



Urban Upgrading Intervention and Barrio Integration in Caracas, Venezuela

Doctoral dissertation submitted to the

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Dortmund University of Technology

by

Alonso Ayala Alemán

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Declaration

I hereby declare that this doctoral dissertation is the result of an independent investigation. Where it is indebted to the work of others, acknowledgements have duly been made.

Alonso Ayala Alemán
Dortmund, August 2008

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Abstract

“Spatial segregation is the reflection of social structures onto space”. Understood as a negative condition the socio-spatial segregation of urban dwellers as the opposing form to urban integration has become a major hindrance to both functional urban development and the inclusive vision that cities are supposed to foster. This premise forms the underpinning rationale to construct this dissertation using the situation of the informal settlements of Caracas, Venezuela, as its subject of analysis.

Like in many other Latin American major cities the rapid and unregulated urbanization of Caracas is compounded by social polarization, socio-economic inequalities and urban fragmentation. Inefficient government responses to provide large portions of the urban population with adequate access to housing have resulted in the formation and consolidation of informally-built areas outside the purview of urban regulations. Known in Venezuela as *barrios de ranchos*, these settlements are the spatial manifestation of urban poverty, social exclusion and precarious urban conditions characterized by poor quality housing, poor access to basic services, insecure property rights, and ambiguous citizenship, all of this contributing to their lack of integration to the surrounding city.

The physical and socio-economic integration and inclusion of these urban dwellers represent a tremendous challenge for policymakers, professionals and civil society alike. Particular attention must be devoted to them in order to understand why the situation has evolved into what is today with the purpose of envisioning strategies aimed at integrating them to mainstream urban development. Actions to remedy this situation have fallen under projects and programmes implemented in a piecemeal basis, tackling mostly the physical improvement of these settlements. Such actions, at least in the Venezuelan context, have been many times tainted by political patronage and manipulation.

It is argued in this dissertation that an integrated, holistic and multi-disciplinary approach denuded from political patronage is necessary to activate the integration process of these settlements. In this context, urban upgrading interventions have assumed a special significance in the process of spatial and socio-economic integration of barrios. For the purpose of this dissertation a specific upgrading project in one informal settlement in Caracas has been chosen to both explore the meaning of integration and how to actually achieve it by drawing up the lessons derived from the project’s planning and implementation process. The project, known as the Caracas Barrio Upgrading Project (CAMEBA), has been undertaken in two major barrio agglomerations of Caracas in an attempt towards devising a humane and integrated barrio renewal policy. The empirical evaluation of CAMEBA is believed to offer valuable insights and positive lessons for future implementation of urban integrationist strategies.

The main objective of this dissertation is therefore to explore the meaning of urban integration using the implementation process of project CAMEBA as its subject of research. In order to operationalize the research, the theoretical underpinnings of Polanyi’s modes of economic integration were used as the base to construct the analytical model to be tested in the field. The articulation of such model was guided on the other hand by a European research on urban integration known as the URBEX project, which applied Polanyi’s model in spatial terms and emphasized the interplay of

three functional domains as the key to socio-economic integration, viz. the State's redistributive policies, public reciprocity and the dynamics of market exchange. Even though the theoretical underpinnings of the model were used by the URBEX project in the context of Western cities in Europe, this dissertation attempted to adapt the analytical framework envisaged by this project to the particular situation of the barrios of Caracas. Through this theoretical exercise a number of variables and indicators were developed to measure the degree of socio-economic, political and spatial integration of the barrio intervened by the upgrading project of CAMEBA. The complexity of the issue called for an understanding of the different forces and processes behind the social, economic, political and spatial exclusion of the large portion of the Venezuelan urban dwellers that live in barrios.

The exploration thus far points out to the fact that urban upgrading endeavours in informal settlements in the context analysed can only be sustainable and relevant if the community being intervened is able to own the process and become the main stakeholder of the intervention. The study reveals that the process of barrio upgrading must be activated and sustained over a period of time in order to enable barrio inhabitants to realize their much cherished aspirations including the achievement of a sense of socio-economic and political integration and a sustained improvement in the quality of their lives. Quality access to basic and physical infrastructure, socio-political recognition of barrios and fostering of proactive community organizations while enabling their meaningful participation in the barrio upgrading process emerge as the major preconditions for working towards the urban integration of barrios.

The analytical model articulated in the study stands out as a useful contribution to the scientific debate regarding urban integration, and it is expected to inform policymakers and urban specialists about possible paths towards the integration of informal settlements.

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List of Acronyms

BFB	Basic Family Basket
BPL	Below Poverty Line
CAMEBA	Caracas Mejoramiento de Barrios (<i>Caracas Barrio Upgrading Project</i>)
CECA	Cifras On-Line Group
CCG	Centro Ciudades de la Gente
CISOR	Centro de Investigaciones Socio-Religiosas (<i>Centre of Socio-Religious Research</i>)
CONAVI	Concejo Nacional de la Vivienda (<i>National Housing Council</i>)
CTU	Comité de Tierra Urbana (<i>Urban Land Committee</i>)
ECLAC	Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean
ESDP	European Spatial Development Perspective
EU	European Union
FAU/UCV	Facultad de Arquitectura y Urbanismo / Universidad Central de Venezuela
FEP	Fondo Especial Petrolero (<i>Special Petroleum Fund</i>)
FFA	Force Field Analysis
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FUNDACOMUN	Fundación para el Desarrollo y Fomento Municipal (<i>Foundation for the Development of the Municipality</i>)
GNP	Gross National Product
HDI	Human Development Index
HHs	Households
IMA	Inner Metropolitan Area of Caracas
INE	Instituto Nacional de Estadística (<i>National Institute of Statistics</i>)
INSURBECA	Instituto the Urbanismo C.A. (<i>Urban Planning Institute Ltd</i>)
LOOU	Ley Orgánica de Ordenación Urbanística (<i>Urban Planning Law</i>)
LOTA	Local Office for Technical Assistance´
LPG	Liquefied Petroleum Gas
MAC	Metropolitan Area of Caracas
MCI	Ministerio de Comunicación e Información (<i>Ministry of Communication and Information</i>)
MINDUR	Ministerio de Desarrollo Urbano (<i>Ministry of Urban Development</i>)

MRC	Metropolitan Region of Caracas
NAP	National Action Plan
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
OCA	Organización Comunitaria Autogestionaria (<i>Self-managed Community Organization</i>)
OCEI	Oficina Central de Estadística e Informática (<i>Central Office of Statistics and Informatics</i>)
PDUL	Plan de Desarrollo Urbano Local (<i>Local Urban Development Plan</i>)
PE	Planes Especiales (<i>Special Plans</i>)
PL	Poverty Line
POU	Planes de Ordenación Urbana (<i>Urban Plans</i>)
PPU	Physical Planning Unit
PROVEA	Venezuelan Programme for Education Action in Human Rights
REDSCA	Red Solidaria de Comunidades Autónomas (<i>Solidarity Network of Autonomous Communities</i>)
SAPs	Structural Adjustment Programmes
SABEMPE	Waste Management Company
SPESP	Study Programme on European Spatial Planning
SUVI	Sustitución de Viviendas (<i>House Unit Substitution</i>)
UBN	Unmet Basic Needs
UCB	Universidad Central de Venezuela
UCAB	Universidad Católica Andrés Bello
UDU	Urban Design Unit
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
URBEX-Project	Urban Social Exclusion and Integration Project
USB	Universidad Simón Bolívar
WB	World Bank

1 Background and Introduction

Chapter one provides background to the dissertation and presents an overview of the theoretical framework, research objectives, and the structure of the report.

1.1 Urbanization and informal settlements in Venezuela

Venezuela, an oil rich country of 25 million people is situated in the northern part of South America facing the Caribbean Sea. Venezuela is one of the most urbanized countries in the region with about 90% of the population inhabiting urban areas. Caracas, the capital city with a metropolitan population of 3.8 million accounts for about 15% of the country's urban population and continues to be the centre of economic, social, military and political power (INE 2001). Like its many counterparts in Latin America, the rapid and unregulated urbanization process in Caracas, compounded by urban fragmentation, social polarization and growing socio-economic inequalities has led to mushrooming informal settlements, which in Venezuela are popularly known as *barrios de ranchos*. These settlements, which have already reached high levels of consolidation, were built by the inhabitants themselves outside the purview of the formal urban regulatory framework. It is estimated that in the metropolitan area of Caracas alone, there are 317 barrios forming fourteen barrio agglomerations distributed across the city, occupying 3,446 ha and accommodating 1,002,780 inhabitants, thereby representing one third of the urban population of Caracas (Baldó et al 1995; Bolivar 1998).

1.2 Topic of the dissertation: Integration of barrios through urban upgrading projects

Barrios are characterized by precarious housing, poor access to basic services, insecure property rights and low standards of living. The inhabitants of the barrio can be considered to be physically and socially excluded from the city in which their settlements are inserted because they have to struggle not only with their difficult habitat, but also with an ambiguous citizenship status and a lack of participation in the decision-making processes that affect their lives. As Sako Musterd (1999) observes:

Social exclusion and integration rank among the most pressing issues faced by urban politicians today. These topics are also central in academic discussions on urban social theory. Knowledge regarding social life in cities, particularly with respect to the mechanisms that activate social participation in society, is far from complete. A serious shortcoming of the extensive body of literature on social exclusion is that it does not come to terms with spatial dimensions like segregation and the impact of the local context (Musterd et al. 1999: 1).

The spatial manifestation of urban poverty, social exclusion and precarious urban conditions that predominantly characterize barrios pose tremendous challenges to policymakers, professionals and civil society alike for physical and socio-economic integration and inclusion of barrio communities into the formal city. Given this situation, barrio upgrading interventions have assumed significance in the process of socio-economic integration of barrios. In Venezuela, the upgrading of urban informal settlements as conceptualized and operationalized in the current development practice has only a recent history. Even this limited experience reveals that upgrading projects

continue to be scattered and fragmented in the absence of a well integrated and coordinated barrio redevelopment and management policy framework. Diverse political ideologies and institutional instability and ambiguity on the other hand, have plagued the policy environment thus threatening the effective implementation of housing policies targeted at the urban poor.

Against the backdrop of an ongoing debate within the country's political fraternity, upgrading projects have been subject to conflicting approaches which are driven, on the one hand, by political patronage, and on the other, by purely technical expertise. Both these approaches are often detached from the complex nature of the built environment and the prevailing cultural ethos in barrios.

Nevertheless, in the context of devising a humane and integrated barrio renewal policy, some of these experiences may hold valuable insights and positive lessons for the future. It is, therefore, important to undertake a critical evaluation of those upgrading projects which were implemented with a broader vision, such as the CAMEBA (Caracas Barrio Upgrading Project). This was a joint venture between the Government of Venezuela and the World Bank to upgrade the living conditions in two major barrio agglomerations in Caracas –Petare Norte and La Vega. The empirical inquiry of the CAMEBA Project, the main subject of this study, is based on an understanding of upgrading as a process that must be activated and sustained over a period of time to enable barrio inhabitants to realize their much cherished aspirations, such as achieving a sense of socio-economic and political integration and a sustained improvement in the quality of their lives. The recognition of these settlements by the polity and the society in general, and fostering pro-active community organizations seems to be the precondition to initiate the integration process of barrios.

Figure 1.1: Barrio agglomeration in Petare Norte



Source: Author's photograph (November 2004)

1.3 Theoretical framework for barrio integration

The theoretical framework of the dissertation defines integration as a process driven by the combined effects of the three modes of economic integration, namely reciprocity, redistribution and market exchange, in a particular societal context across space and over time (Polanyi 1944). The analytical framework of the URBEX project¹, which assumed a relationship between Polanyi's modes of exchange with space, was adapted to the conditions of barrios in order to derive context specific variables and to generate a theoretical model of the process of barrio integration.

The URBEX Project placed a special emphasis on the economic dimension since it is perceived as a main step towards integration in modern Western societies. Accordingly, integration was defined as the capacity households and communities have "to develop an economic survival strategy to gain access to all kinds of resources" (Musterd et al. 1999: 1). Such access is determined by the combined effects of the welfare state (redistribution), social networks and solidarity (reciprocity), and economic restructuring (market exchange). Consequently, the interrelationships of all aspects affecting political, social and economic processes might provide indications of integration of individuals and/or social groups at different levels and an indication of the degree of such integration.

The conceptual framework developed by the URBEX project was adapted as the analytical framework for the current dissertation for the following reasons:

- The URBEX project's attempt to relate the modes of exchange to space and local contexts allowed for a new perspective on understanding social exclusion and integration. The intention was "to enlarge the knowledge about the underlying mechanisms that cause social exclusion" and therefore "provide insights into opportunities for promoting its opposite: social integration" (ibid.:1).
- The processes of social exclusion and spatial segregation of informal settlements in urban areas are by and large similar across various social and cultural milieus.
- Barrios provide a rich socio-spatial laboratory to investigate how the three modes of economic integration operate and influence the dual process of integration-exclusion.

1.4 Objectives of the dissertation

Set in the theoretical framework articulated herein, the study was based on the assumption that informal urban growth in Caracas was the main cause of the socio-spatial segregation thus retarding functional urban development and integration.

The social, economic, political and spatial dynamics of the barrios of Caracas have been the subject of isolated investigations from various disciplines such as urban planning, cultural anthropology, urban sociology etc. Given the importance of a multidisciplinary approach to understand complex socio-economic phenomena, the need for a holistic perspective cannot be underestimated. Only then can the state, polity and society at large evolve a consensus on the strategies to enable barrio communities to realize the ideal of integration. The current study is a modest attempt in this direction.

Based on the case of the CAMEBA barrio upgrading project, the broad objectives of the dissertation were:

¹ The Spatial Dimension of Urban Social Exclusion and Integration: A European Comparison (1999). The URBEX Project is part of the 4th framework programme of the European Union. A description of the Projects is provided in Chapter 4. 4.1.

- To evaluate the nature of the integration process and the extent to which the project has activated processes leading towards the integration of barrio inhabitants.
- To generate an analytical model for the empirical evaluation of the integration process of informal settlements and thereby contribute to the scientific debate on the meaning of integration with particular reference to the spatially segregated and excluded communities in urban areas.

Specific objectives

The following specific objectives were pursued:

- To adapt the analytical model of integration to barrio upgrading projects and to use it as a guide to design and operationalize the empirical research.
- To explore the meaning of integration from a multi-stakeholder perspective.
- To gather and analyse empirical evidence of the integration process in the selected settlement by identifying specific socio-economic, political and spatial determinants activated by the upgrading project that could act as explanatory factors for the degree of integration achieved.
- To assess the degree of influence exerted by the political culture and environment in shaping the political and social attitude of barrio inhabitants thus determining the extent of their participation in the upgrading process.
- To identify policy and planning elements that merit attention in the process of enabling the integration process of informal settlements.

The empirical analysis of the notion and process of integration of barrios was carried out by assessing the planning and implementation of the CAMEBA project, an urban upgrading project in the barrio zone of Petare Norte in the city of Caracas. Applying a combination of qualitative as well as quantitative research methods the dissertation aimed to investigate the forces influencing the integration process in the study area by examining the interplay of variables related to the political factors of redistribution, the social factors of reciprocity, the economic factors of market exchange, and the spacial-physical factors of the built-environment of these settlements in relation to the city of Caracas.

1.5 Structure of the report

The report is structured along eight chapters. Chapter two focuses on the process of urbanization under poverty in Venezuela, paying particular attention to Caracas and its informal settlements. Chapter three explores the different definitions applied to the concept of integration and social inclusion in order to produce a well-grounded theoretical basis for constructing the analytical framework for the empirical research. Throughout chapter four the conceptual framework is further developed providing at the end the analytical model for the empirical evaluation of the integration process of informal settlements in Caracas. Using the conceptual framework for empirical analysis articulated in the previous chapter, chapter five provides a general description of the barrios in the Inner Metropolitan Area of Caracas along with the rationale for selecting the study area for the empirical research on integration. It also explains the derivation of operational variables for field research and the research design and methodologies. The empirical analysis is presented in chapter six and carried out at two levels. Firstly, the perceptions of barrio inhabitants and urban development professionals about the meaning of “integration” were recorded and assessed in the context of socio-spatial exclusion of barrios. At the second level, the analysis focused on an evaluation of the

role and impact of the current policy interventions such as barrio upgrading projects in stimulating processes leading towards integration, theorized as the interplay of factors related to redistribution, reciprocity and market exchange. The empirical analysis was operationalized in the Urban Design Unit 4.4 of Julian Blanco in Petare Norte where the implementation of the CAMEBA, a barrio upgrading project supported by the World Bank was underway. Chapter seven provides a summary of the main findings of the empirical analysis and describes the different challenges in the processes leading towards integration that the CAMEBA project might have activated during the project's planning and implementation process. Finally, an assessment of the limitations of the analytical model is provided together with recommendations for future research.

