realistic framework for participatory urban planning.

Formulation and design of effective and legitimised urban development programmes require a high degree of consensus, collaboration and negotiation among actors. Interests, needs and responsibilities must be balanced with benefits and resources offered by the stakeholders. Each actor provides a different perspective of urban development which could be included in urban planning through a participatory planning process. Governance becomes essential for community participation in sustainable upgrading projects. Building capacities amongst institutions, organisations and communities allow a profound understanding of the process of upgrading and implementation of improvement projects. Learning encourages joint action to find upgrading approaches which impact every dimension of poverty, from financial to social spheres.

The purpose of strategic planning is to provide that participatory planning framework. To introduce participatory planning into the institutional structure in order to allow all urban actors to influence decision-making and transform planning processes. Strategic planning deconstructs the top-down planning of the municipality, facilitating consensus building and joint action with bottom-up or grassroots movements in a context-specific situation. Strategic planning needs all typologies of knowledge for the definition of visions, objectives strategies and action plans. Each actor has space and voice, making participatory planning not only inclusive but also a more democratic approach to urban development.

## CHAPTER 6

### Case Studies Assessment

#### 6.1. Introduction

Chapters 4 and 5 are an in-depth description of the two case studies selected for this research. These illustrate the planning process in two different social contexts and the main features of integral upgrading strategies in Latin America. With the introduction of the theoretical frameworks about participation and strategic upgrading, the research can now analyse the formulation of the integral upgrading programmes presented in Chapters 4 and 5 regarding the participatory components and the use of participatory practices in the formulation, design, implementation and maintenance of the programme and projects. The assessment of the case studies will be realised through the comparison of the programme components against the empirical research made for this dissertation and the theory presented in Chapter 6. The assessment will focus especially on the translation of programme objectives into projects implemented. The participation theory will assist with the analysis of the obstacles to implementation and maintenance created by the lack of participatory practices in programme planning and implementation

In order to understand better the components and planning process of integral and urban upgrading programmes, this chapter also presents a supplementary abridged analysis of 14 urban upgrading programmes implemented in other Latin American countries the 1990's and 2000's. The purpose of this analysis is to discover the main similarities regarding target populations, scope, objectives, component and outcomes. The selected countries and programmes for the abridged analysis are:

There is a myriad of poverty reduction programmes and strategies in Latin America, many of them financed by international organisations and working in different fields. The programmes selected for this analysis are either national or municipal initiatives in integral urban upgrading. Those programmes focused only on the legalisation of tenure were not considered; neither were programmes only focusing on social issues. The analysis of these 14 programmes is the result of a literature review of documents produced by Latin American institutions such as the Inter-American Development Bank and the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean. The main literature sources the analysis are (Rojas 2011)(Clichevsky 2006)(Fernandes 2011)(Acuña & Repetto 2006) (MacDonald 2005). Also for Argentina (Corona et al. 2010), Brasil (Cardoso 2007; Magalhães & Nacif Xavier

2003; Cavallieri & Oliveira 2006), Chile (Siclari 2003), Colombia (Bernal Granados 2011; Torres et al. 2009; Betancur 2007; Alcaldía de Medellín 1996), Costa Rica (Clichevsky 2006; Simioni et al. 2003), Guatemala (OVE 2012; Clichevsky 2006), Mexico (Simioni & Szalachman 2007; Clichevsky 2006), Nicaragua (Clichevsky 2006; Jord 2005; Morales 2005), Peru (Clichevsky 2006); Venezuela (Clichevsky 2006).

COUNTRY	PROGRAMME	DATE
Argentina	Programa de Mejoramiento de Barrios – PROMEBA	1997
	Habitat - Rosario	2002
Brazil	<b>Favela-Bairro - Rio de Janeiro</b>	<b>1994</b>
	Habitar Brasil BID-HBB	1999
	Villa Barrio – Teresina	1997
	Projeto Terra – Vitoria	1998
Chile	Chile-Barrio	1997
Colombia	PRIMED – Medellin	1992
	Mejoramiento Integral de Barrios – Bogotá	2000
	<b>Proyecto Urbano Integral - Medellin</b>	<b>2004</b>
Costa Rica	Reducción de la Pobreza	2003
Guatemala	Reducción de la Pobreza Urbana - Guatemala	2004
Mexico	Habitat – Mexico city	2004
Nicaragua	Renovación Urbana - Managua	2002
Peru	Mi Barrio	2004
Venezuela	CAMEBA - Caracas	1998

Table 7: Supplementary programmes for abridged analysis. Elaborated by the author

## 6.2. Analysis Criteria

The supplementary programmes present many different characteristics in the specific objectives and projects implemented; however, the similarities found through the analysis suggest a set of criteria present in most of the programmes

Financing schemes and implementation dates provide information about the focus of the programmes, while the target populations suggest the main objectives of the programme. Since this dissertation is interested in participatory practices, the analysis also studied the actors involved in the programmes, dividing them into public, civil, private and external actors. This research utilises these criteria to analyse the supplementary as well as the case studies.

Following the guidelines of the previous research realised by the author in 2010 (see section 3.2), the programme objectives, as well as the programme components, have been categorised into *Spatial*, *Social*, and *Governance*. Each component has a set of strategies that were present in almost every programme. The last two analysis criteria are the programme outcomes, which comprises outputs and spatial results of the programmes; and the challenges reported by the programme operators or the municipalities.

### 6.3. New Legal Frameworks & Implementation Dates

Integral upgrading programmes were very unlikely to appear in the 1980's in Latin America, due to the political situation and the rigid structures of legal frameworks. The 1990's represented a transformation in governmental and social structures. Governments started to promote democratisation and decentralisation while attempting to re-introduce control in areas dominated by illegality. As municipalities started to understand the benefits of decentralisation and constitutional changes, new approaches to urban planning e.g. PRIMED and the *Favela-Bairro Programme* emerged. The new legal approach granted communities de facto tenure and legitimacy, which allowed the initiation of a tenure legalisation process and the acknowledgement of informal settlements as part of the city. Furthermore, the novelty of the constitution forced municipalities into a deep transformation, to adjust to new legal frameworks, budget schemes and autonomy.

By the end of the 1990's, several cities in Brazil and the neighbouring countries Argentina, Chile, Colombia and Venezuela followed the *Favela-Bairro Programme* example (Clichevsky 2006), adopting the integral upgrading approach. Throughout the 2000's these programmes proliferated in Latin America and

Target Population & Selection	Urban condition	Socio-economic
		Morphology
		Legal condition
		Deficient Infrastructure
	Population Size	Inhabitants
		Households
		Plots
	Poverty level	Income
		UBN
	Feasibility	Regularisation
		Infrastructure
Environmental risk		
Settlement age		
Social Organisations		
Institutional		
Other		
Actors	Public	National Gov.
		National Inst.
		Federal/Region
		Municipal
		Financial Ag.
		Housing Ag.
		Implement. Unit
	Community	Social Ag.
		Environm.
		Residents
		Associations
External	International	
Private	NGO	
Programme Components	Spatial	Urban Morphology
		Infrastructure and Public
		Mobility Infrastructure
		Tenure
		Housing Provision
	Social	Environment
		Public Space
		Public Facilities
		Participation
		Community-Based
	Governance	Capacity Building for
Poverty Reduction		
Social Inclusion		
Social Services		
Programme Outcomes		Institutional Restructuring
		Institutional Capacity
		Partnerships
		Participatory Practices
		Knowledge Transfer

Table 8: Criteria for programme analysis.  
Elaborated by the author

most countries now have adopted the integral upgrading strategy as the means to improve the livelihoods of the urban poor.

National Programmes						Municipal Programmes									
ARG	CHI	BRA	CR	MEX	PE	COL	BRA	BRA	BRA	VEN	COL	ARG	NIC	COL	GUA
PRO	CB	Hab	PAUP	Hab	MB	PRIMED	FB	VB	PT	CAM	INI	Hab	UR	PUI	UPR
1997	1997	1999	2003	2004	2004	1992	1994	1997	1998	1998	2000	2002	2002	2004	2004

Table 9: Programmes' implementation dates. Elaborated by the author

A programme with the characteristics of the *Favela-Bairro Programme* or the PUI was unlikely to appear in the 1990's in Colombia. The power exercised by illegal actors in low-income areas hinders mapping the neighbourhoods, assessing the real condition of the built environment or communicating with residents. These actors manipulated citizens, politicians and governments. With the fall of drug cartels, governments slowly regained control over forgotten territories, as well as over local politics and decision-making.

Looking at the implementation dates, it could be stated that most programmes followed the example of the *Favela-Bairro Programme* in Brazil. The visibility of the results of the programme in Rio de Janeiro attracted the attention of other countries, and the integral upgrading approach spread throughout Latin America in the 1990's.

#### 6.4. Strategic Plans for Urban Planning

Developed and developing countries have adopted strategic plans as the means to prioritise urban development projects in urban areas. Strategic plans have been especially embraced by Latin American governments as a navigation chart to guide the formulation of policy and government plans. Country capitals such as Buenos Aires, Santiago, Lima, and Bogota have implemented strategic plans for urban development. The strategies vary between infrastructure for mobility to educational facilities or city marketing. In some cases, these strategic plans also include poverty reduction strategies aimed at informal urbanisation (Steinberg 2005). The initiatives are part of a city-wide vision where the consequences of the high incidence of poverty on the overall development of the city are underestimated; hence the strategies for poverty reduction fall short in addressing the causes of urban poverty and become temporary solutions to a resilient problematic in developing countries.

Through strategic plans, Latin American governments attempt to find a policy-making instrument that can cope with the fast urbanisation process while introducing in the Latin American context sustainable development concepts. However, the sustainable development of a city requires equity, social development and equal opportunities for the residents, and achieving sustainable

development in cities where segregation and disparity are the norm seems unrealistic and unachievable. Florian Steinberg blames the low success of strategic planning in Latin America on the “(i) the political will of mayors and other local authorities; (ii) the institutional framework of key actors; (iii) the thematic focuses; (iv) the participatory and technical processes applied; and (v) the technical capacity of those involved” (Steinberg 2005, p.89). All these factors are strongly related to participatory practices for urban planning. Therefore, allowing the participation of different actors and normalising participatory practices in the institutional environment could improve the outcomes not only of urban upgrading programmes but also of urban development plans. Strategic plans are useful in the prioritisation of urban interventions and formulation of policy. Strategic plans will continue to shape the direction of urban policy and the focus of projects.

## 6.5. Local vs. External Financing

The analysis of the case studies reveals interesting results regarding the financial scheme of the programmes and the typology of the projects developed. While both programmes started as municipal initiatives financed by the local administration, the *Favela-Bairro Programme* had to change the financial scheme shortly after initiation to answer to the demands of residents and incorporate the provision of social services into the programme formulation. The supplementary programmes show a generalised tendency of programmes to be financed by international institutions. In most programmes in Latin America, the IDB finances 60% of the interventions while the remaining 40% is financed by national or municipal budgets.

Country	National Programmes						Municipal Programmes									
	ARG	CHI	BRA	CR	MEX	PE	COL	BRA	BRA	BRA	VEN	COL	ARG	NIC	COL	GUA
Programme	PRO	CB	Hab	PAUP	Hab	MB	PRIM	FB	VB	PT	CAM	INI	Hab	UR	PUI	UPR
International Financing	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x
National/Local Financing	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x

Table 10: Financing schemes. Elaborated by the author

### 6.5.1. External Financing Scheme

The city of Rio de Janeiro understood the need for external support in order to scale-up the programme. This external financing allowed a greater scope and higher visibility in the city, legitimising the programme while increasing the possibilities for continuity. The *Favela-Bairro Programme* and most programmes analysed had a financial scheme where an international institution, e.g. World Bank, Inter-American Development Bank, the KfW Development Bank, etc., covered 50% to 90% of the costs, and municipalities or national governments covered the remaining budget. With

this financing scheme, municipalities could reach larger populations, extend scopes, include more social services provision as well as implement larger-scale projects (Zanetta 2001). Moreover, the partnership with international institutions signifies higher accountability of investments, along with a defined planning methodology before the application for financial support.

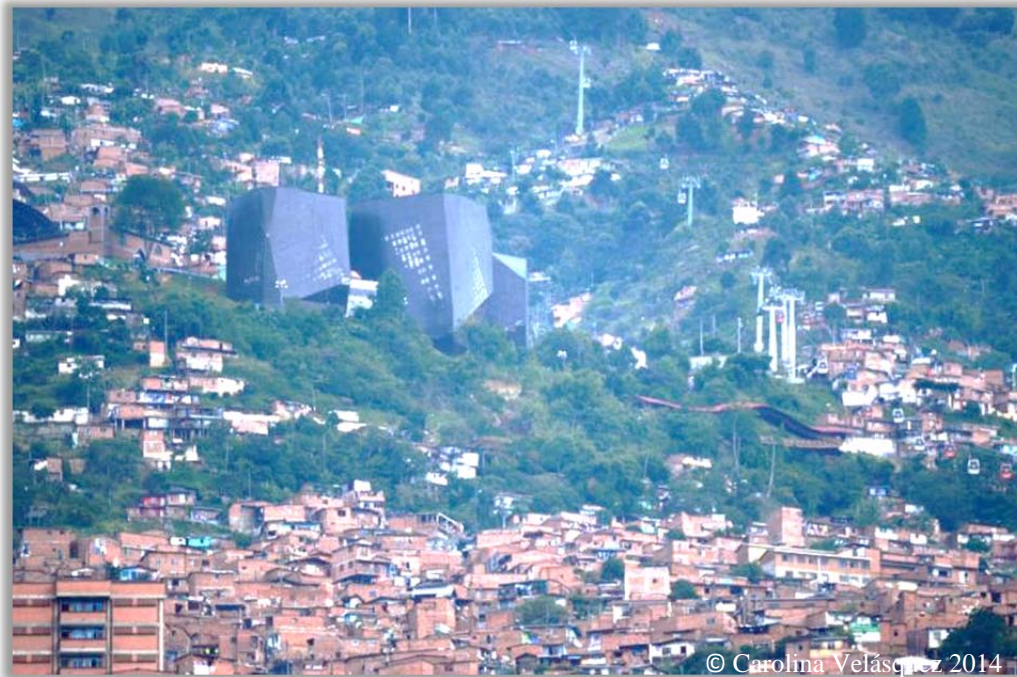
For municipalities to be awarded a development loan, the government must prepare a document where the objectives, typology of projects, target populations, implementation strategy and expected results are clearly defined. Drafting this document requires time for mapping and diagnostic of communities, programme formulation, definition of planning procedures, as well as budgets and actors involved. Project formulation of time-consuming for the municipality, therefore, the external investment might extend programmes beyond governmental cycles, since projects start in the middle of the administrative cycle and municipalities tend to renew loans for project completion or further implementation.

External financial support means fulfilling the requirements established by the institution, such as complying with the financial institution's standards, procedures and regulations, which require the assistance of external advisors for programme formulation. The influence of international institutions in poverty reduction strategies or urban upgrading programmes is evidenced by the similarities in the programme objectives throughout Latin America, i.e. Legalisation of tenure, provision of public infrastructure, reduction of environmental risks, etc. However, adhering to international standards also signifies limitations in programme definition for municipalities. International regulations determine budgets along with general scopes and target populations. Programmes with an external financing scheme rely on accountability of results. Programmes should produce visible outcomes in order to ensure loan renovation, thus guiding project prioritisation towards tangible outputs. Accountability procedures promote bureaucratisation of processes, while institutional structures hinder adaptability of projects to emergent problems (Satterthwaite 2001).

### **6.5.2. Local Financing Scheme**

The PUI maintained the initial financial scheme with the municipality financing 100% of the programme. However, the PUI pilot project in the north-east communes of Medellín is recognised mainly because of the large-scale macro-projects developed in the area. In the years before the PUI, the municipal transport company developed the infrastructure for a mass transport system “*Metro Cable*” in the area of the pilot project. Later, the same administration that implemented the PUI promoted the construction of education facilities and libraries in the low-income neighbourhoods of the city, benefiting specially and the same neighbourhood of the Metro Cable with a notorious library financed by the Spanish crown.





*Figure 39: Macro-projects "España" library and the Metro-Cable*

The PUI was structured to connect the library to the transport system through spatial improvement projects and extend along the transport axis to improve the spatial condition of the area in the surroundings of the corridor. In the diagnostics of the area, the municipality found pockets of informal housing in environmental risk which needed to be relocated to prevent future disasters. However, the PUI, as an instrument for the implementation of the PMIB lacked the financial and legal means to negotiate relocation strategies with the community. Thus the in-situ relocation project was implemented as a special project of the municipality, outside the PUI but in close relation to the system of public spaces developed by the programme. In contrast, the other PUI projects implemented in the city lacked the recognition of the pilot project as well as the impact. Some failed at establishing a clear master plan for the area, others developed ineffective and irrelevant large-scale projects, i.e. public escalators in a low-income neighbourhood controlled by illegal actors, and other PUIs had financial resources only to develop small-scale projects.

Locally financed projects provide freedom to municipalities in programme formulation, the definition of priority projects and establishing a vision for development. Urban projects can serve multiple interests; however, with a top-down approach to planning, the outcomes of the PUI served more political interests than the real needs of communities. Implementation prioritised anchor or catalyst projects; visible, large-scale development projects that would attract local, national and

international attention. In the end, some isolated social programmes were introduced, far from fulfilling the requirements for considering the PUI a holistic urban development programme.

The subsequent PUI programmes lacked the catalyst power of transport-oriented developments. Thus the outcomes were less visible and spatial impact was belittled. Moreover, the success of the pilot project encouraged designers to expand the scope of following proposals, resulting in larger areas covered by the same small-scale projects. The implementation of an approach designed for a small-scale development could not create a consistent vision for urban upgrading in a larger territory (Santana 2013). The freedom of scope distorted the human, financial and legal capacities of the programme, leaving incomplete projects and hindering implementation of many more.

## **6.6. Actors in Integral Upgrading**

This research process initiated with the hypothesis based on community participation in project formulation and design. The progress of the investigation, especially the empirical research guided the research towards a more inclusive understanding of participation, from the empowerment of communities as the only means of participation to consensus building and the importance of the participation of all sectors of society. The concept of participation adopted by this research is based on the inclusion of a multiplicity of actors in decision-making for urban planning processes.

*Table 11: Analysis of actors involved in urban upgrading programmes. Elaborated by the author*

### **6.6.1. Beneficiaries - Target Population**

The selection of beneficiaries is one of the first stages of the programmes, following different criteria to define the target population, e.g. condition of the urban environment, unsatisfied basic needs, poverty level, population size, the feasibility of implementation, etc. Most programmes use a

combination of these criteria in order to direct the benefits towards marginalised populations in urgent need of legalisation and spatial improvement. Despite the diverse implications of poverty, municipalities use of socio-economic indicators and tenure conditions as the main criteria for selection of beneficiaries of upgrading programmes. Illegal tenure signifies an illegal condition, lack of public infrastructure, unplanned layout, while low incomes suggest unemployment and lack of social development opportunities.

Being consequent with these criteria, it is the poorest populations that should be the main beneficiaries of urban upgrading programmes. However, most projects are implemented in consolidated informal settlements or low-income areas, excluding the poorest areas of the city. Extreme or critical poverty means higher vulnerabilities and the capacity of residents for economic and social development is undermined. Critical poverty has strong negative effects on the built environment, social networks and population's skills for employment. Moreover, the poorest areas of the city become places for temporary habitation. These areas are rarely consolidated, they welcome incoming migrants until they become urbanites and adapt to the city dynamics. Once their economic condition stabilises, they relocate to other areas of the city where consolidation is feasible. The communities in critical poverty are most in need of integral upgrading, but they demand the highest investment of resources. Therefore they are not normally considered as beneficiaries of urban upgrading programmes.

COUNTRY			National Programmes							Municipal Programmes									
			ARG	CHI	BRA	CR	MEX	PE	COL	BRA	BRA	BRA	VEN	COL	ARG	NIC	COL	GUA	
Programme Name			PRO	CB	Hab	PAUP	Hab	MB	PRIM	FB	VB	PT	CAM	INI	Hab	UR	PIMB	UPR	
Implementation Date			97	97	99	03	04	04	92	94	97	98	98	00	02	02	04	04	
Target Population	Urban condition	Socio-economic	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
		Morphology		x		x	x		x					x	x	x	x	x	
		Legal condition				x										x	x		
	Population Size	Deficient Infrastructure	x				x		x					x		x	x		
		Inhabitants	x					x											
		Households	x	x															
	Poverty level	Plots				x	x	x											x
		Income	x	x	x	x	x	x						x	x	x			x
		UBN	x		x														
	& Selection	Feasibility	Regularisation	x	x			x	x			x				x			x
Infrastructure								x	x					x	x		x	x	
Environmental risk			x			x			x						x			x	x
Settlement age		x					x											x	
Social Organisations		x						x											
Institutional		x	x				x						x	x			x		
Other		x																	

Table 12: Analysis of beneficiaries and target population. Elaborated by the author

Settlement consolidation is paramount for being considered for improvement. Consolidation implies some level of social cohesion, self-help and incremental construction. Consolidated housing signifies pride, sense of belonging and some social structure, which facilitates negotiation with communities. Furthermore, in consolidated neighbourhoods, unless there is a need for essential relocation, the construction of housing units by the state is replaced by tenure legalisation processes, avoiding expenses and boosting incremental construction by the residents. These conditions make

project implementation and completion feasible regarding the municipal budgets and governmental cycles since the necessary spatial improvements are limited to small to medium-scale projects, instead of relocation or renovation of the urban layout. Thus, the main recipients of urban upgrading projects are low-income and informal communities in the process of consolidation and out of extreme poverty.

### 6.6.2. Public Actors

The role of national governments in urban upgrading predated the conception of integral programmes, and in this analysis, national governments are the institutions that provided the legal framework within which the programmes could be formulated. The main actors in both the *Favela-Bairro Programme* and PUI were the programme operators i.e. SMH and EDU. These public agencies were in control of project planning and definition of programme components. In the *Favela-Bairro* the SMH coordinated communication between municipal agencies, but project design and implementation were delegated to the private sector. The SMH controlled the designs and progress of projects being executed by private architecture offices.

The EDU was the operator for design and implementation of public projects, as a decentralised public company, allowed to contract, negotiate and sign agreements with the public as well as private actors. Since the agency was considered an *outsider* in the municipality (personal communication Escobar Arango 2014), communication with other municipal agencies was managed through the Mayor's Secretary office. On the other hand, the function of the DAP was mapping, diagnosing and generating a preliminary assessment of the urban condition. In the PUI case, due to the impossibility of the DAP to execute urban projects, a gap of communication was created when the programme implementation was delegated to the EDU. While the DAP is not able to contract with external actors, being within the organisational structure of the municipality, it can promote agreements with other departments easier than external institutions, whether public or not. This capacity to communicate with other governmental agencies could have used to encourage the commitment of public actors to the maintenance of programmes. However, power struggles and the character of the PUI as a programme not institutionalised within the municipal Land Use Plan prevented the programme from becoming public policy and continuation of PUI projects. Communication barriers are the result of decentralisation inside the municipality, lack of clarity about roles of agencies and individual political interests. As expressed by municipal official Adriana Gonzalez, the difficulties of communication between public agencies hinder continuity of planning processes as well as sharing knowledge and information between public officials (Gonzalez 2015). Thus, the DAP, after delegating the PUI to the EDU, functioned as a control organism for project design, defining regulations for public spaces and infrastructure. Municipal agencies were involved in

financing, construction of public services networks, consulting services for technical design or logistics purposes, such as legalisation of tenure, renovation of public infrastructure, design and management of educational or sports facilities.

### 6.6.3. Civil Actors

These upgrading strategies were conceived with the intention to have a participative element within the social component. The concept of participation was based on consultation with residents about projects and problems in their immediate surroundings. In the *Favela-Bairro Programme*, the impact of the community in programme formulation is evidenced in the transformation of the programme from a spatial improvement strategy to an integral upgrading programme, including social projects in programme formulation. However, neither residents nor community organisations had any direct participation in project design. As expressed by Architect Solange Carvalho from an architecture office in Rio, the contact with communities and other civil actors was a responsibility of the municipality, but the relationship between favela communities and the government was extremely deteriorated in the past decades by forceful relocation and eviction practices (Carvalho 2013). The *Favela-Bairro Programme* had a social impact in communities regarding the change in the image of governments in favelas, improving a deteriorated relationship through project implementation. As communities saw the improvements implemented in the neighbourhood by the programme, their attitudes towards the municipality began to change, and a dialogue channel opened between the community organisation and the government officials.

An example of the participation element in the PUI was the use of “*Imaginary Workshops*” as the means to reach out to the community. The presence of professionals associated with a municipal agency in low-income areas is undesired by illegal actors. Thus, the programme had to negotiate and socialise objectives, intentions, as well as expected outcomes of the PUI with Communal Action Boards, local leaders, drug lords and residents before professionals were granted access to the area. The imaginary workshops were a reality and could have served as a democratic process of including communities in project design (Hernández 2013). However, as explained by architects involved in the PUI, the social process to motivate residents was time-consuming for the EDU and demanded capabilities that most architects had not yet developed by the time the programme started. In the rush of the municipality to show progress, architects made official field trips to the neighbourhoods to define project typologies and then proceeded to design projects based on professional perceptions, without the input of communities. Later on, when residents were ready for the participatory workshop, the master plan and most specific projects were already designed, or even in the process of construction. Thus, the participation concept served as a means of conciliation with residents and

Local Action Boards, facilitating implementation, but never offered real opportunities for residents to influence project design (Londoño 2013; Caro 2014; Bedoya 2014).

Through the interviews with local leaders, the researcher learned that in the territory selected for the second implementation of the PUI there was an ongoing a participatory planning process, encouraged by the recently instituted public policy of *Participatory Budgeting and Local Development Plans*. The participatory budgeting started in Porto Alegre, Brazil and had been introduced as urban policy in many Latin American cities (Menegat 2002). Low-income communities embrace it as the instrument to make localised improvements in public spaces or urban infrastructure. Nevertheless, there is no connection between the participatory budgeting process and the formulation of either of these projects.

Participatory Budgeting policy was established in Medellín 2004, as an annual planning instrument for prioritisation of needs by citizens (Gómez Hernández 2007). Communities define their own development plans through a participatory practice instituted and moderated by the municipality and ask for funds for the implementation of urban projects. The financial support is limited to 5% of the municipal budget for free investment (Alcaldía de Medellín 2011, p.5). Since 2004, many low-income and informal neighbourhoods have started participatory planning processes, to have access to the participatory budgeting policy. However, since this policy is disconnected from the *PUI* planning process, the results of this participatory planning are rarely included in the designs for the local PUI, and it was up to the coordinating architect to decide whether to reach out to this participatory process or not. Due to time constraints, most community processes were overlooked or managed as separated processes within the PUI (Bedoya 2014; Maya 2014; Ortiz 2014). The participatory budgeting is an instrument that could be used by the planning departments as input for programme definition and produce more effective and efficient projects.

#### **6.6.4. Private Actors**

Participation of the private sector was restricted to project implementation in the Favela-Bairro and the PUI. Companies were involved for construction purposes with contracts that stipulated a mandatory minimal quota of local labour. Employment of residents improved the residents' condition temporarily, while those employed as workers learned construction skills that could be transferred to other employment opportunities. In addition to employment, private companies gave projects quality, as well as control over budgets and schedules, which increased trust amongst residents. The presence of labour force in the neighbourhood boasted the creation of home-based microenterprises to cater for daily needs of workers, engineers, officials and architects. Nevertheless, as soon as projects were completed, construction companies and architecture offices left, along with the sources of

employment. Furthermore, agreements with contractors to employ residents in project implementation as paid workforce, bring companies and communities closer; employed residents learn new working skills, while companies can find a new niche for business in the neighbourhood.

The involvement of private landowners is essential for the legalisation of tenure and regularisation of informal settlements occupying private land. Public-private partnerships could alleviate some essential relocation problems, advise the municipality on new technical issues or increase project efficiency using new managerial approaches.

### **6.6.5. External Actors**

According to interviews with architects, the participation of NGO's was non-existent during design or implementation of either PUI or the Favela-Bairro Programme. Communication channels were developed by social workers employed by the operators and architects in charge of designs.

International actors were involved in the Favela-Bairro Programme in the financing of the scheme. From the interviews this research learned that the involvement of the IDB signified a change in the planning process since the institution required definitive plans to loan grants, thus forcing the municipality to produce preliminary neighbourhood improvement plans for the IDB without really understanding the spatial and social conditions of the area. The architectural offices had to adjust or remake plans once they visited the area.

## **6.7. Programme Objectives**

Upgrading programmes are, in essence, reactive strategies against urban informality. With the evolution from eviction to in-situ upgrading, governments have understood the multiple dimensions of poverty as well as the diversity of factors generating informal settlements in cities. It could be said that the implementation of urban policies to promote social development and improve the socio-economic condition of urban dwellers could reduce the vulnerabilities amongst the urban poor, preventing the emergence of informality and decreasing the incidence of poverty. However, the Latin American urbanisation process has shown the difficulties in producing preventive urban policy, making upgrading programmes the only instrument for reacting to the challenge of informality.

Most programmes in Latin America are part of the strategic plan or the municipal development plan for the governmental cycle, as the instrument to comply with the poverty reduction objective. The objectives of upgrading programmes always look beyond the spatial improvement, aiming at reducing vulnerabilities and promoting social inclusion. The general objective focuses on the

integration of low-income and informal settlements to the formal city, by means of connecting informal areas spatially and socially to the urban fabric. This focus on social integration is the result of a learning process, where governments understood the limitations of implementing only spatial improvements, along with the realisation that poverty is more than scarcity of financial means, just as informality is more than poverty.

The *Favela-Bairro Programme* and the PUI adopted the integral upgrading approach to guide the programme formulation process. The approach allows the categorisation of projects into spatial improvement, social development, and governance. The objectives proposed for the programmes responded to the integral approach and the objective of encouraging social development as well as integration amongst urban dwellers. However, the translation of these social objectives into practice lacked a realistic methodology for implementation of the participatory component, leaving the idea of building community capacities and promotion of self-organisation only in the paper.

Component	Focus	Objectives
<b>Spatial Improvement</b>	Urban Morphology	Transformation of the built environment
	Public Infrastructure	Connection to urban infrastructure networks
	Mobility Infrastructure	Improve mobility systems to facilitate access
	Environment	Reduce and prevent environmental risks
	Public Space	Provide spaces for public interaction and recreation
	Public Facilities	Construction of spaces for provision of basic social services
	Tenure	Legalisation of informal housing units
	Housing Provision	Construction of in-situ housing for essential relocation
<b>Social Development</b>	Community Participation	Empowerment for self-organisation and self-help
	Community-Based Initiatives	Encouragement and support for grass-roots projects
	Community Capacity Building	Projects as learning processes for participation
	Poverty Reduction	Entrepreneurship and skill training for employment
	Social Inclusion	Services and welfare systems to reduce vulnerabilities
<b>Governance</b>	Institutional Restructuring	Institutional co-operation for multi-sectoral urban projects
	Institutional Capacity Building	Staff training for participatory practices
	Partnerships	Adaptation of legal frameworks for partnerships
	Participatory Practices	Participation of communities in project definition

*Table 13: Objectives of urban upgrading programmes*

The programmes were a government strategy, generally not institutionalised as urban development policy, thus, depended on political will. Municipalities must make structural changes within their institutions to include social development and legalisation in and urban upgrading



programmes, forcing transformations in the legal frameworks of the city. Likewise, integral upgrading demands high financial investment in planning and implementation, which becomes an obstacle for the continuity of projects once the governmental cycle, is over.

## 6.8. Programme Components and Outcomes

### 6.8.1. The Institutional Component

All programmes analysed in this research built on the lessons learned from former initiatives in poverty reduction. Although the socio-economic condition of the inhabitants remained unchanged, the effort to formulate a holistic programme that considered the social dimension of poverty raised awareness amongst municipal officials, planners, architects, agencies and politicians. The programmes reflected some of the different needs of low-income communities and the importance of social development and participation for legitimacy, effectiveness, and maintenance of urban improvement projects.

For the *Favela-Bairro Programme*, the municipality delegated the control of planning, design and implementation to the architecture offices selected for project implementation. The municipality functioned as a control mechanism for budgets and schedules. Although the literature about the programme formulation states that the municipality realised a public competition for the implementation of projects, in reality, many projects were already designed by *ad hoc* selected private architecture offices as project operators before the *Favela-Bairro Programme* started. The power over project allocation became a reason for distrust in the SMH and the programme. Also, the *ad hoc* allocation of projects hindered project completion and connection of designers with local communities since the project operator office could be changed in the middle of project implementation and the new operator would bring different planning procedures as well as project designs for the selected neighbourhood (Carvalho 2013; Larangeiras 2013a).

The only programme that made emphasis in the formulation of an institutional component was the PUI. The PUI designed and implemented improvement projects. Therefore it is not considered a planning instrument since the regulations for urban regularisations are to be defined by the preliminary master plan elaborated by the municipal planning department. As the EDU produced the detailed plans for each area, they assumed the role of a planning agency. In order to take over the planning responsibility, the EDU redefined its internal planning and implementation procedures, as well as the development of programme components. In this case, the relationship between the city mayor and the EDU director played a decisive role in facilitating the progress of the PUI, not just as an

implementation stage of the *PUI*, but as an urban upgrading strategy. This methodology was the logical product of a systematic organisation of the planning procedures for the *PUI*.

Additionally, architects involved in the *PUI* expressed difficulties in coordinating activities with the social team and hindrances in communicating with the *DAP* and other municipal agencies, exposing discrepancies between the formulation of the *PUI* methodology and real implementation procedures<sup>30</sup>. The research also reveals a different institutional structure and planning process for project formulation from the process described in the literature. Both agencies the *DAP* and the *EDU* developed similar procedures for urban diagnostics and definition of a master plan. The *DAP* executed a broader analysis, in a territorial scale, and defined urban policy directed at facilitating legalisation of tenure and spatial improvement of public spaces. However, as the *EDU* moved in to designing specific projects, the information transfer from the *DAP* to the *EDU* was obstructed by weak inter-institutional communication procedures. Hence, *PUI* architects developed their respective diagnostic analysis, smaller but more comprehensive, in a neighbourhood scale, identifying specific problems in the built environment and the public realm (personal communication González 2015; Caro 2014; Bedoya 2014; Santana 2013; Londoño 2013). The double diagnoses, although in different scales, delayed implementation schedules for the municipality, hindering project completion.

The delegation of planning, design and implementation responsibilities to an operator, whether private or public, reduced bureaucratic procedures inside the municipal agencies. Another advantage of the external operator is the exclusive attention to the projects and the possible higher quality of designs. This system also allows the involvement of civil or private actors for project planning or implementation due to the possibilities for contracting implementation outside the municipality institutions or the flexibility in communication with designers and officials. However one of the shortcomings of delegating programme implementation to an outside agency is the hindered communication with municipal agencies and hierarchical misunderstandings that prevented institutionalisation and legitimation amongst public institutions. Information transfer was impeded by hierarchical structures, bureaucracy and power struggles amongst professionals.

### 6.8.2. The Focus on Spatial Improvement

The general objectives of the spatial component aimed at spatial, housing and environmental improvement, along with the legalisation of tenure and the establishment of a sustainable vision for urban upgrading. *The Favela-Bairro Programme* wanted to have an impact on two different urban scales; the local scale, where specific projects were implemented for the improvement of urban conditions in medium size favelas; and a city-wide scale, as the outcomes of all the projects would

<sup>30</sup> Results of personal communication and expert interviews realised between 2013 and 2015.

have a joint impact on the informality problem of the city. However, as evidenced by densification processes in legalised favelas and the unchanged condition of inequality and poverty of the city, neither scale was successful in the full purpose of the programme to improve the life quality and social integration of favela population to the city. Seen from the formal city, favelas suffer still from crime and poverty stigmas, the limits between the *morro* and the *asphalt* are clearly defined by spatial and social borders. The integration between the two resident groups happens only in large public spaces in the city.

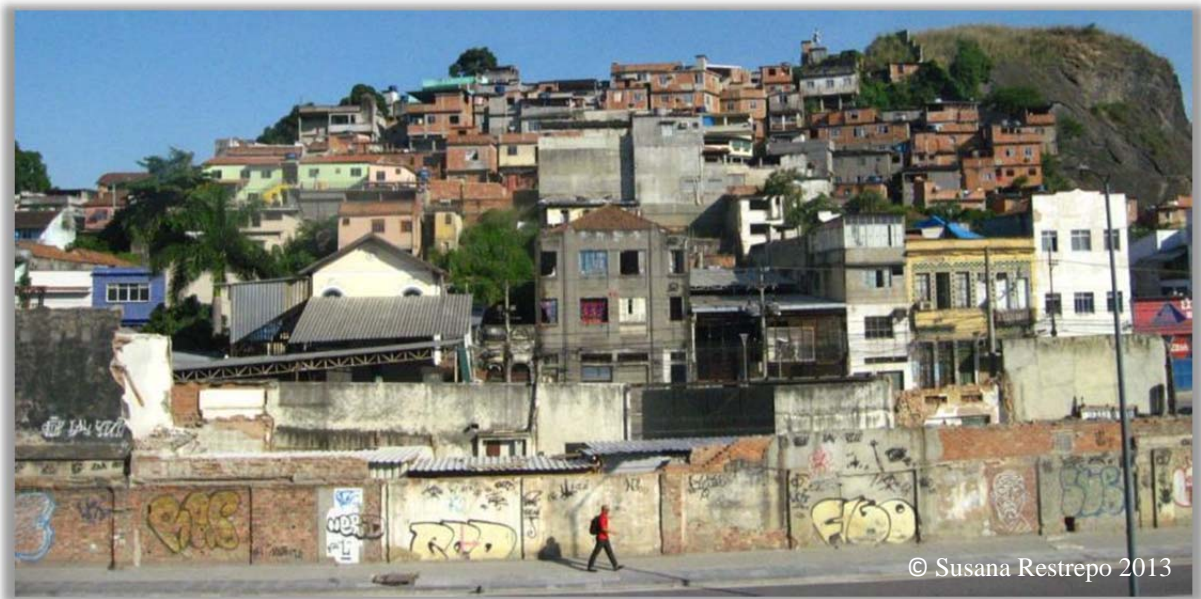


Figure 40: The existent division between the "Morro" and the "Asphalt."

From the resident's perspective, the outcomes of programmes are portrayed by improved access to public infrastructure e.g. water, electricity and sanitation networks, construction of stairs and pavement of roads, etc. The programme trained the municipality and private offices in the efficient implementation of spatial upgrading programmes. Both learned the demands, times and procedures for fast construction of the spatial improvements (personal communication Carvalho 2013), but the lack of social development resulted in public spaces and community facilities claimed by illegal actors or transformed into garbage collection areas.

The fact that their neighbourhood was selected for improvement represents a reason for pride for many favela residents, as it provided secure tenure and a promise of a better future. Moreover, the public spaces created by the programme became the only open spaces available in most favelas. Regardless of the condition, the spatial projects have an impact on the quality of life, reducing environmental risks, improving mobility and accessibility, and providing public spaces for the residents to use them as streets, living rooms, playgrounds and spaces for social encounters. In some areas, the presence of these public structures has encouraged community-based initiatives, and in the

older neighbourhoods, the programme became part of the history of the residents, fostering a sense of place and belonging to the favela.



*Figure 41: Public spaces built by the Favela-Bairro Programme*

In the Medellin case, the specific vocation of the EDU as operator of spatial urban projects means that the main focus of the PUI became spatial improvement. The incursion of municipal officers and architects in the areas for the pilot project was facilitated by the previous implementation of the Metrocable<sup>31</sup>, and the PUI capitalised on the social processes, as well as the spatial outputs of that mobility project. In other words, the previous presence of the municipality in the area facilitated communication with communities, which resulted in a higher degree of project completion. The PUI was and is still proudly presented as a best practice in urban upgrading which gave prominence to the governing party of the time, along with the recognition to the EDU director and other officials involved in the programme.

The success of the pilot project is directly linked with several previous strategic macro-projects and urban interventions outside the upgrading programme, such as Metrocable and a public library. The strategic combination of these macro-projects and the PUI made the area visible for residents from other neighbourhoods, national and international actors. However, conversations with

<sup>31</sup> Metrocable, a mass transport system based on cable cabins has been used for the municipality as an urban development staple and many PUIs have been connected with the development of the system.

locals and architects evidence the low impact of the PUI in social development or socio-economic condition of the inhabitants. The other PUI projects, as they were not linked to catalyst macro-projects or transport developments, are mostly unnoticed or forgotten by inhabitants outside the project areas. Some outputs can still be observed and make communities proud of being part of a PUI. However, as time passes, the quality of projects has declined, some facilities have been closed for lack of maintenance, and public space improvements depend solely on the willingness of residents to maintain them. The socio-economic condition of the beneficiaries of PUIs remains unchanged, suggesting the need for an urban upgrading approach with a broader perspective that includes social development as the main objective, instead of a side component of the programme.

Urban upgrading projects in Latin America are rarely completed. Budgets, planning procedures, technical implementation problems or changes in administration impede the continuation of projects. Furthermore, ownership of the projects by the municipality and lack of participation of other actors result in the neglect of maintenance activities in the projects, and the condition of the outputs is deteriorated. An important lesson can be drawn from the different outcomes of the PUI in the areas of the city. Different spatial improvement approaches were implemented in the city during the eight years of PUI execution, e.g. Transport-oriented development, urban regeneration, mobility infrastructure, etc. The programmes with delimited scales regarding the intervention territory, which included more than urban infrastructure upgrading, presented higher impact in improving the image of the city. As the scale enlarged, projects became just scattered localised interventions, blurring objectives as well as impacts.

### **6.8.3. The Social Component**

The social objectives proposed by these programmes required specific knowledge in democratic processes, participation and intensive work with communities. The EDU tried to respond to the demands for participatory practices by employing social work professionals who would promote social projects and develop the participatory strategy of the PUI. Developing a participatory strategy means opening the doors for communities to influence decision-making and demands a municipal approach, as well as the involvement of different actors. In the case of the PUI, instead of promoting social change and democratic processes, the social team became a communication channel between the EDU and the residents. The social objectives were hindered by a lack of human and financial resources, as well as a lack of understanding about participatory practices in urban development.

Participation is a concept overused in the programme definition. In the formulation of all the programmes studied, participation means a socialisation process with communities and professionals for the definition of specific projects in each neighbourhood. The reality of the social process in the

PUI as well as in the *Favela-Bairro* relates more to tokenism and instrumental participation. Participation, in fact, was exercised as an information process where communities were shown the expected outcomes of projects by social workers and architects. The connection with communities was dependent on the willingness of the architects in discussing with residents, while social workers performed logistic functions ( Bedoya 2014). The results of this consultation process were drawings and records, where residents highlighted the main problems and their expectations for improvement.

The social component was limited to workshops and employment in construction sites for the programme. Architects and social workers complied with the requirements of discussing with communities about the project. However, social processes and urban design have different evolution speeds, which, combined with government pressures for fast implementation force designers to circumvent the social process. In other words, while social workers were in the process of mobilising and negotiating with communities, the planning process for spatial improvements was already in advanced design stages, and the agreements reached the *imaginaries workshops* were rarely utilised as real input for project design. Thus, the effectiveness of the programmes relied strictly on the designer's perception and understanding of neighbourhood dynamics.

The provision of social services was dependent on the availability of financial resources as well as the provision of spaces. In the provided community facilities, residents had the possibility to attend computer lessons or use the spaces for social gatherings. However as projects were finalised, these spaces were taken over by other actors, social workers and teachers left due to lack of funding, and all services were relocated to other neighbourhoods, sometimes far away from the original location.

## 6.9. Conclusions

From an overall perspective, the programmes represent the elimination of eviction policies, acknowledgement of decades of incremental construction as well as the acceptance of informal and low-income communities as parts of the city. These two case studies were selected to illustrate the shift from a paternalistic to a more integral approach to urban upgrading, where residents are considered part of the upgrading process and not just the end beneficiaries of an improvement project. In the formulation of these cases appears for the first time a social component for urban upgrading, a new vision towards an integrated city, acknowledging the diverse dimensions of urban poverty and informality. Moreover, the broader vision established by the social needs embraced the idea of participation, focused on the definition of projects based on discussions with communities, which demanded new partnerships within the municipal agencies and with the residents.

The Favela-Bairro Programme and the PUI are considered as best practices in Latin America because of the recognition amongst planners and citizens. They represent a change of focus in coping with urban informality and an effort of municipalities to produce a more effective project to improve the livelihoods of the urban poor. The literature review of official programme documents in Rio as well as in Medellin shows two sophisticated clear approaches to planning an integral upgrading programme in the presence of poverty and informality.

It could be said that the locally financed integral upgrading programmes are the consequence of economic growth, decentralisation, and learning experiences. It would be naive to believe that the vision or objectives of the programmes were a novelty for upgrading in the Latin American context. The spatial improvement focus enhanced the ability of the programmes to show fast results, giving prominence to the programme as a means for the legitimacy of municipal actions and political influence. Financial, scope and project autonomy encouraged the formulation of context adaptable programmes that could adjust to the specific needs of communities. This feature is most desirable for urban upgrading, where communities exhibit heterogeneous characteristics accordingly to location, social condition, tenure condition and consolidation. Both programmes formulated an independent master plan for each selected neighbourhood. The architects in charge of designing projects responded to specific urban needs of neighbourhoods, producing context-specific projects. In consequence, the results were constrained to a limited area, but the impact spread throughout a wider area. The programmes were a success regarding making the outputs visible, legitimising the municipality, along with facilitating replication of procedures in other areas of the city.

On paper both programmes seem to have found the way to address the needs of the urban poor, relying on the participation of communities as the key to project effectiveness as well as maintenance. In both cases, planning and implementing the programme generated learning processes for communities and municipalities alike. Communities became more receptive to the implementation of urban projects, while legalisation of tenure encouraged the consolidation of community associations and self-organisation. Likewise, communities started to learn about their rights and the means to establish a communication channel with the municipality. These lessons can be observed nowadays in the strength of most residents' associations in favelas and low-income neighbourhoods in both cities. On the municipality side, the diversity of projects and the need to implement them simultaneously and efficiently led to an institutional restructuring, allowing coordination of different agencies in order to achieve project completion. Moreover, the architects, planners and municipal officials involved in the programmes learned about the process of integral upgrading, changing the perception of poverty reduction strategies. However, the reality shows a different perspective of the results of the spatial and social projects. Although the intentions of providing social services and widening the offer of projects to cover urban necessities outside the spatial improvement, it is clear that the success of holistic

programmes relies not only on the programme itself but in the planning process and the actors involved in decision-making.

COUNTRY		National Programmes							Municipal Programmes									
		ARG	CHI	BRA	CR	MEX	PE	COL	BRA	BRA	BRA	VEN	COL	ARG	NIC	COL	GUA	
Programme Name		PRO	CS	Hab	PAUP	Hab	MB	PRIM	FB	VB	PT	CAM	INI	Hab	UR	PIMB	UPR	
Programme Components	Spatial	Urban Morphology	x	x	x	x									x	x	x	
		Infrastructure and Public	x		x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x
		Mobility Infrastructure			x					x	x	x		x		x	x	x
		Tenure	x		x				x	x	x	x		x		x	x	x
		Housing Provision	x				x		x	x	x		x	x			x	
		Environment	x				x		x	x		x	x	x		x		x
		Public Space	x					x										x
	Social	Public Facilities	x				x		x	x	x	x	x	x			x	x
		Participation	x						x	x			x			x	x	
		Community-Based	x															x
		Capacity Building for				x	x	x			x	x		x				x
		Poverty Reduction		x							x			x	x			x
		Social Inclusion		x			x									x		
	Governance	Social Services				x					x							x
		Institutional Restructuring			x	x							x	x			x	x
		Institutional Capacity		x	x	x		x	x						x			
		Partnerships				x												
	Participatory Practices				x	x												
Programme Outcomes	Spatial Outputs		x		x		x	x				x	x	x	x	x	x	
	Social Outcomes	x			x		x	x		x	x	x	x		x		x	
	Institutional Restructuring	x						x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x		
	Planning Process					x								x	x	x		
	Participative Practices							x	x	x					x			
	Knowledge Transfer	x												x				

Table 14: Analysis of programme components and outcomes. Elaborated by the author

The programmes represent a step in the right direction in dealing with urban informality and poverty. Nevertheless, the critical perspective of this dissertation has led to the identification of discrepancies between the formulation of the programmes and the results observed on the field. Despite the positive outcomes of both programmes, the field research exposed the shortcomings in implementing the proposed participative design or changing top-down decision-making. The programmes were formulated by high-ranking government officials and focused on completing spatial improvement projects while social projects were left incomplete or even forgotten. Participation was misunderstood, and project planning was business as usual.

In the formulation of the Favela-Bairro Programme, the municipality made great emphasis in the need to integrate favelas with formal neighbourhoods through physical and social improvements. The programme experienced a high level of legitimacy and acceptance among favela communities. The improvements in mobility and de facto tenure alone represented security and tranquillity for the residents. However, almost 15 years after the end of the programme the condition of Rio's favelas remains critical, despite the efforts of municipal agencies, local organisations and favela associations. Likewise, the impact and perceived success of the PUI in Medellín is evident in the acceptance of the programme by communities and the capacity building process for municipal official and planners regarding urban upgrading processes. However, the condition of the results produced by the PUI in most areas is deteriorating.



The reason for the short life of projects in low-income neighbourhoods could relate to planning process established for the programme and the specific projects themselves. With project ownership in the hands of the municipality, participation relegated to tokenism, and undefined maintenance responsibilities the planning process for the cases studied could be characterised as top-down processes for integral upgrading programmes. The programmes depended on political will, which made them susceptible for politicisation and hindered project completion. Top-down planning misrepresents the concept of participation and manipulates communities to facilitate implementation, avoid opposition, secure external financing and create beneficial advertising for political parties (Fraser 2005). In Rio, the Favela-Bairro was entrusted to private offices for redesign and implementation, and in Medellin the operator was the EDU. The architects in charge of projects attempted to grasp the problems and necessities of communities with field trips and establishing connections with local leaders and residents. However, waiting for the social component to be implemented, meant most spatial projects would not be executed in time. Thus, planning and design for specific projects were, again, a top-down process where communities or other actors were absent.

Although every type of investment in the public realm improves the quality of life of low-income residents, the literature review and empirical research show that programmes focused on spatial improvement have only limited impact on the livelihoods of the residents and will later deteriorate due to the lack of social development and maintenance. It is clear that urban planning is an instrument intended to improve the spatial condition of the built environment. Furthermore, the quality of life of urban dwellers depends on a broader spectrum of urban, social and economic policy which can be supported by urban development. The unchanged socio-economic condition of the beneficiaries of the Favela-Bairro suggests the need for a stronger and clearly defined social development component, especially in low-income areas. Commitments and agreements for the maintenance of community facilities and social services should be an essential part of the integral upgrading programme and reach beyond project completion or governmental cycles.

In both examples as projects were finalised, construction companies retired, as well as municipal officials and architects, leaving brand new projects in the hands of a community that had no emotional connection with the outputs. Both municipalities expected communities to appropriate projects, but for them, the projects belonged to the city. Thus, they felt no responsibility in taking care of public spaces. In Medellín, however, the visibility that the neighbourhood had with the combination of PUI, Metro Cable and public library, engendered a sense of place in the inhabitants and many have taken the responsibility of maintaining the improvement in front of their houses by their own hands and their own pockets. The signs of appropriation of spaces by communities are traditions of low-income communities in Latin America. The street as an extension of the living room is traditional in low-income neighbourhoods regardless of the conditions of spaces. Consolidated communities appropriate public and open spaces as extensions of the dwelling, where communal activities take

place. Therefore, decoration of public places is a self-organised activity related to the degree of community cohesion rather than a sense of place evoked by the space.



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*Figure 42: Community initiative for project maintenance, Commune 1-2, Medellín*



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*Figure 43: Community initiative for public spaces cleaning, Favela Andaraí, Rio de Janeiro*

In the interview Arch. Adriana Larangeiras from the Housing Secretary in Rio posed a question that resonates with the current conditions of the programme outputs and the lack of maintenance responsibilities “*why should they be taking care of spatial improvement projects when maintaining public spaces in the formal city is the municipality’s responsibility?*” (Larangeiras 2013). Nowadays the condition of former results of both programmes is deteriorating, evidencing the need for a planning process which empowers communities to become active participants of the improvement of the city.

**CHAPTER 7****Introducing Participatory Integral Upgrading****7.1. Introduction**

The programmes analysed in previous chapters have illustrated the objectives, components and outcomes of an integral upgrading approach formulated and implemented through a top-down planning process. The results have as common denominator a short-term impact on the built environment and almost no impact on the socio-economic condition of the residents. The main problem explored in this research is the difficulty of urban upgrading programmes in Latin America to implement the formulated social component, thus decreasing the possibilities for the appropriation of outcomes by local actors, while neglecting the maintenance of results. With the use of critical urban theory, the research can claim that the provisional character of urban upgrading projects resides in two main aspects: the use of top-down exclusionary decision-making processes for programme formulation, definition and design; and the lack of an institutionalised clear methodology for participatory practices in urban upgrading.

This chapter capitalises on the lessons learned from the assessment of the case studies, combined with the theoretical framework, in order to outline a participatory planning procedure applicable to urban upgrading programmes in Latin America. The first sections of this chapter will explore the rationale for introducing participatory planning practices in urban upgrading programmes and which are the issues to address in terms of institutional frameworks, actors and their involvement in the formulation of a participatory integral upgrading programme. Subsequently, based on the theory of strategic urban planning the research will propose the methodology for the formulation of participatory integral upgrading programmes in Latin America.

**7.2. Reshaping Urban Upgrading Programmes**

Poverty is the consequence of the interaction between diverse factors, preventing communities to access opportunities and social services. Governments have understood that the impact of urban regeneration should extend beyond physical improvement and promote social development along with restructuring urban planning processes. Upgrading programmes should be more than a collection of technical projects to be performed independently of each other (Imparato & Ruster 2003), these should

aim at reducing the vulnerabilities of the urban poor, reducing extreme poverty, overcoming stigmatisation, and renewing the sense of belonging to the city.

### **7.2.1. Urban Upgrading, a Political Decision**

The Latin American city is characterised by inequality, perceived in the juxtaposition of modern, sophisticated urban structures and high incidence of poverty and informal urbanisation. The proportion of the population living in informal and low-income areas has captured the attention of mayors and public agencies, forcing them to direct political efforts to urban upgrading. Urban upgrading programmes have become the leading political narrative for many cities and politicians in Latin America, as observed in the proliferation of upgrading programmes implemented throughout the continent (see chapter 7). Moreover, the research has exposed the dependence of upgrading strategies on political will, not only for implementation but also for formulation and continuity.

Though most cities have implemented upgrading programmes for decades, due to the lack of institutionalisation, the upgrading strategy concept comes again into existence at the beginning of every governmental cycle as part of the mayor's urban development programme. The strategies are the means to achieve some of the urban development goals, reshaped accordingly to the government programme for the mayor's cycle.

Planning implies looking to the future, proposing a goal or a vision for urban development and organising the mechanisms to achieve that goal. However, the reality shows that, in the past decades, the fast pace of urbanisation and the need to respond to the challenges of urban growth forced planners into a traditional planning process, rational, defined by cost-recovery, efficiency and political pressures (Huxley & Yiftachel 2000).

The traditional planning approach in Latin America is in essence, reactive as focusing on the symptoms (Ferguson & Navarrete 2003; Albrechts 2010). Planning for rapid execution, demanding fast and efficient implementation. Unfortunately, as observed in the case studies, answering to fast urbanisation has transformed the practice of planning into a hierarchical exclusionary decision-making process; the technical-rationalist approach values professional experience above local knowledge, thus, decision-making is monopolised by public institutions, excluding communities from the planning process (Irazábal 2009). Planning is politicised, used for legitimising political interests and responding to power relations, instead of addressing the real needs of the population. This politicisation of planning hinders the objective evaluation of projects, along with the learning process for practitioners and agencies. Self-evaluation and assessment of results for municipal agencies require constructive criticism; a process of analysing the effectiveness of outcomes in achieving the proposed objectives

and solving the problems diagnosed in the early stages of planning. Without an incremental learning process, there is no progress in the planning practice, no institutional capacity building.

The rigidity of traditional top-down planning, among other factors, paved the way for the emergence of informal settlements. The rational-technocratic approach to planning and its procedures are inappropriate and have been proven unable to cope with the unexpected and variable issues of poverty-driven urbanisation, i.e. lack of affordable housing, the rapid expansion of urban infrastructure, densification and changes in land uses, the illegality of tenure, etc. (Albrechts 2010). The outcomes of upgrading programmes formulated within the traditional planning scheme expose the limitations, or short-term success, of top-down planning processes, as consequence of rigid planning frameworks and the impossibility of projects to adjust and respond appropriately to the specific needs of each settlement or community; projects are replicated throughout the city, reproducing the same typology of spatial projects that have become the symbol of the programme, while the social component is relegated to the paper and some informative meetings. Therefore, implementation becomes a subject of physical improvement or legalisation of tenure, neglecting the social responsibility of urban upgrading.

### **7.2.2. A Dichotomy in Planning Approaches**

Planning is the means to achieve transformations in the built environment (Albrecht 1985), a process of understanding urban conditions, along with the impact of space on the livelihoods of urban residents. Urban upgrading faces the challenge of reconciling, within the same programme structure, physical, technical, financial and social necessities of informal communities. The “hard issues” in urban upgrading are tangible, visible, and easier to address, these allow measurement of inputs and outputs, evaluation simplified from a spatial and material perspective. Conversely “Soft issues” such as community processes, social development, capacity building and empowerment are ethereal, long-term, non-quantifiable within the material dimension, time-consuming and difficult to assess in a measurable scale (Botes 2000, p.47). Nevertheless, the management and inclusion of these soft issues in the programme framework extend the impact of upgrading to the social condition of residents, along with the possibilities for social development. The balance between hard and soft issues in project formulation enhances the effectiveness of projects through the accurate depiction of spatial and social problems.

Poverty reduction or upgrading programmes should differ from traditional development strategies in the main objective. While urban development aims at improving the built environment and reacting to existing urban problems through rigid packages (Nientied et al. 1990), upgrading programmes should seek for community empowerment and integral urban development. However,

upgrading programmes consider informal settlements as a conglomerate of homogenous low-income communities unable to act for themselves, constrained by illegality and poverty. Therefore, informal settlement upgrading has been conceptualised as the improvement of the built environment through urban and housing projects with a simultaneous yet not integrated social process, which facilitates implementation (Imparato & Ruster 2003). This research has shown the need for the social component to be clearly formulated and not treated as a complement of the upgrading programme, but as the basis for the formulation of the programmes and projects. The inability of traditional planning to effectively improve the quality of life in informal and low-income communities suggests the need for a transformation in planning practices.

The implementation of restricted participatory practices, with limited influence of communities in decision-making, has distorted the concept of participation. Moreover, the misuse of concepts such as community building, community participation and partnerships signified abstract or not corresponding activities (Fraser 2005) leaving participation in a grey zone, undefined and uncontrolled. The misappropriation of participation might be a reflection of the lack of understanding about the significance of including communities as one of the actors of urban development, along with the absence of a methodology for transforming urban development projects into participatory processes; therefore, misused participation is transformed into distrust in governments, unforeseen economic burdens for dwellers, and unsustainable projects.

In the formal city, the responsibility of the municipality in the development of the built environment and provision of social services is a fact, accepted and exercised by municipalities, which can be observed in the condition of infrastructure, public spaces, facilities, recreational areas and open green spaces. In contrast, in low-income areas urban projects are limited to providing the basic needs. In informal areas, as long as they are not legitimised by upgrading projects or protected by occupation rights, the city could neglect their responsibility in helping these communities to be part of urban society. While low-income communities are creative, proactive in developing grass-roots and community-based initiatives, the financial and technical constraints of self-help activities limit the impact of bottom-up projects. Unaided self-help lacks the transformative potential of participatory urban development, since improving the built environment or providing the basic needs for a neighbourhood requires the involvement of public and private actors for the provision of financial and technical resources.

The needs of the urban poor are shaped by location, culture, access to services, employment, and social composition of the neighbourhood. Low-income communities provide multiple grassroots or bottom-up solutions to urban and social problems. Community-based initiatives are spontaneous, necessity-driven strategies that rely on creativity and innovation, as well as solidarity and mutual support, to plan and execute small-scale projects to address immediate needs. These bottom-up

approaches, whether social or spatial, are effective and efficient on a temporary basis, in accordance with the availability of resources of poor communities. The residents make the best use of the existent resources to solve their needs in the best way possible for their experience and practical knowledge. Although community-driven initiatives have a provisional character, they are effective in providing a pragmatic solution to a specific problem. In contrast, projects implemented by the municipality have more available technical, human and financial resources, but the results are ineffective in solving, on the long-term, the real needs of the community. The differences amidst the approaches formulated by practitioners and the solutions executed by communities, evidence the opposed positions of top-down planning and bottom-up initiatives to respond to urban problems.

Interventions in the public realm of informal settlements, without a participative basis, endanger the balance of survival of urban poor populations. The consolidation of informal and low-income settlements is achieved by prioritising necessities (Batley 1983), finding solutions within the informal market and utilising social networks for mutual support and knowledge transfer. The objective of bottom-up interventions is clear and precise, community-initiated projects look at the built environment in a sectorial manner, improving the condition of their neighbourhood one problem at a time. In contrast, integral upgrading aims at improving the general condition of the built environment by implementing projects simultaneously in different sectors. However, while bottom-up initiatives have the possibility and the need to adjust to the emergent issues, the current top-down planning process and implementation procedures are less flexible and hinder participation as well as adjustment of plans and projects through bureaucracy, implementation deadlines and the need to produce visible results for electoral purposes.

In the analysis of the case studies, it can be observed that participation was the most prominent concept for structuring a social component, though treated as a technical element. The differentiation between including a participation component and a participatory planning process exposed the misunderstanding about the importance of discussions among diverse actors and inclusionary decision-making for the effectiveness of projects, as well as supporting social development at the community level (Nientied et al. 1990). The participation component in the programmes served as an information and communication channel between the operator and the community leaders without including other actors or having a real impact on the design process of the projects. Conversely, setting up an environment where diverse actors feel empowered to participate in decision-making demands the willingness of the municipality to modify institutional structures; capacities of officials to motivate, promote and sustain participation among communities, private and other public actors, along with a process of information and capacity building of communities where they learn about civil rights, urban procedures and the possibilities to influence the planning process.

### 7.2.3. Democratisation of Planning

The reasons for avoiding participatory practices in urban planning are multiple, commonly associated with democratic decentralisation and lack institutional capacity for enabling or effectively manage human, financial and time resources (Fiszbein 1997). Democratic processes are part of the citizenship and peoples' rights, but in informal settlements, it is often the case that democracy, public policy and decision-making in political processes are alien concepts, monopolised by powerful actors and social elites. In Brazil and Colombia, informal communities have become sceptical to planning processes due to the manipulative character of former practices and the weak social changes generated by unfulfilled promises of improvement. Furthermore, governments fear the consequences of empowering the urban poor to develop a political consciousness. Empowerment of the stakeholders would mean granting control over resources and would represent a risk for the government of not achieving the visible results of the administration or being forced to modify plans, objectives and expected outcomes. Thus, misguided participation is deliberately used to reinforce inequitable relations of power between actors, communities and opposing sectors of the society (Mitlin & Thompson 1995).

The assessment of programmes, combined with the empirical research, has suggested the adoption of transformative practices for urban upgrading programmes, establishing a realistic vision for the future, as well as mechanisms to achieve that vision. The purpose of this research is to facilitate the formulation of participatory upgrading programmes in the Latin American context, to avoid nominal or instrumental participation and guide urban planning towards an inclusionary decision-making process of constructing the city. The final aim of this research is developing a methodology for participatory planning in urban upgrading that could lead to the institutionalisation of the participatory upgrading process. In the next sections the dissertation will introduce a series of arguments and the strategic planning process as the proposal of a methodological approach to participatory integral upgrading. Nevertheless, the development and implementation of projects would continue to be a political initiative, as long as the decision-making process of the municipality continues as a top-down approach. In this sense, this research understands the planning practice as a learning process, instead of being only the means to control urban development. The planning practice should create a flexible and adaptable system that responds to the emergent and existent problems of cities (Rider 1983).



#### **7.2.4. Rationalisation of Urban Upgrading**

In the reality of Latin American cities, upgrading programmes are a political decision guided by government goals, political promises and municipal needs. Bottom-up and community-based initiatives show creativity and innovative ways to cope with everyday problems but, due to the requirements in financial, technical and legal resources, it is the responsibility of the municipality to initiate urban development programmes in every area of the city. The resources required for urban upgrading can only come from municipal or aid agencies budgets; thus, a holistic urban upgrading strategy should be a governmental initiative with participatory decision-making practices for programme formulation and project definition that empowers actors.

In this sense, before an upgrading programme is formulated, politicians and government officials should agree on the general aim of implementing an upgrading strategy. Every governmental action should be supported by the municipal development plan and the municipal land use plan. In some cases, programmes can be supported by national housing or poverty reduction policies. Therefore, the first step into a participative upgrading programme is the rationalisation of the strategy, finding the policies and urban regulations to be used as legal support for urban interventions and social development projects. This rationalisation would constitute the legal framework for the formulation of the upgrading programme, considering upgrading as an urban development intervention.