2 Urbanization in poverty and informal settlements in Venezuela

The paradox of cities is evident from their stark display of economic and social disparities with extremes of wealth and poverty co-existing side by side. As UN-Habitat (2006: viii) notes, “urban poverty and inequality will characterize many cities in the developing world, and urban growth will become virtually synonymous with slum formation in some regions”. Cities are hailed as engines of economic growth. But the problems of cities with regard to provision of basic public services such as safe drinking water, sanitation, housing, road infrastructure, public transport etc., increasing crime rates, ethnic and racial conflicts, and deterioration in the quality of natural environment have assumed alarming proportions. The crisis of the cities is attributed to lopsided urban policymaking and planning, resource constraints of the city governments, mismanagement of resources, socio-economic inequalities in the access to basic services, local politics driven by clientelistic and corrupt practices, and a weak civil society (Sadashiva 2008: 1).

Chapter two focuses on the process of urbanization under poverty in Venezuela, paying particular attention to Caracas and its informal settlements. Initially a brief description of the situation in Latin America is provided followed by a close examination of urban poverty trends in Venezuela, highlighting the controversial debate triggered by the current political polarization process, in which official and private sector measurements of poverty levels differ highly (see Table 2.2). The socio-spatial dimension and intensification of urban poverty in Caracas is then described by focusing on how it translates into social exclusion and spatial segregation or urban fragmentation. Finally the barrios are introduced as a typical manifestation of the Venezuelan urban impoverishment process.

2.1. Introduction

Urban poverty is perhaps the greatest challenge of our time. The future of cities and towns, where the majority of the planet's inhabitants will live from the first decade of the 21st century onwards, largely depends on our ability to successfully confront the world's new configuration. The year 2007 represented a turning point in human history - for the first time the world's urban population exceeded the rural population and almost 95% of the urban growth in the next two decades will be occurring in the cities of the developing world. Against this background enhancing urban governance in order to implement policies which thoroughly address urban poverty becomes crucial. According to the main international organizations dealing with urban development the goals of these policies should be: To integrate all urbanites into spatial, socio-economic and political structures of cities; to enhance social interactions by recovering the democratic use of public space thereby reducing social and spatial polarization; and to counteract the increasing tendency towards wealth concentration and economic opportunities in the hands of a few (UN-Habitat 2006; ECLAC/UN-Habitat 2000; Recife Declaration 1996).

The conceptualization of poverty has evolved hand in hand with the challenges brought about by worldwide urbanization processes. Understanding urban poverty has become a specific issue. The concept does not differ much from one place to another. Poverty measurements are generally based on income levels, but can also include qualitative, more complex and participatory aspects, which look at access to basic needs

and people's participation in the benefits offered by society, including participation in decision-making processes (Ramirez 2002).

Ronaldo Ramirez (ibid.) defines urban poverty as a multi-dimensional state of affairs, determined by cultural, social and local conditions, which are interpreted subjectively and experienced differently by the poor according to their circumstances:

...It is an indivisible whole, an ongoing day-to-day reality, in which the poor experience not only the lack of income and access to goods and basic services, but suffer from a devalued social status, live in a marginalized urban space which is environmentally degraded, and have limited access to justice, information, education and health, decision-making power and citizenship rights. The poor are also affected by the vulnerability to violence and loss of security (ibid.: 24).

2.2. Urban poverty in Latin America

Measurements of the poverty line show that in the late 1990s, six out of every ten poor people in Latin America lived in urban areas. Latin America is therefore the developing region that provides the clearest example of the worldwide process known as the "urbanization of poverty", which began during the 1980s. (ECLAC/UN-Habitat 2000:24)

The urbanization process in Latin America has taken place on a vast scale bringing about with it great economic and social transformations. During the last decade of the 20th century the region's urbanization coefficient increased from 71% in 1990 to 75% in 2000. Latin America is the most urbanized developing region in the world but no longer undergoing the most rapid urbanization, as it is the case with Africa. This means that several countries in the region have reached an advanced stage of urbanization with an urban population of 80%. Since the 1990s the established trend in Latin America has been a slowing down in the rate of growth of urban population, mainly because of two factors. On the one hand the natural growth rate has declined due to demographic transitions i.e. a steep decline in fertility rates and changes in household structures, and on the other hand, migration from rural areas has gradually decreased (ECLAC 2000).

Cities with more than 5 million inhabitants have experienced lower growth rates and low or even negative net migration rates mainly because of their advanced stage of urbanization. The growing tendency of urban agglomerations in the region has been to act as hubs for larger territories, thus serving as mechanisms for social and economic integration of surrounding urban centres (Rodriguez et al, 1998). This phenomenon, known as 'metropolitanization' is also related to a change in the traditional rural-urban migratory flows to one which can be defined as urban-urban:

Intra-metropolitan mobility also became much more visible during the 1990s as the spatial, demographic and socio-economic differentiation of the population of large cities increased, with the well to-do concentrating in certain sectors having high-quality infrastructure and urban services while the poorer segments of the population have tended to find themselves in neighbourhoods having a lower quality environment (ECLAC 2000: 16).

Urban socio-spatial segregation, poverty, housing and land policies

Urban-spatial segregation is primarily evident in the housing sector, from shelter affordability to universal access to housing and land. In Latin America housing and land policies aimed at universal access have certainly evolved throughout the recent decades but still have not been able to reach the great majority, who remain trapped in the spiral of urban poverty.

Although some progress has been made in the region concerning the reduction of poverty levels through the increase of public expenditure on social programmes from 10.1% of the GDP in 1991 to 12.5% in 1997 (ECLAC 2000) together with improved targeting, the effectiveness and efficiency of such programmes in all countries of the region is limited, as demonstrated by the national inequality indices which have remained high or even gotten worse. According to ECLAC (2000) factors related to ownership have an important impact on inequity. Especially in cities, access to housing and urban services has improved thus mitigating somehow the negative trend. Campaigns initiated after Habitat II have contributed towards improving the living conditions of the poor, especially those efforts related to guaranteeing the secure ownership of land. There is, however, still a long way to go especially in terms of acute differences regarding the quality of life and opportunities for progress among inhabitants in the region (ibid. 22f).

Urban areas in the region, especially the larger ones, are characterized by increasing processes of socio-spatial segmentation or segregation. This phenomenon, which is typical of cities, manifests itself through the isolation of high-income groups of urban society in exclusive residential compounds located in the best urban areas. The poor are forced to occupy the worst available urban land in outlying or high-risk areas with precarious housing and a serious shortage of services. Government-built housing, if benefiting the poor, is usually located on the periphery where accessibility to employment opportunities and adequate transport is low, but land is cheaper. This situation is the result of strong exclusionary forces operating in the real estate market, which also displaces the poor or prevents them from moving into the better serviced areas of the city, thus remaining in poorly financed municipalities where the provision of social services is inadequate and the investment of the private sector is low or non-existent (Bajra et al 2000; ECLAC 2000).

Possible actions to reduce urban segregation are, therefore, made more difficult by the prevailing settlement pattern. In addition, due to high incidences of crime, well-off citizens are disinclined to occupy the rest of the city, remaining in their clusters and avoiding as much as possible contact with other social groups. This process gives rise to isolated and fragmented urban spaces, thus defeating the traditional meaning of cities as places of integration and social interaction (Cariola et al 2003; Ayala et al 2007).

Housing policies in Latin America

The evolution of housing policies and programmes during the second half of the 20th century have been increasingly orientated towards the reduction of urban poverty. Unfortunately results are far from satisfactory. Reasons for the poor performance of the housing sector are related to the 'one-dimensional' interpretation of the problem, from a purely economic and quantifiable perspective. A new paradigm, which is qualitative and embracing a multidisciplinary approach is required to define poverty and, therefore, the approaches that need to be taken to house the poor (Ramirez 2002).

The housing situation in Latin America and the Caribbean is characterized by acute shortages. Public and private sector housing supply has not substantially increased over the last few decades due to a chronic shortage of funds in the social housing sector, which has been affected by a continuing downturn in public spending since the implementation of Structural Adjustment Programme (SAPs) in the 1980s, compounded by fluctuating levels of expenditure during the 1980s and 1990s (ECLAC 2000). The fact is that governments are not able to maintain their housing policies based on conventional production methods i.e. direct production of houses. In 1998 the housing needs in the region were about 38 million units, 45% of which represented a

quantitative shortage, and the rest related to housing that needed to be improved (Mac Donald et al. 1998).

Although the trend points to a slowdown in the rate of population growth in larger cities, the demand for housing has continued to rise. Several factors account for this, including: A housing backlog which has not been addressed; demographic changes regarding family structures in cities, characterized by smaller households and emerging urban lifestyles; and the upgrading needs of both deprived residential areas and the more or less consolidated informal settlements. The latter requires special attention, as it is not possible to eliminate these communities and because urban societies in developing countries need to gradually recognize the contribution made by thousands of urban poor to the construction of a housing stock as part of the built heritage of developing cities (Baldó et al 1995; Bolivar 1996a).

Many specialists point out that informal settlements need to be not only recognized by society but also legitimized. Regularization of land tenure in informal settlements seems to be the main strategy towards this goal.

Land regularization

The majority of the inhabitants of Latin America and the Caribbean² live on land and lots not belonging to them and the occupation of which is considered as being illegal (Salas 2005).

The urban poor acquire land principally through illegal processes, but the form of illegality varies considerably between different contexts (e.g. organized land invasion, land infiltration, etc.). Illegally taken land can either be public or private. Despite the illegality of the processes, the State is in many cases integrally involved in monitoring and at times distributing this land. Such covert State action is essential to maintain political stability in socio-economic environments where the poor are clearly limited beneficiaries of economic growth. In Latin America land allocation is an integral part of the political process (Gilbert et al 1985).

Fernandes (2001) reflects on the emphasis given to the need for land tenure regularization policies aimed at promoting socio-spatial integration of the urban poor. Many scholars agree that regularization, instead of promoting the desired social integration, ends up in maintaining and reinforcing the status quo which originally led to urban informality (Fernandes 2002a). In the absence of other social policies or economic programmes supporting land regularization processes, the mere allocation of land titles can guarantee individual tenure security, but it can also contribute to the expulsion of inhabitants to other more precarious and dysfunctional areas through, for example, a gentrification process. In many cases displaced people will again occupy land illegally (Salas 2005).

Nevertheless, despite the difficulties and possible negative outcomes of land regularization, there is a general perception that security of land tenure is positively associated to a set of social, political and institutional factors. Land regularization implies that the inhabitants do not experience the threat of eviction and that their access to public services and credit will somehow improve. This perception has been further strengthened by the gradual recognition from the general public that inhabitants of upgraded settlements do have the right to live and stay where they are, motivating them to invest in their houses (Fernandes 2002b). However, experience has shown that legalisation alone does not necessarily favour socio-spatial integration and, therefore, a

² Between 40% and 80% depending on the country, but nevertheless more than 50% in the region as a whole (Salas 2005)

comprehensive socio-economic policy should be put in place that includes adequate legal instruments for creating effective property rights, socially oriented urban planning laws, political institutions for democratic urban management, and socio-economic policies aimed at creating job opportunities and increasing income levels (Salas 2005).

Processes underlying the urbanization of poverty in Latin America are all valid for Venezuela. Actions have been taken at different levels to address them with varying degrees of success, and in many cases under conflicting social, economical and political circumstances. The following section presents a brief discussion of the Venezuelan urbanization process highlighting its poverty trends.

2.3. Urbanization of poverty in Venezuela

The main elements of the transformation process of the modern Latin American city should be understood as the influence of European urban ideas that in general were transferred in a *sui generis* fashion to the Latin American metropolises at the end of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century (Almandoz 1999). Venezuela shares a history similar to other Latin American countries, in which the prevailing settlement pattern and culture was the result of the widespread Spanish colonization process. However, the case of Venezuela differs from other Latin American countries regarding its urbanization process because of the accelerated urban growth rates mainly triggered by the discovery of oil in 1917. Caracas was always seen as a second rate capital, or as Almandoz (1997:18) puts it: ‘The Cinderella of South America’. The reasons for this were its late and subtle adoption of the European urban ideas at the end of the 19th century together with the fact that colonial Venezuela was of little importance to the economy of the Spanish empire.

Main urban growth trends

Urban population growth of Venezuela, considered to be among one of the most rapid ones in Latin America, was prompted by high birth rates, a fall in the death rate, and successive waves of migration from rural to urban areas. Most of this growth took place in the capital city of Caracas. However, although from the 1950s population size steadily grew, the growth rate of the main city decreased with each successive year, showing a demographic transition similar to that of developed countries (Pachner 1986; Cartaya 2007).

Two main factors were responsible for the urban transition: the first one was the drastic change in the economic base of the country from agricultural production to that of mining and oil exploitation. The second reason was the subsequent need to develop the service sector in order to sustain the new oil industry. The incipient urban population took on ways of life characteristic of urban areas, with better access to health, sanitation and education (Almandoz 1997; Cilento et al 1998).

At the same time the number of large cities and medium-sized towns grew significantly from the 1950s onwards, resulting in the high proportion of urban population found today. According to UN-Habitat (2006) in 2001 87.2% of the total population of Venezuela were living in urban areas, with a population distribution characterized by the concentration of people in the main cities. In the 1990s, when the total population of the country was about 20 million 85% of Venezuelans already lived in cities. The last census indicated that from a population of ca. 25 million inhabitants, around 88% were living in urban areas, defined as being settlements of more than 2,000 people. The capital city of Caracas remains the principal urban core and the centre of

economic, social, military and political power. Fifteen per cent of the inhabitants of Venezuela live in the Metropolitan Area of Caracas (3.2 million), followed by Maracaibo (1.3 million), Barquisimeto (932,000), and Valencia (768,000) (INE 2004).

Rapid urbanization brought about urban poverty and a steady deterioration of urban living conditions for the majority. The annual growth rate of informal settlements in these areas is 2.46%, meaning that by the end of the 20st century 40.7% of the total population of the country (8,738,000 inhabitants) were living in barrios (UN-Habitat 2006). Such figures give a clear indication of the scale of the problem since it is in informal settlements where poverty concentrates and inequalities are most evident. Figures 2.1 and 2.2 illustrate the two parallel urbanization processes of the valley of Caracas.

Figure 2.1: View of the valley of Caracas: The “formal” city



Source: Google earth

Figure 2.2: View of the valley of Caracas: The “informal” city



Source: Author's photograph

Venezuela: ‘A poor rich country’

In economic literature, the phenomenon of Venezuela is known as “the curse of natural resources”. This represents the basic difference between Venezuela and other Latin American countries. The historical evolution of the country has been largely driven by the character of the “oil-fed State”, in which the government has tended to adopt populist and exclusionary forms of redistribution (Cartaya 2007). “The nature of the main revenue source of the Venezuelan economy, its size in relation to other economic activities, and its adoption as an Estate property, make Venezuela a peculiar society, a distributive one; that is, a society whose organization and dynamic revolve around the distribution of international oil revenues, instead of being organized around productivity and competitiveness which is characteristic of modern societies in general” (Rojas 2004: 221f).

Fifty years after the government started “planting the oil” as its main economic objective the nation still heavily depends on the fluctuations of the international oil market. In 2005 oil represented 87% of the total exports and 50% of fiscal income. Moreover, as revenues from oil increase so paradoxically does the external debt, highlighting the misadministration and mismanagement by the government, which spends much more than is available, no matter how high oil revenues are. According to Palacios (2006) the Venezuelan economy is characterized by its addiction to an oil-

rental economy. As a result of the above situation the socio-cultural character of Venezuelan society is that of one which lives from a resource that is not the result of its productive efforts: “The dependency on oil revenues distorts economic incentives and above all the notion of citizenship”. The citizens living from revenues distributed by the State “ask for what they have not contributed to produce; therefore they know that their right is weak and ‘begging for it’ rather than demanding for it reflects better their relationship with the State” (González Fabr e 2006: 69). This particular relationship between the State and civil society, which embraces cultural, economic, social and political spheres, contributes towards stimulating ‘clientelism’ instead of fostering productivity efforts and competitive capacities, which also affects the equitable distribution of revenues (Cartaya 2007).

The economy and the Human Development Index

The economic and social performance of Venezuela has been limited and unstable despite its enormous potential and wealth. According to the UNDP Human Development Reports covering the last 30 years, Venezuela has consistently throughout Latin America shown the lowest growth rate with regard to the Human Development Index (HDI) (UNDP 2003). The range of the index has been from 0.723 in 1975 to 0.792 in 2005, which would point towards Venezuela being a country with medium human development (<http://hdr.undp.org>).