#### **7.2.5. Understanding the Significance of Integral Upgrading**

The difficulties for introducing a participatory approach in the general decision-making process of municipalities are related to institutional structures and programme formulation. However, having as inspiration the institutional transformation experienced in the case of the PUI in Medellín, and the leadership of Rio de Janeiro in promoting integral upgrading approaches, this research considers that the definition of an integrated vision for the city and urban development would help to guide the formulation of urban upgrading programmes towards an integrated approach. The governmental initiatives of developing or continuing an integrated urban upgrading strategy are recognised in this research as an opportunity for introducing participatory practices into the municipal structure and initiating structural changes in the decision-making process.

The first area where traditional planning needs transformation is in the conception of urban development only as a matter of spatial interventions. In order to improve the livelihoods of the urban poor, upgrading should diversify its focus to include feasible social projects into the programme formulation, not as a side complement but as the main guide and motivation for programme

implementation. Improving the condition of the built environment depends on both spatial and social projects.

The research has found strong similarities in the objectives of urban upgrading strategies in Latin America (see Table 13 below), as a guide to understanding the linkages between spatial and social projects, as well as the need for multi-sectoral urban upgrading. Looking beyond the obvious poverty situation, the deteriorated condition of the built environment in informal areas is associated with the illegal occupation of private and public land, along with construction of housing on areas unsuitable for urbanisation, hence the lack of legal tenure and connection to public services. Moreover, the low level of education or vocational skills of the population increases the environmental and social risks, limiting the possibilities of emergence of community-based initiatives.

<b>Main Focus</b>	<b>Main Objective</b>	<b>Support Projects</b>
<b>Urban Morphology</b>	Improvement of the urban condition	Tenure legalisation, participatory planning, environmental education
<b>Public Infrastructure</b>	Connection to urban infrastructure networks	Tenure legalisation, environmental education
<b>Mobility Infrastructure</b>	Improve mobility systems to facilitate access	Participatory planning for traffic design,
<b>Environment</b>	Reduce and prevent environmental risks	Essential relocation, prevention of resettlements, environmental education
<b>Public Space</b>	Provide spaces for public interaction and recreation	Participatory planning for definition of location
<b>Public Facilities</b>	Construction of spaces for provision of basic social services	Participatory planning for location and definition of social services needs
<b>Tenure</b>	Legalisation of informal housing units	Guidance in legal procedures, education about obligations and rights as owners
<b>Housing Provision</b>	Construction of in-situ housing for essential relocation	Participatory planning for the relocation of housing units. Guidance in legal procedures, education about obligations and rights as owners
<b>Community-Based Initiatives</b>	Encouragement and support for grass-roots projects	Guidance about community rights and instruments for financial and technical support

*Table 15: Common Objectives and projects among urban upgrading programmes*

Spatial projects are necessary for improving the condition of the built environment since reducing and preventing environmental risks is linked with the consolidation of housing and urban infrastructure as well as the provision of public infrastructure. However, to consolidate housing and connect dwellings to the municipal public service networks, residents require legitimacy of tenure, education about environmental protection and partnerships with public services providers. Another example of the need for integral planning is the demand for facilities for social services, to reduce vulnerabilities, build community capacities and social capital. Improvements in the public realm might

boost the emergence of community-based initiatives, social cohesion and strengthen social networks, which are essential for solidarity as well as self-organisation. Communities need to learn about their rights and responsibilities as organisations and individuals, while other public and private actors should be involved in the guidance of communities towards governance and participatory decision-making.

The support projects in the table above are only some examples of the need for holistic upgrading programmes in low-income areas. Municipalities have understood the need for broadening the scope of programmes. Nevertheless, it is only through the implementation of participatory practices during formulation, design and execution that programmes have any possibility of addressing the real needs of communities by producing projects and outcomes tailored to the specific context of the neighbourhood.

Participatory upgrading programmes could be urban improvement processes which promote the implementation of effective, incremental multi-sectoral projects in low-income areas. Urban upgrading would have a greater impact on the social condition of neighbourhoods if projects addressed the needs of the residents from an integral perspective. The effective combination of spatial and social projects developed from processes of institutional transformation has been the objective of best practices and upgrading strategies implemented in Latin America in the past two decades. However, the empirical research has exposed the difficulties for municipalities to scale-up, expand or continue programme implementation beyond the governmental cycle. The hierarchical nature of former governmental initiatives has limited the possibilities for other actors to influence and transform the planning process.

Participatory integral upgrading aims at formulating a planning approach which provides discussion spaces and decision-making procedures, where all actors are welcome and involved in the upgrading process. Participation brings different perspectives into the planning process, understanding spatial and social dynamics from the community while the private sector's perspective facilitates the definition of upgrading projects that could act as a multi-sectoral approach. By combining in a holistic project the solutions for spatial and social deficiencies, communities build social capital and governments achieve the proposed objectives, which makes transferability of upgrading projects feasible and desirable for urban development (Moser 1989; Paul 1987; Imparato & Ruster 2003).

### **7.3. Anticipating Participation**

As part of the methodological approach proposed by this dissertation, this section provides a set of concepts to consider for the formulation of participatory integral upgrading programmes. The research emphasises the responsibility of the municipality as the precursor and leader for urban

upgrading. Nevertheless, to produce an institutional transformation, the requirements and rationales for formulating a participatory process should be clear for the municipality.

### **7.3.1. Institutional Transformation for Participatory Upgrading**

Informal urbanisation has never been envisioned or desired by municipalities. Therefore, regulations for property titles and residential construction are closely dependent on the city's master or land use plan, along with a set of regulations for structural safety and connection to urban infrastructure and public services. The example of Brazil with the *ZEIS* or Colombia with the *social function of property* (see Chapters 4 & 5) are good examples of using the constitution and the law to create special legal frameworks for integral upgrading.

The challenge of participatory upgrading is not just to motivate involvement and commitment of different actors throughout the project, but sustain collaboration after the main objectives are achieved. While the participatory process raises expectations of social equality (Watt & Higgins 2000), the lack of a methodology for participation distorts relations between actors. Political candidates and elected leaders use participation to legitimise programmes, justify expenditures and display administrative power by means of visual outputs. The distortion of participation inflicts a resilient stigma on integral upgrading programmes, as consequence participation is seen as a process of manipulation and exploitation of communities in order to achieve unrealistic or unsuitable objectives serving the interests of powerful actors (Soen 1981). The creation of special regulations which modify land uses, construction codes and other urban standards could be accompanied by a special participation procedure in the programme formulation process which could initiate an institutional transformation of decision-making processes. Once the legal framework for multi-sectoral participatory upgrading is established by the municipality, governments should embrace their role as enablers and promoters of participatory practices in urban development by identifying the potential actors to participate in the integral upgrading process, from the formulation of the programme to the execution and maintenance of outputs and social outcomes.

### **7.3.2. Actors in Urban Upgrading**

Participation would imply the interaction between different sectors of society supported by institutional, regulatory and social structures, which allow the adaptation of programmes, projects and measures to the needs, interests and objectives of urban actors. Participation of diverse actors in urban upgrading demands networking, building capacities for democratic decision-making processes, along with guiding project prioritisation and definition to address local needs as well as the particular

interests of the actors involved. This investigation has categorised the actors who should be involved in urban upgrading into Public, Civil, Private, and External. This section aims to explain the role of each one of those actors and the rationale for including them in the planning process. As Steinberg & Miranda express, “a (...) relationship between municipalities, universities, NGOs, Private sector and civil society has been a key to achieve concertation and consensus on issues which would have ended otherwise in confrontation and dead ends” (Steinberg & Miranda 2005, p.181). Public, civil, private and non-profit actors defining urban projects would bring together practical, professional, theoretical and experiential knowledge and skills into the formulation of urban development projects. The local knowledge brought by communities would help understand the social and spatial dynamics; the non-profit sector could provide the theoretical knowledge to envision a programme that promotes social development; the private sector would bring entrepreneurial practices into the planning process; and the public sector would provide a legal, technical and professional framework to plan and implement projects.

However, the diversity of interests and power of some actors impede real participation of disadvantaged communities. The essential aspect in promoting participation is a realistic qualitative assessment of the capacities for the participation of all actors. The allocation of responsibilities, tasks and activities should consider the social arrangement, resources and abilities for self-organisation. A high degree of community organisation is not required for initiating a participative project. However, the development of capabilities for participatory decision-making such as managerial skills, finances training, along with education about civil rights and responsibilities are essential for social development. These capacities can be developed over time, through training and capacity building, creating the appropriate environment for encouraging consensus building and collaboration.

***Public Actors: The Needed Leadership of the Public Sector***

Involvement of other sectors of society provides a wider knowledge base and more financial, technical and human resources to urban upgrading. It also represents delegating decision power onto organisations, institutions and individuals. Power sharing means increased accountability of projects, along with possibly longer planning stages, extended by information gathering, mapping of settlements and negotiation. From the government’s perspective, participation could hinder implementation of development projects (Sheperd 1983; Irazábal 2009), as it demands higher

Public actors for participatory integral upgrading:

- National government
- Regional government
- Municipal government
- Programme Operator
- Urban planning Agency
- Financial Agencies
- Housing Agencies
- Social Development Agencies
- Environmental Agencies
- Legalisation team
- Public services providers

***Box 7: Potential public actors in urban upgrading***

investments, more human resources and time than the traditional top-down approach (Paul 1987). Likewise, for governments, community participation imposes elevated costs, considering that participatory approaches demand political will, an adaptation of regulatory and legal frameworks, and socio-technical support (Imparato & Ruster 2003).

From the programmes analysis, the research could identify at least ten public agencies involved in programme formulation (see Box 7). Municipal agencies should acknowledge their responsibilities and establish collaborative procedures that facilitate project planning, design and implementation. While some agencies are in charge of spatial improvements, others develop social, educational or recreational projects, all essential for the improvement of low-income areas.

The main problem preventing knowledge sharing and capacity building of municipal officials is the lack of institutionalisation of upgrading initiatives. Continuous involvement in upgrading programmes could provide planners, designers and officials with the abilities for promoting participatory practices. The institutionalisation of participatory procedures, along with the establishment of a methodology for participatory planning would harvest the capacities for promoting participation among municipal officials, transferring knowledge to younger generations through practice and documentation.

### ***Civil Actors: The importance of Representative Participation***

In low-income areas poverty has as many different degrees, as approaches to overcome adverse situations. Low-income areas accommodate a heterogeneous social structure (Imparato & Ruster 2003). These communities rely on solidarity and social networks to survive, encouraging self-organisation as well as a high degree of social cohesion. These are the features of low-income areas could be transformed into empowerment and community-driven development initiatives. Moreover, consolidation of the settlement generates social cohesion and encourages the creation of social networks, empowering communities to initiate small-scale self-help projects, increasing interest in learning about citizen rights, while demanding attention from municipal agencies.

Community participation brings local experiential knowledge to the planning process, exposing the real needs of communities, guiding project prioritisation, legitimising the process, at the same time that strengthens the feasibility of transferability to similar areas. Participation of communities in urban projects poses higher risks of failure,

Civil actors for participatory integral upgrading: Local residents e.g. legal and informal owners, tenants, landlords, etc., represented by:

- Local Action Boards
- Local political leaders
- Legitimised local leaders
- Community Associations
- Community-Based Organisations

**Box 8: Potential civil actors in urban upgrading**

as low-income communities are heterogeneous in household size, composition, socio-economic condition, tenure, political affiliations, etc. (Botes & Van Rensburg 2000; Moser 1989a), increasing the difficulty in defining necessities, priorities and consensus building. Local knowledge includes renters, tenants, squatters, and landlords, as well as informal organisations, CBOs and residents' associations. The implementation of participative projects supported by CBOs becomes a learning process, building community and institutional capacities while strengthening the confidence of communities. The inclusion of communities in the decision-making process in terms of outcomes could be considered as an end itself; a process that has as main objective increasingly meaningful participation, fostering empowerment, capacity building and supporting self-organisation, giving as a result community-initiated projects that complement the outcomes achieved by the project (Moser 1983). The results of participative planning serve as best practices for other communities to adopt and participate in the upgrading programme.

Participation is generally idealised by both public agencies and communities. Nowadays communities are more aware of their rights as citizens, which provide them with the instruments to dismiss manipulative participation processes and demand involvement in decision-making. The degree or intensity of participation and commitment are associated with the socio-economic conditions of the settlement and legitimacy of projects that influence the capacity for participation (Sheperd 1983). In order to achieve empowerment and social capacity building, upgrading approaches should define in the programme plan the forms of participation of different actors in decision-making processes.

The case studies examined by Imparato and Ruster (2003) expose the importance of pre-existing self-organisation and management capacities for the successful implementation of participative projects. Household structure, gender, education level, leadership, income, expected benefits and social composition define willingness and capacity for self-organisation shape the adoption of participatory practices in upgrading projects. However, self-organisation along with the social structure could be developed and improved by the project itself. Communities have the opportunity to generate social capital and acquire the necessary skills in management, as well as self-organisation to initiate community-driven activities with the intensity of participation appropriate for each case (Imparato & Ruster 2003).

Individual participation represents a risk for the municipality, slowing the decision-making process and compromising project completion (Guaraldo 1996), as well as a risk for the community agreement and consensus are not reached. Nevertheless, addressing specific needs of the community motivates residents to participate, while project objectives will be easier to define (Ziss 1987). Communities should be consulted extensively and comprehensively, encouraging the discussion among all residents, including the less powerful individuals in the community (Mitlin & Thompson 1995). To prevent the risks of individual participation, a form of representative participation could be used. Representative

participation presents the challenge of avoiding politicisation of community associations, local action boards or leaders with political aspirations. These legal structures are essential for a real participatory process in urban development projects. Communal political associations, e.g. Local Action Boards, and political leaders possess knowledge about regulations for local democratic processes and can connect the municipality directly with the social structures in the neighbourhood. However, the high politicisation of these community associations undermine their legitimacy in the community, and in most cases of low-income areas, these represent not the interests of communities but the interests of public or external actors; Interviews realised to programme beneficiaries in Rio and Medellin emphasised the importance of community-based organisations, along with the role of local leaders instead of the political leaders for legitimising the representation of communities in the decision-making process. The establishment of community-based organisations and community associations that represent the collective interests are essential for implementing upgrading projects where the necessities of the residents are effectively addressed (Moser 1989a).

### ***Private Actors: Entrepreneurialism for Social Development***

The involvement of the private sector in most urban upgrading projects is limited to project execution or construction. The *Favela-Bairro Programme* showed the possibility to include private architecture offices as designers and operators of projects. Public-private partnerships and agreements with the public enhance project quality, provide accountability, efficiency and cost recovery.

Private actors are not only large companies or services providers. Local informal economic activities are already in action before upgrading programmes are implemented in all low-income areas. Encouragement and support for the existent and new local micro-enterprises through training and micro-finance could boost social development and promote the creation of new employment opportunities for residents. Building social capital and capacities for self-organisation, managerial skills and guidance could initiate a process of entrepreneurs, impacting the socio-economic condition of neighbourhoods (Rojas 2010) positively.

As stated in former sections of this chapter, it is the responsibility of the municipality to provide the public and social services to cover the basic needs of communities, including education, healthcare and welfare. The liberalisation processes undergone by Latin American countries in the past decades saw many social services structures privatised. Thus, access to quality higher education, vocational training and healthcare was hindered.

Private actors for participatory integral upgrading:

- Professional Consultants
- Architecture Offices
- Construction Companies
- Private Companies
- Entrepreneurs
- Service Providers
- 

***Box 9: Potential private actors in urban upgrading***



Through partnerships with the private sector, these deficiencies in services provision could be reduced (Evans 1996) also generating a deep commitment of private companies and institutions to the social responsibility of urban development. Moreover, as the economy is in the hands of free markets, it is only through the private sector that employment opportunities for low-income populations can be created (Rojas 2010)

### *External Actors: an outsiders' perspective*

One of the benefits of including external institutions without specific political agendas is the possibility of financial continuity for programmes as well as for participatory processes. The role of aid agencies is providing funds for programmes, promoting participatory planning processes and building institutional capacities for urban development and governance. As explained in former chapters, aid agencies or international financing institutions influence urban policy in most developing countries in the world through development loans and the conditionality clauses attached to them (Pugh 1995). It is clear the importance of the perceived potential for success of programmes for eligibility, however, as observed in the programmes studied, the requirements for eligibility extended to definition of scopes, target populations, programme components, and project scales among other aspects of the programmes.

External actors for participatory integral upgrading:

- Universities and research institutions
- Non-Profit Organisations
- Non-Governmental Organisations
- National and International Aid Agencies

*Box 10: Potential external actors in urban upgrading*

The functions of external actors are focused on coordination and promotion of co-operation between stakeholders, mobilisation of human, technical and material resources, as well as negotiation, consensus building and conflict resolution between actors (Imparato & Ruster 2003). The introduction of professional social intermediaries external to the municipal agencies or community organisations is beneficial for coordination, collaboration and consensus building. External actors promote skill training of professionals and practitioners about participatory planning while defending the rights of communities and overseeing the completion of long-term objectives in urban upgrading. Moreover, the external view of these actors could become an important factor in the holistic evaluation of programme procedures, outcomes and outputs, as well as prevent political interference and manipulative negotiation. A person or organisation that understands the importance of merging local knowledge with technical assistance and foster democratic and managerial capabilities in communities would be more easily recognised as a reliable intermediary who provides the external standpoint of outsiders and brings an encompassing perspective of projects (Imparato & Ruster 2003).

## 7.4. Defining Actors' Involvement

Although the ideal of participation is the involvement of all actors in every stage of the programme, the research recognises the need to define the characteristics of the participatory process in accordance with the objectives of the programme. This understanding of the different needs of participatory practices has led to the proposal of three action scales for participatory upgrading programmes.

With the definition of three action scales and the involvement of different actors in them, this research diverts from the ideal of participation by proposing a certain function and degree of involvement of actors accordingly to the scope and impact of the typology of decisions that would be made in each scale. From general to specific, the three action scales correspond to municipal, territorial and local action. The three action scales will be the basis for defining the participatory framework for the formulation of the participatory integral upgrading programme.

### 7.4.1. Municipal Action Scale

The broadest action scale refers to the long-term spatial, social and institutional impacts of upgrading programmes in a city-wide scale. City-wide spatial impacts are easy to recognise. Urban improvement often transforms the image of informal neighbourhoods by reorganising urban patterns or building new in-situ housing units for the relocated population. New urban patterns and the changes in housing conditions are visible from other areas, improving the image of the city. Examples of the new image are the projects of the *Favela-Bairro* or the Library and Metro Cable in Medellin. This visibility helped legitimise the programme among formal and informal communities, facilitating project replication and encouraging a change of perception about favelas. These large-scale projects visualised the area in the city, attracted the attention of residents and tourists while legitimising the programme, as well as the administration.

Additionally, the decision of implementing an integral upgrading programme has repercussions in the municipal structure. Efforts and budgets are directed to programme formulation and inter-institutional coordination. Municipal agencies should respond to the multi-sectoral character of the integral upgrading programme at the same time that they manage the implementation of several upgrading projects in different areas. Furthermore, the nature of upgrading programmes demands adjustments of legal frameworks and urban regulations. In order to respond to the demands of multi-sectoral upgrading, municipalities should create new agencies with coordination functions; define a participation scheme and collaboration framework and transform decision-making procedures, while encouraging knowledge and skill transfer within agencies.



*Figure 44: Favela Santa Marta, Favela-Bairro and Cable car Beneficiary, Rio de Janeiro*

In the social domain, the municipal action scale has the responsibility of devising long-term strategies that would increase the possibilities for the urban poor to build social capital, promote social inclusion among formal and informal inhabitants and raise awareness amongst residents about civil rights, obligations and opportunities. These social projects are not constrained to the neighbourhood level; they extend to the city as a whole, since education, skill training, and democracy information are necessary also in other areas of the city. Thus, the involvement of public actors is imperative and intensive in this municipal action scale for institutional transformation, legal frameworks, public-private partnerships and financial agreements.

Likewise, external actors have a special role in this scale with the financing scheme for the programme. As exposed in the programme assessment, the autonomy of the municipality to formulate a city-specific programme is crucial for the effectiveness of projects and legitimacy of actions. Nevertheless, the analysis also suggested the importance of the financial resources in the impact of the programme. Self-financed programmes display tailored strategies, but the scale of the intervention is constrained by the availability of financial resources. Defining a participatory methodology that allows external financing with municipal autonomy in programme formulation would result in effective projects with a real impact in decreasing urban inequalities, reducing vulnerabilities and improving the condition of the built environment on a city-wide scale.

The decisions made on this scale involve urban policy, legal regulations and feasibility of programme implementation. Civil actors should be involved through democratic representative participation in the policy making and play a further beneficiary role in this municipal action scale as direct recipients of social and urban macro-projects. Private actors participate in this action scale as consultants of the city council or municipal agencies, providers of social services or constructors of urban infrastructure.

ACTION SCALE	FOCUS		OBJECTIVES
<b>Municipal Action Scale</b>	<b>Governance</b>	Legal Upgrading Framework	Regularisation of projects and tenure
		Institutional restructuring	Co-operation for multi-sectoral urban projects
		Institutional capacity building	Staff training for participatory practices
		Partnerships	Joint action with other actors
		Participatory practices	Participatory decision-making

*Table 16: Focus and objectives of the Municipal Action Scale*

Projects with municipal impact, combined with the need for institutional transformation make this category the highest investment intensive scale of upgrading programmes. Large-scale spatial projects require partnerships with external institutions or aid development agencies for financial survival. Collaborative and participative practices in the institutional structure demand more public practitioners, facilities and training of municipal personnel in participatory decision-making. The role of external actors is of accountability, guidance and knowledge transfer. Experiences and strategies implemented in other cities or countries could increase the positive outcomes of the proposed programme. Also, external actors could provide the necessary financing scheme if the municipality is not able to finance the future projects.

#### **7.4.2. Territorial Action Scale**

The second scale comprises decision-making procedures which answer to the neighbourhood or territorial needs in the long and medium-term. This category includes spatial, as well as social projects, planned for short to medium-term implementation. The objectives of these projects are mainly decreasing spatial segregation and urban inequalities, preventing environmental risks and improving the socio-economic condition of communities.



*Figure 45: Sports centre built by the PUI Commune 8-9, Medellín*

The territorial spatial improvement comprises essential in-situ relocation, improvement of infrastructure for mobility and accessibility, creation or improvement of public spaces, along with the construction of community facilities. Defining and prioritising spatial projects in the territorial action scale demands the active participation of the community through representative participation by CBOs and resident associations, where individuals could express opinions, interests and claims. Representative democracy plays an important role in balancing individual interests for decision-making and promoting the consensus of all participants, including public actors such as municipal development agencies, private and external actors. Political and local leaders, community associations, local action boards and CBOs gather collective interests and local knowledge to guide the definition and prioritisation of urban needs in the neighbourhood scale. Moreover, the participation of government officials and planners is essential for guiding project definition consequently with the regulatory and legal framework. Joint decision-making of community representatives, planning authorities and external actors, e.g. non-profit or universities, demands direct communication and the prior definition of a participatory methodology.

Social projects are inherently a territorial intervention since they address deficiencies in the provision of social services that affect, not only a community but an entire sector of society. In other words, providing, health care, recreation, childcare education and vocational training need not be constrained to the immediate beneficiary community, but open to adjacent neighbourhoods, which

would benefit from the incursion of services in the area. These projects could result in capacity building for communities, opening opportunities for employment while reducing vulnerabilities.

ACTION SCALES	FOCUS		Objectives
<b>Territorial Action Scale</b>	<b>Social Development</b>	Community participation	Empowerment for self-organisation
		Community-based initiatives	Encouragement and support for grassroots
		Community capacity building	Projects as learning processes
		Poverty reduction	Entrepreneurship and skill training
		Social inclusion	Social services and welfare facilities

*Table 17: Territorial Action Scale*

In this territorial scale, spatial projects require investment for participatory activities and implementation of social projects. Moreover, the technical capabilities of municipal officials are generally adequate for project planning and implementation, which increases the possibilities for project completion. However, the provision of social services is a medium to long-term undertaking for the municipality, demanding coordination between municipal agencies, along with the human resources necessary to operate social projects. Furthermore, the effectiveness of social projects depends on the constant input of financial resources for salaries, educational implements, or healthcare necessities. Thus the territorial scale demands a stable financial scheme for project continuity which should be defined by in the municipal action scale.

### 7.4.3. Local Action Scale

The smallest scale corresponds to the local action scale, short-term projects with an immediate and tangible impact on improving living conditions for the direct beneficiaries. This category comprises primarily localised spatial projects aimed at improving the condition of the built environment. These projects are small-scale interventions, which cater to the specific needs of some sectors of the neighbourhood. Projects such as the construction of pathways, sidewalks, stairs, road pavement, along with small public spaces, e.g. playgrounds, green spaces, gardens, parks, etc.

The role of the civil actors is intensive in this scale. The community as a collective and the individuals define the local scale. The decisions made for project definition and design should rely primarily on local knowledge with the guidance of municipal planning practitioners, architects, planners, and external actors represented by NGOs and universities. Consensus building in this stage is the main instrument for participatory planning. At the local scale, residents and designers should agree on project design and priorities for the area, as well as building consensus about the neighbourhood

needs in spatial and social terms. The agreements reached through the consensus will be carried through to the territorial participatory process by community representatives, planners and external actors.

ACTION SCALES	FOCUS		OBJECTIVES
<b>Local Action Scale</b>	<b>Spatial Improvement</b>	Urban morphology	Transformation of the built environment
		Infrastructure and public services	Connection to urban infrastructure networks
		Mobility infrastructure	Improve mobility systems to facilitate access
		Environment	Reduce and prevent environmental risks
		Public space	Public spaces for interaction and recreation
		Public facilities	Spaces for basic social services and welfare
		Tenure	Legalisation of informal housing units
		Housing provision	In-situ housing for essential relocation

*Table 18: Local Action Scale*

The role of the private sector could be divided into two main functions. On one side, architectural offices could bring new practical and professional knowledge into project design, guiding communities towards projects that answer the local needs effectively. On the other hand, private companies, enterprises and entrepreneurs could initiate contacts with the community to establish new markets and businesses, providing opportunities for employment, skill training and bringing new services into the neighbourhood.

## 7.5. Formulation of Participatory integral upgrading Programmes

So far this dissertation has avoided the suggestion of specific projects, procedures for decision-making or collaboration schemes. The purpose of this dissertation is proposing a methodology in which actors find their own models of collaboration, responding to their needs, interests and objectives. The research focuses on the process of planning, instead of the outcomes of upgrading. This section will utilise the strategic planning theory described in Chapter 6 for the process of formulating participatory integral upgrading programmes in Latin America.

Though, based on the process for strategic planning, this research proposes additional stages and some changes in the original order, with the purpose of adjusting the theory to the specific context and facilitating the applicability of the methodology. Although this research emphasises that participation is key in increasing the effectiveness of urban upgrading projects, the leadership of the municipality in producing urban policy that addresses upgrading programmes is vital for the

institutionalisation process of upgrading programmes. Thus increasing the possibilities for continuity and implementation of small-scale as well as social and long-term projects conceived in the municipal and territorial action scales (see section 8.5)

### **7.5.1. The Preparatory Legal Framework**

#### ***Policy and Regulatory Framework***

In some countries, urban policy considers poverty alleviation strategies within the urban development plan for the city. However, since urban upgrading programmes are not considered policy, for the formulation of a participatory upgrading programme, a political decision should be made by high-rank municipal actors i.e. city mayor or city council. For feasibility of formulation and implementation, the programme should adhere to urban development goals and be subscribed to municipal development policies. Thus, municipal administrators have the possibility of developing a preparatory legal framework in which the regulations for legitimacy or legalisation of tenure and regularisation of urban improvements are easily introduced into the formal policy framework. The explicit purpose of this legal framework is the execution of spatial improvement, but development policies could be utilised for the extension of the legal framework to include social projects and participatory practices in the programme.

#### ***Financing Scheme***

A crucial decision for the municipality is the financing scheme of the programme. Integral upgrading programmes require a higher investment compared to programmes only focused on spatial improvements. The social dimension of the programme will demand a medium to a long-term plan for implementation as well as for financing. The experiences of the *Favela-Bairro Programme* and the PUI have exhibited the strengths of the locally financed programme in the autonomy for programme formulation, but the case studies also revealed many advantages of a co-financed programme i.e. municipality and international institutions, a for project continuation, avoiding politicisation and achievement of long-term goals.

#### ***Programme Purpose***

The preparatory framework also establishes the general purpose of the participatory integral upgrading programme, along with some general expected outcomes. The purpose should be linked to a city-wide development aim that covers spatial, social and institutional improvements. The inclusion of these three sectors would serve as the foundations for the formulation of integral upgrading programmes, while the participatory process based on strategic planning proposed in the following sections would transform the traditional planning process into a participatory upgrading strategy.



The purpose should also propose some expected outcomes or general goals for the programme, in order to facilitate evaluation and adjustment. Likewise, the expected outcomes would suggest the target population, direct and indirect beneficiaries as well as the main actors necessary for the participatory upgrading programme formulation, implementation and maintenance.

### ***Target Population***

When the municipality decides to develop an upgrading strategy, some considerations about the conditions of intervention areas should be discussed. Low-income and consolidated informal areas present very similar characteristics, except for the tenure situation. Thus the territories for interventions are pre-selected as the municipality develops the general programme guidelines. Nevertheless, later the actors involved in the municipal action scale should decide which areas are in most need of upgrading, and initiate a local community mobilisation and participation process.

### ***Stakeholder Mobilisation***

The initiative of mobilising the actors who will participate in the programme is a responsibility of the municipality. A municipal official body sufficient knowledge, experience and capacities for communicating and promoting participation should approach each one of the urban actors necessary for programme development and motivate their participation by clearly describing the general programme guidelines and preparatory legal framework.

Public actors are inherently involved, but in order to avoid conflicts and confusions, the collaboration amongst government agencies should become a municipal mandate, defining the extent of their functions, the available resources and the collaboration scheme. If necessary, a municipal committee could represent municipal agencies and coordinate collaboration and cooperation.

Mobilising communities is one of the challenges of the participative process. Clear, sincere and direct communication is necessary for generating a trustworthy relationship with the residents. In the same way that the municipality has a political hierarchy, the community also has specific a social structure.

Reaching out to the communities should be done through the community associations, CBOs, or democratically elected local leaders. These are the communication channels and representatives of the residents in the local, territorial and municipal action scales; they should transmit and negotiate the interests, concerns and requests discussed by the community in the local action scale. In the cases where a non-profit or NGO is known to low-income communities, the contact to communities could be initiated through the NGO. In the process of mobilising communities, municipal officials should have a clear idea of the purpose of the programme, describe the proposed general objective in a language intelligible for all residents and explain the typology and modes of participation expected from each one of the actors.

The role of the private sector is associated with consultancy, provision of services in the municipal and territorial scales and project execution in the local scale. The mobilisation of private actors should be strategic for each stage of the planning process. Namely, providers of public services, higher education institutions, research centres and architecture offices are valuable actors in programme formulation, project prioritisation and definition. They can also assist mapping activities, introduce the municipality to new information gathering technologies or bring new theoretical knowledge for more efficient urban development. Moreover, private companies, entrepreneurs and private actors interested only in financial profits and opening new markets are instrumental for social integration but should be brought into specific local scale projects, since their input comes from a profit-oriented perspective.

Mobilisation of external actors for programme financing should also be a priority of the municipality along with the feasibility studies of the programme. Considerations about the requirements for loans and financial support should be clear and explicit from the beginning of the formulation process.

### **7.5.2. Formulation of the Participatory Integral Upgrading Programme - The Municipal Action Scale**

This first stage of the programme formulation process embedded within the municipal action scale. Government representatives, municipal agencies, civil and community representatives, experts and consultants from the private sector constitute a *Municipal Action Committee –MAC-* (see Figure 46 below) where they expose their interests, objectives and potentially available resources. Once the motivations and expectations of all actors are clear and understood, then the programme board establishes the participation strategy for the actors in each one of the municipal, territorial and local action scales. This MAC defines the general responsibilities of the actors in the programme stages, from project planning to implementation, maintenance and evaluation. The purpose of the participatory integral upgrading programme is inclusion and joint work. Therefore the responsibilities of the programme can be allocated through collaboration schemes or partnerships between public, private, and civil actors. The participation strategy and collaboration scheme among actors and municipal agencies should address the modes of representation in each action scale, suggesting a management committee for the territorial and local action scale. These committees should be subject to modification accordingly to programme requirements, adjusting the collaboration scheme and the general programme when necessary. The main purpose of the action committees is to build consensus about problems and expected outcomes. Likewise, the participation strategy should define the

typology of decisions made by the management committees, as well as the decision-making procedures and instruments for creating binding agreements between actors.

Preparing the participation and collaboration methodology will set the tone for consensus building in other stages of the participatory planning process. The methodology includes the participation of actors in programme stages, decision-making procedures, project prioritisation processes, implementation strategies and evaluation methods.

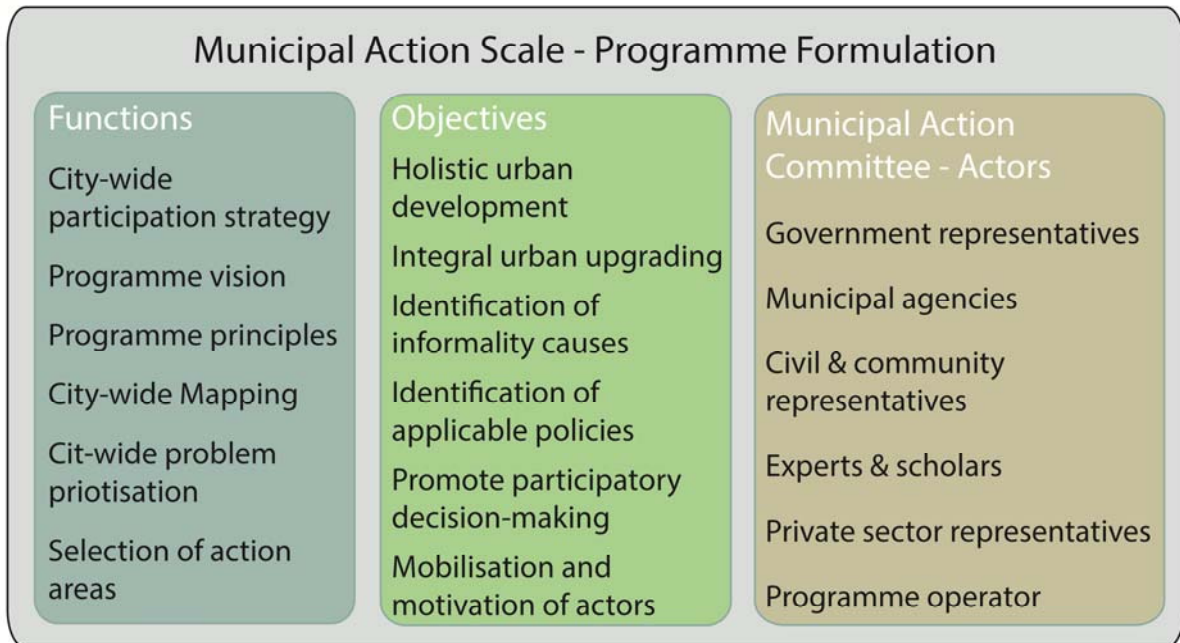


Figure 46: Municipal Action Scale for Participatory Upgrading

### ***Programme Vision and Principles***

After the participation strategy is clear, the MAC should agree on and prepare a general long-term vision for the programme, establishing the general principles for integral projects, defining a general objective in a municipal scale and the time frame for the long-term objective. The vision would serve as a guideline for the formulation of long and medium-term goals in the other two action scales. All objectives would be revised periodically and adjusted to emergent issues if necessary. The medium-term objectives could correspond to the municipal or the territorial action scales and should include spatial as well as social and institutional aims. Likewise, short-term general objectives in a local action scale would allow periodical assessments of long-term objectives.

### ***City Mapping and Problem Prioritisation***

For the development of the integral strategy, it is essential to understand the condition of the city, the relationships between neighbourhoods and the needs of the urban poor population. The municipality needs to identify the areas with the most pressing needs, as well as the areas where the

implementation of the participatory integral upgrading strategy would have the most impact in improving the lives of the urban poor. The selection of the right pilot areas is crucial for programme legitimacy and continuity, serving as an example of the programme implementation and illustrating the typology of outcomes and outputs. The pilot project has an important impact on project transferability, knowledge transfer among communities and capacity building for municipal agencies.

The MAC identifies the most pressing problems in the city, prioritising the potential interventions. For the programme to have a realistic opportunity of proposing effective projects, the prioritisation should address existent problems but also introduce proactive strategies for social and human development of communities. The prioritisation of potential projects made by an inclusive MAC would enhance the possibilities of the programme to avoid the single focus on spatial improvements or the misuse of upgrading projects for political purposes.

### **7.5.3. Urban Assessment - The Territorial Action Scale**

Once the pilot project areas are selected, a thorough territorial mapping process is necessary for the territorial scale for an accurate depiction of the current conditions of the neighbourhood, the spatial and social necessities along with the dynamics among residents. Mapping is more than counting heads or housing units. Mapping demands a realistic description of the urbanisation process in the area, a task better achieved with the active participation of the residents. The community can be part of the information collection process or become instrumental in facilitating the mapping process. Moreover, the relationships between the neighbourhood and the city structures i.e. accessibility and transport facilities, provision of public and social services, perceptions about the city and the municipality, etc., should be thoroughly described and understood.

#### ***The Territorial Participatory Strategy***

The MAC pre-defines the potential actors and a participation strategy for all the action scales. The *Territorial Action Committee* -TAC- is constituted by the local community and elected leaders, representatives of CBO's and NGO's, the programme operator, municipal agencies, professional consultants and representative of the private sector. The TAC has the responsibility to identify the context-specific problems and potential solutions in the selected territories.

The territorial scale combines spatial improvement projects with social development projects. Urban infrastructure, mobility projects, provision of social services for the community and capacity building are among the typologies of projects that could be implemented on this scale. These actors have to organise themselves the participatory strategy for decision-making, as well as the responsibilities and collaboration schemes between the actors involved in the territorial scale.

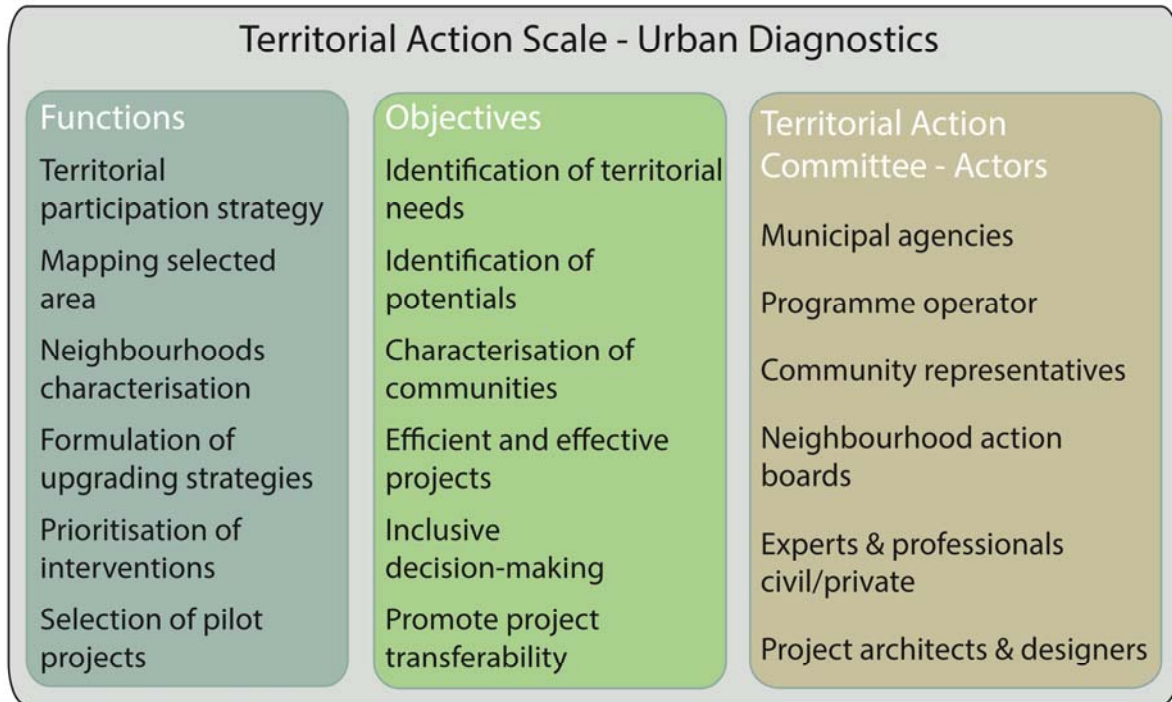


Figure 47: Territorial action scale for participatory integral upgrading

### ***Neighbourhood Mapping and Characterisation***

Using the information collected in the mapping stage, a thorough critical assessment about urban and social necessities should be performed by the TAC with the involvement of planning professionals, architects, technicians and community representatives. The analysis would determine the sectors and typologies of improvement e.g. in-situ relocation, redevelopment, consolidation, etc., most pressing needs as well as the potentials for development. This assessment should follow the general programme objective, medium-term objectives for the area as well as the vision proposed by the MAC. The results of the assessment will serve as guidelines for the prioritisation of projects in the territorial scale along with the typology of projects to be implemented in the local action scale.

### ***Formulation and Prioritisation of Upgrading Strategies***

Project definition should meet the context-specific demands and necessities of urban areas. However, these objectives go beyond the physical condition as they modify the relationship between communities and the city, along with social networks and relationships amongst residents. Based on the characterisation of the neighbourhood, the TAC should devise an intervention master plan that addresses the needs of the area. The master plan defines specific medium and short-term objectives, along with project typologies. The project typologies answer to spatial, social or institutional issues, aiming at the implementation of a multi-sectoral approach. The master plan or upgrading strategy connects necessities with possible solutions, resources, legal frameworks, planning regulations and

actors. At this stage, projects are not yet defined as products but as instruments for achieving the programme objectives.

The upgrading strategy formulation also establishes the synergies between project typologies, explicitly outlining the actors involved in each typology along with the area of intervention. These parameters are utilised to organise collaboration setting in the next stage at a local scale.

#### 7.5.4. Action Plans - The Local Action Scale

The involvement of communities and individuals is paramount in the local scale since they will be the direct and indirect beneficiaries of project and communities can identify better the problem areas of the neighbourhood. A strong collaboration between communities, designers, consultants and construction companies is essential for the implementation of effective and efficient urban upgrading projects in this stage.

The characterisation of neighbourhoods, made in the territorial scale could lead to the constitution of several *Local Action Committees –LAC-* in the same area, accordingly to the dynamics of communities and the specific problems to be addressed. These committees could function as the participation space and channel for communication between the individual members of the community and the other actors.



Figure 48: Local action scale for participatory upgrading programmes

Unlike the municipal and territorial action scales, the focus of the projects developed at the local scale is mainly spatial improvement of the built environment. Social and institutional projects are aimed at the territorial and municipal scale since these have a wider impact and a more complex implementation strategy. As observed throughout the empirical research, the most common immediate problem of informal and low-income communities are related to the urban condition of the neighbourhood and environmental risks. Thus, it is expected for the action plans to be targeted at the immediate spatial needs of the community.

### ***Action plans & Project Definition***

The upgrading strategy master plan defines project location and typology in a territorial scale and relation to the collective needs of the community. Later the action plans are defined for each project typology and specific area in the neighbourhood. The action plans become the planning and implementation instrument at the local action scale.

The LACs decide on specific project definition, participatory design and implementation procedures, following the short-term and medium-term objectives and principles of the programme. Through the action plan, the LACs agree on the participation modes of the actors in each specific project, delegating responsibilities for design, implementation and maintenance of outcomes.

### ***Programme Evaluation***

The fast changing conditions of the built environment imply the need for revision and adjustment of programme objectives well as project designs. Each action board should decide on periodical revision procedures on every action scale and facilitate the adjustment of plans to the changing conditions. On the local scale, revising designs and responsibilities could require monthly or weekly meetings, while on the territorial and municipal scale the results take more time to be visible or recognised, therefore, longer revision periods could be proposed for the larger action scales. Revision and evaluation of results allow programme and project refining, building capacities for flexibility in planning among all actors.

## **7.6. Conclusions**

The inclusion of participatory practices in urban upgrading is an opportunity for producing effective and efficient projects legitimised by communities, public and private actors. Participatory upgrading is an urban improvement process aiming for a balance between soft and hard projects in a defined area of the city, with community empowerment and capacity building as ultimate outcomes. Participation advocates for the inclusion of a multiplicity of actors, each with knowledge, resources and responsibilities. However, the legal and decision-making frameworks in Latin American cities are

only starting to open discussion spaces between the government and the communities about the development of the built environment.

The traditional top-down approach to urban planning used for the formulation of urban upgrading strategies prevents the inclusion of participation processes for programme definition or project design. This chapter uses strategic urban planning for creating the spaces for dialogue collaboration and participation among a diversity of actors who should be involved in the decision-making process for urban upgrading and also in urban development in general.

Participatory approaches are gradual processes where trust and capabilities grow as a result of cooperation and consensus, encouraging communities through progressive empowerment processes, characterised by flexibility, accountability and transparency in decision-making, while delegating responsibilities on stakeholders accordingly with their abilities and potentials for implementation and management. Identification of resources, constraints, development options, as well as local capabilities, strengths and priorities, improve the quality of projects and increases effectiveness, efficiency and sustainability.

The actors in urban upgrading vary in different projects; different communities and urban contexts require different approaches, as well as partnerships with actors which would guarantee the successful completion and future sustainability of the project. Upgrading projects are in general top-down initiatives, but the involvement of diverse stakeholders and allocation of responsibilities, ownership and control of those actors demand active interaction between stakeholders, negotiation and participative decision-making. The proposed methodology for participatory sets up guidelines for the formulation of programmes instead of suggesting upgrading projects, because urban upgrading depends on context-specific dynamics, consensus building, institutional restructuring and inclusive decision-making.



***Figure 49: Methodology for participatory integral upgrading***

## CHAPTER 8

### Final Conclusions

Democratic processes are an important part of urban life, allowing populations to have a voice and influence urban development; however, the illegal status of informal settlements prevents residents from participating actively in civil life, let alone to take part in democratic processes. Furthermore, the difficulties associated with poverty and illegality force informal residents to look into the informal sector to find a solution for problems of shelter, nourishment and provision of basic public services. Informality becomes the only solution but at the same time stigmatised informal and low-income communities segregating them from the formal city and the opportunities for human and social development. Democracy, public policy and decision-making in political processes are alien concepts for the urban poor, dominated by powerful actors and social elites; hence the indifference of many and the apathy towards participation.

#### 8.1. Summary of Findings

The first chapter of this dissertation explores the causes of emergence of informal settlements exposing the inadequacies of anti-poverty and poverty reduction strategies and their negative impact on the livelihoods of the urban poor. Informality is the consequence of an accumulation of inadequate policy approaches and economic crises, forcing unskilled rural inhabitants to migrate to cities. Population growth challenged infrastructures and governments alike, finally producing vast areas of informality and poverty. Formulated from a top-down process, poverty reduction strategies neglected the real causes of poverty and emergence of informal settlements. Moreover, the top-down perspective prevented professionals from having a real understanding of the needs or the dynamics of the urban poor, thus generating upgrading strategies that deepened poverty, worsening the socio-economic condition of low-income communities.

The historical analysis of the wide spread of international urban policy and poverty reduction strategies among Latin American cities suggested a common evolutionary process for urban policies, poverty reduction strategies and informal settlements. These have evolved together resulting not in the eradication of poverty from cities but the establishment of informality and an urban actor and consolidating its position in the Latin American city. The evolution of anti-poverty strategies from eviction and clearance of informal settlements to poverty reduction strategies with the shelter approach, arriving at the understanding of the benefits of in-situ upgrading, expose a process of learning for governments, supported by legislative transformation and granting citizens' rights to

informal communities. Thus with the introduction of the in-situ upgrading approach, the urban condition of informal settlements was relatively improved, but the single focus of the approach on spatial improvement neglected the underlying causes of poverty, leaving the socio-economic condition of the urban poor unchanged. In the same sense, the lack of social development approaches left low-income populations isolated from opportunities for development and forced them to produce self-organised forms of survival. Self-help is context-specific solutions to immediate and emergent problems which utilise the available resources in the most efficient way possible, accordingly with the capacities of the inhabitants. Regrettably, this local knowledge and tailored self-help projects had no place in top-down urban upgrading projects creating a gap between the planning process of urban upgrading and the reality of informal populations.

The evolution of upgrading strategies continued throughout the 1980's and 1990' introducing the idea of integral urban upgrading and producing a myriad of urban upgrading projects throughout Latin America. The two examples examined in this research leave, as lessons learned, the need for a defined participation strategy in the initial formulation of the programme. Both programmes are regarded as best practices, and although the institutional structure is very different, the outcomes and conditions of projects implemented are similar. From the Programme in Rio de Janeiro it is important to highlight the advantages of external financing and the involvement of the private sector in upgrading. While the programme in Medellin showed a strong institutional restructuring component and the importance of legitimacy for project implementation. Both programmes illustrate the importance of visibility for project legitimacy, but at the same time, both failed to achieve a real change in the socio-economic condition of the residents. Nevertheless, experiences in both examples in proposing a special legal framework for the programmes along with the institutional reorganisation demanded by the programmes suggested the possibilities to propose a methodological framework that needed not be included in public policy but could institutionalise participatory practices in urban upgrading programmes.

For the proposal of the methodological framework, the research needed to clarify the concepts of participation and consensus building, along with defining the actors who should be involved in urban upgrading. The study of the theoretical framework in chapter 5 led the researcher to understand that participation should not be limited to communities, but for urban processes and especially for urban upgrading programmes to be effective and become capacity building processes, the actors involved should include a variety of public, civil, private and external actors. Each actor brings knowledge, resources and potentials to urban upgrading, and it is the responsibility of the municipality to mobilise these actors and promote their participation in decision-making for urban development.

In chapter 6 the research assessed the planning process and outcomes of the two case studies, as well as the formulation of other 14 urban upgrading programmes implemented in Latin America as

supplementary information, to understand the similarities and main concepts developed in urban upgrading programmes. The result of this assessment was the realisation that traditional urban development projects are generally defined by rational planning processes with the purpose of establishing efficient means to achieve proposed objectives and standardised solutions for emergent urban problems. Planning, then, becomes an instrument to control the development of the built environment, urban projects aim to restore the balance of urban areas and react to the consequences of unsustainable urbanisation. In contrast, in bottom-up approaches the role of planning is concentrated on facilitating co-operation between stakeholders, transforming projects into learning processes, a self-generating activity that provides in skill training and education and might result in self-reliant and cooperative communities. The outcomes extend beyond the physical results and generate democratic processes and participative action. Empowerment of local populations, self-organisation and effective self-help in upgrading processes are essential to overcome poverty, segregation and informality, especially in the situation of Latin American cities. Planning needs to be transformed from rational and power-coercive processes into agents of social change, redefine social norms, reflect about rational strategies for urban issues and allow verification beyond the pure empirical sphere. Understanding the problems from the origins and using local and knowledge could assist in the definition of adjustable and flexible solutions to the ever-changing problems of the urban environment

However, a concern remained about the methodology for transforming integral upgrading programmes into participatory urban programmes. Responding to this concern would answer the main research question of this dissertation about how could participatory practices transform integral upgrading strategies into participatory upgrading programmes? The theoretical framework then explored the strategic urban planning approach as the instrument for structuring the participatory integral upgrading methodology. Strategic planning has been used by Latin American governments to structure governmental development plans as the means of prioritising interventions and the instrument for implementing policy.

This dissertation utilises the strategic planning approach in chapter 7 as the foundation to bring together the traditional planning approach with the local knowledge of communities and the expert knowledge of professionals and scholars. The strategic planning is the basis for the proposal of the methodological framework for participatory integral upgrading, facilitating the inclusion of participatory planning practices in the process and capitalising especially in the idea of strategic planning scales to propose long-term, medium-term, and short-term visions and objectives within the same programme. Each one of these visions corresponds to a municipal, territorial or local action scale in which the actors, the participation strategy, the functions and the objectives are defined in accordance with the identified needs of the city territory or neighbourhood.

## **8.2. Last Remarks**

While this research provides the instruments for participatory practices in urban upgrading, a question remains about the procedures for the formulation of urban policy in Latin America and how could the policy making process become more inclusive. This methodological framework would not be necessary if policy making were more participative and if already existing participatory practices on-going in the local level were considered as repositories of local knowledge and solutions to urban problems. Further research could be done in the scaling-up process of participatory processes and how to transfer local knowledge into policy making processes.

## APPENDIX

### Elicitation process

The elicitation process was realised through semi-structured interviews prepared in advance. In order to obtain answers to the specific topics of this dissertation the researcher created two kinds of questionnaires. The questionnaire for the community members and leaders had as objective to provide a description of the programme results and impact on the community from the residents' perspective. The questionnaire for the professionals consisted of specific questions about the formulation, planning, and implementation process. The two questionnaires will be enclosed next.

Since this elicitation process was a semi-structured conversation, the questions were not answered in the specific order and in some cases they were answered within another question. Therefore, the transcriptions would not include the questions and the interviews were transcribed to facilitate the recollection of ideas for the researcher.

#### A.1. Questionnaire for the Community

##### Questionnaire for Rio De Janeiro in Portuguese

##### **Respondents:**

Rosángela Tertuliano  
Neide Márcia da Silva  
Eduardo da Silva  
Anderson Ribeiro

##### ***INFORMACIÓN GENERAL***

- Nombre, edad y ocupación
- Tiempo de residencia en el barrio
- Como llegó al barrio

##### Questionnaire for Medellin in Spanish

##### **Respondents:**

Rubyselen Ortís  
Jairo Maya

##### ***INFORMAÇÃO GERAL***

- Nome, idade e ocupação
- Tempo de residência no bairro
- Como se mudou para o bairro

**PUI**

- Que significa para usted y su comunidad el Programa Favela-Bairro y cuáles eran los objetivos del proyecto
- Cree que el proyecto cumplió los objetivos propuestos
- Quedó satisfecha la comunidad con los resultados del proyecto Favela-Bairro

**DESARROLLO URBANO****Infraestructura Urbana y Servicios Públicos**

- Cuáles son los cambios urbanos que trajo el proyecto y cuales cambios fueron los más importantes para la comunidad
- Cuales necesidades básicas quedaron sin solucionar y por que no se atendieron esas necesidades

**Movilidad Y Accesibilidad**

- Como se moviliza la gente en el barrio y hacia los lugares de trabajo o estudio
- Mejoró la conexión entre los diferentes sectores del barrio y con otros barrios gracias a las mejoras implementadas por Favela-Bairro

**Espacio Público**

- Qué tipo de espacios públicos se crearon con el programa y cuales han sido los más utilizados y cuales han sido olvidados

**Favela-Bairro**

- Qual é o significado do programa Favela-Bairro para a comunidade
- Quais foram os objetivos do projeto
- Ele acredita que o projeto cumpriu os objetivos
- Comunidade estava satisfeito com os resultados do projeto Favela –Bairro

**DESENVOLVIMENTO URBANO****Infraestrutura Urbana e Utilidades**

- Quais são as transformações urbanas que trouxe o projeto e quais foram às obras mais importantes para a comunidade
- O que restou necessidades básicas não resolvidas e que essas necessidades não foram abordadas

**Mobilidade E Acessibilidade**

- Como mobiliza as pessoas do bairro a os locais de trabalho ou estudo
- Ligações foram melhoradas nas áreas de vizinhança e de outros bairros por causa das melhorias implementadas pelo Favela –Bairro

**Espaço Público**

- Espaços públicos que foram construídos pelo programa e que tem sido o mais utilizado e que foram esquecidos
- Quem seria o responsável por

- Quien sería responsable de cuidar éstos espacios
- Por qué cree usted que no se han mantenido

### **Medio Ambiente**

- Cómo ha mejorado la calidad del medio ambiente con los proyectos construidos
- Se realizaron obras de reubicación de viviendas o reconstrucción por parte de las instituciones gubernamentales
- Incentivaron las mejoras físicas la auto-construcción por parte de los residentes
- Logró el programa prevenir el crecimiento del barrio o cree usted que por el contrario, fomentó la densificación de las población

### **General**

- Cuales mejoras adicionales cree usted que debieron hacer parte del planteamiento inicial del proyecto
- Que recomendaciones haría usted para proyectos futuros en términos de mejoramiento físico

## ***DESARROLLO SOCIAL***

### **Empoderamiento**

- Existe algún proyecto que haya sido realizado solo por la comunidad y como se financió
- Cuáles son los objetivos de ese proyecto
- Existe alguna organización o persona que estimula la asociación de los residentes para ejecutar proyectos de iniciativa comunitaria
- Como es la participación de la

cuidar desses espaços

- Porque você acha que não tem mantido

### **Meio Ambiente**

- Como tem melhorado a qualidade do meio ambiente com projetos construídos
- O trabalho foi realizado realocização habitação ou reconstrução de instituições governamentais
- Melhorias físicas promoveu a autoconstrução pelos moradores
- Conseguiu o programa prevenir o crescimento da vizinhança ou acha pelo contrário, estimulou a crescimento da população

### **Geral**

- Que outras melhorias que você acha que deve fazer parte da abordagem inicial do projeto
- Que recomendações você faria para projetos futuros em termos de melhoria física

## ***DESENVOLVIMENTO SOCIAL***

### **Capacitação**

- Não é um projeto que tem sido realizado apenas pela comunidade e como financiado
- Quais são os objetivos deste projeto
- Existe alguma organização ou associação pessoa incentiva os moradores a executar projetos de iniciativa da comunidade



comunidad en los proyectos que se han realizado, que los motiva o desmotiva.

### **Capital Social**

- Qué tipo de servicios sociales trajo el programa Favela-Bairro
- Existe algún servicio social ofrecido por los mismos residentes hacia su comunidad. Quien es responsable de prestar el servicio
- Cuales servicios son todavía necesarios en el barrio

### **Capacidades Comunitarias**

- Han mejorado las relaciones entre los residentes gracias al proyecto Favela-Bairro
- Qué tipo de ayuda se prestan entre los habitantes
- Ha mejorado la situación económica
- Se realizó alguna capacitación o educación para la búsqueda de empleo. Influye esto en la situación económica del barrio
- Cree que su comunidad tiene la capacidad para desarrollar proyectos propios
- Qué tipo de asistencia (técnica, social, financiera) necesitarían para ejecutar proyectos iniciados por la comunidad

### **LEGITIMIDAD**

#### **Legalidad (Propiedad y Ocupación del Territorio)**

- Como se informan los residentes acerca de sus derechos y deberes como ciudadanos

- Como a participação da comunidade em projetos que têm sido feitas , que motiva ou desencoraja

### **Capital Social**

- Que tipo de serviços sociais trouxe programa Favela - Bairro
- Há um serviço social fornecido pelos próprios para a sua comunidade residentes . Quem é responsável pela prestação do serviço
- Quais os serviços ainda são necessários no Bairro

### **Capacidade Da Comunidade**

- Relações melhoraram graças a moradores Favela -Bairro
- Que tipo de ajuda é fornecida entre os habitantes
- Situação económica melhorou
- Fosse qualquer formação ou educação para a procura de emprego . Isso afeta a situação económica do distrito
- Acha que sua comunidade tem a capacidade de desenvolver seus próprios projetos
- Que tipo de assistência (técnica , social, financeiro) necessário para executar projetos comunitários iniciados

### **LEGITIMIDADE**

#### **Legalidade (Propriedade e Ocupação do Solo)**

- Como informar os moradores sobre seus direitos e deveres como cidadãos

- Han contactado al estado para exigir algún tipo de derecho
- Como era la situación legal de las viviendas antes de la implementación del programa
- Generó el programa algún tipo de legalización o regularización de la propiedad
- Ha traído ésta regularización algún beneficio o aspecto negativo

### Participación

- Cuáles son las asociaciones comunitarias que funcionan en el barrio y que tipo de funciones desempeñan
- Como se eligen a los líderes de éstas organizaciones
- Como es el proceso de toma de decisiones para los proyectos que se realizaron los que se realizan en el barrio
- Cual fue el papel de las organizaciones comunitarias en la planeación, implementación y mantenimiento de los proyectos realizados por Favela-Bairro
- Existió algún tipo de asociación o trabajo conjunto entre el estado y las organizaciones comunitarias
- A quien le pertenece el proyecto ejecutado en el barrio y quien debería ser responsable de su mantenimiento

### Inclusión

- Cree que la implementación del programa mejoró la relación con las instituciones estatales
- Cree que la percepción del barrio en la ciudad ha cambiado

- Entraram em contato com o Estado para exigir algum tipo de lei
- Como foi o estatuto jurídico das casas antes da realização do programa
- Isso gerou algum tipo de programa de legalização ou regularização da propriedade
- Ele trouxe essa regularização qualquer benefício ou negativo

### Participação

- Quais são as associações comunitárias que atuam no bairro e as funções
- Como líderes eleitos dessas organizações
- Como é o processo de tomada de decisão para projetos que foram feitas, que são feitos na vizinhança
- Qual foi o papel das organizações da comunidade no planejamento, realização e manutenção dos projetos realizados pela Favela -Bairro
- Houve algum tipo de associação ou parceria entre as organizações estatais e da comunidade
- Quem é o dono do projeto no bairro e que deve ser responsável por sua manutenção

### Inclusão

- Ele acredita que a realização do programa de melhoria da relação com instituições do Estado
- Ele acredita que a percepção do bairro da cidade mudou
- Existem alguns obstáculos sociais relacionados ao seu

- Existen algunos obstáculos sociales relacionados con su lugar de residencia

## **GOBERNABILIDAD**

### **Renovación Institucional**

- Como fue el trabajo de las instituciones públicas en el barrio
- Como fue la participación de la comunidad en el diseño, planeación, ejecución y mantenimiento de los proyectos realizados por el programa
- Las sugerencias de la comunidad fueron incluidas en los diseños e implementación

### **Cooperación Institucional**

- Qué tipo de profesionales estuvieron trabajando en los proyectos y cuáles fueron los que más se acercaron a la comunidad
- Que entidades o instituciones formaron parte del equipo de trabajo. Privadas, públicas, comunitarias, académicas

### **Proceso De Inclusion**

- Que reuniones se realizaron con la comunidad antes, durante y al finalizar los proyectos
- Cual fue el papel de la comunidad en el programa, espectadores, consultores, actores o propietarios

### **Planeacion Integral**

- Que estudios se realizaron previos al diseño del proyecto
- Quien realizó los estudios

local de residência

## **GOVERNANÇA**

### **Renovação Institucional**

- Como foi o trabalho de instituições públicas no bairro
- Como foi a participação da comunidade na concepção, planejamento, realização e manutenção dos projetos realizados pelo programa
- As sugestões da comunidade foram incluídas no projeto e execução

### **Cooperação Institucional**

- Que tipos de profissionais estavam trabalhando nos projetos e que foi a mais abordada comunidade
- Entidades ou instituições que faziam parte da equipe de trabalho . Privada, pública , comunidade acadêmica

### **Processo De Inclusão**

- Que foram realizadas reuniões com a comunidade antes, durante e depois de projetos
- Qual foram o papel da comunidade no programa , os telespectadores , consultores, agentes ou proprietários

### **Planejamento Abrangente**

- Que estudos foram realizados antes da elaboração do projeto
- Quem conduziu os estudos
- Ele acredita que, se os estudos

- Cree que los estudios si reflejaron la realidad del barrio
- Cree que la comunidad podría realizar esta clase de estudios por si misma
- Que aprendió la comunidad del programa y en que se utiliza o podría utilizarse
- Se realizaron visitas a otros proyectos similares previas a la ejecución de las obras
- Podría servir el barrio como ejemplo para otros proyectos en la ciudad

- reflete a realidade do bairro
- Acho que a comunidade poderia fazer esse tipo de estudo em si
  - Comunidade soube do programa e é usado ou poderia ser usado
  - Foram feitas visitas a outros projetos similares antes da execução das obras
  - Poderia servir o distrito como um exemplo para outros projetos na cidade

## A.2. Questionnaire for the Professionals

The questionnaire for the professional was only formulated in Spanish because the professionals in Rio de Janeiro could understand and answer in Spanish.

### *INFORMACIÓN GENERAL*

- Nombre
- Profesión
- Tipo de trabajo con el programa Favela-Bairro
- Barrios con los que trabajó

### *DESARROLLO URBANO*

#### **Infraestructura Urbana Y Servicios Públicos**

- Cuáles son los principales cambios en infraestructura urbana y servicios públicos que ejecutó el programa
- Cuales cambios cree usted que fueron los más importantes para la comunidad
- Cuales necesidades básicas quedaron sin solucionar y por qué no se atendieron estas necesidades

#### **Movilidad Y Accesibilidad**

- Uno de los objetivos de programa Favela-Bairro era mejorar la conexión de los residentes de las favelas con otros barrios y con la ciudad formal. Se logró finalmente éste objetivo?
- Cuáles fueron los proyectos específicos que se implementaron?
- Cuáles son los mayores obstáculos existentes para la movilidad dentro y desde las favelas?