Poor living conditions of the population in general can be seen from the meagre performance of the labour market over recent years. According to Cartaya (1997) productivity and real salaries have deteriorated since the 1980s, which reflects the limited capacity of the country to compete globally and within the region. About half of the economically active population of the country are employed in the informal economy and according to government estimates it has been hovering around 40% since 2004. Recent figures show that unemployment rates were above 10% in the first half of 2006³. Indicators such as infant mortality, maternal death rates, and school drop-out rates all point to low human development. Three out of four infant deaths are the result of preventable diseases, highlighting poor living conditions of the population and the limited capacity of the health system. In relation to education, although there was an increase in the coverage of schooling in recent years, youngsters continue to drop out of school, thus preventing them from acquiring the minimum education necessary for obtaining well-paid jobs to overcome poverty.

The living conditions of the majority of the population are clearly at odds with the wealth of the country. Persistent poverty, despite of high rates of economic growth and extensive social service coverage, nevertheless point towards the low impact of poverty reduction policies. Despite discussions among experts regarding the inadequacy of evaluating the development performance of the country based purely on economic indicators (i.e. incomes) these indicators continue to be used as a source of information at the national level (Cartaya 2007).

The social landscape of Venezuela at the beginning of the 21st century has been shaped by inequality, significant impoverishment of the people and precarious employment. In addition progress has been slow with regard to indicators on health and education, and there are alarming signs of a deterioration of the social fabric due to rampant corruption, rising crime rates and political polarization.

³ The last year it was under 10% was 1980

The deterioration of the social fabric through insecurity and violence

Venezuelan society has gone through a process of violent disruption. A growing feeling of insecurity has developed both as a result of economic instability and the perception that the system under which society should function and evolve does not fulfil the expectations of the people. Two types of insecurity characterize the current situation for the urban poor. Firstly, insecurity stemming from precarious access to improved living conditions through, for example, education, health facilities and employment opportunities. Secondly insecurity is determined by the increase of violence at all levels:

The signs of eroding social fabrics have pandemic proportions in Venezuela. This is mainly translated through violence. Violence does not only manifest itself in the alarming increase of crime rates in larger cities, it also manifests itself in domestic violence, violence during daily social interaction, and even in the political discourse (Cartaya 2007: 71).

Although this is not a problem exclusive to Venezuela, its prevalence has reached such proportions that it has started to affect net mortality rates. A monthly report produced by CISOR (2006) shows that death rate per 1,000 of the male population of those who had died as a result of crime increased from 4.6% in 1997 to 9.7% in 2004. In 1997 homicides were the fifth cause of death, whereas in 2004 they represented the third cause. The study also shows that the increase death rate is more pronounced among males aged between 15 and 34. From 1997 to 2004 males murdered in this age range represented almost 70% of total homicides. Therefore, it is not surprising that crime is nowadays perceived by Venezuelans as the most urgent urban problem, even above unemployment, which traditionally occupied the first place (Cartaya 2007).

The perception of physical insecurity contributes to social segmentation through the stigmatization of the poor as criminals and the places where they live as dens of crime. In order to protect themselves from rampant crime rates, better off social groups segregate themselves spatially in residential enclaves, the so-called gated communities, reducing, at least psychologically, their fear of becoming victims of crime. Social mixing and interaction is deliberately avoided, public space becomes exclusive and the traditional places of social encounter, such as parks, squares and even streets, lose their function and are abandoned or used in transit, but not as places to stay. Urban space becomes segregated and fragmented into unarticulated “no-go areas” and exclusive residential areas (Ayala et al. 2007).

This insecurity is further exacerbated by a social security system which has not been able to properly address and reach the working population. The proportion of the economically active population benefitting from the social security system amounts to only 20.5%. The level of exclusion to the right for social security benefits is quite high for people older than 60, being 72.7% (PROVEA 2005; Wyssenbach 2006).

A household is considered to be in a situation of extreme poverty if it allocates all its income to food and it is still not be able to obtain what has been generally accepted as basic needs. This implies that it is impossible to access any of the other components of well-being (e.g. education, health, sanitation) since the various deficiencies are inter-related to each other. Although the right to food is not explicitly included as a social right, there is no doubt that a lack of food, is the most basic of all rights when one considers the reality of human biology, and it is a primary issue in exclusion (Cartaya et al. 1997). The incidence of poverty in Venezuela is examined in next section.

Incidence of poverty in Venezuela

Poverty and political exclusion of the majority have traditionally been seen as latent forms of violence. However oil revenues have for a long time made it possible to subdue the poor by means of offering some opportunities for moving upwards socially, through benefitting from handouts from a Welfare State or through receiving of some form of patronage derived from being a member of a group, association, trade union or political party which trades favours in return for support (Cartaya et al. 1997; España 1994).

The incidence of poverty in urban areas in Venezuela, and especially in Caracas, represent a controversial issue as official statistics on poverty generally differ from such figures provided by the private sector (e.g. university departments and institutions dealing with social development). Disagreements regarding the level of poverty have increased dramatically over the last ten years following political and social polarization, because official figures seem to be too optimistic and unofficial figures too pessimistic. The tendency of the government to exert its influence on the institutions responsible for producing statistics in the country reinforces the need to follow critically all those involved in this issue.

The use of economic and social figures for political purposes is neither a novelty, nor is it peculiar to our agitated times, nor is it peculiar to our country. Figures, of which poverty statistics are part of them, constitute one of the tools to audit the actions of the government, as well as the performance of society as a whole. This is one reason why, when there are no sources or figures everyone agrees upon, that public discussions revolve around the proper indicators which are necessary to reflect the quantifiable aspects of reality. The opposition has some figures, "their figures" and on the other hand, the government has "theirs", which will finally become the official ones, the ones published by international institutions. Against this background the only possible conclusion is that the country has no reliable figures on what the situation really is (España 2006:52).

The report produced by the National Institute of Statistics (INE 2005) reveals that poverty has been reduced as the result of the social programmes implemented by the government. According to their statistics the poverty level during the first half of 2005 was 38.5% compared to 42.8% in 1999. Extreme poverty according to the report was 10.1% compared to 16.6% in 1999. Hernández (2005) reported that official figures are over-optimistic through showing the conclusions of a private sector organization conducting poverty studies at the national level. The study indicates that 21,525,000 Venezuelans are poor (86.1% of the total population). Among them 44.1% are unemployed and 42.2% rely on a daily informal income. Table 2.1 provides an overview of the poverty conditions in Venezuela.

Table 2.1: Poverty conditions in Venezuela according to the private sector

Social Strata	Class A-B High income	Class C High-middle	Class C Middle and lower-middle	Class D Poor	Class E Extreme poor
% of pop.	3.8%	4.3%	5.8%	42%	44.1%
Total	950,000	1,075,000	1,450,000	10,500,000	11,025,000
Income (1\$ = 1,250 VBS)	+ 4,700 \$	n.a.	n.a.	69.6% 136.74 \$ 22.8% 235.2 \$ - 280\$ 5.5% 400\$ 2.1% + 400\$	
Economic condition	With housing and employment	Large number of professionals working in the informal sector		44.1% are unemployed; 25.1% work in the informal sector; 30.8% are employed	
Relevant features	55,834 new rich (mainly military)	At least one member of the h/h has migrated to another country.	More affected sector. Ca. 84,000 families have lost their status and joined sector D.	55.5% just have enough for food 24.6% the above + transport 8.1% the above + clothing 6.2% the above + education 2.8% the above + health 2.8% the above + recreation 32.3% are able to eat three meals per day	

Source: El Nacional, October 30th 2005

The public debate concerning which figures better reflect the real situation is according to many a matter of methodologies applied and the consequence of changes in the indicators traditionally used to measure poverty (CECA 2005; España 2006).

In order to facilitate comparisons the Institute of Economic and Social Research of the Catholic University Andres Bello (UCAB) maintained a type of food basket index⁴, as it has been traditionally calculated in the country, but only considered incomes coming from employment sources⁵. Table 2.2 summarizes the results.

Table 2.2: Comparison between public and private poverty figures

	1997	1998 (1S)	1998 (2S)	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Total poverty INE	55.6	49.0	43.9	42.8	41.6	39.1	41.5	54.0	53.1	38.5
Total poverty UCAB	58.0	49.0	nd	49.9	49.5	48.2	41.5	60.2	59.6	57.9
Extreme poverty INE	25.5	21.0	17.1	16.6	16.7	14.2	16.6	25.1	23.5	13.3
Extreme poverty UCAB	25.9	20.5	nd	17.8	17.3	16.9	14.1	24.1	22.2	20.4

Source: España 2006: 54

Since these measurements are based on income levels, their behaviour is closely related to the 'events in the economy'. Experience shows that poverty levels in Venezuela increase during times of political and economic instability. The most recent example of this was the oil strike between December 2002 and February 2003 as is evident from the variations of poverty levels for these years. Poverty at the household level is determined by the interrelationship between family size and the employment status of the family members. Box 2.1 describes a model to understand how such a relationship works in Venezuela (Cartaya et al. 1997).

⁴ Access to BFB is calculated using the minimum income a family of five members needs to secure food.

⁵ Incomes from employment sources are representative of households' productive capacity, and not of households' capacity to secure, for example, government subsidies (España 2006).

Box 2.1: Rules for the survival of poor households in Venezuela

The ability of families to escape using their own resources from a situation of poverty and therefore exclusion highlights the value of work as a fundamental link between families and the "market" economy. The nuclear family is the basic unit considered to measure poverty under the proposed model. By relating per capita food costs to the minimum wage in force, one obtains the following rules of survival:

- Only when a family is made up of less than four persons is it possible to get near to the income needed to overcome poverty if there is only one person employed per household.
- In order to overcome poverty, it is necessary even for a family of three or four members for 2.7 of these persons to be in work and earn at least the minimum wage.
- For a six-person family, which is common among the poor, it is necessary for two of them to be employed just to earn enough for the family to feed itself.

Source: Cartaya et al (1997: 43)

Cartaya et al (1997) explain that one of the most serious consequences of the rules for poor households is the perpetuation of the cycle of poverty and its implications for subsequent generations, as in many households "the difference between escaping from poverty and remaining in poverty is one extra person entering the labour market, usually an adolescent boy between the age 15 and 19. At the expense of interrupting their education they obtain meagre earnings which, only when they are combined with other earnings, provide a family with a subsistence income. The 'trade-off' seems to be: Permit relative survival of the present generation at the cost of condemning the future generation to repeat the cycle of extreme poverty" (Cartaya et al. 1997:43ff)

Poverty is mainly concentrated in households living in informal settlements, highlighting processes of urban socio-spatial segregation and fragmentation. A brief description of the urbanization process of Caracas is provided in the next section placing particular emphasis on the socio-spatial dimension and intensification of poverty in the capital city.

2.4. The urban transformation of Caracas

Seventy years ago the capital city of Caracas was a small town with around a hundred thousand inhabitants. Nowadays it is a bursting modern metropolis of ca. 4 million people. Globalization trends have been superimposed on the traditional city leading to to extremely complex and highly dynamic urban systems. Caracas exhibits the typical features of the late twentieth century Latin American metropolises, driven by large inequalities and contrasting urban development (Cartaya 2007; Larrañaga 2003).

The segregated settlement pattern inherited from the colonial past persisted and was exacerbated throughout the 20th Century showing nowadays an increasingly more complex social dynamic and territorial appropriation of urban areas by distinct social groups. The urban growth of the valley of Caracas during the 20th century led to the densification of informal settlements which, according to Harms (1997: 193ff) can be explained by a number of interrelated factors: (a) the difficult topography of the valley restricting access to urban land; (b) the global city effect highlighting the demand for office space, which in turn increased the value of land thus having a negative impact on land development for residential purposes; (c) the modernization process along the lines of development in North American cities, which lead to social and spatial segregation within metropolitan areas; and (d) the changes in the relationship between the centre-periphery, in which urban sprawl increasingly outstretches the periphery from the centre, thus creating new centres around which informal settlements grow and consolidate.

Current urbanization trends regarding the above factors point towards the gradual formation of a peri-urban interface around the Metropolitan Area of Caracas (MAC) known as the Metropolitan Region of Caracas (MRC). This urban region has evolved as the result of urban sprawl, the saturation of the city and inaccessibility by the large majority to inflated land and housing markets. The MRC comprises four large geographic areas or sub-regions which have developed at different times in parallel to the city. It is defined by the functional relationships it has with the main urban core, and not by spatial continuity because of topographical barriers that separate these sub-regions from the MAC (Cariola et al 2003).

The socio-spatial dimension of urban poverty in Caracas

Recent studies undertaken by Cariola and Lacabana (2003) show that in Caracas ongoing economic restructuring under the influence of globalization has reinforced the parallel development of the formal and informal city. Functional specialization has made it possible for certain parts of the city to integrate fully into the global economy, whilst others are totally excluded from it and become directly linked to the economy of poverty. Decentralization, on the other hand, has created institutional segmentation and separation between rich and poor municipalities.

Decentralization has led to the creation of five municipalities and, more recently, to that of an overreaching metropolitan authority. However, the latter's capacity to develop, coordinate and implement a strategic vision aiming to improve the city's global integration and the quality of life of its inhabitants is limited. Moreover the metropolitan authority has no jurisdiction over the city's periphery, which further complicates the Metropolitan Region's governance (Cariola et al: 67)

Such a situation does not only threaten city governance, but it also has a direct impact on the spatial appropriation of the city by various social groups, who need to cope with the situation by adopting different livelihood and housing strategies: these are adaptive practices that give rise to particular forms of generating and experiencing residential space, including social participation and construction of identity in response to the emergence of 'global' values and consumption patterns, and the violence and erosion of social networks that accompany the processes of impoverishment and social disintegration (ibid.: 65).

At the same time self-employment in a low-income and low-productive informal sector has grown as the contraction of employment opportunities in the formal sector persists, and the once adequate incomes from a number of occupations and professions have been eroded. The demise of traditional channels of social mobility through education and employment conditions in the city has increased inequalities in the labour market and in income levels. All these processes combined, i.e. globalization, political fragmentation due to decentralization, and prevalence of informal employment, have contributed to the spatial segregation of urban poverty in informal settlements (Cartaya 1997; Cariola et al 2003).

The intensification of poverty in Caracas

Inequality and poverty go hand in hand in urban areas in Venezuela. The spread and intensification of poverty and its heterogeneity can be described in terms of income and material living conditions. A category of social groups combining poverty line (PL)⁶

⁶ The poverty line methodology considers the minimum income needed by a family of five members to buy the government's stipulated basic food basket (BFB). A family below the poverty line (BPL) is determined by its inability to buy the monthly BFB.

and unmet basic needs (UBN)⁷ methodologies was developed by Cariola and Lacabana (2003) in the MAC. This classification of social groups, i.e. non-poor groups, low-middle income groups and poor groups, highlights the existing social polarization and heterogeneity currently shaping the social, economic and spatial landscape of the capital city. The residential and livelihood strategies of these groups are considered fundamental for describing the spatial and economic differences between them.

Basic characteristics of MAC social groups

Non-poor groups are divided into upper and vulnerable middle-income groups. They are composed of people who are not poor in relation to either of the poverty indexes. They are considered to be included, both economically and socially. The vulnerability of the middle-income group can be explained by the deterioration in the labour market and not by their educational level because seventy percent of heads of these households have a higher educational level.

The vulnerable middle-income group is highly heterogeneous and is further divided into moderately poor or “rising poor” and impoverished or “new poor”. The rising poor are people experiencing upward mobility who are poor based on the UBN but not the PL. The new poor are those people who are poor according to the PL but not the UBN. They are able to maintain access to basic goods and services despite their downward mobility. Both groups under this category are differentially excluded, being socially and economically vulnerable and experiencing a range of insecurities and frustrations regarding the present and the future, and this is particularly true of the the new poor.

The last category consists of people who are poor according to both poverty indices. It is divided into the structural poor, with incomes one to two times the value of the basic food basket (BFB), and the extreme poor, with incomes below the value of the BFB. Eighty percent of the heads of households only have elementary schooling, which often was incomplete.

Social identity, residential patterns and livelihood strategies of MAC social groups

The residential pattern of non-poor groups is characterized by self-segregation in order to reinforce their social identity through territorial homogeneity. These groups concentrate mainly in gated communities located in Eastern part of Caracas. Their voluntary enclosure extends beyond residential uses to include commerce, culture and leisure. Social interaction is restricted to individuals belonging to the same socio-economic group. From a livelihood perspective non-poor groups, especially the upper-income group, have successfully integrated into advanced economic activities such as finance, communications and state of the art services for companies. The vulnerable middle-income group struggle to avoid becoming new poor. They find a way into the labour market through the higher segments of the informal sector.

Low middle-income groups represent a kind of invisible poverty which manifests itself in the privacy of their homes. Their capacity to overcome poverty is dependent upon family and social networks, and educational and financial assets such as house ownership. The social identity of these groups is based on consumption patterns and lifestyles typically associated with middle-class values such as access to good education, car ownership, savings, enjoyment of different forms of recreation and the opportunity to travel frequently. Their housing usually consists of socially homogeneous residential areas. More than half rely on informal economic activities,

⁷ The unmet basic need method considers other indicators to measure poverty such as connection to basic services and access to, for example, health, education and shelter.

either as the sole source of income or to supplement their formal income. Barriers to upward mobility undermine their ability to make plans for the future, which is a core feature of their identity and contrasts with the short-term orientation of lower-income groups.

The social identity of poor groups is twofold. A positive identity nurtured by a strong reciprocity network, which helps them in acquiring a place to live; and a negative one, stemming from their stigmatization due to the visibility of their poverty. Their territorial identity is clearly defined by their residential pattern in informal settlements or social housing projects. In many cases they suffer from territorial enclosure and an absence of a physical connection to the so-called formal city. The territorial isolation of these groups is intensified by exclusionary processes, compounded by physical insecurity, violence and the lack of livelihood opportunities within their place of residence. Their livelihood is associated to the economy of poverty: 10% have no income from employment sources, 40% depend on the informal sector and 50% live on incomes from precarious jobs. The extreme poor suffer from a lack of income or a sole reliance on informal activities.

Table 2.3 shows the changes in the proportion of people belonging to any one group between 1987 and 1998, highlighting the deterioration of living conditions in the MAC.

Table 2.3: Ten years proportional changes of social groups in MAC

Social group category	Sub-categories	1987	1998
Non –poor	Upper-income	41.2%	19.7%
	Middle-income	18.8%	22.5%
Low middle-income	Rising poor	22.1%	4.2%
	New poor	5.2%	33.1%
Poor	Structural and extreme poor	12.7%	20.5% of which 13.5% are extreme poor

Source: Author's projection based on Cariola et al. 2003

The figures in Table 2.3 demonstrate that changes in poverty do not only exclusively affect the traditional low-income groups but they have also begun to affect the middle-income groups. This alarming situation is a reflection of years of urban decline in the living conditions in the capital city. Against this background the following section focuses on the poor groups because they represent the heart of the global illness of the combined effects of poverty, social exclusion and spatial segregation.

2.5. Poverty, social exclusion and spatial segregation of barrios

Geographical segregation is an extremely powerful mechanism of exclusion with significance that exceeds material deficiencies. On the one hand, being located in a rural or marginal area implies reduced or zero access to public goods. Where these goods do exist, their quality will be lower, and this constitutes a mechanism of differentiation and segmentation (Cartaya et al. 1997).

The “barrio city” in Caracas (Bolívar 1998) offers a socio-physical laboratory of exclusion and spatial segregation that should be considered as a premise for interventions using socio-economic and spatial policies aimed at eliminating such conditions based on the social fabric and culture of its inhabitants (Cartaya et al 1997).

Characteristic of the exclusionary process experienced by the poor in Venezuelan society is their low self-esteem, which emphasises the difficulties of carrying out self-help projects. Moreover low self-esteem forms a powerful barrier to social organization.

In this way the State is able to continue exercising its paternalistic approach to social development (Barroso 1997).

Approximately 25% of households in Venezuela are affected by exclusion. Between one quarter and one third of the population suffer from an extreme degree of exclusion concerning their right to education and health. These access rights to the social entitlements of education and health, as well as the preservation of individual rights are strongly related to space, as the link to geographical segregation is very strong. Only about a quarter of the homes where the poor live are adequate in the sense of having minimum space and service connections meeting national legal standards (Cartaya et al 1997). It has been argued that as long as such living conditions persist “no social or educational effort will make it possible to integrate the inhabitants as equal citizens in society” (Baldó et al. 1995a: 15).

A household whose situation might lead to escaping poverty is strongly inhibited by being part of a *barrio*. Venezuela is characterized by a gap between what the Constitution defines as social rights and what its constituencies experience in their everyday lives (Cartaya et al. 1997).

Definition of informal settlements in Caracas

There is universal agreement that poverty is related to the lack of or a precarious access to basic needs, poor economic opportunities and subsistence livelihoods. Considering that poverty is widespread in informal settlements, these can be defined as precarious residential areas with poor access to basic needs, formed by households living under acute economic constraints, with people experiencing social exclusion to varying degrees, and spatially concentrated in distinct parts of the city, which are environmentally vulnerable and not suitable for housing purposes. Several other forces influence their already negative socio-economic and spatial conditions. These are mainly social stigmatization by outsiders, ambiguous citizenship underlying weak political participation, and an illegal status stemming from occupying land they do not own.

Barrio definition, formation and consolidation process

The origins of informal settlements in Venezuela date back to the beginning of the 20th century⁸. They were not only the result of uncontrolled rapid urbanization processes, which arose following extensive rural-urban migration, but they were also the consequence of an incompetent public housing sector. As Kombe and Kreibich (2000) pointed out, worldwide informal housing should be considered as a response of the poor to the inability of the statutory planning and the land management system to provide shelter, as well as a valuable contribution of the poor to the production of affordable housing.

Informal settlements in Venezuela are commonly known as *barrios de ranchos*⁹ or simply *barrios*. *Barrios* are commonly built on public land through organized ‘land invasions’, which is a common feature of informal settlement processes in Latin America. They evolve through a gradual appropriation of land and incremental shelter growth. In many instances *barrio* formation has been supported by political proselytism

⁸ The first *barrio*, as it is understood today, was already being settled in 1917 (Bolívar 2006).

⁹ *Rancho* is the Venezuelan word used to describe a shack, which in this context means a non-permanent shelter structure made of perishable materials such as carton boxes, plastic sheets, and construction waste materials such as wood and laminated metal.

and the patronizing structure of government institutions, which has a clear goal of gaining votes through a permissive attitude towards informal land occupation.

The *rancho* generally pertains to the initial shelter structure that a pioneering settler or newcomer to the barrio is able to afford to build. As household's socio-economic conditions improve, so does the original dwelling unit until it is transformed into a solid, permanent structure. The consolidated house results from the adoption and interpretation of the widespread building technology of the city (i.e. reinforced concrete structures with brick walls) and the culture of the barrio inhabitant (reinterpretation of some architectural elements of rural houses). The use of the aforesaid mentioned building technology, irrespective of its structural integrity, is indicative of the consolidation of a barrio. The higher the number of shelters transformed into solid concrete and brick houses, the greater is the consolidation of the barrio (Bolívar 1994; Rosas 2005).

Following a long processes of consolidation and social cohesion, barrios become part and parcel of urban life, interacting with the city despite their unclear legal status and their incomplete socio-political and spatial recognition (Bolívar 1996a, Gouverneur et al. 1999, Rosas 2005). The barrios of Caracas are strikingly visible constituting a major feature of the city's landscape. They are too large, well settled and consolidated to be dismissed as marginal, or as an exception to the rule (Gouverneur et al. 1999).

Table 2.4 shows the social agents, steps and mechanisms involved in the production of *barrios*, highlighting the different stages of the consolidation process.

Table 2.4: The consolidation process of barrios

Agents	Steps	Mechanisms
Social agents producing barrios	Sequence of phases which can be interrupted temporarily or definitively	Modes and practices which the families looking for homes have found to secure the production of houses
Inhabitants: - Barrio community organizations - Families: • house owners* • tenants • relatives	Land occupation and construction of shacks (<i>ranchos</i>). Precarious refurbishing of the land and transformation of shacks into solid houses.	Illegal occupation of public or private land. Furbishing the land and constructing the houses with self-help.
Land owners	Infrastructure provision (roads, electricity, drainage).	Asking the government for roads and services; the government provides the materials and the settlers the manual labour, occasionally also building materials through self-financing.
Government institutions	Progressive transformation of the houses into multi-storey buildings.	
Constructors and builders - construction enterprises - barrio builders - barrio dwellers	Continuation of the upgrading process. Extension of occupied land together with the transformation and upgrading of the house.	Construction of houses not according to a preconceived plan; money comes whenever it is available, not regularly; every house tells a unique story, reflecting the families occupying it; building is done by the owners with self-help and family managed small contractors.
* not necessarily owner of land		

Source: Bolívar 1997:185

Drawing from the evidence presented so far and looking at table 2.4, it is clear that the process linking poverty to informal settlements in Venezuela can be traced to the

beginning of the 20th Century. At this time, conditions of poverty in the rural areas drove people into the cities in search of better opportunities, especially in the burgeoning oil industry, leading to rapid rates of rural-urban migration and urban expansion. From the 1950's onward, this pattern changed to one of intra-urban migration, driven by the growth of cities and strong exclusionary forces in their land and housing markets, leading to the movement, consolidation and segregation of the poor within distinct pockets of Venezuela's already-established urban areas (ECLAC 2000). These pockets of underserved land tend to be the only ones available for the poor to establish their housing: it is available at lower costs due to a lack of legally titled plots, geologic instability, a lack of basic infrastructure and services, a lack of opportunities for education and employment, and a perception of high crime rates and insecurity. These are the defining characteristics of the barrios. Once people come to dwell in these informal areas, it is very difficult for them to participate in the broader economic, social, and political currents of the city (Ramirez 2002). Many of the inhabitants can only find low-wage work within the confines of the informal economy, making it difficult for them to provide for their basic needs, let alone to provide high quality education for themselves and their families to lift them out of poverty (Cartaya et al. 1997).

In sum, Venezuela's poor tend to settle in the only areas available to them, the city's informal settlements, and once they become inhabitants of these areas they experience a structural lack of access to the services and opportunities needed to improve their lives. Under these conditions, geographically concentrated poverty continues to grow in Venezuela's urban areas, acting as both the driver and the outcome of informal settlements.

Nevertheless, half a century of urban policymaking in Venezuelan democratic history cannot be underestimated. A closer look at the actual governance framework of the country, as well as the policymaking related to informal settlements, are important to grasp the enormous developmental challenge posed by the spatial consolidation of poverty described.

2.6. Venezuelan governance framework and informal settlements

After a relatively stable political situation since the 1950s, the erosion of political consensus in the country's democratic history became evident from 1989 onwards. Conflicts occurred increasingly due to the patrimonial culture of ruling elite, the public institutionalization of clientelistic practices conditioned by corporate interests, rampant corruption, and the ever growing unmet needs of the majority of the population. As the economy deteriorated, prevailing conditions for redistribution were no longer viable and the political model collapsed. The popular upheaval known as "el Caracazo" in February 1989 was followed by a decade of progressive deterioration in the political environment and a loss of faith by people in the political parties. This period of Venezuelan political history finally ended with the creation of the Fifth Republic in 1999. The new period witnessed the substitution of one group of political elites for another one.

In 1999 the newly installed president, Hugo Chávez, pushed for radical reforms, and a constitutional assembly was soon appointed to draft a new constitution which was adopted by referendum in December of that year. The Venezuelan constitution of 1999 prescribes a government based on republican, democratic, and federalist principles and envisioned a major change in the governance of the country from a representative form

to a participatory democracy. The political parties that had ruled the country during the last forty years were blamed for the widespread poverty and backwardness of the country characterized by rampant corruption in public life, inequality and exclusion of the poor from mainstream development (Perez 2005).

The government is divided into executive, legislative, and judicial branches. The constitution fundamentally changed the executive and legislative branches by granting increased powers to the president and reorganizing the legislature into a single chamber assembly. Executive power rests with the president, who serves a six-year term and is eligible for re-election for a second consecutive term. The president has greater powers than either the judicial or legislative branches of government. The new constitution also reformed the legal system, promising to expand personal liberties, formally acknowledging the rights of indigenous peoples, and changing the country's name from the Republic of Venezuela to the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela (Government of Venezuela on line; Encyclopaedia Britannica on-line).

The single chamber National Assembly (*Asamblea Nacional*) creates laws, authorizes national expenditures, approves treaties, appoints foreign ambassadors, and fulfils numerous other functions. Civil and human rights are protected by an independent judiciary that is organized nationally, with no autonomous state courts. The highest court in the country is the Supreme Court (*Tribunal Supremo de Justicia*), which deals with civil, criminal, and political cases (ibid).

Venezuela is divided into twenty-three states (*Estados*), a capital district (*Distrito Capital*) corresponding to the city of Caracas, two Federal Dependencies (*Dependencias Federales*), and Guayana Esequiba (a border territory disputed with Guyana). Venezuela is further subdivided into 335 municipalities (*municipios*) which are subdivided into over one thousand parishes (*parroquias*). The states are grouped into nine administrative regions (*regiones administrativas*), which were established by presidential decree and have no political function. Their function is to draw up regional development plans. Each state is headed by a directly elected governor and has a legislative assembly. These assemblies are single chamber bodies consisting of representatives from each of the state's districts. The federal district is administered by a mayor, and the day-to-day administration of local affairs elsewhere in the country is the responsibility of municipal councils and directly elected mayors (ibid).

The present political situation

The current political situation is characterized by high levels of social mobilization under strong socialist leadership that claims social justice and inclusion of the poor in decision-making processes. As a result of such claims profound social fragmentation and polarization plagues the socio-political environment in which both ends of the political spectrum, i.e. government supporters and the opposition, are incapable of establishing a common dialogue and understanding with respect to national problems and the necessary strategies to address them (Maigón 2004; Cartaya 2007).

Nevertheless, as shown in the development agendas proposed by 'supporters' and 'opposition' during the last presidential campaign in December 2006, one of their few areas of agreement was the reduction of poverty, exclusion and inequality as being the country's main concern and development priority (ibid. 2007).

General policy framework targeting barrios

The policies dealing with informal settlements in Venezuela have seen a wide range of approaches, from eviction and eradication of barrios to simply ignoring them. All kinds of upgrading practices have been tried, from cosmetic remodelling to undertaking

interventions in spite of the opposition and indifference of barrio inhabitants. As none of these have contributed to significantly improving the situation of barrios, alternatives are required. As pointed out by many scholars, the legitimation of the housing process initiated by barrio inhabitants is a precondition for bringing about the incorporation of barrios into the city. All actors involved in urban development need to recognize the efforts of the urban poor (Bolívar 1996a; Baldó et al 1995). Several policies targeting poverty in barrios have evolved throughout the democratic history of Venezuela. The main ones under the current Fifth Republic are summarized here.

Constitution of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela 1999 (see Appendix 9.1)

The new constitution called for the poorest of the poor, particularly those living in barrios, to proactively participate in the endeavour of building a new nation founded on social justice (Pérez 2005). Participation of people is defined in the constitution as their involvement in the exercise of their sovereignty in political, social and economic affairs. Several types of association are encouraged and aiming to be characterized by the values of mutual cooperation and solidarity. Decentralization is perceived as the mechanism to empower people and create self-reliant, proactive and co-responsible community organizations that will ultimately participate in the execution, evaluation and control of project works, social programmes and public services within their jurisdiction (Article 70 and 184).

In the new constitution housing is described as being an undeniable human right. Its social significance and importance as a public good is highlighted in a holistic manner by including all related aspects of urban, social and economic development (Article 82).

The Urban Planning Constitutional Law of 1987 (see Appendix 9.2)

The 1987 Urban Planning Law¹⁰ outlines the establishment of urban planning instruments at the national level, as well as the approval of regulations and technical guidelines for the composition of National and Local Urban Plans¹¹. All plans are integrated through a hierarchical system, from national to local level (García 2007). At the municipal level the planning instrument is called Local Urban Development Plan¹². Related planning instruments targeting informal settlements are outlined in the so-called Special Plans¹³ and are also hierarchical spatially. These are Sectoral Plans for Physical Upgrading of Barrio Zones¹⁴ (City/Metropolitan/Regional level); Plans for Large Barrio Zones¹⁵ (Municipality/local level); and Urbanization Projects¹⁶ (Local level). The latter one further divided in two components: (a) Urban technical component, and (b) Social Technical Component (Pérez de Murcia 2008).

Special plans are conceived as regulatory mechanisms for urban zoning, and the creation, protection or upgrading of specific areas within cities and urban centres. Areas subjected to a special plan are defined in Article 49 as “areas whose specific conditions deserve separate handling within the local urban development plan”. Barrios are included in special plans if they are considered as being areas to be physically rehabilitated. In the law such a strategy is defined as urban upgrading and control. The possibility of the total or partial eviction of barrios located in zones interfering with

¹⁰ In Spanish: Ley Orgánica de Ordenación Urbanística (LOOU)

¹¹ In Spanish: Planes de Ordenación Urbana (POU)

¹² In Spanish: Plan de Desarrollo Urbano local (PDUL)

¹³ In Spanish: Planes Especiales (PE)

¹⁴ In Spanish: Plan Sectorial de Rehabilitación Física en las Zonas de Barrios

¹⁵ In Spanish: Planes para Grandes Zonas de Barrios

¹⁶ In Spanish: Proyectos de Urbanización

public service provision, or located in high-risk geological zones is regulated in Article 50.