### **Espacio Público**

- Qué tipo de espacios y equipamientos públicos se crearon con el programa
- Cuáles han sido los más utilizados por la comunidad y cuales han sido olvidados
- Cuál es la organización responsable del mantenimiento de éstos espacios públicos
- Debería tener la comunidad alguna responsabilidad en el mantenimiento de los espacios y equipamientos públicos construidos?
- Cómo se podría incentivar el apropiamiento de estos cambios urbanos por parte de la comunidad?

### **Medio Ambiente**

- Cómo ha mejorado la calidad del medio ambiente con los proyectos construidos
- Se realizaron obras de reubicación de viviendas o reconstrucción por parte de las instituciones gubernamentales
- Incentivaron las mejoras físicas la auto-construcción por parte de los residentes
- Logró el programa prevenir el crecimiento del barrio o cree usted que por el contrario, fomentó la densificación de la población residente

## ***LEGITIMIDAD***

### **Legalidad (Propiedad y Ocupacion del Territorio)**

- Como se informan los residentes acerca de sus derechos y deberes como ciudadanos
- Han contactado al estado para exigir algún tipo de derecho
- Como era la situación legal de las viviendas antes de la implementación del programa
- Generó el programa algún tipo de legalización o regularización de la propiedad
- Ha traído ésta regularización algún beneficio o aspecto negative

### **Participación**

- Cuales actores (Instituciones públicas, academia, empresa privada, asociaciones comunitarias) participaron activamente en todas las etapas del programa
- Planeación
- Diseño
- Ejecución
- Mantenimiento
- Cuales actores (Instituciones públicas, academia, empresa privada, asociaciones comunitarias) fueron responsables de la toma de decisiones en la planeación y diseño de los proyectos
- Cuales actores (Instituciones públicas, academia, empresa privada, asociaciones comunitarias) fueron responsables de la ejecución de la obras -Instituciones públicas, academia, empresa privada, asociaciones comunitarias-

- Cómo fue la participación de la comunidad en los proyectos implementados por el programa Favela-Bairro
- Que factores cree usted que motiva o desmotiva la participación comunitaria
- Que reuniones se realizaron con la comunidad antes, durante y al finalizar los proyectos
- Cual fue el papel de la comunidad en el programa, espectadores, consultores, actores o propietarios

### **Inclusión**

- Cree que la implementación del programa mejoró la relación de los residentes con las instituciones estatales
- Cree que la percepción de las favelas en la ciudad ha mejorado, empeorado o permanece igual
- Existen obstáculos sociales relacionados con los lugares de residencia de los habitantes favelados
- Cuál es el impacto del programa Favela-Bairro en la ciudad de Rio de Janeiro

## ***DESARROLLO SOCIAL***

### **Empoderamiento**

- Existe algún proyecto que haya sido realizado en acción conjunta entre la alcaldía y la comunidad o algún proyecto planeado y ejecutado solo por la comunidad
- Cuáles fueron los objetivos de esos proyectos
- Existe alguna organización o persona que estimula la asociación de los residentes para ejecutar proyectos de iniciativa comunitaria
- Cuáles son las asociaciones comunitarias que funcionan en el barrio y que tipo de funciones desempeñan
- Como se eligen a los líderes de éstas organizaciones
- Cual fue el papel de las organizaciones comunitarias en la planeación, implementación y mantenimiento de los proyectos realizados por Favela-Bairro
- Existió algún tipo de asociación o trabajo conjunto entre el estado y las organizaciones comunitarias
- A quien le pertenece el proyecto ejecutado en el barrio y quien debería ser responsable de su mantenimiento
- Cree usted que estas comunidades tienen la capacidad para ejecutar proyectos de mejoramiento manejados por ellos mismos.
- Qué tipo de asistencia sería necesaria para fomentar la implementación de iniciativas comunitarias manejadas y ejecutadas por las asociaciones de residents

### **Capital Social**

- Qué tipo de servicios sociales trajo el programa Favela-Bairro
- Qué tipo de asistencia se le da a las comunidades actualmente
- Existe algún servicio social ofrecido por los mismos residentes
- Se han fomentado actividades cooperativas entre los residentes mediante el programa Favela-Bairro
- Cuál es la influencia de la auto-construcción y auto-ayuda en las favelas. Fue este potencial aprovechado por el programa

- Cree usted que las asociaciones comunitarias aprendieron sobre administración y ejecución de obras públicas mediante el programa
- Existe alguna organización que congrege los líderes de las comunidades para fomentar la transferencia de conocimientos locales entre las favelas

### **Capacidades Comunitarias**

- Han mejorado las relaciones entre los residentes gracias al proyecto Favela-Bairro
- Qué tipo de ayuda se prestan entre los habitantes
- Cuales servicios son todavía necesarios
- Ha mejorado la situación socio-económica de la población
- Se realizó alguna capacitación o educación para la búsqueda de empleo. Influye esto en la situación económica del barrio
- Cree que su comunidad tiene la capacidad para desarrollar proyectos propios
- Qué tipo de asistencia (técnica, social, financiera) necesitarían para ejecutar proyectos iniciados por la comunidad

### **GOBERNABILIDAD**

#### **Renovación y Cooperación Institucional**

- Como fue el trabajo de las instituciones públicas en el barrio
- Quién coordinaba las actividades de los diferentes proyectos
- Las sugerencias de la comunidad fueron incluidas en los diseños e implementación
- Qué tipo de profesionales estuvieron trabajando en los proyectos y cuáles fueron los que más se acercaron a la comunidad
- Que entidades o instituciones formaron parte del equipo de trabajo. Privadas, públicas, comunitarias, académicas

#### **Planeación Integral**

- Que estudios se realizaron previos al diseño de los proyectos
- Quien realizó los estudios
- Cree que los estudios reflejaron la realidad de los barrios
- Se realizaron visitas a otros proyectos similares previas a la ejecución de las obras

#### **General**

- Que significa para usted el Programa Favela-Bairro y cuáles eran los objetivos del proyecto
- Cree que el proyecto cumplió los objetivos propuestos
- Quedó satisfecha la comunidad con los resultados del proyecto Favela-Bairro
- Cuales mejoras adicionales cree usted que debieron hacer parte del planteamiento inicial del proyecto
- Que recomendaciones haría usted para proyectos futuros en términos de mejoramiento físico

### A.3. Transcriptions of Community Interviews

#### *Transcription Interview Anderson Ribiero, Mangeira Babilonia, Rio de Janeiro*

Rio de Janeiro, October 29th. 2013

My name is Anderson Ribeiro, I'm 32 years old, I work at the Human Right Secretary (Rio de Janeiro) I live in the community of Mangueira Babilonia, located in Leme neighbourhood. I've been living there approximately for 30 years, I was born and raised there.

In relation to FB, [the programme] had the perspective of transforming the favela into a neighbourhood, integrate the Favela and the Asphalt through the necessary measures for the community, which were (water collection, sewerage) very beneficial for my community because there were many boulders and other things that could have fallen and killed people. My family was a victim; a boulder fell down and killed 3 people from my family.

Some things that were really for the community, were not executed, because the government has a way of implementing and thing they know what is best for the neighbourhood, they do not ask the community about what would be best for them. This is the way of structuring the project.

The Favelas of Rio de Janeiro created their way of plot division, their means for construction, until the people found modes for survival. Likewise, the spaces used for communal purposes were defined by the community. Plazas, football fields, areas for road construction and other urban spaces were defined with the community. However FB neglected including the community to define other needs, or specific need of the local residents. There could be communities living in the same area with different mores from one another. For example, in Mangueira, FB evolved more because the residents demanded, controlled, helped. In turn in Babilonia, FB was made without the community oversight, and the needs of the people were not addressed.

In my community FB transformed the muddy roads and hills into stairs, also the programme built a plaza that became a milestone for the community and a recreational space. Since the favela is located in the south of the city, on the hills close to Copacabana, the view from the neighbourhood is impressive, however FB did not achieve to integrate, for example, a touristic vision for the neighbourhood, the programme did not exploit the potentials of the location over the high end touristic areas.

Mobility: FB built stairs and roads, but mobility continued to be an issue, especially because the proportion of the stairs did not follow the city standards, which made mobility from and to the favela difficult.

Public Space: If you want to transform the favela into a neighbourhood, the favela should be offered the same services that formal areas enjoy.



***Transcription Interview Community Andaraí, Rio de Janeiro***

Rosángela – 46 years old raised in the neighbourhood, leader of the community-initiated project Eco-Museu amigos do Rio Joana.

Eduardo – 30 years old, student, born and raised in Andaraí

Neide – 49 years old, unemployed, raised also in the favela, part of the residents' association and active community leader

This interview was a focus group semi structured conversation. As the others, the conversation was recorded but regrettably the quality of the audio was not good enough for a transcription. The researcher took notes and the interview was essential to understand the perspective of the community towards the programme.



*Focus Group Andaraí. From left to Right: Eduardo, Susana, Rosángela, Neide*

***Transcripción Interview Jairo Maya, PUI Comuna 8-9, Medellín***

Jairo Maya – JM

Susana Restrepo - SR

JM (00:00:40): mi nombre es Jairo Maya, soy tecnólogo electromecánico y a nivel social he hecho muchos procesos sociales desde 1990 acá en la comuna y en los barrios, en los temas de derechos humanos, derecho al territorio y defendiendo la propuesta de una construcción colectiva del territorio, derechos humanos y planeación territorial con enfoque en los derechos. Pretendo empezar mi pregrado que fue impulsado por los líderes comunitarios que abarca el tema de la planeación territorial y gestión comunitaria.

SR (00:02:58): cuál es tu papel en este momento en las redes comunitarias?

JM (00:03:06): el movimiento social fue ahogado por el paramilitarismo desde 1997 que venía creciendo, había ya una plataforma conformada y llega el ordenamiento social y político en el territorio del paramilitarismo y queda ahogado este movimiento y se vuelve prácticamente clandestino, soy de los pocos que sobrevive, otros están exiliados, otros fueron, con complicidad del estado encarcelados, y salieron después de año y medio, inocentes pero anulados. Nos tocó en la clandestinidad, hasta que se reaviva 10 años después en el 2007 y empieza un proceso en PP que se había abierto un espacio de participación priorizando recursos para necesidades en el territorio y allí empezamos a explorar el tema de la participación y el tema de la planeación local y empieza el proceso del plan de desarrollo local como herramienta política de las comunidades y más adelante en el 2011-2012 se vuelve también herramienta técnica. La estrategia fue desde las comunidades empezar a organizarnos, que esa herramienta no se convirtiera solo en un tratado, sino empezar con el componente social a hacer un impacto en la gestión frente a las autoridades municipales, regionales, nacionales, internacionales, ONG y entes privados. Ahí empieza un proceso en el 2010 con un cabildo abierto, que [yo] promoví con mis compañeros y compañeras, como edil de la JAL en el momento y cuando se cierra ese cabildo popular, empezaron a armarse plataformas, la comunidad se empieza a formar, llegan universidades públicas y privadas nacionales e internacionales que nos prestan un gran apoyo. Empieza entonces el proceso formativo y empezamos a conformar las redes que estamos impulsando actualmente. En las consultas populares los temas son: La gestión del riesgo natural que tenemos en el territorio en la parte de suelos, enfocado en el cambio climático. Después de mitigar el riesgo viene el tema de vivienda, tema socioeconómico después, y así el tema alimentario, etc. Le dimos prioridad a los dos primeros, para ser más efectivos y ahora en el 2014 somos un movimiento fuerte, organizativo, ejemplo en la ciudad y nos consultan entes nacionales, la academia, ONG, para aprender sobre los movimientos sociales y la utilización de una herramienta como la planeación local como un derecho fundamental, porque allí está implícita la vida, el trabajo, todo está allí involucrado entonces da un componente de derecho fundamental.

JM (00:07:38): hemos recibido muchos ataques de la alcaldía local, muy reaccionarios, no aceptan diálogos, nos han denominado como fuerzas oscuras que pretenden defender el estatus de pobreza y nunca reciben las propuestas. Lo paradójico es que la mayoría de las personas independientemente de su papel, apoyaron el actual alcalde, porque él decía como plataforma que él iba a incluir en su plan de desarrollo municipal el plan de desarrollo local con sus propuestas y proyectos, y en realidad lo que hubo fue una traición, y se dedicó a hacer clientelismo con unas mega obras como el cinturón verde a justificar cerca de 1,2 billones de pesos en el territorio que no le traen desarrollo a la comuna, simplemente espacios públicos y como te decía anteriormente, la gestión del riesgo y la vivienda con un componente de hábitat, porque para nosotros la vivienda es completamente armónica con la parte ambiental, económica etc. Es dar sostenibilidad a un hogar, a una familia, porque el centro de desarrollo para nosotros es la familia, y a una vivienda, es al servicio de la persona, y así fuimos engañados, la plataforma siguió en resistencia con las mismas propuestas, firmes, y haciendo las respectivas denuncias ante los entes competentes del grado de corrupción que hay y de toda este reaccionismo y estigmatización hacia una comunidad organizada. Así venimos avanzando con la movilización social, no somos una plataforma política, o representamos ninguna tendencia política ni partidista, simplemente la defensa del territorio y nos oponemos a las mega obras que no le traen desarrollo a la comunidad.

SR (00:10:15): en cuanto a los procesos participativos. Como se toma las decisiones o se prioriza los proyectos

JM (00:10:40): nosotros tenemos una red en el territorio y lo dividimos por nodos barriales y lo que hacemos es que con las personas que desean participar, no tienen que ser representantes o líderes,

hemos armado una escuela continua en derechos fundamentales, políticos constitucionales frente al mismo territorio. Todo ese componente se va hacia los territorios, estas personas se vuelven multiplicadores, se sensibiliza a la población y hemos llamado a asambleas donde discutimos con mayor población y luego la misma población, por medio de procesos democráticos, define las acciones a priorizar.

JM (00:12:51): esa es la metodología y seguimos avanzando en la formación de redes sociales. No le damos mucha prioridad a la representatividad, lo que nos ha ocasionado tensiones con hegemonías protagónicas, pero que no duran demasiado porque la comunidad está ahí legitimando. Optamos más por la legitimidad que la legalidad, amparados en los derechos constitucionales.

JM (00:13:58): (hablando con un compañero de los movimientos sociales) Libardo! Ya sabe lo que va a pasar? –

L – Desalojo hoy?

JM – Eso está militarizado. Estaba muy preocupado porque no iba a haber cubrimiento de lo que iba a pasar hoy allá y están acusando a la gente allá que está vinculada con marcha patriótica entonces van a justificar políticamente una acción sobre esas personas pero no dicen que la invasión la hizo “la roja” y “los conejos” [bandas] que vendieron desde 1 millo a 3 millones de pesos los lotes a las personas y ellos son los que van a pagar, mientras que las bandas se metieron más de 200 millones al bolsillo.

JM (00:16:14): ese es el POT criminal, como la ilegalidad llega armada con todo el poder de intimidación y sicariato y van tomando territorios y los van vendiendo y el estado llega y se desquita con los habitantes. Debería haber un operativo de captura contra el jefe de la banda, nosotros lo hemos denunciado y por eso se gana uno muchos problemas. La alcaldía no hace nada frente a eso.

SR (00:17:18): sobre los lotes. Hace cuanto esta la gente ocupando los lotes?

JM (00:17:22): ya esta semana cumplen el mes, son cerca de 200 familias, 800 personas, compraron los lotes engañados, no tienen a quien reclamarle, son desplazados de otros barrios en la ciudad, es un gobierno demasiado agresivo, hay una política de vivienda en el territorio y no la ejecuta, simplemente es un reaccionario, y simplemente lo que dan es una imagen de una ciudad que no existe.

JM (00:18:45): allá construimos, la gente construyó sus propios pequeños ecosistemas en los bosques para preservación y ahora destruyeron todo eso que la misma comunidad construyó para poner canchas sintéticas y una cantidad de cosas que no tienen sentido.

JM (00:19:32): nosotros somos consciente que llevamos poco tiempo. En número hemos podido hacer movilización de 7.000-8.000 personas, tenemos unos núcleos trabajando sensibilizando y formando en conceptos técnicos en el POT.

SR (00:21:32): qué tipo de proyectos se han desarrollado desde la comunidad?

JM (00:23:44): en el plan tenemos en estos momentos 5 propuestas fuertes estructuradas técnicamente. Son proyectos estructurantes. La parte alimentaria, el componente de hábitat.

JM (00:25:34): conformamos la agencia de desarrollo local, que hasta el momento van 13 organizaciones agremiada, van a trabajar todo el tema socioeconómico. Una red solidaria de organizaciones legales y otras sin representación jurídica pero legitimadas por las comunidades.

JM (00:26:50): tenemos un concejo de gestión, que la misma alcaldía lo atacó, para el desarrollo local en el que están reunidas todas las organizaciones donde se emiten conceptos frente a lo institucional, y también dan gestión. Es más bien una herramienta política. La técnica es la agencia de desarrollo local, la política utiliza alianzas con la universidad y otras instituciones y aparte de eso, las redes que se van conformando le dan fortaleza al territorio. Todas esas acciones son dirigidas desde la planeación participativa consultada con las población hace más de 3 años [2007-2010], un proceso de construcción colectiva. Nos valíamos mucho del PP para poder tener recursos y el actual alcalde quiere acabar el PP porque algunas comunas estaban habilitando espacios de formación para la participación y entonces se estaba volviendo una ciudad donde se podía hacer debate y el alcalde piensa más es como hacer debate con los partidos políticos y el concejo de Medellín, entonces en un tejido social de esos donde se habla de debate público abierto no cabe la propuesta politiquera ni partidista, entonces empezó a atacar.

SR (00:31:38): como ves el futuro de la participación en los procesos urbanos?

JM (00:32:00): me da temor que se repita la historia, porque la ilegalidad está viva, un estado ilegal, que no respeta los derechos de las personas, negocia con criminales, le da temor a uno hasta por la vida propia y de los compañeros, pero en el lado positivo, yo le pongo 12 años para poder tener una movilización muy fuerte, cualificada y cuantitativa, a mediano plazo ver pero que se cristalizan propuestas, ya nos llegan propuestas técnicas, el MIT entrega propuestas, Francia también de vivienda y un foro solidario, entonces a través de esas propuestas técnicas y así yo veo a 12 años siquiera 2 barrios recuperados y que al gente este dotada de herramientas y conocimiento, hacerlas accesibles para la población, nos damos el lujo de tener compañeros que empezaron aquí en los nodos y los enviamos ahora a capacitar a otras comunidades.

SR (00:36:45): como es la estrategia de transferencia de conocimiento?

JM (00:37:10): nos reunimos con todos los corregimientos, la comuna 1 y la comuna 13 estamos haciendo bloque de ciudad y nos asignan la labor de tomar la dirección, no somos una pirámide, es plana, dialogamos, y hablamos con las comunidades para empezar la movilización.

SR (00:44:24): que herramientas necesitarían para poder avanzar en los procesos participativos

JM (00:44:37): Seguir formando la gente, las comunidades organizadas y formadas son la base del desarrollo y con interlocución con el estado.

JM (00:49:54): el PUI, logramos hacer acuerdos, se llegó a unos mínimos, respeto a las personas, al medio ambiente, recuperar la infraestructura, la gente pudo salir de las zonas donde se iban a implementar las obras de una forma más digna.

JM (00:51:51): el tema de vivienda lo negociamos con el tema educativo, infraestructura educativa que padecía la sierra, el componente ambiental con un eco-parque ambiental para el barrio villa Turbay donde hay un componente histórico grande. Entonces poder ir adecuando en el territorio ciertas opciones. Más abajo la interconexión vial entre 4 barrios. El centro de salud integrado a un centro cultural, a una escuela de arte, música. El centro cívico las estancias. Todo un tema ambiental con vivienda al lado, recupero los alrededores y vivienda con materiales alternativos. Todo eso quedó financiado, pero con el cambio de gobierno esos recursos desaparecen. Ahora lo que van a hacer, es que en ese centro cívico es que no se va a hacer el centro cívico sino que vamos a sembrar prados y jardines....Pero eso no era! Era un centro cívico del que más de 10 barrios se iban a beneficiar.

JM (00:55:29): las pasadas administraciones, fajardo y Alonso abrieron unos espacios de participación y empezaron a meterle el tema social y humanista al desarrollo de la ciudad.

***Transcription Interview Rubyselen Ortíz, PUI Comuna 8-9, Medellín***

Rubyselen Ortiz – RO

Susana Restrepo - SR

RO (00:06:00): Carlos Jaramillo era profesor de arquitectura en la u, saco un proyecto de estudiantes y de ahí salió la primera versión del pui y cuando entro como director de planeación empezó a implementar y obviamente la creció con la ayuda de todos los profesionales que habían en al EDU.

RO (00:11:02): mi nombre es Rubyselen Ortiz Sánchez, periodista, vivo en el barrio la sierra desde hace 33 años, toda la vida. Mi mamá llegó l barrio en una invasión y construyó una casa. En esa casa conoció a mi papa y él se la llevo para un sector del barrio que se ha mantenido un poco al margen del conflicto del barrio, una isla en un cañón rodeada de cafetales. Allí crecí yo, aislado por suerte no hemos tener que sufrir mucho el impacto de la violencia, aunque vemos lo que pasa. También ha sido un tema cultural, la familia no se mete con los vecino y así hemos estado tranquilos, igual todos nos vemos afectados en algún momento. Ahora trabajo como comunicadora, soy socia fundadora de la Corporación Cultural Diáfora, en la que trabajamos temas culturales, memoria y patrimonio, comunicaciones, promoción de lectura, participación, convivencia y desarrollo. Es una gama amplia. A partir del procesos de la corporación y a partir del 2008 y 2009 que llego el ejercicio del plan de desarrollo local a la ciudad, y específicamente a la comuna 8, donde vivo, la corporación contratante para este servicio en la comuna le daba miedo entrar, llegar con profesionales de otras comunas era muy difícil entonces buscaron profesionales en el barrio y me llamaron como comunicadora y a un compañero sociólogo lo llamaron como técnico y se armó un equipo de gente que vivía en la comuna que es muy apropiado. Se metieron a hacer un trabajo que era en realidad lo que nosotros estábamos

haciendo, lo que los obliga a un nivel de rigurosidad muy alto, al punto de que es ahora uno de los dos procesos de planeación local más consolidados en la ciudad junto con la comuna 1 (Convivamos). Un proceso muy consolidado, y a partir de ese proceso del plan de desarrollo, ya llevo 5 años, hicimos un trabajo con el CEHA y de ahí sale toda una estrategia de urbanismo dentro del territorio y con la llegada de la EDU el plan de desarrollo se salió de la planeación y empezó a intervenir en otras actividades.

SR (00:15:36): estuviste en todo el proceso. Planeación local se refiere al plan de desarrollo y proceso de priorización de las actividades?

RO (00:15:48): Exacto, el PP fue el que, a partir del ejemplo de la comuna 1, se vio la necesidad de planearnos para que el dinero no se pierda, entonces hagamos un plan de desarrollo. Inicialmente arranco con 50 millones, la última fase tuvo 400, la gente fue entregando más y más recursos al ver que era efectivo. Hicimos una fase diagnóstica, una fase de formulación donde se priorizaron por componentes, líneas programas, proyectos, y con ese ejercicio empezamos a priorizar proyectos que la gente gestionaba en el PP, pero el recurso del PP era muy bajo, y tuvimos que hacer macro proyectos para buscar más recursos en la administración. Fuimos por el recurso ordinario por medio de macro proyectos y una estrategia de gestión. Los macro proyectos son más o menos 12

SR (00:18:13): quiénes estuvieron involucrados en ese proceso participativo?

RO (00:18:34): tenemos más o menos 150 organizaciones locales dentro de la comuna entre corporaciones, mesas colectivas, redes, pero desde mayo de 2013 estamos parados por la ley de garantías.

SR (00:19:10): son legales con personería o solo legitimadas por la comunidad?

RO (00:19:24): del fenómeno de participación hay un proceso especial que te voy a contar por etapas. Al principio hicimos una división del territorio porque el barrio es muy fragmentado. Partimos la comuna en nodos por características naturales o de infraestructura, fue una idea de los sociólogos, y de ahí salieron 10 nodos. Se convocaron reuniones nodales con gente de todo el área y se empezó a hacer una fase de diagnóstico con propuestas de los mismos residentes para solucionar los problemas. De ahí empezaron a surgir las líneas del proyecto. Con esa participación, estaban generando impacto con un buen ejercicio de comunicación y recolección de información entre los residentes, todos, los que están en el barrio hace 30 y los desplazados que llegaron hace 5. Posteriormente se tuvo que cambiar la metodología por falta de recursos. Teníamos 2 nodos especiales que eran asentamientos de desplazados que no estaban para nada consolidados. Y en la tercera fase que era la del plan de desarrollo nos exigían desde la administración una estrategia de gestión. Empezamos a reunirlos por temáticas y fue más efectivo en los temas de gestión pero no en el impacto territorial. Entonces, la suerte fue que CORPAES recibió el proceso de fortalecimiento de la JAL. Así nos fuimos con 18 mesas

temáticas. Desplazados, vivienda y servicios públicos, etc. Temáticas en temas por población y por legitimidad. La estrategia de gestión nos exigía que los proyectos tuvieran responsables, entonces las mesas se encargaban de los proyectos lo cual al final demandó un proceso de capacitación y gestión de proyectos para que ellos tuvieran las herramientas. Generamos un comité de estudios para la planeación del desarrollo con Jairo Maya a la cabeza y apoyados en el acuerdo 43 y en la figura de gestión de territorio se formó el “concejo de planeación y gestión del desarrollo local de la comuna 8” con la fuerza de las mesas y mientras tanto la JAL hacia las reuniones nodales y llevaba las opiniones de los residentes al equipo de gestión. Llegaron las elecciones y cambió la JAL, es decir la parte de participación se desdibujó, y atendieron un llamado de la administración en el que les hacían reconocer solo las comisiones de PP, la Junta, el MPP y la JAL, las mesas al no estar contempladas en el decreto, sacaron 15 mesas. Error garrafal. Desarticularon totalmente el espacio, la gente no los siguió reconociendo y la JAL se quedó sin el soporte social. Cambiamos de junta, tuvimos muchos problemas, la gente renunció, nos forzaron a hacer un ejercicio de homologación de los planes sin cambiarlos, y el único ejercicio que encontramos nosotros en el que podíamos equiparar esos planes era al tema de derechos humanos y al tema de la prioridad del ser humano. Un nuevo equipo, pero como era para toda la zona, ya era más poco por comuna, y el ejercicio de planeación se dilató motivado por los cuestionamientos al acuerdo 043 de 2007, por el cambio de JAL, la secretaria de participación estaba definiendo quienes podían participar o no en el equipo de gestión. El cambio de administración fue muy duro y nos devolvimos 4 o 5 años en participación, y además nos ponen otro tema en frente que eran las “jornadas de vida” un ejercicio en el que se priorizan recursos a la orden de un ejercicio de planeación de 2 semanas, en el que la gente se reúne, se priorizan temas, medio desarrollan un árbol de problemas y ya un técnico de cualquier lado tiene que venir a coger el árbol de problemas y a generar un proyecto y se le presenta al alcalde y a los concejales en una “jornada de vida”. En esa jornada el alcalde [transformo un ejercicio de participación en un concurso de popularidad de los proyectos, cambiando la forma de priorización de un ejercicio democrático de votación a un ejercicio popular de aplaudir] se le dio a la gente un folleto con el plan de desarrollo para que tuvieran idea de los proyectos que se estaban trabajando en el proceso participativo, y finalmente con los objetivos del plan de desarrollo se priorizaron algunos proyectos, entre ellos el mejoramiento integral de barrios que es uno de los proyectos en la línea del hábitat que se construyó con el cehap, y ese día pasó. Nos indignó ese día [jornada de vida] porque fue tirar a la basura un proceso de 4 años de trabajo y ponerlo en aplausos y gritos.

RO (00:32:08): El manejo del cambio de administración fue muy doloroso. Yo decía, PP es una muy buena escuela porque la gente empieza a ser consciente que es comuna, para que sirva, y por qué es necesario mirar la comuna y en lugar de mirar solo el barrio, y empieza a tener contacto con gente que no había visto nunca. Pero con estas jornadas de vida los barrios se vuelven rivales.

RO (00:32:46): tuvimos un problema grave que fue. El mejoramiento integral de barrios estaba planteado en ese momento para 16 barrios, los de asentamientos de desplazados y las zonas de ladera y nos pusieron a competir con el acueducto de un barrio. Entonces 16 barrios que necesitan acueducto, no es solo 1 barrio. Al final generamos una alianza rarísima y todos terminaron votando por el acueducto para todos.

RO (00:35:41): esa competencia no se queda en las jornada de vida, sino que termina por salirse de ahí y termina generando más violencia en el barrio. Entonces, la estrategia de participación llegó ahí. Estábamos descuadrados en la gestión porque si la idea era salirnos del PP, había avances y varios aliados con la embajada de Japón , Alemania. Había varias cosas, no muy consolidadas, pero había oportunidades. Pero la estrategia de gestión se quedó congelada, nos pusieron a pelear en como homologar los planes de desarrollo zonales en áreas con características urbanas muy distintas.

SR (00:37:33): qué proyecto se desarrolló de los que tenían planeados?

RO (00:38:25): de los proyectos que teníamos formulados, una comunidad se apropió mucho de uno. La mesa de vivienda y servicios públicos se volvió muy fuerte, la empezó a acompañar la Corporación Jurídica Libertad, y con el ejercicio de construcción social del hábitat de la Universidad Nacional que fue inicialmente un proceso de capacitación, luego un procesos de construcción de proyectos, se juntó el mejoramiento integral de barrios y seguridad alimentaria, como propuesta de la comunidad misma, diseñados por un sociólogo, Carlos Velásquez. Huertas como control de borde y para seguridad alimentaria están proponiendo que esas huertas generen unos centros de distribución, orquestado por el otro proyecto que es económico la agencia de desarrollo local, que fue gestionada como iniciativa de producción.

RO (00:42:45): lastimosamente el tema de participación liquidado total. Pasamos de tener hasta 340 delegados del PP a 140. Plan de desarrollo congelado por el tema de contratación entonces no se ha hecho nada más. La gente lo priorizo, pero no se ha contratado por ley de garantías y ahora la coyuntura con la revisión del POT que sin la única estrategia de movilización que tenían a la mano que era el plan de desarrollo local y está quedando totalmente por fuera, la voz de las comunidades va a ser liquidada, y de la mano de Jorge López presidente de CAMACOL entregando la propuesta en pasta dura al director de planeación. No sé qué esperar del POT. Porque la estrategia de comunicación se convirtió en la estrategia de mercado.

RO (00:48:40): dentro del proceso con Oscar Santana, para el PUI, a partir de la estrategia que tenía la JAL de seguir por nodos y nosotros por mesas generamos una relación que fue que la JAL pregunto por nodos lo que la gente quería hacer físicamente en el territorio y lo proyectaron en un mapa grande con toda la propuesta de la ciudadanía y nos sentamos con el equipo de diseño y técnico del barrio y el equipo de diseño y técnico de la EDU y empezamos a comparar y combinar el mapa que la gente había plasmado con los diseños de la EDU en el PUI.



SR (00:49:37): De alguna forma si se recogieron algunas de las necesidades de la comunidad?

RO (00:49:42): fue muy bonito.

RO (00:50:20): poner la propuesta de la administración y la propuesta de la comunidad a conversar, en una sola. Ganamos todos. Fue muy chévere porque se apoyó el PUI.

RO (00:51:28): la comuna tenía una propuesta muy clara

SR (00:51:30): y fue por ese proceso de participación. Mi idea es que a partir del proceso participativo se genere un plan de desarrollo urbano

RO (00:52:30): los proyectos tienen que conversar, se tienen que priorizar, se deben consultar con la gente, que la gente vea el proceso de construcción del plan, los detalles. La ciudad tiene un gran problema de comunicación y la academia se sigue quedando encerrada.

#### **A.4. Transcriptions of Professional Interviews**

##### *Transcription Interview Arch. Adriana Larangeiras, Rio de Janeiro*

Rio de Janeiro. November 11th, 2013

Adriana Larangeiras -AL-. Municipalidad de Rio . Architect, Master in Economy, Master in Urban Development and Engineering. Secretaría Municipal do Habitacao.

Susana Restrepo Rico -SR-

AL (0:00:00): De que nos estemos montando falsas soluciones, de que son la gran magia que nos va a solucionar todos los problemas, eso no es cierto. Si no tenemos todo un conjunto de programas urbanos y políticas urbanas que estén estructurados y coordinados para moverse con los temas de la ciudad, apostar todas nuestras fichas únicamente en un programa de mejoramiento barrial no nos va a llevar a ninguna parte, es más, se nos puede empeorar el problema.