Article 54 of the Urban Planning Law defines the function of urban development as the provision of infrastructure to every human settlement. Such provision is adapted to the specific conditions and characteristics of each urban area. Barrios are considered in the law as part of urban development from a socio-judicial and urban-technical point of view. The institutional and legal recognition of barrios is a precondition for dealing with them in a normative fashion: “This challenge cannot be avoided, because if it is clear that urban policies impeding uncontrolled urban growth must exist; it is also clear that there must be an urban policy, which recognizes this phenomenon as long as it is historically necessary” (Garrido 1988: 104).

Specific policies targeting barrio redevelopment

Sectoral Plan 1994

Approved by the former Ministry of Urban Development and Infrastructure (MINDUR) in 1994, the ‘Sectoral Plan for the Incorporation of Barrio Zones of the Caracas Metropolitan Area and the Central Region to the Urban Structure’ represents a landmark in urban development regulations targeting informal settlements. Drawing from the experiences accumulated through years of research and work in barrios, academics and professionals¹⁷ designed a city-wide urban upgrading intervention of the Caracas Metropolitan Region.

This document engendered several upgrading projects in Caracas of which the most renowned one was the pilot upgrading and resettlement project of Catuche which was selected in 1996 as one of the Best Practices by the UN-Habitat World Conference in Istanbul. The Sectoral Plan was awarded the national prize for housing research in 1995. It was published in 1998 by the National Housing Council and was instrumental in the design of Programme II (Physical Upgrading Programme of Barrio Zones) and helped to shape the 1999 Housing Policy (Pérez de Murzi 2008).

Housing programmes under the housing policy of 1999 (see Appendix 9.3)

The 1999 Housing Policy as approved recognized the importance of including barrios as part of urban development strategies. In line with international trends at the time its strategies were geared towards the physical upgrading of urban conditions in informal settlements (Section II, Articles 6 and 7 and 8) and the provision of credit to low-income earners living in barrios and focussing on social housing projects aimed at rehabilitation (Section III, articles 11 and 12) (CONAVI 2003).

The following technical and social aspects were included as part and parcel of the upgrading process: (a) Provision of vehicular and pedestrian infrastructure, public space, and urban equipment; basic service connections, and communal equipment to a primary level. (b) Total or partial demolition of existing houses and the construction of alternative housing for those families whose dwellings interfere with infrastructure works or are located in zones of high geological risk, as well as the necessary investments for the acquisition of private land occupied by barrios. (c) Design of planning instruments (e.g. special plans for barrios); specific upgrading projects, and

¹⁷ The plan was composed by a group of professionals under the leadership of Architects Josefina Baldó Ayala and Federico Villanueva. Under the direction of Arch. Teolinda Bolívar, the Centro Ciudades de la Gente of the Faculty of Architecture and Urban Planning of the Central University of Venezuela (FAU/UCV) contributed its experiences and research in barrios during the composition of the plan.

implementation and monitoring of upgrading work and infrastructure provision. (d) Conducting social studies, community development, and capacity building in the management and administration of upgrading projects (Articles 6 and 7). Article 8 provides the regulatory framework for the creation of Local Offices for Technical Assistance (LOTA) to be installed in barrios and guide the upgrading process with the participation and cooperation of inhabitants and technicians.

Section III of the Housing Law defines the type of work included under upgrading and extension of house units in barrios and social housing projects, and deals with the different financial aspects related to credit provision for housing. The law stressed the right people have to benefit from technical assistance concerning building works. It is important to note that in both programmes II and III particular attention is given to the organization and capacity building of the community to manage their upgrading process themselves.

Presidential Decree on Land Tenure Regularization 2002

Land tenure regularization has been a critical topic in the upgrading of informal settlements since the publishing of Hernando De Soto's book *The Other Path* in 1989 (De Soto 1989; Gilbert 2002). De Soto's argument centres on the idea that when legal titles are granted to those living in informal settlements, it will provide residents with the security and the access to capital needed to improve their lives. De Soto's views were well received within the international development community at the time, one that had become well acquainted with the views of self-help housing first proposed by John Turner in the 1960's (Turner 1967; Harris 2003). From the 1980's onward, upgrading plans based on land tenure regularization were adopted by organizations ranging from the World Bank and USAID, to national governments and local municipalities. In essence, De Soto's proposals rang true with the free-market, conservative currents of the time and were widely embraced. In their article *The Formalization of Urban Land Tenure in Developing Countries*, Durand-Lasserve and Selod (2009) explore the current state of the issue, as land tenure has been at the forefront of settlement upgrading for the past thirty years. Current critiques range from the fact that land titling has come to overshadow other forms of intervention; that the desired access to credit and capital has not been a consistent outcome; and that land titling can have the effect of eroding land security instead of strengthening it, especially for the most vulnerable among the poor and those living under more customary and traditional forms of land ownership. In short, De Soto's approach is not the "panacea" that it was once seen to be (ibid).

Despite these current critiques, land tenure regularization is not dead in the realm of international development policy, and it is still an integral part of the adaptive approach to urban upgrading. This is evident in the World Bank's multimedia sourcebook on adaptive and proactive approaches to urban slums, which states that adaptive approaches involve upgrading the level of urban services in slums from physical, social, and economic perspectives. They also include pragmatic solutions for dealing with the tricky issue of land and tenure (WB 2008: 23).

Interestingly, as the genesis of land tenure regularization drew from De Soto's research in South America, and his approach was widely adopted in his native Peru and elsewhere, this has not been the case in Venezuela. Land tenure regularization in barrios was always a missing link in barrio interventions throughout the Venezuelan democratic era. Even though at the international level land tenure regularization has been considered as an integral part of many urban upgrading projects of informal settlements, in Venezuela, it was not a big issue until quite recently. This situation was mainly

caused by a *de facto*, but not a *de jure* legal condition of the house ownership of the barrio inhabitant, which meant that it was possible to have a semi-legal document proving a resident's ownership of a built structure, while not owning the land upon which it was constructed. The average barrio dweller did not perceive the lack of a land title as a threat. The consolidation process of the informal settlement together with the *de facto* house ownership was enough for a barrio dweller to be psychologically freed of the threat of eviction (Bolívar 2002).

It was only in 2002 that land tenure regularization was decreed under the social policy of the government. The opportunity for starting the regularization process was immediately made possible during the on-going implementation of the Caracas Barrio Upgrading Project (*Caracas Mejoramiento de Barrios* - CAMEBA), which has been the greatest city-wide upgrading endeavour to date that has ever been undertaken by any Venezuelan government (World Bank 1998).

For the purpose of fast tracking the process Urban Land Committees (CTUs) were created under the leadership of the Bolivarian Circles¹⁸ with the participation of ad-hoc barrio dwellers, who would act as intermediaries between the formal institutions responsible for granting land titles and the barrio inhabitants. The specific remit of the CTU members was to undertake a comprehensive social and land survey of every house unit in their barrios to determine the ownership of land titles (García-Guadilla 2006).

Endogenous Transformation of Barrios Programme (2004-2005)

Programme II of the 1999 Housing Policy, which was initiated under Arch. Josefina Baldó, former president of the National Housing Council, ceased after she was removed from office in 2000. Almost four years later the Minister of the newly created Ministry of Housing and Habitat, recalled her to continue the implementation of Programme II, which had been given a new name: The Endogenous Transformation of Barrios Programme. The nature of the new programme was similar to the previous one but with an increased emphasis on the social component in terms of community empowerment. The idea was to directly transfer financial resources to the communities themselves through a Self-Managed Community Organization (*Organización Comunitaria Autogestionaria* OCA). In 2005 the Minister was removed from office resulting in the cancellation of the programme (Bolívar 2006).

According to Pérez de Murcia (2008) the lack of transparency regarding information provided by the Ministry of Housing and Habitat makes it difficult to fully comprehend the current implementation and coordination of the Housing Policy. This gives rise to several questions, such as: Which programmes are currently operating and which ones have been replaced and why do certain programmes cease to be relevant? How have difficulties in their implementation been resolved? Figure 2.3 shows the first (and only) community meeting held in Petare Norte to initiate the formation process of the OCA.

¹⁸ The Bolivarian Circles were created in 2002 to disseminate the ideology of the Bolivarian Revolution, defend democracy and foster people's participation at the grassroots (Chávez et al 2003).

Figure 2.3: First meeting for the formation of OCA in Julián Blanco



Source: Author's photograph (October 2005)

Since 2004 several programmes have been created to undertake barrio interventions. These programmes are mainly couched in terms of the social policy of the government through the Bolivarian Missions (*Misiones Bolivarianas*). Table 2.5 shows the sequence of the different intervention strategies and programmes targeting barrio zones since 2004.

Table 2.5: Barrio programmes and interventions since 2004

Intervention/Programme	Year	Description
Mision Vivienda y Hábitat	2004	Direct construction of housing units through cooperation between national and local governments Self-help housing through communities organized into cooperatives. Financial resources come from the Special Petroleum Fund (Fondo Especial Petrolero –FEP)
Transformation of Hábitat Participation Centres for the Transformation of Hábitat	2004	Community's empowerment for the transformation and integral development of habitat. Deployment of continuous advice, technical support and capacity building for developing housing plans and programmes.
Housing Substitution (Sustitución de Viviendas – SUVI)	2004	Progressive substitution of 'ranchos; by houses and construction of new houses in barrios. Formation of cooperatives.
Communal Councils Barrio Community Projects	2006	Instances for participation, coordination and integration of diverse community organizations and social groups aimed at managing public policies and projects.
Mision Villanueva	2007	Barrios and sector relocation in adequate four-storey buildings. The evacuated locations will be demolished and new neighbourhoods will be constructed. House owners to be compensated in order for them to be able to pay the initial costs of their new housing.

Source: Pérez de Murci (2008)

The subsequent sections provide a situational analysis of the *Misiones Bolivarianas*, which have been created to deal with poverty and social exclusion in Venezuela, and

now appear to be the main strategy used by the government to deal with every development aspect of the country.

Compensatory programmes and *Misiones Bolivarianas*

The Bolivarian Revolution envisaged political empowerment of people through community organizations in order to foster social justice and inclusion. The process of creating community organizations received a fillip in the 2003, when the government operationalized its country-wide social development policy called as *Misiones Bolivarianas*.

Misiones Bolivarianas: A Formula for Fast Track Development?

According to the Venezuelan Ministry of Communications and Information, the *Misiones Bolivarianas* were created by the National Government in 2003 with the aim of deepening the Bolivarian Revolution and consolidating participatory democracy. The discourse on social justice was translated into the public domain in the form of missions to function as quasi-organizations outside the purview of public institutions. Their primary goal is to tackle the causes and consequences of poverty and exclusion, through proactive participation of the people (MCI 2006). The two main objectives of the Misiones were: to achieve universal enfranchisement of human rights and to promote the active participation of the barrio inhabitants through community-based organizations to guide the mass implementation of new social programmes. Misiones were initially conceived as an operational mechanism to penetrate barrios and assist them in accessing various services such as primary health care and education. The barrios became the core spatial entities for the fast-track implementation of the government's new social ideology embodied in the Misiones (D'Elia et al. 2006; Lacruz 2006).

Misiones and Community Organizations

Misiones were operationalized in barrios through the creation of community structures in the form of committees to intervene in various social sectors such as health, education, culture, sports, etc. Organizing the barrio communities into mission committees was facilitated by the Bolivarian Circles, as was the organization of Urban Land Committees.

It seems the Misiones have had an inclusive and empowering effect on the poor who for the first time felt that they were important in the process of nation building. Nevertheless an evaluation on the performance of the various Misiones undertaken by Cartaya (2007) suggests that the objective of universal enfranchisement of rights has been driven by political loyalty. PROVEA (2005) reported that exclusion of certain people from the benefits accruing from the Misiones was an act of political discrimination. Estaba et al. (2006) argue that parallel structures have been created for the execution of the Mission-driven programmes, while the problems of the public sector persist due to a lack of structural reforms, whereas policies aimed at achieving social justice look more like compensatory programmes.

The legitimacy of people's participation in the process which was the second major objective of Misiones has also been questioned. According to D'Elia et al. (2006) participation has been undermined by two major factors. Firstly, clientelistic relations are being forged with communities to create electoral allegiances and gain political support by using social assistance programmes in selective ways. Secondly, the non transparent and preferential manner in which community committees have been created

using the politically manipulative *Misiones* has led to serious doubts about the legitimacy of their empowerment and autonomy in steering social programmes.

In summary, the current situation is characterized by political discrepancy regarding the best development path for the country to follow. There is a tendency towards collective impoverishment (especially in the middle classes), a persistent dependency on oil revenues, and limited diversification and competitiveness of the manufacturing sector. Clientelism and political favouritism remain the main channels for the redistribution of oil revenues, which reinforced the previously observed unwillingness of the general population to contribute to development based on its own efforts and productivity: a population that expects everything from the 'rich State'. Oil-fed compensatory programmes have gained so much importance in national politics that traditional institutions have been weakened, and they have virtually ceased to play a role as catalysts for urban development policy implementation. Lack of transparency regarding government expenditures underlies not only the limited participation of the population in public redistribution measures, but the illusion of people being protagonists in the process beyond elections.

Expanding the meaning of barrio legality and illegality

At this point, it is important to discuss the current legal standing of barrios in Venezuela, as they sit at the nexus of two opposing forces: one focusing on their status as illegal settlements; and the other focusing on their economic and political contributions to the city, leading to the creation of legal frameworks for their integration, regularization and upgrade. These opposing forces are visible throughout Latin America, as it is common for settlements established on illegally settled land – through land invasion or infiltration, for example – to gain tacit approval from the state, often for political reasons (Gilbert et al. 1985).

To reprise the discussions made thus far on barrio illegality, barrios are located in areas of the city that have not been developed by the formal public or private sectors, often due to conditions such as steep slopes and environmental hazards. Their illegality stems from the fact that the underlying lands have been settled without the benefit of legal titles, and without legal permits to do so. The condition of illegality extends to the status of the residents themselves, many of whom do not have clear citizenship in Venezuela, and many of whom work in the informal economy outside the scope of regulation and taxation. In some of Venezuela's barrios, the residents are faced with overt threats of eviction and eradication of their homes, or they are faced with more subtle threats such as the long-term denial of services. At the same time, the residents of other barrios in Venezuela feel relatively secure, given the advanced state of consolidation in the barrios where they live, and the possession of documents stating that they own the physical structures they have built atop the illegally settled barrio lands.

The reality is that barrios make positive contributions to the city in Venezuela: they provide a source of low-income housing as well as additional producers and consumers for goods and services. In addition, they function to complete the urbanization process, developing communities on the last vestiges of urban lands that have been left undeveloped by others (Bolívar 1996a, Gouverneur et al. 1999, Rosas 2005). In more nefarious tones, barrios contribute political capital to candidates who may pander to the plight of barrio residents in order to win additional votes and support for their political campaigns.

Aside from the tacit state approval that has accompanied barrio formation throughout Latin America, Venezuela has moved forward with the creation of legal frameworks for

their integration, regularization and upgrade. As discussed in detail earlier in the chapter, these include the 1999 Constitution of the Bolivarian Republic and its Housing Policy (Pérez 2005); as well as the 1987 Urban Planning Law and its resultant Special Plans, including instruments to address barrios that are deemed 'suitable' for physical rehabilitation, while excluding those in high-risk areas and those interfering with public services. The 1987 Urban Planning Law also resulted in the 1994 Sectoral Plan for the incorporation of barrios in Caracas, the genesis of CAMEBA. In addition, there was also the 2002 Presidential Decree on Land Tenure Regularization, and from 2004, various initiatives have commenced under the Bolivarian Missions.

Despite the existence of these legal frameworks and initiatives, a general lack of transparency regarding their implementation and development makes it difficult to gauge their outcomes (Pérez de Murci 2008). This lack of transparency is compounded by the state of social and political upheaval that has characterized Venezuela over the last decade. As discussed earlier in the chapter, while legal frameworks and initiatives are in place, they have not resulted in significant improvements in the quality of everyday life on the ground in Venezuela's barrios. Overall, it is clear that a mosaic pattern exists today, encompassing steps toward legality for some 'suitable' barrios, alongside the continuation of illegality for other 'high-risk' barrios; steps toward legal inclusion, alongside the continuation of social and economic exclusion. While there is a clear trend with Venezuela's government policies promoting the legalization, integration and upgrading of barrios – instead of their illegality, demolition and removal – the gap between policy and implementation remains large.

2.7. Summary

The urban transformation of Venezuela, epitomized by the drastic demographic change of the once provincial city of Caracas into an emerging modern metropolis at the beginning of the 1950s, represents a unique example of rapid urbanization in Latin America. Urban Venezuela is the result of the discovery of oil, which eventually cursed the country as an oil-fed and oil-dependent economy and society. The gradual decay of Caracas coincided with a dramatic process of rapid urbanization under poverty. As a result Caracas is characterized by fragmentation and the segregated settlement patterns of its social groups.