SR (0:00:43): estoy de acuerdo, sin embargo cada quien tiene que trabajar en lo que sabe. Yo sé de urbanismo, de arquitectura y estoy tratando de avanzar por este lado, porque no soy ni socióloga, ni politóloga ni administradora. Yo sé que todo el mundo tiene que trabajar conjunto, pero en el momento en que podamos las instituciones gubernamentales a que trabajen de forma coordinada, y tener una base clara para montar un programa que no sea solamente urbano, sino que sea un programa social en general, que sea comprensivo de todos esos aspectos que se necesitan en la vida urbana, podríamos ir avanzando.

AL (0:01:38): Entonces teniendo claro que idealmente hay otros programas y otros componentes y cuando hablamos del mejoramiento barrial estamos hablando de una cosita dentro de un gran conjunto desarticulado, entonces entramos a hablar del programa.

AL (0:02:13): El programa Favela-Bairro como tal, ya no existe. Fue absorbido en gran medida por el programa que ahora se llama Morar Carioca. Morar carioca sería ponerle al Favela-Bairro algunos nuevos componentes, pero sigue siendo un programa de producción habitacional.

AL (0:05:49): Hoy privilegio bastante una visión económica, las relaciones económicas explican en gran medida la existencia de estos asentamientos y que francamente desde la práctica del diseño urbano no se puede aplicar y es muy poquito lo que se puede hacer por estos asentamientos informales. Y sobre todo la forma como se tiene acceso a la tierra urbana, que son la realidad económica y urbana a la vez, que son dos realidades inseparables, pero la raíz del problema es bastante más complicada que eso, entonces las soluciones desde simplemente el diseño urbano que es simplemente embellecer las condiciones de los asentamientos, pues desde un punto de vista quizás humano puede ser efectiva si se mira la favela de forma aislada, pero si se mira la ciudad desde el conjunto ves que ese tipo de acciones tienen muy poco eco en la forma en que las poblaciones de más bajos ingresos no tienen la posibilidad de acceder a la tierra urbana por la vía formal.

SR (0:07:21): hablando de eso, cual es el impacto que tuvo el programa Favela-Bairro

AL (0:07:30): tuvo un impacto muy grande comparado con los programas contemporáneos, hubo en esa época toda una oleada de programas de mejoramiento barrial por toda Latinoamérica a principio de los 90, y FB tuvo una gran ventaja que fue la escala; con FB logramos alcanzar casi el 50% de los habitantes de favelas la ciudad, y eso es mucho más que la media.

AL (0:09:04): Cuando me refiero a las escala es porque la escala en la que se desarrollan los programas de mejoramiento por lo general es muy tímida en Latinoamérica, entonces lo que realmente se puede percibir a nivel urbano son muy poquitos, es un problema que es casi intrínseco a estos programas, el hecho de que siempre tenga que ser desarrollado en una escala tan tímida, tan pequeña que el efecto que producen en términos urbanos apenas se deja notar desde la óptica de la ciudad, entonces desde ese punto 50% es un gran impacto, y así y todo, desde la perspectiva de la ciudad se ve poco.

AL (0:10:16): fue un gran avance en su momento, y también, esta comparación entre distintos programas en ciudades capitales brasileras influyó también el tamaño de Rio de Janeiro y el monto total de inversiones, que fue muy alto muy por encima de la media de los demás programas, entonces todo eso en conjunto produjo que en el caso específico de FB se pudiera un poco romper este problema de la escala que se repite de forma reiterada en la inmensa mayoría de programas de este tipo por toda Latinoamérica. Eso fue un punto positivo, otro punto positivo, fue llamar la atención otra

vez sobre la cuestión de las favelas. Se lanza el programa en el 94 el mejoramiento barrial era un tema que estaba como adormilado, las preocupaciones andaban por otro sitios, entonces el lanzamiento del programa y el concurso que se hace para su lanzamiento vuelve a captar la atención del público hacia el programa y vuelve a plantear el mejoramiento barrial en la agenda urbana.

AL (0:12:12): un problema que generó por ser tan grande echo sombra sobre todos los demás programas, la gente solo tenía ojos para FB, porque era grandísimo, porque era magnifico, porque estaba todo el día en los medios. Hubiese sido mejor para el conjunto de la ciudad, que hubiese un poco más de equilibrio entre el programa de mejoramiento barrial y los demás programas que estaban planteados simultáneamente en la política de aquel entonces. Si hoy preguntas, nadie se acuerda que programas se desarrollaron existieron en su momento. Quedaron como eclipsados, algunos existen todavía.

SR (0:13:55): uno de los objetivos de FB era integrar a la favela a la ciudad formal, regularizar las unidades habitacionales y desarrollo social. Se cumplieron esos objetivos?

AL (0:14:26): Muchas cosas se quedaron en el tintero.

SR (0:15:08): cuales son esos objetivos que quedaron sin resolverse y hubiesen sido importantes para el programa

AL (0:15:18): Me parece que la parte física es algo que verdaderamente aprendimos a hacer. La infraestructura, pavimentación de las calles, alumbrado público, los edificios, esto se sabe hacer. Me parece que a este punto lo difícil era la forma de gerencia todo eso, coordinar todo eso. Técnicamente, cualquiera que tenga la formación adecuada puede hacerlo, el toque del asunto era la coordinación en gran escala involucrando unos montos de presupuesto bastante grandes altos que no eran fáciles de administrar, lo que se nos ha quedado en el tintero es toda la parte de regularización de la tenencia, en un punto determinado incluso lo que tuvimos era un programa específico para la regularización, porque la obra física va más rápido que el procedimiento jurídico que conduce a la tenencia segura, entonces hay, por la naturaleza de las actividades, un desfase de tiempo entre los dos, y la verdad es que la regularización jurídica es lentísima.

SR (0:17:15): hay alguna manera de poder hacer los dos procesos simultáneos?

AL (0:17:23): Empieza simultáneamente y la obra física empieza, termina y ya nos fuimos y la regularización jurídica sigue año tras año, porque se tienen que consultar muchas estancias burocráticas, entonces es lentísimo, muy burocrático, muy dependiente de muchos trámites y se tarda mucho tiempo. Tampoco es que sea algo peculiar al FB, por este periplo pasan todos los programas nacionales y latinoamericanos, porque tenemos estructuras jurídicas similares y nos encontramos que con este tipo de procedimientos tarda mucho. La parte física se hace, se termina, se queda la unidad que permanece en el área y lo jurídico se arrastra por años.

SR (0:18:58): quien es el dueño de los resultados de FB?

AL(0:19:03): creo que es la ciudad, por definición.

SR (0:19:30): pregunto como representante de la municipalidad, de quien debería ser esa responsabilidad de mantener y cuidar ese espacio?

AL (0:19:40): Lo que estaba en las definiciones del programa que los asentamientos una vez ingresados al programa y una vez que se terminen los trabajo pasan a ser una parte de la ciudad como otra cualquiera, entonces lo que se intentó plantear es que, los sistemas de mantenimiento sean iguales buenos, medianos o malos en toda la ciudad, compartir entre los ciudadanos lo que hay, entonces de la misma forma, como los sistemas de mantenimiento no son perfectos en todo el territorio, en los asentamientos van a tener las mismas imperfecciones que el resto de la ciudad.

SR (0:21:29): Porque apenas ahora, después de 15 años de la implementación de un programa es que viene la comunidad a hacerse dueña de ese mejoramiento. Cuál es el papel de la comunidad cuando se empieza a hacer estos planteamientos del FB

AL (0:21:52): ahora no hablo como representante de la municipalidad, hablo como ciudadana, tengo muchísimas dudas cuanto a esta definición de roles y responsabilidades porque veo, sobre todo en programas de Asia, una distribución de responsabilidades a los vecinos que honestamente no me acaban de convencer. Me parece lo siguiente: decía el programa que es una parte más de la ciudad como todas las otras, son ciudadanos como todos los demás, pagan los mismos impuestos como todos los demás, y yo no salgo a barrer el andén delante de mi casa, ¿por qué la señora que vive en Andaraí tendría que hacerlo? Si quiere hacerlo, es otra cosa, pero me parece muy raro que se le imponga al vecino una tarea que no es común al resto de la ciudad, si la regla general para la ciudad fuese que cada vecino limpiara su acera, que la limpiemos todos, o no la limpiamos ninguno, pero unos que limpien y otros no, me queda un criterio poco claro.

AL (0:24:24): En los últimos 30 años quedo muy claro que el riesgo de evicción es casi nulo, entonces estas décadas de inversiones públicas que están reiterando que no se les va a sacar. Hace 30 o 40 años la preocupación más grande era que se les echara, ahora mismo se preocupan por mil cosas y que se les eche aparece en alguno que paso por esa situación en el pasado. Al mismo tiempo veo que gran parte de los elementos que sostienen distintos recursos son precisamente estos, la aspiración de la gente de pertenecer a su comunidad.

AL (0:26:20): Por ejemplo, en Sao Pablo, en comunidades más pequeñas, se hace en menos tiempo. Al término se aplicaron unas encuestas, de las que salió que el grado de participación había bajado en picada, lo que dejo a la gente sorprendida. Y no es ninguna sorpresa, porque la gente se unía para cubrir las necesidades que estaban ausentes, esos servicios ahora están presentes, ya no hace falta que se organicen para proveer lo que ya está, entonces los básicos resueltos, la gente se dedicó a otros

menesteres. El punto donde se medía el grado de participación bajo, porque la gente no va a seguir participando en la solución de un problema que ya no existe. A veces también nos quedamos en lamentarnos por las pérdidas del sentido...Perdida ninguna, están mejor de lo que estaban antes. Podrán, si quieren, volver a organizarse para otros objetivos.

AL (0:28:46): No hay porqué imaginar que la gente de un barrio pobre deba seguir agarrada a un problema del pasado que ya no está, y muchas veces la forma como se hacen las encuestas tiene una especie de nostalgia, como que los barrios populares tienen que estar anclados en el pasado para siempre, y por favor , no , ese no es el objetivo de los programas, [el objetivo] es que salgan adelante.

AL (0:30:09): ¿Por qué tendrían los vecinos que aprender a hacer todo el manejo administrativos de las inversiones públicas?

SR (0:30:30): las comunidades deberían aprender como exigir del gobierno apoyo para proyectos iniciados por la comunidad

AL (0:30:40): Eso si, donde buscar los canales de comunicación para hacer efectivos sus derechos, eso sí.

SR (0:31:06): Que tipo de asistencia se le puede dar a la comunidad, que necesitarían para empezar procesos de intercambio de conocimiento?

AL (0:31:29): hoy es un canal abierto, cualquiera puede hacerlo por internet o teléfono, como individuos o como asociación, es bien sencillo, también como individuos. Así todo hay mucha gente que no lo sabe.

SR (0:32:10): Porque no se produce el acercamiento entre la municipalidad y los habitantes de los asentamientos?

AL (0:32:19): ahí ya creo que no es cuestión de acercamiento entre los habitantes y el municipio, me parece que es una cuestión más general de acceso a la información, acceso a educación de calidad, una formación que le brindara a la gente unas perspectivas más amplias, es un problema más de fondo. Si desde niños la gente hubiese tenido acceso a más información de calidad, hoy tendría más posibilidades de solicitar que se cumplieran sus derechos.

SR (0:34:10): qué tipo de instituciones gubernamentales trabajaron con el programa FB o profesionales?

AL (0:34:28): Arquitectos fuimos la gran mayoría y otros compañeros con formación en otras áreas del conocimientos, como sociólogos, trabajadores sociales, historiadores algunos, pero la gran mayoría arquitectos e ingenieros

SR AL (0:34:02): quien estaba encargado de coordinar los frentes de trabajo? Cuál era la agencia encargada de la coordinación?

AL (0:35:16): no tuvimos nunca una agencia.

SR (0:36:18): entonces como era el proceso de los proyectos

AL (0:36:22): Lo que teníamos, la secretaria de vivienda era la gran coordinadora del programa. En aquel entonces el alcalde había creado la macro-función, en dos grandes grupos; uno de políticas urbanas y uno de políticas sociales y la secretaria de vivienda era el puente entre los dos grupos actuando simultáneamente en ambos. Los grupos macro funcionales estaban formados por las mismas secretarías municipales. La idea era que abriendo ese gran canal de dialogo entre los secretarios, se pudiera sacar mejor partido de acciones en conjunto, entonces se vinculaban varias secretarías al programa y con eso se crearon sinergias muy positivas por el hecho del trabajo ser simultaneo y coordinado. Y aprovechando esos grandes movimientos intentamos reunir físicamente en el mismo espacio todo tipo de acciones posibles.

SR (0:38:45): aprendió la alcaldía de estos procesos de trabajo simultaneo y coordinado? Se trabaja ahora de esa manera coordinada?

AL (0:38:56): no, estas grandes estructuras macro funcionales ya no existen. La secretaria de vivienda sigue siendo el organismo responsable de la coordinación de los programas de mejoramiento como morar carioca, pero la agencia aquella no funcionó.

AL (0:40:20): se entiende que las publicaciones tienen objetivos institucionales.

SR (0:41:17): sugerencias desde la parte institucional para implementar un programa de mejoramiento.

AL (0:41:28): volvemos al punto 1. Que nunca se le planteara como algo aislado. Entonces un paso adelante, que es lo que está intentado dar el morar carioca, es romper el polígono que el asentamiento y mirar un tramo de ciudad un poco más amplio, y meter hacia adentro del proyecto las relaciones del asentamiento con su territorio colindante. El FB intento hacer eso de forma más tímida, ahora se plantea hacerlo de forma más contundente, agarrar el límite del proyecto que estaba ahí y extender su influencia, y las relaciones entre las áreas cercanas.

Explicación con dibujo: Ampliar las áreas de influencia de los proyectos, no solo espacialmente, sino también en las relaciones que se generan en los proyectos con las zonas colindantes

AL (0:44:18): Lo que hacía FB por ejemplo era trabajo de filigrana, pero que salieron de ahí buenos resultados. Se preguntaba a quién tenemos por vecinos, con quien podemos dialogar? Era un micro escala de trabajo.

SR (0:45:37): es posible hacerlo a una escala mayor?

AL (0:45:41): Si se mira un territorio mayor, se podría hacer a mayor escala.

AL (0:46:10): eso para no preguntarnos donde están nuestros planes maestros, donde fueron a parar? ¿Qué relación tiene esto con los planes maestros?

AL (0:48:23): No es poco común que los vecinos tengan poco claro cuáles son los ámbitos de gobierno y responsabilidades a las que se refieren, frecuentemente confunden las responsabilidades. En su cabeza es el gobierno general. Es difícil para ellos distinguir los niveles de gobierno y las responsabilidades. La peor forma de exclusión es la información inequitativamente distribuida.

***Transcription Interview Arch. Solange Carvalho, Rio de Janeiro***

Rio de Janeiro, November 11, 2013

Solange Carvahlo –SC-: Architect director of the architecture firm Arquitraco, in Rio de Janeiro.

Susana Restrepo Rico -SR-

SR (0:01:33): básicamente lo que yo tengo es un cuestionario semia estructurado pero lo que más me importa es tu perspectiva desde la parte privada y quisiera saber para ustedes como arquitectos que significo el programa Favela barrio en Rio en general

SC (0:01:55): La primera vez que el gobierno trabaja oficialmente con favelas es importante hay otro campo para arquitectos que antes no había

SR (0:02:10): el diseño de los proyectos que se hizo era un concurso abierto general

SC (0:02:16): el concurso favela barrio, si, y era metodológico no era del proyecto) ok era solamente metodologías (metodología como intervenir en favelas)

SR (0:02:27): y entonces de todas las metodologías se formó como un marco estructural para los proyectos que iban a desarrollar en las diferentes comunidades?

SC (0:02:36): ya estaba como que el programa ya estaba estructurado pero no era público, entonces el concurso fue para contratar despachos para trabajar para hacer proyectos para la municipalidad. No había todavía proyectos de arquitectos, urbanistas dentro de las favelas, entonces como tratar de entender como el equipo trabajaría en futuros proyectos en las favelas, por esto la metodología. Dicen mucho que el concurso dio para un programa y no el programa ya estaba hecho y el concurso vino en paralelo y entonces después de terminar el concurso (nos sentamos a hacer el programa) obvio yo conozco al secretario, maestro trabajo con el ahí en la universidad, entonces fue un poco eso un proceso de estructuración de un programa y el concurso era como hago para contratar a despachos

SR (0:03:50): es bueno saber eso porque lo que dicen los documentos (no es tan romántico) es que se hizo un concurso público y que de ahí se sacó la formulación del programa

SC (0:04:02): si, algunas ideas ahí contribuyeron para cambiar algo en el programa, pero seguro porque no hubo tiempo para hacer un programa justo después, yo me acuerdo que el concurso fue en abril del 94 un mes, un mes de concurso. El resultado fue en abril creo, en mayo ya estábamos negociando el contrato, entonces el programa ya existía, claro, pero no estaba todavía público.

SR (0:04:50): Y tú participaste, después de esto tu empresa tuvo algún proyecto en alguna de las favelas? en cuál?

SC (0:04:58): en varias, por ahí en 15 favelas pero empezamos con CHACARA DE OCACHIRO (confirmar nombre). Hay una publicación ahí de la bienal de Venecia, que fue Brasil upgrading, entonces allá hay un primer proyecto nuestro y hay varios de favela barrio y hay otra buena publicación de favela barrio de Magalhaes y empezamos con Chacara

SR (0:05:47): y en este como el proceso de diseño, había alguna parte de la comunidad, había como alguna consulta, alguna clase de trabajo con la comunidad?

SC (0:05:56): si, nunca fue muy importante la verdad es que primero tienes que conocer la historia también de todas las relaciones del gobierno con las favelas y eso es muy importante, vas a entender un poco como se da la participación aquí. El gobierno siempre ha entrado a las favelas para sacar a las personas, para matar a las personas. La favela siempre fue algo ilegal y a partir de Brizola, de los años 80 empezó el gobierno a mirar a las favelas como parte de la ciudad

SR (0:06:36): empezaron a cambiar las políticas de urbanización

SC (0:06:40) hay un artículo muy bueno de Marcelo Burgos de favela barrio, es muy bueno porque ahí el habla de un lado social, no urbanista pero social y habla de toda la historia del proceso político dentro de las favelas. El gobierno no entraba a las favelas y entonces empezó la primera cosa tenían miedo “ay el programa del gobierno, me van a sacar de aquí”, después que descubrían no es verdad mi casa no va a salir de aquí, entonces no me importa el espacio público, hagan lo que quieran. Digo bueno en mi casa todo está muy bonito y de repente los gobiernos, la municipalidad vio que necesitaban una participación más grande de la población, bueno como hacemos, hacemos workshops y preguntamos Que necesitas?, que necesitas? Salud, no sé qué, no sé qué, necesita de todo obvio, y no había nada específico, ese fue el gran deseo y siempre hasta y la verdad hasta hoy los gobiernos no están tan interesados en la participación no hay tiempo para eso, son procesos muy largos y acá tenemos 4 años de un político, gobernador o alcalde, 4 años entonces el entra tiene 2 años con dificultades. Como vas hacer para discutir todo y nada va a salir, y además que no hay una unidad

SR (0:08:47): ustedes como arquitectos me imagino que era toda la parte urbana y toda la parte pues como física, como era el trabajo con las otras dependencias de la municipalidad, pues con la parte de trabajo social, con la parte de legalización, como era ese trabajo?



SC(0:09:02): al principio en Favela Barrio había una intención de integrar toda la estructura de la municipalidad, y había eso, porque yo sé que había los secretarios todos se reunían cada 15 días a discutir que pasa en la municipalidad, pero es muy grande la municipalidad, el problema era que había el programa favela barrio que era un cosa novedosa dentro de la municipalidad y los que trabajaban en el área social no sabían que pasaba en habitación, en vivienda y nosotros llegábamos, a hacer un proyecto un proyecto, preguntar cómo son las escuelas, las guarderías y ellos lo encontraban interesante, pero no había gran comunicación interna, entonces nosotros éramos los coordinadores y eso no estaba mal pero había poco apoyo institucional y hacemos como la comunicación entre las secretarías. Hasta hoy es así.

SR (0:10:31): pasando a la parte del diseño a la implementación, quien era el ente encargado de la implementación, de la construcción, de la ejecución de la obras? y cómo era la comunicación?

SC (0:10:48): En el primer proyecto nosotros fuimos contratados para estar en la obra, para dibujar, porque no había un proyecto ejecutivo, era como un anteproyecto porque además cuando vas a abrir una calle, primero necesitas sacar las casas y ver como es la topografía y después anteproyecto

SR(0:11:12): y no tenían esa parte?

SC (0:11:15): no había como hacer el proyecto antes de la obra, entonces dependiendo, había como imaginar cómo sería pero el proyecto en sí no existía, lo hicimos durante las obras, pero cuando entro el BID hay cambio todo, porque el BID tiene como exigencia el proyecto definitivo, como vas a hacer un proyecto definitivo en una calle si no sabes cómo es el terreno, ahí es un poco la burocracia gringa que hacíamos proyectos y proyectos ejecutivos y después en las obras en la mitad, era no vamos a hacer ahora otra vez el proyecto, entonces también estabas en la obra pero en la mitad te sacaban todos los despachos y bueno la secretaria de habitación tiene como un departamento de obras adentro entonces los arquitectos de allá estaban directamente en las obras y hay cambiaban un poco el proyecto

SR (0:12:16): había alguna participación de la comunidad? Algún acercamiento a los residentes?,

SC (0:12:25): no nosotros nunca hicimos eso , era parte de la municipalidad

SR (0:12:29): solamente la municipalidad?

SC (0:12:30): si

SR (0:12:31): y entonces la comunidad no participo en algún momento en ningún proyecto, en la ejecución de las obras?

SC (0:12:39)Durante las obras la participación era mucho mayor

SR (0:12:42): Así?

SC (0:12:43): Si porque ahí si veían que estaban haciendo. Creía que no podían hacer eso aquí entonces ahí la participación es mucho más grande, durante las obras.

SR (0:12:52): Se cumplían normalmente los objetivos que se proponían?

SC (0:13:01): no

SR (0:13:02): era imposible?

SC (0:13:03): el proyecto sí, pero las obras no, porque había un tiempo también de algo que está bien, es un proyecto urbano entonces lo que es posible hacer en ese momento se hace lo que no, es un plan, eso es como se deben implementar los proyectos urbanos, pero el problema es que más bien a veces no había dinero para hacer todo, entonces los costos también eran más grandes de lo que imaginaban, ahí estaba una parte y a veces no era la parte que era más importante del proyecto que era la más social, las decisiones no eran de los despachos, los despachos no eran consultados, por decisiones de facilidad de ejecución, por costos, a partir del momento que los despachos no participaban más de las obras las decisiones no pasaban por los despachos, no había consulta a los despachos,

SR (0:14:07): era todo la municipalidad?

SC (0:14:09): y lo que siempre escuchamos es una vez que la municipalidad, contrata un proyecto el proyecto es de la municipalidad, siempre escuchamos eso y cambiaban, cambiaban los proyectos, contrataban otros arquitectos para cambiar los proyectos, si van a cambiar algo contraten el despacho que lo hizo,

SR (0:14:32): ellos tienen ya todo el saber, conocen el barrio y todo

SC (0:14:37): yo siempre digo que hay muchas de las favelas que hicimos proyecto, nosotros ni sacamos fotos porque no es nuestro proyecto más de 2004 a 2007 fue un desastre entro una secretaria que quería hacer obras por hacer, por visibilidad política, fue la decadencia de la favela barrio

SR (0:16:36): cuales son los desafíos mayores para el diseño de este tipo de proyectos urbanos?

SC (0:16:52): encontrar normas porque no se puede aplicar las normas de la ciudad en las favelas. Con ese criterio ahí ya tengo una experiencia de 20 años. Al principio siempre hay un desafío porque una calle si puede tener 3 mts y no sacar tantas casas, porque ponerla de 5 mts y ahí hay una cuestión de que dimensiones queremos de las cosas cual es la importancia de esto, para esta estructura? no hay normas, para las favelas no hay normas, entonces el problema es como proyectar sin normas pensando que es parte de la ciudad pero hay que respetar también el tejido existente.

SR (0:17:55): cómo adaptar la norma de la ciudad

SC (0:18:00): hay normas y hay que respetar las normas y ahí es cuando son directrices para el proyecto pero cuando no hay normas es una cuestión de sentimiento de intentar entender por eso cada proyecto es específico para un lugar

SC (0:18:41): hasta ahora estamos con esto de morar carioca estamos haciendo una publicación sobre recomendaciones del proyecto nosotros pero no se ha publicado todavía, nosotros aquí fuimos contratados para hacer el sistema vial y ahí son recomendaciones de proyectos pero no son normas, son recomendaciones.

SR (0:19:29): y depende también el entorno urbano

SC (0:19:32): si, y ese es más difícil, porque fue muy difícil escribir eso porque hay tantas variables y en el proyecto también hay muchas variables

SR (0:20:00) : sugerencias desde la parte profesional para este tipo de programas . Como sería el procedimiento, que se debería hacer para incluir a la empresa privada como parte del programa?

SC (0:20:14): ya están dentro

SR (0:20:45): como podría la empresa privada apoyar esos procesos de conocimiento de aprendizaje desde la arquitectura y el urbanismo? Se podría hacer un trabajo conjunto con la comunidad o es muy complicado?

SC (0:21:02): sería posible si hubiera tiempo y dinero. Tal vez sí, es pensar cómo puede la participación contribuir para el proyecto, como los proyectistas pueden contribuir para el entendimiento de la ciudad. Creo que pudiera haber un tiempo ahí que el despacho acompañase las obras y explicara las cosas no

SR (0:21:48): no hay ni tiempo ni plata?

SC (0:21:51): si hay plata y hay tiempo, pero no hay voluntad política porque en la ciudad las cosas suceden y no hay muchas explicaciones para las personas y de repente las personas no entienden mucho que pasa en la ciudad y no saben porque suceden, nosotros arquitectos sabemos un poco y entendemos por qué está sucediendo, vamos a discutir lo que está sucediendo, pero no hay un campo muy abierto para eso no?

SR(0:22:30): falta la parte de comunicación de información de lo que se está haciendo de las obras, hace mucha falta

SC (0:22:45): algunos despachos intentaron eso de hacer un puesto en la favela y hacer proyectos ahí adentro

SR (0:22:56): se podría hacer?

SC (0:23:00): si se invierte en ello, pero el gobierno pide pero no paga por eso, entonces en morar carioca había un pedido específico, los despachos tienen que tener un puesto avanzado dentro de las favelas para hacer el proyecto ahí adentro, con computadoras, con gente trabajando ahí y la seguridad mientras la seguridad. Así es una buena solución, trabajar adentro de los espacios el problema es cómo.

SR (0:23:40): con un trabajo conjunto con las asociaciones de moradores por ejemplo se podría ?

SC (0:23:49): aquí no hay una referencia muchas veces

SR (0:23:50): no, me han dicho que son muy politizadas...

SC (0:23:55): muy politizadas entonces están involucradas con narcotráfico, si entras ahí con el narcotráfico es pésimo para la relación con la población, entonces no es tan obvio así

SR (0:24:08): tendría que ser con un movimiento participativo mucho mas

SC (0:24:13): pero estas de acuerdo que eso es para un despacho chiquito y el valor del proyecto tiene que pagar por eso

SR (0:24:24): si claro obviamente no puede ser que el despacho diga ay voluntariamente

SC (0:24:30): pero el favela barrio creció tanto que era imposible no daba el tiempo para eso...

SC (0:24:41): el cronograma era muy apretado, entonces era imposible, en Borel (nombre) la violencia era enorme entonces ... para trabajar tuvimos 120 días de paralización de la topografía por problemas con narcotraficantes y todo. Es complicado ahora cambia un poco la situación con las UPP's pero ahora está muy caro y ahora las favelas están muy caras

SR (0:25:18): se pacificaron entonces ya sube el costo de vida porque ya no es tan difícil vivir allá, si yo estaba yendo mucho a Anadaraí y doña Marta.

SC (0:25:32): doña Marta es clase media, mitad ya es clase media, extranjeros que viven ahí y todo

***Transcription Interview Dr. Dell Delambre, Rio de Janeiro***

Dell Delambre -DD- Professor at the Pontifical Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro and advisor for the community of Andaraí in self-organisation for community initiated projects  
Susana Restrepo - SR-

DD (00:00:10): My name is Dell Delambre. Vivo en Rio de Janeiro en un barrio llamado Andaraí que queda entre Villa Isabel y Tijuca. Yo trabajo en Rio de Janeiro como profesor y participo en dos proyectos en Rio, uno es práctico, trabaja sobre memoria, ecomuseo una nueva forma de trabajar el desarrollo local dentro de las comunidades. La discusión sobre el ecomuseo, es la museología con una intención que valoriza la experiencia de las favelas de Rio que trabajan naturalmente con la memoria, descubrir, potencializar las oportunidades.

DD (00:02:33): es un proceso de empoderamiento mutuo porque siempre hay una transferencia de conocimientos. Existe un ecomuseo e la Favela Santa Marta y en Andaraí y es interesante porque en ambas se implementó el programa FB.

DD (00:03:32): El programa FB fue uno de los primeros programas que tiene una lectura diferenciada de las favelas, porque parte del supuesto de que no se trata de remover a los residentes, sino urbanizar para que las familias que ya moran allí, algunas desde hace más de 70 años, y que puedan tener los mismos derechos que los que viven en el “asfalto”.

DD (00:05:24): en principio, el programa FB tuvo una intención muy interesante, que era el proceso de urbanización de áreas que ponían en riesgo las familias. Entonces como inicio del programa fue fantástico. Ahora, lo que discuto es un problema que es crónico en la política brasilera, los programas de política pública son muy personalistas y están muy vinculados a su realizador, nos falta madurez en la política para entender que el bien público es más importante que los intereses personales. Cuando termina el periodo de gobierno, todas las secretarias cambian y los proyectos son literalmente eliminados y hay un nuevo gobierno que va a crear programas con su propio nombre y ahí quien sufre es la favela porque en ese punto, por ejemplo en Santa Marta, el proceso de recolección de aguas residuales fue mal hecho, o no se hizo, porque hay una disputa judicial en el caso del alcantarillado en Santa Marta acerca de la responsabilidad del alcantarillado, si es del gobierno federal o si es del gobierno local.

SR (00:08:47): y que dice la comunidad sobre de quien es la responsabilidad?

DD (00:08:56): las personas no siempre consiguen diferenciar entre las responsabilidades de los diferentes niveles de gobierno, sin embargo, en este caso hay una responsabilidad de la Prefectura y una responsabilidad del estado.

SR (00:09:24): la comunidad no cree que ellos tienen una responsabilidad?

DD (00:09:33): hay una diferencia entre las favelas que quedan cercan en la zona sur, porque es una característica de las personas de la zona sur de querer reivindicar sus derechos, al contrario que en otras favelas la participación de la comunidad en los problemas que las afectan ahora es muy bajo. Hay una serie de explicaciones para eso. Con FB parte del proceso no tuvo una continuidad porque además de la urbanización tiene que llegar los demás servicios también, de educación, de escuela abierta, escuelas de emprendedores, para incentivar la creación de sus propios negocios. Más en las favelas hay muchas personas que son emprendedores de la vida, pero hay una diferencia entre ser emprendedor con estructura y sin estructura, tener una estructura que le ayuda a emprender un plan de negocios, que le empodera con la capacidad y conecta con otras personas que hacen lo mismo. Es diferente.

DD (00:13:45): entonces el FB yo creo que como punto de partida era interesante, vio muchos problemas que son crónicos, el abandono de las favelas en Rio, el abandono del estado era crónico, deshumano, la forma en que Vivian las personas.

DD (00:15:18): por eso tal vez es importante el trabajo de la memoria porque busca en el pasado para entender el presente.

SR (00:15:34): la memoria se crea a diario, sobre todo en los barrios que cambian mucho en cortos periodos de tiempo, como trabajan ustedes con esos cambios tan rápidos?

DD (00:16:19): la verdad el legado de la memoria es de quien tiene acceso a ella, su propio proceso.

SR (00:21:26): cómo empezó la iniciativa y por qué no está involucrada la asociación de moradores?

DD (00:22:00): hay un programa de gobierno que organizo un negocio llamado intercambio de saberes, en el que invitaron todas las personas que tienen proyectos dentro de las favelas pacificadas y estas personas presentan lo que ellos estaban haciendo, y en una favela llamada Canta gallo de la zona sur.

DD (00:26:21): para mí todo los proyectos en la favela tienen que buscar el lado sustentable.

SR (00:26:28): claro, porque si no tienen futuro.