The conflicting political situation over the last ten years has created an additional urban burden on previously unsolved problems. Today political and social polarization exacerbates social exclusion processes and the negative effects of spatial segregation. Venezuela is a polarized society, emeshed in an irrational and useless debate between government supporters and opponents, none of which really contributes towards achieving the consensus needed by the society to advance. This statement is echoed by the debate in the country regarding poverty levels.

The rise in inequality indices, increasing impoverishment of the middle class, rampant poverty levels and spatial consolidation of social exclusion in informal settlements in Caracas is a distortion of what should be urban development. This is an issue that needs urgent intervention. The case seems to be of an inability to learn from past experiences. Governments continue to draw up poverty reduction strategies with short-term perspectives. Interventions are punctual, often manipulative and often full of vested economic and political interests. They frequently aim to mitigate the negative outcomes of poverty rather than addressing the root causes. Therefore, compensatory programmes persist, clientelistic practices and political fraternities reign, populism and

paternalism is the order of the day, with no sound structural changes being foreseen. Political ideologies clash and govern every aspect of urban development.

As the middle classes suffer from downward mobility and tend to disappear, thus joining the poor, so does polarization and inequality in the country increase, resulting in a society made up of an extremely rich minority and an extensive heterogeneous poor sector. This distorted situation poses a threat to the integration process of the society as whole.

The following chapter provides the theoretical framework for urban integration by exploring its meaning according to different theories in the social sciences, with the ultimate goal of developing an operational definition for empirical research.

3. The concept of integration in the context of urban development

Chapter three is about exploring the meaning of integration. The different definitions applied to the word are assessed in order to develop a thorough theoretical basis to develop an analytical framework for empirical research. Concepts and theories provided by the social sciences and urban planning are assessed as are the goals set out by multilateral organizations, development projects and urban policies at the international level, in order to delineate the current scientific thinking on the meaning of urban integration.

3.1. Introduction

Integration is mainly an urban issue. A review of different development projects and policies around the world clearly shows that integration as a goal concentrates on urban areas. The modern city of today is a melting-pot for a variety of social groups, which for one reason or another share the same urban space at different levels of action and interaction, and with differentiated social, economic and political conditions. This differentiation, which mostly underlies spatial and socio-economic imbalances, causes in many instances a wide range of maladies commonly associated with existing urbanization processes. Today's cities are characterized by social polarization, exclusion, inequality, and 'negative' spatial segregation and isolation. These urban phenomena represent the clear division that exists between those who 'have' and those who 'have not', especially in developing and transitional countries.¹⁹ In general, what is at stake is the complex process of social exclusion brought about by urbanization under poverty.

Specifically in Latin America, researchers have attempted to characterize the process of city growth and development with models. This trend began with Baker's 1970 "four-stage model" for the growth of Mexican cities (Crowley 1998), and continued with others having increased complexity and detail over time, including Bahr & Mertins' 1981 model for Latin American metropolitan cities and their continued work in Rio de Janeiro in the 1990's (Ryder 2004)²⁰. The models produced by Bahr & Mertins address issues such as the location of elite neighborhoods in relation to the city centre and the periphery over time; the filtering of homes to the middle class and to the poor as elites move to the periphery; and the penetration of commercial uses into once-residential spaces along major roads (ibid.). Over the past 30 years, researchers have produced models that help us understand the spatial relationships that exist between the 'haves' and the 'have nots' in Latin American cities, how these relationships developed over time, and how they are reflected in the physical structure of the city. From this body of work – which has produced basically descriptive models – we can proceed with the complex task of envisioning how cities in Latin America may be structured with the goals of integration in mind, as opposed to the current trends of polarization, exclusion,

¹⁹ Social exclusion and spatial segregation are not exclusive to developing and transitional countries. These phenomena are also the concerns of developed countries whose main efforts are aimed at the integration of immigrants (mainly into the labour market), and what a particular society considers disadvantaged groups, be they native or not, such as refugees, homeless people, elderly, single parents and the handicapped.

²⁰ For more on this see Bahr & Mertins 1981, 1992, 1993.

inequality and segregation that arise with urbanization under poverty. The descriptive models produced by Bahr & Mertins and others in the 1970's, 1980's and 1990's lay a firm groundwork for the production of future, speculative models for more integrated Latin American cities.

Urban integration seems to be the panacea to solve urban problems and reduce urban poverty and social exclusion (in any corner of the urbanized world). But what does integration really mean? What are the contexts under which the word is used and understood by different scientists and policymakers? Is it an ideal, a human goal, a political strategy, a planning element, or a complex notion which needs to be dissected into its different components for us to be able to elucidate and make sense of it as a whole?

Poverty and integration are multidimensional and complex concepts. Poverty is usually more accurately defined than integration. In the European Union the concept of poverty was replaced by social exclusion. In general when the notion of integration is used in policies or as part of project principles it usually means social inclusion of disadvantaged groups in society (Hanesch 2001).

When considering integration as an urban issue, the starting point towards defining it is to focus on its socio-spatial implications. Secondly, apart from the social and spatial aspects, urban integration is a multidimensional and holistic concept which involves several other interrelated aspects such as the political and economic conditions and the characteristics of society.²¹

A systematic grasp of the various concepts of urban integration from different perspectives is necessary to arrive at a definition that aligns better with the subject matter of this research: The integration process of informal settlements.

3.2. Defining the basics of integration

Like many concepts and terms prevalent in development practice, the term 'integration' has also acquired multiple and context specific meanings. According to Rhein (2002: 193) "the concept of 'integration' is charged with so many different meanings today that it is difficult to apply it in a strict sense".

Nevertheless, it is argued here that if one agrees upon the need for a holistic (multidimensional) understanding of the concept, which deliberately categorizes and links the varying definitions provided by different disciplines in the Social Sciences, then the outcome would be a fair grasp of what is generally meant by integration. Therefore, it is preferable to treat 'integration' as a 'contextual notion', rather than a 'fixed universal concept'.

According to the Oxford English Dictionary (2005: 527), the verb 'to integrate' means "to make or become accepted as a member of a social group" thus conveying a social dimension. As a noun it means "the mixing of peoples or groups who were previously segregated" thus conveying a spatial element. Segregation means "the enforced separation of different racial groups in a country, community or place". The verb 'to segregate' has two meanings both of which reinforce the spatial component. They are: "to set apart from the rest or from each other and to separate people along racial, sexual or religious lines". Therefore, in general, it can be argued that there is a strong socio-spatial element in the understanding of both 'integration' and 'segregation'. Intuitively, one may perceive integration as desirable, and therefore, a positive condition. In contrast, segregation, as an opposing force to integration, is

²¹ Here society is referred to as modern 'Western society'.

construed as a negative and undesirable condition. Nevertheless, a multidisciplinary perspective is perhaps required to achieve greater clarity on these concepts. The approach of the Social Sciences to the meaning of integration in society is examined next.

The perspective of social sciences: Integration in sociology

In the Social Sciences integration is usually referred to as ‘social integration’. The term is defined as a process where the joining of different groups within a society into a common social life is regulated by generally accepted norms and values. Such a process does not imply destroying socio-cultural diversity, but rather the recognition and appreciation of such diversity. This idea is supported by The Dictionary of Human Geography which defines social integration as “the process by which sub-groups within society participate fully in that society, whilst retaining their individual identity and cultural separateness” (Johnston et al. 1990: 232).²²

Reinhard Kreckel (1999) argues that sociologists use the concept of social integration in two different ways. One is individual integration, which is nothing more than new members joining into a society. The other one is structural (or social) integration, in which the main concern is with “the institutionalization of generalized forms of social co-operation and conflict management” (ibid.: 6). Thus a society is assumed to be integrated if social order holds its different parts together.

According to the work of the sociologist Emile Durkheim, social integration means “the density of connection between individuals and social institutions. He assumes that a society requires intense individual participation in a wide range of institutions for it to maintain social integration and provide individuals with a sense of meaning and belonging” (Drislane et al.).²³ He also claimed that in the context of social integration a common moral order is the precondition of solidarity and social stability (Kreckel 1995). Similar to Durkheim’s ideas, Talcott Parsons maintained that the fundamental principle for social order is sustained by *basic value consensus* between the members of a society (ibid.). In the tradition of functionalist theory, to which Parsons and Durkheim belong, the term integration is central, and “refers to the problem of maintaining coherence or solidarity, and involves those elements which establish control, maintain coordination of subsystems and prevent major disruption in the system” (Hamilton 1983: 108). The functional theory of “order through consensus” has been contended by critical functionalists such as David Lockwood (1964), Claus Offe (1972) and Jürgen Habermas (1981) who introduced a distinction between social integration and system integration (Kreckel 1995).

Social integration and system integration

Social integration is defined as the principles by which individuals or actors are related to one another in a society. This concept of integration is again part of Parsons’ and Durkheim’s theoretical contributions. It generally refers to a kind of integration based upon moral or value consensus and explicit co-operation between society members. Durkheim refers to moral integration as social integration based upon solidarity (Luke: 1985; Crow 2002).

²² A distinction must be made between integration and the process of *assimilation* in which cultural differences gradually disappear (ibid.)

²³ Online Dictionary of the Social Sciences: <http://bitbucket.icaap.org/dict.pl>.

System integration on the other hand is operating detached from ‘moral solidarity’, and refers to the relationships between parts of a society or social system. System integration is mainly attained through the exchange of money and power. Embedded in the structure of modern Western societies, this mode of integration is led by the circulation of money (i.e. capitalistic market economy) and the systematic application of bureaucratic power (i.e. bureaucratic state administration). Such features are typical of the Western model of the Nation State, which has strongly influenced the formation of most of today’s modern states. In system integration the activities of individuals and collective actors are coordinated anonymously, and do not require a common value-orientation or moral solidarity (Sills 1968; Johnston et al. 1990; Crow 2002). In relation to this, Jürgen Habermas (1992: 643) argues that “administrative power [...] and money have become anonymous media of social integration which operate without taking into account peoples’ minds”.

It seems somehow inevitable to infer from all the above that splitting the concept of integration into social (moral) and system integration can explain two different processes through which a society can be held together, but this does not mean that these processes are mutually exclusive. At this point a reflection on what has been discussed so far is necessary. New dimensions, other than the mere social one, of the meaning of integration have been revealed: The role of the bureaucratic (democratic) state and the market (capitalistic) economy. These dimensions will be treated in detail further on. For now, a discussion on the concept of social solidarity in the context of integration seems to be appropriate.

The relationship between social solidarity and integration

In the work of Durkheim, social solidarity and integration seem to be treated as synonymous, and as such, it is important to define the term solidarity. In the 1999 article by Bayertz, *Four Uses of ‘Solidarity’* the author acknowledges that while it is widely used, the term has not been firmly defined. One current view of solidarity is that of “a mutual attachment between individuals, encompassing ... a *factual* level of actual common ground between the individuals and a *normative* level of mutual obligations to aid each other”. Various conceptions of solidarity link the term to morality, society, liberation and finally, to the obligations of the Welfare State. Overall, Bayertz finds that “the concept of solidarity is relative to a concept of community. Its various usages are thus mainly the result of corresponding references to particular communities” (Bayertz 1999). Under one view, solidarity is highly related to the relationships forged among the members of working-class communities, corresponding to Bayertz’s link between solidarity and liberation. In this case, solidarity denotes “the mutual support they [members of working-class communities] give each other in their battle for common goals” (Bayertz 1999). The occupational characteristics and experiences in community life were said to create within the working class a strong sense of fraternity, together with values such as mutual aid and participation. Communities and social groups use solidarity to galvanize their energy towards a common goal, and to protect themselves against those forces diverting them away from their common purpose.²⁴ It appears then that through solidarity social integration could be achieved.

Durkheim argued that without consensus or agreement on fundamental moral issues, social solidarity would be impossible and individuals could not be bound together to

²⁴ Sense of belonging was said to be the source of working-class collectivism, but there is little empirical evidence to substantiate the case, and it is doubtful whether such solidarity was ever as coherent as has been claimed (Oxford dictionary of Sociology 2005: 628).

form an integrated social unit. Recent work on social solidarity explains that “solidarity is important in many areas of our lives, or at least in how we wish our lives to be. Family and kinship relationships, community life, trade union activity and the identity politics of new social movements are just some of the numerous ways in which social solidarity features in contemporary social arrangements” (Crow 2002:10).

Durkheim provides a distinction between two types of solidarity:

- *Mechanical solidarity*: Prevails in a society in which ideas and inclinations, i.e. values and beliefs, common to all members of the group are greater in number and intensity than those which apply personally to each person. Individual preferences and differences are thus minimized. This type of solidarity is related to the concept of ‘collective conscience’, which is constituted by a set of common values and beliefs that enables persons or groups to cooperate successfully. Such solidarity is created for example when people eat, drink, worship or play together. It can elicit cooperation between persons and groups who have little in common or even have, objectively, cause for conflict (Young et al 1999; Sills 1968; Coser 1977; Rhein 2002).
- *Organic solidarity*: Is the product of the division of labour. This means that specialized workers in each occupation depend upon skilled workers in other occupations. The important distinction here is that regardless of race, religion or ethnic loyalties, the relationship of different individuals is based on mutual need. Society is understood as a ‘living organism’ composed of different organs that need to function independently in order to make the whole work (Sills 1968; Young et al. 1999).

Durkheim differentiated these typologies of solidarity by stressing that a strong system of belief (i.e. collective conscience) was typical of ‘mechanical societies’. In contrast ‘organic societies’ needed fewer common beliefs to hold their members together. Later on while revising his own theory, he came to the conclusion that without a collective conscience, organic societies could not anyway function: “They would disintegrate into a heap of mutually antagonistic and self-seeking individuals” (Rhein 2002: 196).

The relationship between Durkheim’s integration, solidarity and space

De Boe et al. (1999) identified the spatial links between Durkheim’s (1893) and Ratzel’s (1897) understandings of mechanical and organic integration:

- *Mechanical integration*: Is determined by the level of homogeneity, or similarities, existing between groups of people or places in a particular system. An example of this is a society where all individuals speak the same language, practice the same religion, and agree upon the same norms and share the same moral values, and so on. From a spatial perspective, mechanical integration refers to for example all spatial systems within a territory that have equal levels of GNP per inhabitant, unemployment, access to infrastructure, etc. Policies addressing inequalities between spatial systems (e.g. between different regions or urban centres) target the improvement of the level of mechanical integration in this sense (ibid: 22).
- *Organical integration*: Is defined as the social or spatial flows between members of a system. It is the measurement of the intensity of relations between sub-systems at a particular time. This notion implies three levels of analysis: (a) the individuals and their (inter)relations; (b) the sub-systems which indicates the separation of individuals in different groups; and (c) the whole system which is the combination of all the sub-systems and the individuals within. In Durkheim’s terms: Individuals (a) are part of different social segments (b) and form society (c). Organic integration is therefore the degree of interrelation which exists between social segments. According to him the division of labour in modern society represents a gradual shift from mechanical to organical integration (ibid: 22).

In summary, integration can be defined as a cohesive social group to which individuals belong and participate. Within that group there are common goals, beliefs and agreed (moral) values. They are part of a collective conscience i.e. social integration through mechanical solidarity leading to mechanical integration. The social group to which individuals belong is a functional unit complementary to a social system. Their integration into society as a whole is detached from moral solidarities and attained through the division of labour, i.e. system integration through organic solidarity leading to organic integration.

Table 3.1 provides a summary of the different concepts addressed so far and how they are interrelated.

Table 3.1: Relationship between integration, solidarity and space

Social integration	System integration
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Individuals/actors relationships - Based upon moral or value consensus and cooperation - Moral solidarity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Relationships between parts of social systems - Exchange of money and power - Does not require a common value orientation
Mechanical solidarity	Organic solidarity
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Collective conscience: relations based on common values and beliefs needed for successful cooperation - Similar ethos 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Division of labour: relations based on mutual need regardless of values and beliefs, race or religion - Similarity of ethos is irrelevant
Mechanical integration	Organical integration
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Level of homogeneity and similarities - Spatial systems with equal levels of e.g. income, employment and infrastructure 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Social and spatial flows between members of the social system - Time-bounded intensity of relations between different social groups

Source: Developed by the author

Expanding the meaning of social integration by looking at ‘what is not integration’

The assumptions and theoretical work of recognized sociologists such as Durkheim and Parsons provides a wide range of different notions that have so far explained (social) integration and its close relationship to solidarity. A glimpse at the forces which could oppose integration, as well as the antonym of the term, from a purely semantic point of view, should provide a clearer idea of ‘what is not integration’.

To be ‘not integrated’ (or disintegrated) means to be segregated. It implies socio-spatial separation from other groups. It denotes to be rejected by a social group at a micro-level or rejected by the social system at the macro-level. It signifies that one is unable to follow norms and (moral) values accepted by others unless one is forced to do so. That one does not fit into a social order, although one is consciously willing to do so, leaves one in a continuous state of conflict. It suggests that one is incapable of cooperating with and connecting to institutions of any kind for reasons beyond the control of the individual. A sense of belonging is absent as is any consensus for adopting common goals. Instability prevails and the individual, therefore, cannot function within that social system. It means there is constant disagreement, and one does not benefit from or practice mutual aid.

In conclusion individuals who are not able to belong to a group or social system are simply not integrated. It implies a negative and undesirable condition unless consciously chosen for by the individual or group of individuals involved. Such a

condition is often understood as being socially excluded. But what does social exclusion mean?

Social exclusion

Several dimensions of the concept (or process) of integration have been expanded upon by looking at its relationship with what seems to be its ‘opposite’: urban social exclusion. These dimensions include issues such as civil and political representation and participation and access to resources taking into account rights-based and basic-need approaches.

Social studies concerned with the problems of contemporary urban societies point to the fact that the major opposing force to social integration is the complex process of social exclusion. It mainly refers to the lack of participation of an individual in society. Exclusion is on the other hand a matter of degree, since individuals may be receiving the benefits a society offers to a greater or lesser extent depending upon the society to which they belong. It also emphasizes the multi-dimensional (broader than income-poverty, including for example, unemployment and low self-esteem), multi-layered (operating at various levels, i.e. the individual, a household, a community or an institution), and dynamic nature of the problem (Saith 2001; Burchardt et al 2002).

The process of social exclusion is characterized by the denial of otherness, be it socio-cultural or socio-economic, or by the rejection and dislike of racial, ethnic and cultural differences. Common processes associated with the concept of social exclusion are marginalization²⁵ and stigmatization²⁶ of distinct social groups.

Social exclusion is a controversial term. According to Burchardt, Le Grand and Piachaud (2002) it can be operationalized by developing a working definition that refers both to the time and the place in question and also includes participation, which is widely regarded as being central to the concept: “An individual is socially excluded if he or she does not participate in key activities of the society in which he or she lives” (Burchardt et al 2002: 30).

Rodgers et al. (1994) has defined it as the lack of self ability to make use of social rights without being assisted by a third party (e.g. an enabling government), and the inability to have access to the benefits that a particular society can offer. Such an inability is compounded by not only the lack of access to goods and services which underlie poverty and the unsatisfied basic needs, but it also comes with exclusionary processes such as lack of security, limited access to justice and political representation, and an unclear citizenship.

The above definition also builds upon participation in society as ‘access to’, and somehow introduces the much debated concept of social justice. Throughout the 1960s and 70s scholars were concerned with social justice by trying to explain and understand what it means to access urban space. The geographer David Harvey (1973) argued that geography could not remain objective in the face of urban poverty. His concern was about the fair distribution of, and access to, resources such as health, education and housing in urban environments.

²⁵ Young (2000) defines marginalization as exclusion from meaningful participation in society. Marginalization has the ability to cause severe material deprivation considering how unfairly material resources, such as food and shelter, are distributed within society. Along with material deprivation, ‘marginalized individuals’ are also excluded from services, programmes and policies.

²⁶ According to the work of Major and O’Brien (2005), definitions of stigmatization “share the assumption that people who are stigmatized have (or are believed to have) an attribute that marks them as different and leads them to be devalued in the eyes of others ... Importantly, stigma is relationship- and context-specific; it does not reside in the person but in a social context” (Major & O’Brien 2005).

The phenomena covered so far, urban integration and exclusion, need to then be understood in the context of looking at their socio-spatial development and configuration in today's cities.

Urban socio-spatial exclusion: Segregation and fragmentation in today's cities

When referring to the fragmented city, Sachs-Jeantet (1994:7) argues that "urban exclusion means that a shift has occurred between the paradigm of inequality within a cohesive social entity to the paradigm of fragmentation, isolation, poverty pockets and radical otherness. If nothing is done to stop this shift from integration to segregation, cities will break up into separate sectors: On the one hand, overprotected areas and on the other, dangerous ghettos and 'outlaw zones'". What seems to be materializing through the process of urban exclusion is a more complex one, one of socio-spatial polarization. Such process challenges the future of the cities in respect to their capacity to sustain social cohesion. According to Kesteloot and Meert (2000) the contemporary city is the result of how urban spatial configurations, social cohesion (or social integration and exclusion processes) and the existence, or lack, of a coherent urban policy are interrelated.

Häußermann and Siebel (2001) define spatial segregation as the projection of social structures onto space, and argue that the socio-spatial structure of the city can be read like a map recording the structure of society. Whereas the last statement does not embrace a negative or positive judgement, it certainly does suggest that social differentiation shows a strong relationship to how social groups are distributed across urban space. Häußermann and Siebel continue by saying that segregation is the opposing form to integration, and they expand the definition by arguing that:

Segregation describes the empirical evidence that social groups are not evenly distributed throughout the territory of a city, but concentrate in certain areas and at certain times. Each social group has its typical places of residence, work, and leisure. Thus defined, segregation is a universal phenomenon. Segregation is as old as the city itself. Urban space is always socially defined space. But however it is defined – by gender, religion, class, or ethnicity; whatever mechanisms translate these social characteristics into spatial structures – physical force, market mechanisms, or policy planning; and however the resulting urban structure is perceived and assessed – as God-given, as more or less determined by natural law, as a desirable state of affairs, or as an injustice that needs to be remedied: all of these changes within the given social formation (Häußermann et al 2001)²⁷

The translation of social exclusion into space is quite evident when one looks at the spatial structure of contemporary cities. Today's urban settlement patterns are characterized by the mutually exclusive appropriation of space by distinct social groups, usually divergent in terms of income and socio-cultural characteristics. The spatial translation of such phenomena is usually referred to as segregation. Factors influencing segregation include race, religion, language and other measures of economic and social status (Johnston et al 1990). In the developed world it means the formation of immigrants' clusters. In the developing world, it manifests itself in the concentration of the poor in pockets of poverty. Saskia Sassen (2005:84) when referring to urban fragmentation explains that "the corporate complex and the immigrant community today are probably two extremes modes in the formation and appropriation of urban space in global cities of the North. In major complex cities in the South, including global cities, rather than the 'immigrant community' we see the informal city." What is

²⁷ On line German Journal of Urban Studies, no pages (<http://www.difu.de>)

worth highlighting from this statement is that the spatially segregated immigrants of the North are, or seem to be, the equivalent to the urban poor living in the informal settlements of the South. Regardless of the different urban conditions and processes existing between and among developed and developing countries, there seems to be a common understanding about the target group of integration policies: To include as much as possible the disadvantaged groups of urban society.

Such a common view can be further clarified when taking a look at some of the policies and projects around the world that are aimed at integration and social inclusion.

3.3. Urban integration in policy formulation or as a project goal

A brief overview of what different governments and international organizations are doing to counteract the negative impact of urban social exclusion may reveal how integration, as a part of policy formulation or as a project goal, can be translated into specific, practical and action-oriented initiatives in today's urban areas. Both at the policy and project/programme level, the ultimate goal is clearly defined as "to integrate or include the socially excluded".

Social inclusion, understood as the opposite of exclusion, is probably the term closest to integration. Rudiger and Spencer (2003:5) contend that the notion of inclusion, instead of integration, has "the advantage of providing a better link to mainstream policy concerns, since policymakers use it to refer to all social groups, not just migrants and minorities." Throughout the European Union, social inclusion as a policy goal is directed at eliminating the exclusion of all disadvantaged groups in order to universally provide "access to, use, participate in, benefit from and feel a sense of belonging to a given area of society" (Castles et al. 2002:15).

The *Best Practice Database* compiled by UN-Habitat provides summaries of selected international 'good and best practices' projects and programmes aimed at integration. These projects are categorized under the theme of social exclusion and integration, and they are considered relevant in terms of producing positive impacts on poverty eradication and social cohesion in urban areas.

In general a basic distinction can be drawn from the scope integration has had in developed and developing countries. Such differences are related to the kind of targeting inherent in such initiatives.

In Europe and the United States of America, integration generally addresses gender issues, such as women's participation in decision making, single parents, the elderly, vulnerable youths groups and disabled people (physically and mentally); housing issues targeting deprived neighbourhoods with a low level of urbanization in terms of quality and homeless people; but most importantly, much emphasis is placed on the social integration of immigrants, which is perceived as a socio-political 'hot' topic. In general it can be said that integration initiatives in the developed world are aimed at disadvantaged and minority groups who are not necessarily poor.

In Latin America, Asia and Africa, integration initiatives are essentially geared towards the reduction of the negative impact brought about by widespread poverty. The basic difference with developed countries is that 'integration ventures' in the developing world try to address the majority of urban dwellers²⁸.

²⁸ In general the urban poor live in slums. Assuming these are the places where social exclusion manifests itself, a look at the percentages of slum dwellers in different regions of the world gives an indication of the size of the problem. In the year 2001 in sub-Saharan Africa 71.9 % of the urban population lived in slums. In Southern and South-Eastern Asia the figures were 59% and 36.8% respectively. In Latin

Examples of policies aimed at integration

Integration policies are mainly targeting employment, education, health, housing and participatory processes (Rudiger et al 2003). International organizations such as the UN and the European Union target social integration as one major component of social policies. There are several examples of such initiatives. A reference to some of these concerns is made here in order to illustrate the international concern with the issue.

The UN Member States during the *World Summit for Social Development*, held in 1995 in Copenhagen, committed themselves to “promoting social integration by fostering societies that are stable, safe and just and that are based on the promotion and protection of all human rights, as well as on non-discrimination, tolerance, respect of diversity, equality of opportunity, solidarity, security, and participation of all people, including disadvantaged and vulnerable groups and persons”²⁹. The basic aim of social integration was stated in the *Agenda for Development* (1997:13) as the creation of “a society for all, where every individual, each with rights and responsibilities, has an active role to play”. This aim was reaffirmed in 2000 by the *Millennium Report of the Secretary-General*, entitled *We the Peoples: the Role of the United Nations in the 21st Century*, by discussing the importance of guiding values for society, namely freedom, equity and solidarity; tolerance; non-violence; and shared responsibilities.

During a meeting held in Kuopio, Finland (1999) EU Housing Ministers stressed that “in urban planning, socially sustainable development will mean increasing social integration. Planning should no longer be a technical process, but rather an interactive process where concerned citizens can have their say. Socially sustainable urban development means preventing and reducing social exclusion. Finding the right housing policies is crucial here”.

Policy examples aimed at social, economic and spatial integration can be found worldwide. The ones presented here are considered to be pertinent to the discussion because of their pioneering character (e.g. Denmark), holistic approach (e.g. India), and/or politically relevant (e.g. South Africa).

Examples from developed countries

In 1999, Denmark was the first country in the world to introduce an Integration Act. Social integration based on the promotion of social solidarity is a central element of the government’s economic and social policy. It includes a special effort to integrate the disadvantaged and vulnerable groups of Danish society. The policy focus is mainly placed on immigrants and refugees. The creation of social solidarity is sought by enabling their participation in civil, political, economic, social and cultural life. This presupposes access to education, information and knowledge as crucial elements for ensuring people’s political, social and cultural rights (Ministry of Refugee, Immigration and Integration Affairs 2006).

In Germany, the National Action Plan (NAP) against Poverty and Social Exclusion (2003-2005), defines a set of strategies to enhance social integration. The policy for strengthening social integration focuses on paving the way for disadvantaged groups to have access to paid employment and a secure income by means of good qualifications. The expected outcome is to create ways towards permanently overcoming poverty. A strong emphasis is placed on smoothing access to families with children, especially single-parent families. The strategies of the NAP are based on the principles of

America and the Caribbean slum dwellers represented 35.4% of the total urban population (UN-Habitat 2006).

²⁹ Commitment 4 of the Copenhagen Declaration on Social Development

prevention and sustainability. Apart from the previously mentioned focus of the policy, other goals include to organize the participation of people and to make social security povertyproof.

Examples from developing and transitional countries

In India the Ministry of Urban Development stresses the importance of crafting an inclusive city by focusing on three major areas of intervention. One is political decentralization through three tiers which are considered to be essential for achieving the goal of the inclusive city: (a) functional and financial decentralization from the State to the cities; (b) decentralization within the Council from the central Town Hall to its wards; and (c) decentralization understood as local citizen's participation, which embraces community groups and civil society stakeholders, women and the marginalized share in decision making and implementation. The second area of intervention is transparency and civil engagement, which is seen as having an enormous potential to contribute to the inclusive city. And the third area of intervention is the integration of the poor and marginalized. Such integration is legitimized by the government's recognition (at least in policy documents) that the poor are important contributors to the economy of the city. Poverty is believed to have very dangerous ramifications for the sustainability of cities (Ministry of Urban Development website)

In South Africa as a result of the Apartheid system, there is a strong policy that specifically targets spatial integration. According to the policy, spatial integration "is a strategy for doing away with the expensive and exclusionary land use patterns of apartheid. It seeks to enhance the efficiency of the city by placing residential development closer to job opportunities, and reduce the costs of development by exploiting surplus bulk infrastructural capacity". The definition as given goes on further to explain that spatial integration has a strong relationship with social integration. The link between the two is said to be the increased access of low-income residents to facilities and opportunities offered by the city, and through encouraging, for example, mixed-income development (White Paper on Local Government 1998).

The South African strategy is to enable the integration of cities, towns and rural areas, which apart from the spatial and social dimension also has an economic dimension which is understood as ensuring that all residents who contribute to a local tax base enjoy the benefits derived from it. The ultimate goal of integration is then to create more efficient and equitable human settlements where the poor are not locationally disadvantaged or socially excluded.

Policies targeting integration and social exclusion need a translation into space and are implemented at different tiers of the political-administrative and planning level of particular countries. The projects presented in the following section were chosen from the Best Practice Database of UN-Habitat³⁰.

Examples of projects aimed at integration

A selection has been made of a number of international examples of projects and programmes in order to examine how integration is targeted at the community and city levels.

³⁰ Good and best practices are initiatives undertaken by two or more partners at the national, city or community level, that effectively address chronic social, economic and environmental problems. The UN-Habitat Best Practice Database includes over 1,600 initiatives from 140 countries documented between 1996 and 2002 (<http://www.bestpractices.org>).

Integration projects at the community or local level

In Mannheim, Germany the local authority implemented a number of strategies to combat homelessness and exclusion in a multi-cultural and stigmatized neighbourhood that had more than 20 different nationalities. A housing project, known as the *Ludwig Jolly Facility*, was characterized by overcrowding and insecurity compounded by low housing standards. As a result of a consultative process, it was decided to undertake a restoration and modernization process of the housing estate. Construction activities, which were tailored to meet specific household needs, were accompanied by social services and civic education that aimed to promote social inclusion and prevent homelessness. Results point to important achievements such as the creation of job opportunities for the youth, a reduction in conflicts and thus an increased integration of foreign nationals (especially of female migrants) into the social fabric together with a reduction of stigmatization through improvements in the facility's outward appearance.

The *Coruña Solidarity Co-operation Network* in Spain was created as a model for the implementation of citizen's participation in welfare policies. A number specialized service networks have been set up including a *Municipal Social Inclusion Service* which develops programmes for improving housing standards and a *Municipal Plan for Gender Equality* which encourages the active participation of women.

In Bogotá, Colombia, the *Third Millennium Project* includes the first integrated urban renewal project for the city centre. The project aimed at restoring the urban and social fabric of the most run-down area of the city located at the Santa Inés neighbourhood. The objective was to rehabilitate downtown Bogotá and promote social inclusion of citizens by improving the quality of their lives. The strategies included relocation of housing and businesses with appropriate infrastructure, the creation of open public spaces, and social welfare programmes accessible to all (i.e. health and education), which were especially designed for high-risk and socially excluded individuals such as drug addicts, children, the elderly, and single female-headed households.

The *Adopt a Brother/Sister Programme* in Chile is geared towards the reduction of the gap between the quality of education received by children in poor communities and children from higher socio-economic sectors. The intervention aims at promoting social equality and, therefore, social mobility through better education and access to resources and opportunities. University students are engaged to act as mentors for disadvantaged children thus renewing their sense of civic responsibility and changing their attitude towards poverty. These efforts, which include improving the interpersonal skills of children and establishing close relationships with the children's families, help to strengthen trust and improve access to information about possible social networks, hence increasing social inclusion.

In Mexico City, the Flying Circus (*Circo Volador*) initiative made an assessment of working-class youth identified as 'gangs' in order to curb growing violence and find mechanisms that would enable them to be reintegrated into a society that perceives them as adversaries. Through renovating an abandoned cinema hall, these young people had the opportunity to express their cultural and social values through, for example, rock concerts, radio programmes and training workshops which also brought together youth from various social sectors. This cultural expression helped to reinforce identities, gender empowerment, and directly tackled social exclusion.