DD (00:26:35): si lo tienen, aquí en Brasil si lo tienen, el problema es que son dependientes de los favores políticos

### ***Transcription Interview Arch. Isabel Correa, Medellin***

Isabel Correa - IC – Architect working in the PUI in the Collection of Information

Susana Restrepo - SR -

IC (00:03:00): cuando se hizo el pui nororiental fue un experimento y parte del éxito de ese pui y todo lo que pasó para la formación de la metodología fue la intervención social, que tuvo mucho que ver con la relación directa con estos actores del conflicto social y con la comunidad. Nor-Oriental era un tema no solo de las bandas pero también de la misma comunidad y los resentimientos. Precisamente por eso se organizaron unos grupos de trabajo. Siempre hubo la discusión de cómo llegar a las personas de manera sutil y con hechos. Fue muy complicado y ataques directos por desconfianza, y el paternalismo género que la gente asistiera al comienzo porque esperaban algo que se les iba a regalar. El proceso requirió un grupo de trabajo con trabajadores sociales, sociólogos directamente relacionados con la comunidad y la parte de diseño estaba en relación directa con los jefes de las bandas que de cierta forma dieron un voto de confianza.

SR (00:06:59): Recibías la información de los talleres de imaginarios?

IC (00:07:02): yo no, esa revisión la hacían directamente los arquitectos con los sociales, porque en teoría debía haber una congruencia, claro que también pasa que el taller de imaginarios es más un imaginario por cumplir. Obviamente hay un acuerdo entre lo necesario y lo deseado, esa es la función del arquitecto cuando se recibe la información del imaginario, porque todo también viene de un proceso de diagnóstico, de necesidades, potencialidades del territorio mismo que la gente no conoce. La cuestión es tratar de encontrar el equilibrio entre lo que se quiere, lo que se pide y lo que se puede hacer y ahí es donde entra el equipo de arquitectos con el social.

IC (00:10:10): no solo la relación social-arquitecto sino arquitecto-comunidad, por ejemplo en centro-oriental, en esas relaciones que se hacen con las comunidades se cuenta con la participación de la JAC y la JAL y en la comuna 8 son muy activos.

IC (00:11:53): una de las falencias del pui es que se subestimaba mucho la comunidad. Hay gente que conoce el territorio, que sabe lo que puede pasar, gente muy activa mentalmente que saben cómo son las cosas.

IC (00:12:46): la diferencia entre tener la oficina en el barrio y tenerla en otro lugar tiene mucho que ver en esa relación con la comunidad. En la comuna 8 era como una especie de semillero de urbanistas, tiene mucho que ver en la forma en que el arquitecto aproveche la comunidad, la comunidad tenga conocimiento de lo que la rodea, desde el territorio y el estado, la relación y la congruencia entre el equipo de trabajo. Y hay mucha influencia política de la comunidad en las sugerencias que se la hacían al pui.

IC (00:15:07): el problema con algunos programas de las alcaldías y del asistencialismo es que en algunos casos, ejemplo específico, la comuna 13, mandaba el mensaje de “ser malo paga”. Se le ofrece ayuda a los integrantes de las bandas, a los que no están estudiando, pero a la gente que se esfuerza y que trabaja duro no se le ofrece mucho, entonces complica el trabajo porque pertenecer a la banda era lo más conveniente.

IC (00:16:30): en la 13 precisamente uno de los problemas es que todavía hace mucha falta más presencia institucional, y de lo social para que la gente entienda los procesos.

IC (00:16:54): La institucionalidad del pui tenía que estar muy bien articulada y de mucha voluntad política. El pui ejecutaba los proyectos para la EDU, la EDU lo hacía por orden y petición de planeación y eran solo ejecutores, pero si las otras instituciones no sostienen los proyectos o no los manejan bien se pierde la sostenibilidad.

IC (00:17:44): en nor-oriental en su momento, la administración de Fajardo se mantenía pendiente de todos y la coordinación. En Jerarquías la EDU es como cualquier otra institución. Y en esa medida se siente la importancia de la voluntad política.

SR (00:19:23): Explícame un poco sobre la idea del pui y el problema con la institucionalización del programa como política urbana.

IC (00:21:40): tan sencillo como que no está en el plan de ordenamiento territorial POT, se apoya en el POT, desde toda la parte de diagnóstico, en su momento el POT sugería áreas de intervención y el PUI buscaba una coherencia con el POT. Y es lo que hace que el PUI, que es una idea específica de una administración, pierda su continuidad con el cambio de administración.

SR (00:23:43): la forma de institucionalizar el PUI es meterlo dentro del POT?

IC (00:23:49): la única forma.

SR (00:24:22): qué relación tenían los PUI con los Planes de Desarrollo Local –PDL- ?

IC (00:24:29): Los PUI juiciosos, así como tienen de insumo el POT tenían de insumo el PDL, y a partir de ahí empezó la relación, pero no todos lo tenían que hacer.

SR (00:25:48): que habría que hacerse para poder combinar los PUI y los PDL?

IC (00:26:02): no se convertía el PDL en la base del PUI porque la fuente principal del PUI también tendría que ver con el cumplimiento del POT. Además pesar de que el PUI también es territorial, tenía que tener una visión de ciudad, lo que no pasa con el PDL, que es más local. La otra cosa, en el presupuesto participativo no se puede discutir nada de lo que la gente pida, es decir, lo que entra en PP ni se discute, no hay control, ellos lo piden y ellos lo manejan, y al ser una cuestión administrativa no hay mucha relación con el PUI. La otra parte muy visible del PP es que , como nadie puede cuestionarlo, es el derecho de una comunidad a que se le dé tanto dinero para lo que pide, también se usaba en cualquier cosa. Problemáticas generales, la forma de acompañar a la comunidad, porque no es lo mismo la forma en que asumió el trabajo social el PUI que muchas veces era por cumplir y de informar. Y no es lo mismo tener en un equipo de trabajo trabajadores sociales y un sociólogo por allá a tener dentro de equipo de trabajo al sociólogo o un antropólogo, o un profesional que desarrolle más una labor de las relaciones humanas que una persona que esta solo figurativa.

SR (00:28:53): faltaba el diagnóstico social?

IC (00:29:04): si había un diagnóstico muy riguroso, pero lo que pasaba es que desde el equipo de diseño no se tomaba en cuenta el trabajo de los sociales, la articulación era muy difícil.

IC (00:29:36): lograr el engranaje de los profesionales, era difícil.

SR (00:29:44): la gente que tiene la experiencia se fueron de la EDU

IC (00:30:07): la continuidad de pronto si existe, no con el nombre, sino con el concepto y la forma de hacer.

IC (00:31:03): la relación interna y externa de los componentes es básico.



SR (00:31:29): se hizo alguna clase de capacitación al personal del equipo de trabajo?

IC (00:31:36): no el que llegaba entraba a trabajar directamente. Tenía mucho que ver con creer en lo que se está haciendo. Y se nota mucho en la experiencia de la gente y haber trabajado en los procesos de los primeros PUI

IC (00:33:58): nor-oriental está destruido, hay contradicción muy fuerte entre tener que decirle a la gente como vivir, que tener y como estar? Esa idea de arquitecturizar todo? De pronto son justamente algunas de esas situaciones preexistentes que hacen que otras funcionen mejor que si se cambian por lo que esta estandarizado. La dualidad, hasta qué punto la gente lo necesita, o lo quiere o lo acepta?

IC (00:37:10): la formalidad tiene que aceptar que la informalidad existe. No todo funciona perfecto pero por lo menos se empezó.

***Transcription Interview Arch. Juan Pablo Bedoya & Arch. Marcia Caro, Medellin***

Marcia Caro – MC - Architect who worked with the PUI Nor-Oriental  
 Juan Pablo Bedoya – JP- Architect who worked with the PUI Comuna 8 y 9  
 Susana Restrepo - SR-

MC (00:00:32): Arquitecta, estuve en el proceso, primero como ejercicio académico desde el 2001 al 2003, se hizo un primer contacto y una presentación a la comuna nor-oriental y después en la EDU. El PUI empezó en la nor-oriental pero cuando entre a la EDU se quiso hacer un ejercicio en la comuna 13 con todas las fases de planeación, diseño y ejecución. Luego pasamos a la comuna centro-oriental.

JP (00:02:07): Arquitecto, estuve en el proceso del PUI centro-oriental desde el principio, en la etapa de diagnóstico, formulación, diseño y ejecución de obra y todo lo que abarcaba el proyecto en general.

SR (00:04:41): que significó el programa para la ciudad?

MC (00:04:58): al principio fue muy experimental y no muy ambiciosa, la estrategia era hacer pequeñas intervenciones que a la vez tenían gran impacto en el lugar. Llegar a los barrios era difícil, y ahora saber que se puede trabajar en esas zonas donde antes no se tenía acceso.

SR (00:06:39): la idea del PUI surge de dónde?

MC (00:07:45): en estas zonas hubo muchas intervenciones antes siempre por iniciativa institucional, son antecedentes.

JP (00:08:12): es una figura que ya está en el POT pero los proyectos se fueron adoptando a medida que se iban desarrollando y aprovechando las oportunidades en el camino. No fue gratis, fue un proceso, y nunca hubo tanta voluntad política como ahora de hacer una inversión urbana, sea por necesidad o porque políticamente vende mucho la idea de hacer infraestructura.

MC (00:09:42): la ventaja es que macro proyectos como el metro cable abren la puerta para que ejercicios académicos como el que se hizo en principio se pudieran acercar a la zona. Ya en la EDU con el cambio de administración se dieron cuenta del potencial que había y cuando Alejandro Echeverri que era el director del grupo académico que adelantaba el ejercicio del PUI pasó a ser el

director de la EDU, adopto el PUI y empezamos con pequeñas acciones que fueron detonando otros proyectos.

SR (00:11:05): cuáles eran los objetivos principales generales del PUI

JP (00:11:29): los objetivos fueron variando en el proceso, porque no se puede hacer ciudad como se diseña una casa, sino que hay que atender todos los ámbitos, el político, económico, social etc.

JP (00:11:59): en un principio los PUI tenían intención de ser más proyectos urbanos detonantes en ciertas zonas, como alguien lo llamaba “acupuntura urbana”, era hacer ciertas intervenciones que pudieran generar un desarrollo sin necesidad de transformar mucho el área, sino ir paulatinamente generando transformación.

JP (00:13:05): los proyectos se volvieron un poquito más ambiciosos, de hecho creo que esa fue la dificultad de los últimos pui que pasaron a una escala de desarrollo territorial.

JP (00:16:36): los pui se convirtieron en proyectos muy ambiciosos que cayeron en el formalismo, el trabajo de planos y la cualificación de ciertas cosas pero le faltaron estudios urbanos, le faltó contenido a las estrategias. Porque cuando se vuelve un tema de desarrollo urbano hay toda una planificación previa que hay que hacer, como calificar el territorio en términos de desarrollo en todos los niveles para que se puedan vincular.

MC (00:17:45): En el origen, los objetivos o la esencia fue resolver las necesidades urbanas comunes que no se veían resueltas por el macro-proyecto detonante que era el metro cable. Intervenciones a pequeña escala que resolvían un problema y necesidad básica.

MC (00:19:12): el valor agregado era poder vincular a la comunidad a todo ese desarrollo.

JP (00:19:35): yo creo que el objetivo real más allá de la movilidad era conectar zonas deprimidas, relegadas de ciudad con la ciudad, visibilizarlas y ponerlas en el mapa del territorio.

SR (00:21:00): los puntos críticos para que tuviera éxito

JP (00:22:12): en la política cada alcalde quiere hacer cosas nuevas, y la inversión y el interés se va hacia los nuevos proyectos de cada administración, entonces los proyectos pierden soporte administrativo, financiero por parte del estado.

MC (00:23:40): estos espacios dentro del PUI no se pueden estandarizar. Nor-Oriental fueron pequeñas intervenciones en un radio de acción del metro, pero cuando se quiso hacer un ejercicio réplica en otros lugares se fue desvirtuando la escala y se convirtieron en proyectos que necesitan apadrinamiento y músculo financiero y administrativo porque la comunidad no tienen las herramientas para apropiarse del espacio.

MC (00:26:58): eso es otro tema. Los PUI se empezaron a asociar a una división político administrativa que en realidad no representa las divisiones sociales y territoriales de los barrios mismos.

JP (00:29:49): se empezó a enfrascar en la intervención física y nos preguntábamos acerca de las estrategias ambientales en algunos casos, o sociales etc. Y por ejemplo los trabajos ambientales es un tema muy amplio, y de estudio de planificación y estrategias de uso del suelo que inicialmente no se hicieron, y se alcanzaron a ejecutar algunos, no todos los proyectos.

JP (00:32:15): y al evaluar el impacto no es muy importante porque no cambian las condiciones de vida de la comunidad. Se hacen inversiones físicas que visibilizan el territorio, pero las condiciones de vida continúan iguales.

JP (00:34:54): para poder renovar un territorio tiene que haber ciertas condiciones de habitabilidad, uno de los principios es tener ciertas condiciones de vivienda óptima. En Colombia hay un modelo asistencialista que lo único que hace es inscribir a la gente dentro del sistema económico del país y les imponen obligaciones financieras que no pueden cubrir. Además si se pretende descentralizar hay que generar políticas para ofrecer oportunidades de empleo, creación de micro empresas y muchos potenciales que no se aprovechan.

MC (00:36:38): ha sido por los cortes de administración. Estos proyectos son a largo plazo, así sean de la misma línea se vuelve un tema de sujetos. También el hecho de que hayan decidido la construcción del metro cable es por la densidad de la clase obrera y resolver el problema de movilidad era un beneficio para la economía urbana. Los logros a corto plazo se vieron, pero se quedaron ahí y se congelaron y por ejemplo en el pui nor-oriental se hizo muy para el turista.

JP (00:39:10): en estos proyectos se ocultan los problemas con los hitos arquitectónicos como la biblioteca España que desde su entrega ha sufrido muchas fallas de construcción y diseño, pero sirve de tema mediático y una inversión importante en temas de colaboración internacional. Allá funcionó el PUI porque eran acciones muy concretas, muy acotadas. Sin embargo, a pesar de los problemas, el hito arquitectónico como estrategia del proyecto urbano es un acierto, porque empezó a generar desarrollos a su alrededor.

MC (00:40:53): si se habla de PUI que se pueda inscribir dentro de los objetivos del programa es el Nor-Oriental. Los demás perdieron la proporción.

JP (00:41:07): por eso los objetivos varían dependiendo de la escala de los proyectos. Los demás PUI extendieron su escala y se convirtieron en proyectos inmanejables para la EDU como ejecutor, porque se necesitaba continuidad en las administraciones para poder alcanzar los objetivos propuestos según la escala de los proyectos.

MC (00:41:22): en ese proceso de planificación se plantearon 5 sectores, porque estábamos trabajando en el 25% de Medellín y lo tuvimos que dividir.

JP (00:42:03): lo que se hacía era articular los proyectos de plan de desarrollo. Uno de los proyectos principales, planteados desde la formulación era el tema de la vivienda, que nunca llegó.

SR (00:42:22): la vivienda estaba planteada desde la formulación? Como fue ese planteamiento?

JP (00:42:27): habían varias condiciones. Teniendo en cuenta la clasificación del suelo y situación ambiental había que liberar zonas en riesgo y se convirtieron en proyectos de reasentamiento. Otra razón es que en la 8 hay muchos barrios de invasión identificados y la idea era hacer proyectos de reasentamientos para la población, contando con que los proyectos de infraestructura de servicios eran para la población local. El problema es que la vivienda nunca llegó por unas razones políticas y de recursos. En el procesos de cualificación y planificación iban apareciendo varias cosas pero ya venía una línea política con el tema de ello parque bibliotecas y muchos proyectos que no eran contundentes.

MC (00:44:30): lo que pasa es que en ese tema de inversiones para ellos [la administración]es de mayor impacto tener una presencia institucional, el edificio que venda.

JP (00:48:10): se viabilizan o se le da prioridad a proyectos que son básicamente renovaciones. Ahí aparecen por ejemplo las unidades deportivas. El PUI centro oriental se resumió en unas renovaciones

de paseos urbanos, que de hecho son andenes y parques y unidades deportivas a excepción de Bicentenario que era el proyecto como bandera del PUI centro-oriental, que era la puerta a todo el desarrollo de la quebrada Santa Elena, que nunca se dio.

SR (00:48:52): hablando de la parte de priorización, de los PUI más específicamente, como se hacía el proceso de toma de decisiones en cuanto a las acciones que se iban a desarrollar en el pui?

JP (00:49:08): u tema de dinero y de facilidad del proyecto.

SR (00:49:11): cuál era el papel de la comunidad en esa priorización?

JP (00:49:22): el pui tenía un proceso participativo que siempre critiqué porque más que participativo era simplemente espacios informativos

JP (00:49:42): por ejemplo, cuando yo hice el taller de imaginarios de uno de los proyectos, yo ya tenía el proyecto diseñado, aprobado por planeación.

MC (00:49:56): digamos que eso es una experiencia. Se hacían recorridos por zonas y se hacía un trabajo común entre técnicos, sociales y diseñadores.

JP (00:50:29): los recorridos se hacían con los representantes de las comunidades

SR (00:50:35): quienes eran esos representantes?

JP (00:50:37): el presidente de la JAC, los líderes barriales.

SR (00:50:39): elegidos democráticamente por la comunidad?

JP (00:50:44): en algunos casos, en otros eran simplemente líderes barriales, no necesariamente miembros electos de un organismo legalmente constituido.

MC (00:51:18): el ejercicio era también muy enriquecedor porque íbamos sin interés político, y se empezaba a social lo que nosotros veíamos dentro del ejercicio técnico, alimentado por los sociales, y después empezábamos a ver cuáles eran los verdaderos objetivos y necesidades. Casi siempre partíamos de la conectividad, que era la prioridad en un principio porque veíamos que todo estaba muy disgregado. Viene el tema de lo que realmente se debe hacer. El principio fueron obras de conectividad y espacios de socialización. Ya después vinieron esas obras de equipamiento, mayor infraestructura porque lo que se quería era hacer ejercicios de diseño y de obra que fueran muy rápidos y que de hecho ayudara también a la comunidad y la sensibilizara para que cuando llegaran las obras de infraestructura fueran ya parte de un proceso.

JP (00:53:39): y no quiere decir que los proyectos no generan impacto o no sean beneficiosos. De hecho el único que me parece que no tuvo mucho impacto fue el centro-oriental porque hubo mucho choque con la comunidad y no había claridad sobre lo que se iba a hacer.

SR (00:57:50): en la parte de participación, cuáles fueron los papeles que desarrollo cada uno de los actores en todas la etapas del proceso.

MC (00:58:40): eso no fue estandarizado, con la comunidad el tema fue primero para poder llagar allá tenía que empezar a sensibilizar la gente y por lo general en estos sectores es un tema de madres cabezas de familia y un tema más doméstico. La idea era hacer todo el acompañamiento que ellos nos hacían a nosotros en recorridos y antes que llegáramos allá habían líderes que hablaban con las comunidades para la organización logística.

SR (00:59:40): pero era más para que los dejaran trabajar y entrar al barrio, no los tenían en cuenta como activos en la parte de diseño?

MC (00:59:53): el ejercicio de taller de imaginarios surgió como iniciativa para poder vincularlos, obviamente en comunidades donde se parte de no tener nada los anhelos son muy grandes. Era también escucharlos pero de cierta forma la administración tenía unos plazos y el proyecto era otra cosa porque había que coordinar la parte técnica con la realidad. En esa parte se supone que si fue un trabajo conjunto pero el verdadero ejercicio lo hacíamos era los técnicos y diseñadores.

JP (01:00:53): El primer acercamiento con la comunidad se supone que el plan de desarrollo local, porque el plan de desarrollo es el reflejo de los intereses de esas comunidades, sin embargo, esos procesos del PUI, las formulaciones deberían meterse conjuntamente con las formulaciones de los planes de desarrollo para poder tener una participación más concreta de la comunidad ahí porque ya después, por tema de los procesos y la política, la participación inicial era un tema logístico para que nos dejaran entrar al barrio y muchas veces también era un proceso de convencerlos que el proceso era la mejor decisión para que lo aceptaran. Y el segundo proceso era el talles de imaginarios que llegaba a destiempo porque los proyectos ya estaban formulados y de pronto era solo el trabajo de una tarde, en donde no había oportunidad de orientarlos mejor para poder construir el taller. Un detalle importante es que no se les puede tratar como bobos porque pueden aportar mucho pero hay que orientarlos y explicarles de que manera pueden aportar en la formulación del proyecto es necesidad de decirles que ellos son los que lo tienen que hacer. El principio para la aproximación para uno tener en cuenta cuales son las características de lo que se va a formular debería ser eso, entonces se volvía mas un tema personal de lo que cada arquitecto podía indagar, porque por ejemplo, a nivel del grupo de trabajo social de la EDU social, se volvía también un tema logístico, organizar reuniones, que no era la idea, la idea era tener un componente social fuerte que perfilara a una comunidad y le empezara a dar a los diseñadores las luces de lo que realmente necesitaban [las comunidades].

MC (01:03:36): y la metodología no puede ser la misma en todas las comunidades, de pronto en una conversación informal transmiten más.

JP (01:03:57): el contratante pide resultados y exige unas actas entonces se escanean los resultados del talles de imaginarios

MC (01:04:13): es bueno como acompañamiento. Cuando estábamos en la parte de obra, que por licitación se elegía el constructor, había una condición que exigía que se vincularan dentro del personal personas de la comunidad al trabajo de la obra, porque se supone que eso generaba más sentido de pertenencia, en un principio era casi obligado, pero si las personas no estaban calificadas o no se podían contratar se hacían excepciones.

JP (01:05:20): y habían situaciones muy complicadas como convencer a una comunidad para que reciban un proyecto cuando tienen u barrio o un sector que tiene muchos problemas de estabilidad y de habitación, y como explicarles por qué no se arregla el barrio y se les va a hacer espacio público.

SR (01:08:50): y la parte de mantenimiento?

JP (01:09:01): mantenimiento cero

SR (01:09:08): a quien le pertenecen los proyectos? Quien es el responsable del mantenimiento?

JP (01:09:15): dependiendo del carácter de la obra, cuando son espacios deportivos los asume el INDER, cuando son espacios públicos los asume Obras Públicas, algunos los recibe la secretaria de cultura, salud y educación los recibe las respectivas secretarías, etc.

SR (01:09:39): pero no se hizo un convenio con la comunidad?

MC (01:09:45): en el momento en que se entrega se supone que sí, entonces en un principio mientras todo esta nuevo, la gente se apropia, pero después nos dimos cuenta que se terminaba, se entregaba a obras públicas y no se mantenía.

JP (01:10:26): la conclusión es que los proyectos de inversión pública se mantienen en la medida en que sean exitosos en apropiación por parte de la comunidad, porque es la comunidad quien finalmente los mantiene. Si el espacio no se asume, no se reconoce, no se adopta por la comunidad, es un espacio completamente muerto.

JP (01:11:00): Campo Santo es un proyecto que se hizo en el área del desastre de Villa Tina. La comunidad tiene algunos proyectos dentro de los cuales están campo santo y el cerro los valores. Campo santo funcionaba muy bien a pesar de su precariedad como espacio de culto. Y llegó el PUI y reconoció los proyectos como potencialidades, sin embargo, a pesar de que se reconocieron, las implicaciones que tenían de sacar a la comunidad y que entrara el municipio como administrador de esos espacios, hizo que mejor descartáramos el proyecto [el cerro de los valores y lo dejáramos tal cual para que la comunidad siguiera siendo dueña de él. Y es un espacio público precario pero que funciona, a diferencia de otros espacios públicos que están muy bien definidos técnicamente pero no funcionan. En el caso de campo santo se metió el PUI allá. Primer problema: el estado no puede hacer equipamientos religiosos, entonces era un equipamiento general, en la construcción del equipamiento se sacó a la comunidad que lo administraba, el equipamiento nunca se entregó a la comunidad y nunca el municipio se apropió, entonces lo que antes era un espacio habitado espontáneamente pero funcional y del que la gente tenía un reconocimiento se volvió un espacio deteriorado, una inversión que se ganó un premio y aun así, se perdió el espacio y además el equipamiento que se hizo fue de mala calidad. Entonces el equipamiento se convirtió en un tugurio.

MC (01:16:13): y que el lugar que sea caracterizado no tiene que tener materialidad para que se viva.

JP (01:16:37): y en ese tema de la cualificación se debe describir que no todo hay que intervenirlo.

SR (01:18:45): ustedes creen que las comunidades en general aprendieron algo del proceso del PUI?

JP (01:19:05): no creo que hayan aprendido mucho, más que aprender descubrieron cosas. Se dieron cuenta de que nosotros hablábamos de los ciclos políticos, que en algunos casos es un tema de generar obra no por beneficio de la ciudad sino por beneficio del alcalde, ellos se dieron cuenta de que eso era así, porque inmediatamente cambió la administración, los proyectos del PUI desaparecieron. Descubrieron que las políticas públicas necesitan continuidad, que no pueden ser políticas de cuatrienios, sino que los planes de desarrollo deberían ser por decreto una carta de navegación para la administración que llega.

MC (01:21:21): hay una minoría que descubrió cosas, que las secretarías tienen recursos, que pueden desarrollar propuestas y tocar puertas a ver si los apoyan, obviamente, son individuos, si no están apoyados de una maquinaria política es muy difícil.

JP (01:23:30): esos proyectos no son inversión social sino campaña política. De hecho hay muchos líderes que se reusan a participar de PP porque piensan que es una figura política.

SR (01:24:23): de pronto, a partir de esos planes de desarrollo local se podría generar un PUI? Montar un PUI a partir del plan de desarrollo local?

JP (01:24:46): Claro, total!

MC (01:24:47): pero hace falta la presencia institucional.

SR (01:24:53): porque no se toma en cuenta el PDL y se convierte en un PUI, cuales son los obstáculos?

JP (01:25:02): es un tema de la estructura política y el manejo de las figuras y los recursos para el desarrollo barrial y es que en la formulación de los PDL hace falta que los equipos de diseño de los PUI participen en esas formulaciones y obviamente el PP que es un recurso. No es que no haya institucionalidad, es que la institución que acompaña los PP no es la adecuada o no debe estar sola, sino que debe ser interacción de todas las secretarías que permitan que los proyectos se viabilicen además con conocimiento de toda la administración y es que muchas veces pasa eso, lo que para obras públicas es bien, para secretaría de gobierno no.

MC (01:26:32): Falta articulación entre la misma institucionalidad para que asesoren y hagan el acompañamiento, entonces PP se vuelve una bolsa partida.

JP (01:27:00): no hay un procedimiento establecido y es lo que hace que las cosas no funcionan porque finalmente, todo se tiene que articular.

SR (01:29:06): debería existir una agencia gubernamental externa específica para desarrollar estos proyectos o la EDU podría seguir siendo la entidad promotora de los PUI?

MC (01:29:26): la EDU en su origen como operador urbano era una cosa. La administración entre sus secretarías no tenía como soportar el tema de infraestructura y empezaron a inyectarle presupuesto y paso a manejar un gran recurso financiero a pero también un manejo muy experimental.

JP (01:30:21): las demás secretarías no formulan proyectos, sino que son entes de control aprobación y recargaron en la EDU todo ese proceso de formulación y desarrollo.

### ***Transcription Interview Arch. Oscar Santana, Medellin***

Oscar Santana - OS – Architect Coordinator of the PUI Comuna 13

Susana Restrepo - SR-

OS (00:01:59): Oscar Mauricio Santana, Arquitecto y desde el 2004 tuve la oportunidad de ser parte del equipo de trabajo de los pui en Medellín iniciando en la zona Nor-Oriental. Empecé como diseñador y termine como coordinador del componente de diseño de los proyectos, así que tuve la oportunidad de conocer todo el proyecto desde la parte de diseño hasta las relaciones institucionales.

SR (00:02:57): que significa para el municipio de Medellín un pui, cuál sería el concepto del pui?

OS (00:3:07): el concepto fundamental del pui es entenderlo como un proceso de restitución o restauración de algunos sectores que yo los entiendo como patrimonial de la ciudad, pero un tipo de patrimonio urbano que a veces se deja olvidado. Restituir por medio de un sistema de espacios articulados donde prima lo público. Permitirle a un 40%-50% de la población identificarse con la ciudad y que la ciudad se identifique también con estos lugares y que pueda haber una fusión. Un proceso de restitución de lugares que no son ni olvidados, que no son ilegales, sino que son parte de

nuestro patrimonio y ahí es donde deben suceder las operaciones, porque es donde están muchas de las enfermedades también, hay que decirlo.

SR (00:05:26): Cuáles son los componentes principales para los pui? Cuales se desarrollaron bien y a cuales les quedó faltando?

OS (00:06:12): para mí el componente más impactante fue darse cuenta que no se sabe mucho de estos barrios, y cuando llegamos a estructurar un proyecto, si bien habían unas hipótesis de trabajo, gran parte del plan maestro fue porque nos reconocimos como ciudadanos que no conocemos algunos sectores de la ciudad y llamamos a las personas que más lo conocían, por historia, por conocimiento, liderazgo. Nos quitamos un poco ese problema de actitud de la gobernabilidad frente al pueblo, o sea, allá y decir que traemos la solución y a veces no se escucha la comunidad. Nosotros llegamos de oídos y ojos abiertos muy en silencio, marcamos sin juicios de valor lo que era bueno o malo, lo que ellos nos decían, y lo que nos encontramos fueron unos lugares que si no hubiera sido con la gente no los podríamos haber descubierto y eso nos permitió construir un proyecto que la gente legitimó y del que la gente se sintió partícipe, y después cada proyecto particular, con los mismos vecinos inmediatos, hasta la decisión del nombre, generó sentido de pertenencia de muchos que hoy los cuidan (los proyectos).

OS (00:08:40): ellos (la comunidad) hacen proyectos de desarrollo, tienen unas propuestas que si uno llega a ciegas, empieza mal.

OS (00:09:06): uno de los grandes aciertos fue cuando se lograron identificar sectores acotados, entender la estructura del territorio y las infraestructuras existentes como el metro. Acotar las intervenciones permite que el impacto sea más evidente, más grande, que la gente se reconozca con las zonas comunes, porque dispersar las intervenciones sigue generando el problema de mejoramientos aislados en las comunidades. En ese sentido otras experiencias, si bien tienen la misma metodología, no fracasan pero se hacen más difíciles de concretar cuando las áreas de intervención de agrandan y cuando muchas veces por directrices gubernamentales se piensa que a mayor área mayor éxito. En algunas ocasiones se trata de mantengamos y consolidemos, e identifiquemos otra área acotada. En algunos de los pui cuando se mira en conjunto, creo que la escala se excede , y para mí la escala de los pui es una escala doméstica, local, de los 500 mts peatonales, y en ese sistema encuentro una coherencia entre el sistema de transporte, el espacio público y la vivienda. Esa escala a veces se quiere ampliar y se revienta y el impacto se pierde. La gente reconoce mucho la zona nor-oriental, más que otras como pui es porque se acotaron las 3 estaciones con las áreas de intervención.

OS (00:12:07): es un tema de escala que tiene mucho que ver con la gobernabilidad, pero como éxito es vincularse con las personas, ponerte de igual con el barrio y vivirlo también.



OS (00:12:52): lo que hicimos fue tener una bancada de personas que se vincularon al barrio. Hasta oficina zonal tuvimos allá para diseñar los proyectos, pero se convirtió en oficina de la alcaldía y no nos dejaban trabajar.

SR (00:13:14): ahí se ve la necesidad de las comunidades del acercamiento con el gobierno

OS (00:13:25): si, esta es una ciudad isotópica, y por las condiciones geográficas y la manera de acceder al transporte.

OS (00:13:59): también es llevar muchos de los soportes institucionales al terreno y lograr cierto equilibrio de algunas cosas que la gente no tiene.

OS (00:14:55): otra cosa fue que nos tocó “sacar los dos diccionarios” el diccionario del barrio y el diccionario del diseñador y encontrar un punto medio para explicar los proyectos a las comunidades. Lo que hicimos fue un ejercicio de traducción y cómo hacer que el mensaje del alcalde le llegue a las comunidades convertido en arquitectura.

SR (00:15:50): Como fue ese proceso, desde la planificación hasta la ejecución.

OS (00:15:56): En términos prácticos, dijimos, nos vamos para la zona nor-oriental, hay que hacer un proyecto urbano en las comunas 1 y 2 que eran los lugares donde los indicadores mostraban los más bajos índices de desarrollo humano y altos índices de pobreza e inequidad. El proyecto se estructuró a lo largo de las líneas del cable. Cuando se estaba analizando la zona, las personas de la comunidad no tenían confianza en los proyectos ni en los procesos de la alcaldía. Y se evidenció la incredibilidad del gobierno, las dudas y los temores de la comunidad, y nos devolvimos. Luego entró el equipo social y retomaron la metodología del PRIMED donde primero se hicieron las reuniones con los grupos, medio informales pero duras, como para tratarles de contar que era lo que se iba a hacer y ellos así sitien ron que se les estaba teniendo en cuenta. Después con los líderes fuimos a recorrer el barrio con un plano en el cual se marcaban los lugares importantes, problemáticos, con dificultades y con oportunidades del barrio tanto para la comunidad como para el equipo de diseño. Un plano que se construyó entre los líderes de la comunidad y el equipo de diseño. Luego con el plan, el sueño, empezamos a estructurar áreas de intervención y a seguir las pautas del metro, en sentido urbano. Con los residentes, no las JAC sino los grupos de residentes, creamos grupos de trabajo por áreas de intervención compuestos por gente de todo tipo, desde la ama de casa hasta el rector del colegio, un grupo diverso socialmente. Y no limitamos los polígonos de intervención a los barrios, entonces se empezaron a mezclar habitantes de barrios enemigos, lo que empezó a marcar una ruta de trabajo en común. Las reuniones eran de 6 a 9 pm y se requería un esfuerzo físico y mental de los equipos. Después definimos un plan maestro y se priorizaron las acciones con la “bendición de la alcaldía”

OS (00:21:23): definimos un proyecto detonante: un parque biblioteca y a partir de ese proyecto vamos a armar un tejido. Estoy hablando de Santo Domingo, que es un proyecto compuesto de 12

proyectos o más que parecen que fuera uno solo, hay continuidad, pero cada proyecto tuvo su mesa de trabajo, sus objetivos.

SR (00:21:54): Cada proyecto tenía un director?

OS (00:21:57): una persona que lideraba el diseño

SR (00:22:08): como era la coordinación entre los proyectos?

OS (00:22:15): Teníamos varias ventajas. Proyectos muy estratégicos como los parques biblioteca tenían hasta gerentes, porque tenían que mirar unas redes en la ciudad. A nivel de diseño y urbanismo teníamos unos lineamientos que se construyeron previos, unas “reglas de juego” que pasaban por una mesa de trabajo y había una persona que coordinaba los lineamientos para que las cosas no fueran simplemente lo que los arquitectos querían. Aparte también simplificamos algunas cosas, tomamos decisiones comunes, partíamos de una base de trabajo, pero permitimos que cada cosa fuera diferente. Se ve muy similar todo, pero fue porque los primeros dibujos eran unos lineamientos generales y era un plano general completo donde simplemente por temas contractuales, compra de predios, y otras situaciones, “partimos el rompecabezas” en varios proyectos y lo fuimos perfeccionando más adelante. Entonces éramos un arquitecto trabajando de la mano con un ingeniero, un social de la zona, y siempre íbamos los 3. Debimos haber incluido un abogado también para problemas contractuales o de regularización.

OS (00:24:45): hay 4 líneas metodológicas para que un proyecto pueda suceder.

SR (00:25:28): Quién es el responsable del mantenimiento de los resultados de los pui?

OS (00:25:35): este proceso fue de aprendizaje, al principio diseñábamos, se construía y ya. Posteriormente entendimos que eso hay que entregarlo a una entidad que le pone un visto bueno para que entre a un banco de proyectos y se mantenga. La sostenibilidad financiera de muchos proyectos la asumió el municipio en gran medida. Ya en proyectos grandes como los parques biblioteca se vincularon las cajas de compensación. Pero en estos proyectos se tiene que empezar a pensar en asociaciones público-privadas, porque la ciudad desde lo público 100% se hace insostenible. Y en estos proyectos cuando se empezaron a hacer muy grandes, mucho no llegaron a iniciarse porque no estaba muy claro quién era el doliente del proyecto y no se sabía en últimas quine lo mantiene. En el proceso de transformación se le cargo eso al municipio y eso no es correcto. Un caso puntual fue el tranvía de Ayacucho, un proyecto de la escala de ciudad que no consulto a la comunidad y empresa privada en el área de influencia para que se vincularan al proceso.

SR (00:27:43): por que no se incluyeron otros sectores de la sociedad?

OS (00:27:45): yo creo que era por la sincronización de las cosas. El municipio va a una velocidad, el metro, desafortunadamente muchas veces como empresa público-privada es el que toma las

decisiones que lidera la planeación, entonces cuando el metro ya tiene el proyecto, la alcaldía apenas está aterrizando en lo que pasa en el área de influencia y las oportunidades que genera un proyecto a esta escala no se consideran porque son acciones a largo plazo.

OS (00:29:20): esa circunstancia todavía no se ha estructurado bien, donde en la misma mesa esté el público que da lineamientos, el público con la comunidad que aporta en el plan maestro, el constructor que se convierte en el nuevo vecino de las comunidades y el inversionista privado que también aporta.

SR (00:29:45): esa parte de participación de varios actores coordinados es mas difícil, cada actor va por su lado a su ritmo?

OS (00:30:15): ese marco gubernamental, de gobernanza institucional, para mi es el más difícil de todo el proceso. Si gubernamentalmente entre los actores públicos y privados que tienen intereses sobre el sector no se alinean sincronizados no funciona, es el componente más difícil. Por que funcionó muy bien con Fajardo, a diferencia de Alonso? Era porque fajardo tenía muy claro sus puntos de intervención y decidió poner en estas zonas todas las herramientas, y el lideraba el proyecto. El otro (Alonso) llego siguiendo la línea del gobierno anterior pero se perdió la gobernanza.

OS (00:32:16): Hubo muchos logros, se lograron acciones directas, pero ya hoy se sabe que se necesita una persona que gerencia las intervenciones, otro gerente para la sostenibilidad, los contenidos y las políticas públicas. Casi que un pui se desarrolla con 2 modelos de gerencia.

SR (00:33:13): como se define el proceso de participación comunitaria en un pui?

OS (00:33:49): para mí el esquema de participación comunitaria lo sintetizaría en 2 conceptos, el primero entender que el cliente del proyecto es la persona que lo habita y el otro es que la participación comunitaria es un proceso de comunicación permanente, “comunicar es gobernar” y de alguna manera el proceso que se hizo en los proyectos era comunicar día a día lo que sucedía, se generaba confianza, la gente ve que lo que se está haciendo es de verdad, y el mantenerlos informados de lo que pasa en el barrio y en otras zonas de la ciudad los vincula al estado. Entonces son procesos de comunicación y darnos a entender que lo que se diseña no es para que lo revise el coordinador de diseño y darle gusto a él, sino allá. Le dimos la libertad a cada arquitecto para que se metiera en el campo y era el que resolvía con la comunidad las cosas.

SR (00:35:40): en algún momento esa comunicación, tener a la comunidad tan metida dentro del proyecto fue un obstáculos para el avance de los proyectos?

OS (00:35:51): no considero que fuera un obstáculo, para mí era más obstáculo cuando el arquitecto que iba no le gustaba relacionarse con la comunidad. Se encontraban más obstáculos con personas que no tenían las capacidades. De hecho dentro de los pilares de sostenibilidad que habla la ONU, el económico y el ambiental y el social, ese social es para mí el clave porque los proyectos los cuida también la gente.

OS (00:37:18): cuando nosotros arrancamos en 2004, los procesos de planeación local que hacían las comunidades no eran tan fuertes, en 2010 ya las comunidades se organizaban y tenían planes de desarrollo

SR (00:37:34): Crees que las comunidades aprendieron a partir de los procesos que ustedes realizaron con ellos?

OS (00:37:36): yo creo que hubo un aprendizaje mutuo de entender que los proyectos gubernamentales se hacen con base a lo que ya existe pero yo pienso que ellos siempre han sabido.

OS (00:38:51): uno de los momentos bonitos fue cuando los líderes de la comuna 1 nos dicen “vea nuestro plan de desarrollo queremos que se llame pui fase 2. Entonces queremos que en este plan maestro que ustedes ejecutaron, nosotros tenemos otras ideas y queremos que las incluyan en el plano” y se ganaron un premio como el mejor plan de desarrollo. A veces he pensado que los planes de desarrollo se deberían hacer por concurso también.

SR (00:43:57): que motivaba a la comunidad a participar y que los desmotivaba.

OS (00:44:12): uno de los obstáculos fundamentales era el lenguaje, el lenguaje genera una barrera importante. La disponibilidad de los profesionales para atender las dudas de la comunidad. Por otro lado es explícitamente mostrar la proyección de las exigencias de la comunidad en los planes, que ellos se sientan identificados, porque en algunos casos los talleres de imaginario no eran efectivos o no influían en el diseño del proyecto. Ser explícitos con lo que se plantea y lo que se presenta y el compromiso que se adquiere con la comunidad a la hora de diseñar. Otro obstáculo es la sincronía gubernamental, cuando miembros del gobiernos llegaban a los proyectos a dar la información que no era, porque no conoce el proyecto, eso implicaba confusión.

OS (00:46:52): Se lograron unas gerencias auxiliares que funcionaban como un brazo gubernamental presente en campo, con suficiencia y se le delegaba la potestad de tomar decisiones.

SR (00:47:50): cuales eran los motivadores para la participación?

OS (00:48:13): constancia, ofrecernos como vecinos del barrio, no tenerle miedo cuando nos abrían las puertas de participar con ellos, ir mas allá de las jornadas laborales, a encontrarnos en escenarios diferentes del proceso de diseño, a acompañarlos en sus procesos barriales, que de pronto no son los proyectos pero influyen en la cohesión de la comunidad, entonces uno entiende que están abriendo las puertas y hay que continuar con eso, se convirtió en un trabajo de constancia, nos permitió conocer a personas muy valiosas. Y profesionales con mucha sensibilidad.

SR (00:51:34): cuales son las enseñanzas más grandes que te dejó el proceso del pui.

OS (00:52:00): 2004-2013. Aprendizajes: si bien uno tiene muchas herramientas para afrontar los proyectos y armarse una base metodológica, nunca se debe uno dejar de sorprender y tratar de poder

darse el lujo de decir “voy a aprender”. Lo otro es que entre más local y más acotado y más barrial más universal el proyecto. O sea, un proyecto que quiero que se conozca es un proyecto pequeño que sucede en porciones de espacio minúscula con nombre propio y relaciones locales.

***Transcription Interview Arch. Marco Aurelio Londoño, Medellín***

Marco Londoño-ML- Architect worked in the PUI Comuna 8 y 9.  
Susana Restrepo - SR-

ML (00:00:53): el mejoramiento integral de barrios se enfatiza en el tema de la vivienda, el tema de lo privado, luego nos damos cuenta que son territorios muy amplios que no tienen estructura, carecen de sistema estructurante entonces lo que se hace es meterle el sistema de espacio público meterle columna vertebral, sistema de movilidad, generarle acceso al territorio, así se empiezan a cambiar las dinámicas barriales. En algunos PUI se partió desde una centralidad, con centros educativos y equipamientos de gobierno, pero además de eso siempre había un elemento estructurante asociado al sistema natural que era quebradas y un elemento estructurante del sistema artificial, que en este caso estamos hablando del sistema de movilidad, que por la misma dinámica del territorio genera centralidades o corredores de actividad múltiple, que pueden que no estén consideradas dentro del plan de ordenamiento pero que las lógicas y desde la manera como la gente vive en el territorio se comportan así [las vías]. Entonces, intervenir esos dos elementos como sistema estructurante fue clave, y las intervenciones en cada uno de estos estructurantes permite darle sentido. Luego aparecen los demás elementos como los senderos o vías peatonales, escaleras, la comprensión de las dinámicas de lo cotidiano, como recolección de basuras. Todo ese cuento que permite leer el territorio e intervenirlo en el sentido de que a través de la sustracción de piezas clave, en este caso de vivienda, se logra insertar la estructura.

ML (00:05:09): para algunas comunidades ha sido muy fuerte el proceso porque en algunos casos no se ha llegado a concertación con ellos, en otros ha sido agresivo el proceso de reasentamiento o reubicación, y en algunos casos no se ha sido sincero con las comunidades desde la institucionalidad.

ML (00:06:29): dos ciclos de gobierno que le dieron continuidad, fortalecieron y le dieron robustez a la estrategia, pero una estrategia que como no quedo dentro de las líneas de la política. El Pui no tiene soporte legal ni jurídico.

ML (00:07: 29): nueva estrategia con el cambio de administración, que se desarrolla en los mismo territorios, bajo las mismas complejidades y que de alguna manera niega las propuestas previamente acordadas. Entonces por presiones de la comunidad se logra que el alcalde electo mantenga algunos

elementos del programa, pero realmente es solo asignación de recursos financieros por debajo de las necesidades de los proyectos previamente diseñados.

ML (00:10:33): El PUI movía todo el componente físico, el componente social y el institucional. Y en el institucional se coordinaban las secretarías y concretaban acciones conjuntas.

ML (00:12:35): lo realmente interesante del PUI es que opera donde puede que es el espacio público, el impacto es mayor que el que podría producir la construcción de vivienda.

SR (00:17:40): a un programa como el PUI se le podría incorporar un componente de mejoramiento de vivienda?

ML (00:17:55): ya existe. ISVIMED. Hay un programa que es el de mejoramiento de barrios, y si se organiza un equipo para que implemente ese programa como se realizó el PUI, sí. El instrumento existe, pero requiere voluntad política y equipos que estén todo el tiempo cuestionando y pensando el proyecto de vivienda y leerlo en todas las escalas desde la estructura del asentamiento y la relación con la ciudad, hasta pensar el sistema técnico constructivo para desarrollarlo. Mientras que la vivienda siga obedeciendo a la lógica económica de salarios mínimos, la vivienda debe trascender esa lógica económica.

ML (00:21:25): la vivienda es digna o es justa, la dignidad es un concepto humano? La dignidad se la damos nosotros. Desde que funciona y responda a las necesidades específicas.

ML (00:25:46): el caso de la comuna 8 que empezó con el PP a atender pasamanos y pequeños arreglos y llegó a cubrir estudios geológicos para áreas del barrio.

***Transcripción David Escobar***

Medellín, February 3rd. 2014

David Escobar –DE- Private Secretary of Mayor Sergio Fajardo 2003-2007. General Manger of the PUI

DE (00:02:50): parte de lo que se hizo fue una disección de los PUI para poderlos entender y explicar bien y al hacerlo profundizamos la idea de los componentes.

DE (00:03:36): (Libro acerca del PUI que sería presentado en el World Urban Forum)

Lo dividimos en 7 u 8 estrategias.

1. Encuadre, como se escoge la zona.
2. que quiere decir realmente integral, la mezcla de físico, no físico, participación, y proyectos grandes, medianos y pequeños.
3. Activar: Buscamos proyectos estratégicos de enlaces como son transporte, espacio público, puentes, etc.
4. Hacia la ciudad transparente para ampliar el mapa mental de la ciudad para todos.
5. Apropiación: inclusión, calidad, belleza, orgullo.
6. Encuentros de los habitantes alrededor de los espacios de la ciudad
7. Procesos y relacionamiento: como se construye. Taller de imaginarios, pactos ciudadanos, presentación de diseños, aprobación, discusión
8. Personificar/liderazgo y rostro: tener claro que necesita un liderazgo desde la alcaldía misma.

En el libro se hace un análisis comparativo de Alemao con la Nororiental, y una comparación crítica donde se creemos que los proyectos que cumplen estas estrategias son el proyecto de la nororiental y la intervención integral en Moravia, que no se llama PUI pero tiene los mismos elementos. En cambio el centro oriental y la comuna 13 no cumplen. En la comuna 13 como es un territorio tan amplio, no cumple con el encuadre es muy difícil que sea integral.

(Papel de salud pública grupo Previva. Investigación de las causas de la violencia)

DE (00:10:51): (hablando sobre el papel de Previva) Encuentran números positivos en las zonas del PUI.

SR (00:00:00): con esos componentes propuestos para analizar los programas, cual representa mayores desafíos para la implementación eficaz?

DE (00:12:49): Parte de lo que hizo exitoso el PUI-NO fue que el significado de ser integral es poder mezclar las diferentes componentes en el mismo paquete, no puedo decir cuál es más importante, lo que sí puedo decir es cuál es el papel de cada una dentro de lo que se entendió como PUI. Hay que entender un poco el contexto político, urbano y social de Medellín para poder entender porque se hace el PUI.

En primer lugar, Medellín tiene una desigualdad profunda en todos los indicadores entre las diferentes zonas de la ciudad. Un crecimiento urbano desordenado, promovida por migraciones y que no fueron atendidas por el estado sino por actores ilegales e informales que hace que la infraestructura urbana y los equipamientos de estos barrios sea extremadamente precario. La violencia es una característica específica de Medellín que empieza a finales de los 70. Y el contexto político de las ciudades colombianas que por la forma de adjudicación de los alcaldes, que hasta los 90 no era por elección popular hizo que la inversión pública estuviese muy retrasada con respecto a las necesidades de la ciudad y adicionalmente, la inversión pública se iba a grandes obras en el centro y los recursos estaban mal distribuidos.

El papel de lo físico era abrir la mente, cambiar el esquema. La ciudad se convierte en un palimpsesto, cuando se construye un edificio público o se interviene un espacio público en los barrios con los mayores indicadores de homicidios en el hemisferio occidental, no solo se está construyendo un edificio, se manda un mensaje de que se puede mirar distinto. (Las grandes obras cambian esas percepciones) las pequeñas están más relacionadas con la parte social.

En lo social, las intervenciones no físicas, educación, salud, bienestar social, y se tratan de integrar las intervenciones, construir confianza, aplicar todas las herramientas del estado a un territorio, y era un experimento.

DE (00:21:35): tenía que llegar lo físico para romper, como el cable, que el metro ya había realizado una tarea social y construido confianza en sus procesos. Cuando llegamos en 2004 la gente sabía que el metro cumplía, que el metro no engañaba, que el metro respetaba, y era la representación del estado en la zona en esos momentos. Y cuando nosotros llegamos ya había un primer nivel de confianza alrededor de las obras. Llega lo social y la gente entiende que eso es en serio, que esto importa.

Viene el mundo de la legitimidad. La gente que empezó a trabajar en la EDU en los PUI en 2004 había tenido una experiencia que era haber trabajado en la consejería para Medellín en los 90 con el PRIMED que es un programa que, con menores presupuestos, tenía claros muchos conceptos y esa herencia la recogimos nosotros y era el concepto de construir con la gente, construir capital social, tejido social, que uno no valora sino lo que ayudo a construir, entonces desde el primer día sabíamos que el trabajo de los PUI pasaba por una intervención de participación ciudadana, desde el principio se preguntaba se explicaba expectativas, donde para cada obra se hacían talleres de imaginarios, donde en las mesas de trabajo se modificaban los diseños arquitectónicos o se complementaban.



DE (00:24:13): tratando de hacer una evaluación, en legitimidad debimos haber llegado más lejos con las estrategias de sostenibilidad, porque se hacían pactos ciudadanos, que es una de esas herramientas subvaloradas, porque no se queda con la inauguración de la intervención, sino que es un compromiso de la comunidad con el espacio. Creo que ahí nos faltó porque ahora después de los años hemos aprendido que ese tipo de esquemas deben convertirse en una solución institucional que perdure, porque con el cambio de personal e intereses y sin tener el proceso institucionalizado se pierde. El tema de legitimidad ayudo a la apropiación de los espacios por (parte de la gente) y el orgullo.

En la gestión y coordinación institucional. Qué tal si se intenta todo con una narrativa distinta.

DE (00:26:19): Montamos un modelo donde la EDU era operador, pero donde había un esqueleto detrás, conectado a la oficina del alcalde, quedaba claro que era la voluntad del alcalde y una de sus prioridades y había una red de apoyo, para que el proyecto fuera de todos y eso es lo que llamamos liderazgo y rostro, y este proyecto rompe la tradición de trabajar por compartimentos.

SR (00:27:23): Quien sería el responsable del mantenimiento de los resultados físicos que se produjeron con el PUI?

DE (00:27:58): Institucionalmente era la secretaria de obras públicas, hoy en día es infraestructura, la que recibía los espacios públicos. Ese es uno de los temas en los que hemos avanzado algo pero todavía nos falta llegar a la solución del problema, porque hemos sido muy tímidos en convertir esos pactos ciudadanos en esquemas institucionales de administración barrial de parques, o administración público-privada de equipamientos. Excepto el esquema de administración público-privada de la biblioteca y el esquema de administración de los colegios, los espacios públicos en general no tienen un esquema de mantenimiento, y eso es un problema estructural de administración pública en las ciudades del mundo porque es mucho más rentable políticamente inaugurar que cuidar, ahí debemos pensar en una red de pequeños convenios público-privados, privados o público-públicos con el metro por ejemplo, para garantizar la sostenibilidad de esos espacios con calidad, pero lo UE se hizo bien es que había mucha apropiación (de la comunidad) de tal manera que los espacios han sido cuidados relativamente bien (por los mismos residentes).

SR (00:30:23): hablando de la Nor-Oriental específicamente. Se trabajó por 2 lados, el PUI y el mejoramiento de la quebrada Juan Bobo?

DE (00:30:35): El PUI era todo, incluía el proyecto piloto de Juan Bobo.

SR (00:30:53): dentro de lo que he leído es que Juan Bobo estaba dentro del programa de mejoramiento de barrios

DE(00:31:06): Realmente como lo veíamos en la alcaldía, todo era parte del PUI. Para el PUI es un programa de proyectos y Juan Bobo era uno de esos proyectos. En la EDU se organizaba de una manera funcional, pero para la alcaldía, el PUI tenía: un gerente, una junta que incluía a todos lo que tenían que ver con el proyecto. Estaba la EDU como operador urbana y podía tener diferentes actividades o proyectos. Y las otras secretarías estaban por fuera de la EDU. El PUI es el programa de proyectos con gerentes para cada proyecto adjudicados por la EDU para la coordinación de los diferentes proyectos.

SR(00:33: 10): cuál fue el papel de la comunidad en cada una de esas etapas?

DE(00:33:33): todo el proceso tenía participación, que no se discutía? La toma de decisión cuando se iba a hacer algo. Hubo voluntad política, porque al principio no había el nivel de consciencia ni educación ciudadana para poder decidir claramente sobre eso.

DE(00:34:44): bueno y la mirada del PUI comienza en el gobierno de Medellín la más educada. No sacamos a referendo si se hacían las obras o no, si dijimos, hay participación en todo el proceso, desde que se imagina, hasta que se hace el pacto ciudadano, y después había unas mesas de trabajo, veeduría en la mayoría de los proyectos. Siempre había una relación entre el estado y la comunidad participando.

DE(00:35:58): en la junta no participaba la comunidad porque estamos hablando de un modelo para ejecución, no para diseño, pero en la ejecución era un modelo interdisciplinario, integrado donde todo se coordina conjuntamente y una especie de modelo militar en el sentido del control porque la única manera de ejecutar ese volumen de obras en tan poco tiempo es siendo riguroso con los proyectos porque el mundo público tiene muchísimas complejidades.

DE(00:37: 14): decidimos deliberadamente no tener participación en los ámbitos de era en el esquema de seguimiento, control y ejecución de los proyectos, para que en el momento de dificultades pudiera tener una sola cabeza que tomara las decisiones y manejara los procesos.

SR(00:38:18): La participación de la comunidad representó alguna vez algún obstáculo para la ejecución?

DE(00:38:26): no digo que la participación de la comunidad sea un obstáculo. Puede haber atrasos, y dificultades desde el punto de vista técnico. Siempre enriquece, incluso si la decisión del gobierno no cambia significativamente, pero enriquece porque la pregunta es válida.

DE(00:40:04): las negociaciones con la comunidad hace que las soluciones que el estado daba mejoraran en calidad y que la relación con la comunidad se fortalezca.

DE(00:40:47): se modifican las condiciones del proyecto, se aprende del otro y se fortalecen las relaciones, la participación siempre enriquece, ahora, en esa especie de discusión tiene también que

haber tozudez política, a veces genera dolores, pero la participación también enriquece y ayuda a que entiendan que es negociable y que no es negociable.

SR(00:41:38): Participación es de todos los actores de la empresa privada en la parte de planeación y en la parte social?

DE(00:42:14): fue muy fuerte pero tal vez no tan fuerte como quieres que te responda. Hay una de esas estrategias que es la de visibilidad y transparencia. El sector privado y las empresas fueron fundamentales para que la ciudad se transparentara y se mirara al espejo.

DE(00:45:03): Se hicieron eventos, encuentros, recorridos y de ahí se vienen donaciones y aportes de la empresa privada a los proyectos. El gran aporte fue eso, fue ayudar a integrar la ciudad, ayudaron a coser, lo que este proceso construyó fue más como una especie de integración social porque se encontró gente que nunca se iba a encontrar.

SR(00:43:44): y la academia?

DE (00:47:06): en los PUI no, es poca la participación de las universidades, las universidades a veces quedan atrapadas en consultorías, contratos y estudios, pero no con responsabilidad social. Es una tarea pendiente

SR(00:49:13): el PUI no quedó como política pública, como podría transcribirse un proyecto como el PUI dentro de las políticas públicas, un plan de desarrollo en una ciudad como Medellín

DE(00:50:01): es normal que con el cambio de gobierno las prioridades cambian. Los PUI no se volvieron política de estado porque estaban asociados a un grupo político que los impulsó. La agenda intelectual viene de los años 90, nosotros no nos inventamos los PUI, lo que hicimos fue poner la voluntad política y refinar un modelo que venía madurando en Medellín con un alcance que nunca tuvo.

DE(00:51:09): La EDU no la terminamos de consolidar como una institución pública técnica independiente de la política, no hicimos la transformación institucional de la EDU que debíamos haber hecho, y tenía una planta basada en contratistas y con el cambio esa experiencia se dispersa.

SR(00:53:00): el PUI podría ser iniciado por la comunidad?

DE(00:53:12): perfectamente. hay un fenómeno bonito en Medellín, paralelo a esto que no tiene nada que ver con los PUI que es el fenómeno de la planeación local del desarrollo, tener antecedentes en la década de los 90 pero yo creo que los que pusieron el tema en la agenda pública fue el gobierno que empezó en 2004, de Sergio Fajardo, que arranca con planeación y presupuesto participativo pero que va madurando en una idea más potente de los planes de desarrollo comunales y corregimentales, que muchos de ellos entendieron la potencia de los PUI e incluyeron intervenciones tipo PUI en su listado de proyectos priorizados en el mediano plazo. Lo que pasa es que es definitivo que en la política si se

toman las decisiones más importantes porque yo desde un esquema de planeación participativa puedo decidir que quiero un PUI, pero desde ese esquema no consigo los recursos financieros necesarios y para eso se necesita un tipo diferente de política.

Una reflexión sobre eso es, en el modelo político tradicional, tiende a ser distributivo y transaccional. Pensemos en la relación entre una alcaldía y su concejo municipal tiende a ser distributiva y transaccional, sin hablar de corrupción. Distribuye la energía pública, el presupuesto de inversión y el foco territorial. Los PUI hacen algo que es poco común y es que yo tengo una ciudad que tiene concentraciones altas de pobreza hacia la alta periferia norte, occidental y oriental y en un par de enclaves en el centro. En el territorio es menos del 5% del territorio, de la población mucho más, pero de la representación política mucho menos del 5%. Que se hizo? Al PUI nor-oriental se le invirtieron 400 millones de dólares en 8 años. Generar una acción afirmativa, presupuestal y política de gestión específica. Estas comunidades se merecen más que todo el mundo, entonces en lugar de hacer puentes de 150 millones de dólares, pongo eso mismo en un barrio, en una intervención más compleja. Estas intervenciones son desproporcionadas frente a la lógica política tradicional, y para esto se necesita voluntad política, y entender que una sociedad que lleva tantos años sumergida en la violencia, transmitida culturalmente, tendría que hacer una declaración de meterle todas las herramientas del desarrollo a esas poblaciones, romper con el círculo, en la matriz no sale de unos arquitectos, nace de entender el problema político de desarrollo (no de votos) y aplicarle buena energía

SR(00:59:01): coordinación institucional. Cómo se hacía la toma de decisiones?

DE(00:59:30): era un equipo, distintos miembros de gabinete trabajaban en equipo. Cada proyecto estratégico de la alcaldía tiene una empresa que lo acoge (EDU), una junta directiva con todos los actores, un único gerente, y un grupo siempre social, técnico, social comunicacional, legal. Y en ese sentido al interior de este modelo de ejecución se trabajaba en equipo. Hay una línea clara de mando pero se puede trabajar en equipo y mi papel desde la secretaria privada era mantener estos conectados, como ser el facilitador.

SR(01:01:40): Enseñanzas del PUI personales

DE(01:02:15): dos aprendizajes. Uno positivo y otro constructivo hacia el futuro. El positivo es que esta manera de ver las decisiones políticas es fundamental para poder romper la inercia de un desarrollo incremental lento, hay que ver las cosas desde otra perspectiva, hay que tratar de ver problemas, necesidades y cómo ser innovador para atacarlos. Un modelo que vea la inversión pública y la energía pública de una manera distinta es integrador, incluyente y es posible. Yo creo que la democracia además de ser distributiva y transaccional, pero también puede ser estratégica, hay que llegar a acuerdos, pero también es el arte de resolver los problemas y donde hay más problemas tiene que estar el gobernante. Una manera distinta de acercarse a los problemas públicos que rompe el modelo lento, ineficiente frente a lo político. Y en un sentido constructivo es que estos procesos tienen

que institucionalizarse, volverse política pública y crearse instituciones que sostienen esos procesos, uno no puede hacer una cosa de estas dimensiones sin darle una respuesta institucional más sólida, convenios, alianzas a largo plazo que lo hagan sostenibles, una serie de alianzas, crear instituciones tanto de política pública como de organizaciones que la soporten.

***Email Communication, Arch. Adriana Gonzalez, DAP, Medellin***

Los instrumentos de planificación con que se legalizan y regularizan urbanísticamente los territorios ocupados de manera informal son: Planes Parciales de Mejoramiento Integral o Planes de Legalización y Regularización Urbanística.

Un asunto es la planificación y otro la ejecución.

La escala del PUI es llegar a nivel de diseño para ejecutar proyectos a partir de la formulación de Planes Maestros, a implementar por etapas, no es instrumento de planificación, no define norma específica como si lo hacen los Planes Parciales de Mejoramiento Integral o Planes de Legalización y Regularización Urbanística.

El PUI ha ejecutado, según plan de etapas, la estructura del sistema de espacio público, de los Planes Parciales de Mejoramiento Integral o Planes de Legalización y Regularización Urbanística.

El PUI implementa el PMIB en los territorios intervenidos, a partir de la legalización y regularización urbanística de los territorios ocupados de manera informal.

Te comparto algunas diapositivas que te ayudaran.

Según entiendo la formulación del PMIB te queda clara. El PUI es la implementación del PMIB en los territorios priorizados: 1) PUI Nororiental , 2) PUIs Comuna Trece y Zona Centroriental, 3) PUI Noroccidental, 4) PUI La Iguana.

El Plan de Legalización y Regularización Urbanística es el instrumento de planificación que hay debajo de la ejecución de cada PUI. Nosotros entregamos los productos a los operadores de los PUIs. Se cambia de la escala de planificación a la de proyecto priorizado a partir de la formulación de un Plan Maestro, que es el que guía las intervenciones en los territorios MIB. Igualmente, la ejecución de los proyectos, incorpora procesos de planificación durante el antes, durante y después de la obra priorizada en cada Plan Maestro.

La Alcaldía de Medellín no ha logrado lenguaje común entre sus diferentes dependencias, la operación en los territorios es a través de contratistas que no tienen directrices específicas de seguimiento y evaluación de los proyectos, y a que programa contribuyen. Se pierde la memoria institucional, las cosas se muestran desde la parte y no desde el todo: Cómo contribuye el PUI en la consolidación del

modelo de ciudad planteado en el POT y el mejoramiento de la calidad de vida de los barrios con proceso informal de ocupación.

Conclusión: Hay diferencia entre un proceso de planificación de un PUI ( escala del proyecto) a los procesos de planificación del instrumento que legaliza y regulariza los territorios con proceso informal de ocupación. No es lo mismo.

2. Los procesos de planificación del PLRU implican el diseño e implementación de un proceso de comunicación y pedagógico, singular a cada comunidad a ser legalizada y regularizada urbanísticamente.

3. El énfasis del PUI es la viabilización en la ejecución de los proyectos que implica recorridos de campo, talleres de imaginarios, entre otros elementos. Un PUI es igual a un Plan Maestro, no a un plan parcial ni a un plan de legalización y regularización urbanística.

El DAP formula los planes parciales y los planes de legalización y regularización urbanística.

La EDU formula los Planes Maestros que son la guía de las intervenciones por proyectos en los territorios MIB.

No hay planes paralelos entre las entidades, las escalas de ambos son diferentes, el uno es el insumo del siguiente.

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