City level integration projects

In Brussels, Belgium, providers of social housing were confronted by difficulties in providing sustainable housing because a large section of the target population had no access to financial resources, skills and employment. The need for a multidimensional response to these problems, combined with health and social support services, led to the establishment of IGLOO (Global Integration through Housing and Jobs). The guiding principles of the projects undertaken by IGLOO were to unite the efforts of local employment initiatives with those of the local authorities that wanted to use housing rehabilitation and building contracts as opportunities to generate local jobs and in this way curtail in social exclusion, homelessness and sub-standard housing conditions. Through a 'social clause' companies awarded contracts were obliged to hire local labour when undertaking construction work. Social support and training were provided to foster long-term employment.

The *Integrated Programme for Social Inclusion in the city of Santo Andre*, Brazil, is a pilot project which had as its main aim the establishment of new ways of managing local public policies addressing social inclusion. The objective of the initiative is to integrate community participation into the local management of social policies, offering slum inhabitants an opportunity to develop social inclusion strategies through integrated actions. The project's contribution to social inclusion has been positively evaluated since, in addition to generating employment and income for local residents, especially women, it also provides a close link between the programme and the real needs of the community. The initiative has created the necessary awareness about the communities' rights as citizens.

Similarly, with the *Sao Paulo Social Inclusion Strategy* also in Brazil, a policy was formulated at the city level to combat urban poverty based on a decentralized structure, which targeted areas with a high incidence of social exclusion. Civil society participation, dignity and citizenship were the goals of the process. The empowerment features of the project came about through a strategy that gave priority to the direct transfer of resources (and rights) to the poor in needy regions of the city.

Main themes of best practices

The majority of 'best-practices' dealing with social exclusion are related to environmental management, housing, urban governance and planning, and accessibility to social services. In many instances integration of communities and disadvantaged groups is achieved through people's participation in decision-making processes, employment generation through enhancing people's capabilities and skills, and improving people's access to opportunities and urban benefits. It appears then that urban integration could be achieved through tackling social exclusion with a clear multidimensional strategy that takes into account political, social, economic, environmental and physical issues epitomized by housing interventions, whether it is in the form of improving housing conditions at the local level, or through integrated urban renewal initiatives at the city level.

The following sections introduce the concept of urban integration in order to provide a clearer understanding of the complex dynamic arising from the interrelationships between the different levels of society, particularly in relation to The State and the market.

3.4. A conceptual framework for urban integration

There is a need to bring together the different approaches and theories that have up to now touched upon urban integration. The rationale behind this is to identify the different levels at which urban integration can occur, and the modes of exchange and factors determining the degree of integration at these various levels. The understanding of the multidimensional nature of the concept could be achieved through describing the interrelationship between the levels, modes and components of integration. Translating all these factors into measurable variables will in turn generate the analytical framework necessary to comprehend the phenomenon through empirical research.

Urban integration as a research concern

Policies and projects aimed at urban integration are induced by independent or combined processes of welfare policymaking, social change and economic restructuring. Capturing integration in a research context means looking at the levels where these processes take place in order to identify the different components operating within these levels and to predict how these processes affect specific groups in society that co-exist throughout distinct urban territories.

Such an endeavour has to first construct a conceptual framework based on a selection theoretical works dealing with integration. Secondly, an empirical research design aimed at finding answers to the complex issue of urban integration has to be developed in order to test and make the conceptual framework operational.

The levels of urban integration

Albrecht Göschel (2001) explains that an attempt to systemize the phenomenon and concept of integration by breaking it down into its component parts represents a very difficult task. Nevertheless he agrees with the wide acceptance of the idea that integration occurs on at least three levels: “The first level is *material or systemic*, and it is especially concerned with integration into working life and labour ... in the form of ‘citizen by participation in economic life’ (*Wirtschaftsbürger*)”. The second level also needs the *Wirtschaftsbürger* as the individual who is able (and enabled) to *participate in the democratic decision-making process*, thus exercising his or her power. Finally, a third level is distinguished and refers to the *informal relationship networks* that exist in neighbourhoods, friendships and mutual assistance relationships. These three levels of integration are considered open and independent from each other. This means that being integrated or not on one level does not necessarily lead to inclusion in or exclusion from at another level.

The relationship between levels of urban integration and modes of exchange

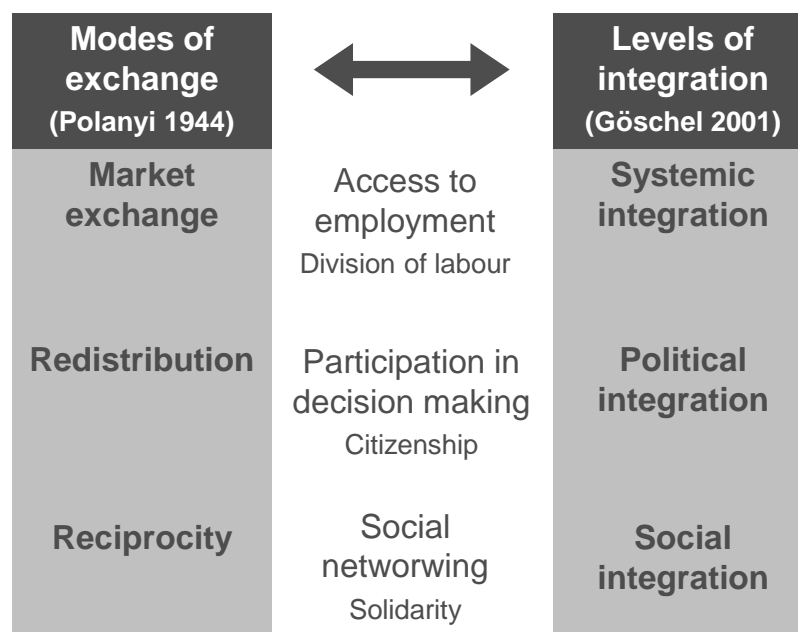
The interaction of social, political and economic spheres in society is based on principles of exchange: “Exchange refers to the transaction of labour, resources, products, and services within a society” (Sills 1968: 238). But exchange is not just limited to the market economies of industrial societies.³¹ Therefore, it is wiser to

³¹ Although the current trend is the establishment of market economies worldwide, this is still not the case of many countries in the South, whose range extends from those with no market institutions whatsoever, through to those with peripheral markets, and to those with important but by no means fully-developed market institutions (Sills 1968)

consider modes of exchange rather than market exchanges to understand ‘the human geography of political economics’³² and its relationship to levels of urban integration.

Karl Polanyi’s theories supplement the approaches of development economics by describing forms of exchange or modes of economic integration (Martinussen 1997). These modes are briefly defined as economic organizations of society that are integrated either by means of market exchange through access to employment, by redistribution through the Welfare State, and through reciprocity by means of social networking (Musterd et al. 1999). They take place at three different levels: At the economic level of market dynamics, at the level of government’s welfare interventions and policies, and at the level of formal/informal social relationships. The modes of economic integration relate to the fact that in society access to the means of existence is not direct but is dependant upon the integration of households into the economic system, which regulates the production and distribution of these means. This relationship between individuals or households and the economic system is expressed by the concept of economic integration. All of the three modes operate in present-day society and shifts in their relative importance are crucial for understanding current changes in society (Mingione 1991). Figure 3.1 visualizes the conceptual parallels that exist between today’s concepts on integration as described by Göschel (2001) and the classical economic integration theory of Karl Polanyi (1944).

Figure 3.1: The levels of urban integration



Source: Developed by the author

³² The field of *Human Geography*’s “emphasis is on people: where they are, what they are like, how they interact over space, and what kinds of landscapes of human use they erect upon the natural landscapes they occupy” (Fellmann et al. 1997). The field of *Political Economics* builds from the “earlier work of the public choice school, rational expectations macroeconomics, and game theory” to now include “rational voters, parties, and politicians ... The assumption of rational behavior allows an adequate description of complicated incentives and trade-offs” (Persson & Tabellini 2000).

The modes of economic integration

Three modes of exchange or economic integration were distinguished: Reciprocity, redistribution, and market exchange. These modes link all types of exchange recognized by society. They can be found individually or in combination in society's economic organizations throughout the world. In brief, reciprocity is defined as obligatory gift exchange; redistribution is obligatory payment to a distribution centre; and market exchange is purchase and sale with reference to a price system. Polanyi's contribution towards explaining the integration of society is based on the understanding of these three modes as the functioning aspects of integrative structures in various types of economies (Sills 1968).

"A society can be structurally integrated by its social, political, or economic organization, or by some combination of these organizations. When one of these structures predominates or, more rarely, is the sole structure present in the society, a clear model type is discernible" (ibid.: 239). This way of addressing the question of integration is important as long as the purpose is to distinguish in which kind of economy the integration process is taking place. For example, a social economy is one in which the social organization integrates economic life. This means that reciprocity is the prevailing mode of exchange. In a political economy, the political organization integrates economic life. In this case redistribution is the dominant mode of exchange. Lastly, in an economy integrated by the market, market exchange represents the main mode of integration for that society.

These clear model types are of course one part of the spectrum of what could be happening in a particular society. Mixed types of economies are also possible, ranging from those in which two of the three modes seem to be of equal importance but predominate over the third, to one in which all three have almost equal importance. "Polanyi argued that it may be often possible to select one of them as dominant so that they could be employed for a classification of economies as a whole" (Johnston et al 1990: 159). The relevance of looking at the organization of society under these modes may point towards the forces dictating the integration process of groups of society within a system.

Reciprocity and social economy

"There is no duty more indispensable than that of returning a kindness", says Cicero, adding that 'all men distrust one forgetful of a benefit'... While many sociologists concur in this judgement, there are nonetheless few concepts in sociology which remain more obscure and ambiguous" as that of reciprocity (Gouldner 1960:161). Narotzky (2001) argues that the concept of reciprocity is as contested and shadowy as the related one of social capital.

In general reciprocity is said to be the type of exchange which existed before capitalist economic relationships. It is generally understood as the equitable long-term social relation of exchange beyond market incentives (ibid.).

Reciprocity has been defined by several disciplines. From an anthropological perspective, reciprocity attempts to explain transfers that are embedded in domains structured by social and cultural relations. The reference to morality is crucial in valuing both the relationship that cements these transfers, and the relationship that arises from them. Reciprocity refers to exchanges taking place based on a logic different from that of the market, such as a gift, charity, solidarity and mutual help, which are in turn supported by previously existing bonds. From the political point of view, reciprocity

refers to the production, reproduction and subversion of mutually dependent relations of power and obligation that are supported by conceptions of justice and injustice (ibid.).

There are different opinions related to the term reciprocity, and even then, there is no universal understanding of it (at least not one that all disciplines would agree upon). Seen as inherently 'good' this mode of exchange has a strong human dimension, which in a way highlights its contribution in the preservation of social cohesion. "Reciprocity, the receiving and giving of goods and services, is built into the human life cycle and the social order. Without it the non-producing young could not live and mature to provide the next generation with its livelihood and social order its continuity. There would be no cushioning of misfortune or infirmity, and the world would be without festivity, hospitality, and benefice" (Sills 1968: 239).

According to Guezzi (2007) "the logic of reciprocity is built upon the collective interests of small groups with strong and close ties defined as community relationships in sociological terms". These kinds of relations differ from associative relations. In reciprocity individual interest gives way to the common interest, which in a way implies cooperation, whereas in associational relations the individual interest represents the objective (Narotzky 2001).

In contemporary (Western) society it is not easy to draw a line between distinct forms of reciprocity. There are significant transformations in these relations, such as, an NGO in which the voluntary (associative) social relationship has as main objective the common good (reciprocity) instead of primarily individual interests. In other instances the fact that someone is affiliated to a reciprocal social organization does not necessarily mean that individual interests take second place (Narotzky 2001).

Reciprocity is, therefore, a complex and ambivalent domain which can also be driven by tensions, manipulation, extreme power differentials, and injustice. Therefore it is not unequivocally and universally beneficial. Nevertheless it entails an indisputable potential to enhance social welfare and local empowerment which should not be underestimated (ibid).

Types of reciprocity

Types of reciprocity were identified by Marshall Sahlins in his book *Stone Age Economics* (1972), thus providing a much more elaborate typology of transactions than Polanyi's original sketches (Johnston et al 1990). He categorized reciprocal relations based on trust and social distance:

- First there is *generalized reciprocity*, which occurs when one person shares goods or labour with another person without expecting anything in return. What makes this relation 'reciprocal' is the satisfaction felt by the giver and the social closeness that the gift fosters. It is common to happen between parents and children or married couples. There is, therefore, a maximum amount of trust and a minimum amount of social distance.
- *Balanced or symmetrical reciprocity* is the second category. In this type of reciprocal relation the giver expects a fair and tangible return at some undefined future date. It is in fact a very informal system of exchange which usually takes place between relatives, friends, neighbours and co-workers. The relation involves a moderate amount of trust and social distance.
- Lastly, there is *negative reciprocity*, which can involve a minimum amount of trust and a maximum of social distance. The economist calls this kind of reciprocity barter or equal exchange, in which a person gives goods or labour and expects to be repaid immediately with some other goods or labour of similar value.

These three types of reciprocity are the most basic forms of economic exchange. More complex systems of exchange, which in general appeared later throughout mankind's social development, include redistribution and the market.

Redistribution, political economics and the Welfare State

A crucial issue in political economy is to understand the income redistribution mechanisms used by the government to equalize living conditions among individuals. Such mechanisms are normally understood as the function of the Welfare State.

The concept of the Welfare State deserves a focused definition. While the "common textbook definition is that it involves state responsibility for securing some basic modicum of welfare for its citizens," this definition is general. It does not address issues such as the nature of the state's social policies, how they operate in relation to the market, and at their very core, what is encompassed under the term "basic" (Esping-Andersen 2006). These issues have been explored in various studies conducted in modern capitalist Welfare States throughout the world, and of course, the answers vary depending on the country being examined. Esping-Andersen proposes a three-pronged approach for defining the Welfare State that can be applied in a variety of modern contexts. His approach includes: 1) Assessing the focus of state activities to determine if the majority are "devoted to servicing the welfare needs of households" or if they are devoted to other areas such as the military; 2) Assessing whether the state is responsible for the needs of the "entire population" or if it is only responsible for stepping in "when the family or the market fails;" 3) And finally, looking at the Welfare State through the lens of "causal theories that involve actors" by examining "the demands that were actually promoted by those actors" in their negotiations for power and resources. However, if we return to the common textbook definition of the Welfare State, the function of providing "some basic modicum of welfare for its citizens" (Esping-Andersen 2006) is made possible through a set of institutions and social arrangements that are designed to assist people (Pacione 2005). The assistance provided by the Welfare State differs across countries; for example, the provision may be achieved through insurance contributions paid in by workers, through targeting the less well-off; or provision may be primarily conditional on citizenship (Cochrane et al. 2001).

Redistribution is defined as the system of transfer from one group or place to another, usually articulated by a mediating institution or group of institutions such as the State (Johnston et al. 1990). Based on Polanyi, redistribution is defined as the form of exchange that takes place when taxes or other acts of 'force levying' are collected and reallocated by an administrative centre. Therefore, redistribution is the prevailing mode of exchange in the political economies that include all centralized state structures. In this kind of governmental set up, the market is either relatively undeveloped or instrumental to the polity who generally control the distribution of goods (Sills 1968).

One pitfall of Polanyi's definition of redistribution is that it does not provide a clear description of the kind of exchange that takes place through this mode. Redistribution is generally understood as modifications in the holdings of particular persons, collective agents or groups (these holdings can be non-resource or resource holdings). Those from and to whom resources are distributed can be defined as individuals, as groups to which individuals are strictly assigned (e.g. ethnic groups), or as groups that are defined by their holdings (e.g. the top and bottom quintiles) (Barry 2004).

Types of redistribution

Christian Barry (2004) suggests a typology of the term by exploring the diverse political contexts in which it has been employed. Redistribution, according to him, implies a baseline: "...some distribution to which another distribution can be compared". The understanding of the different baselines adapted to test if redistribution has actually taken place helps to clarify the concept further.

The baseline distribution is determined diachronically, in terms of some distribution that was applicable at an earlier time. Economists refer to the redistributive effects of policies and other social mechanisms when they generate a different pattern of holdings over time. This type of redistribution is called *diachronic redistribution*. It is determined by looking at the pattern of holdings at two different times (initial distribution and later distribution), and by identifying the policies or social mechanism that caused the change. Diachronic redistribution is further explained by looking at other types, namely:

- Purposive diachronic redistribution: In a narrow sense, redistribution is understood as referring to socially caused changes in patterns of holdings over time. It is commonly associated, albeit not limited to, changes in systems of taxation and property rights. Other examples include changes in the structure of markets and the production system, the allocation of public funds for primary and secondary education, or the level of the minimum wage.
- Redistribution as taking: It refers to a particular social mechanism adopted to change the pattern of holdings over time, by specifically taking away resources from those who initially possessed them in order to give these resources to others. A clear example of this kind of redistribution is expropriation.

All these types of redistribution are usually overlapping when policies and institutional reforms are implemented to bring about changes in the pattern of holdings. The following example illustrates this statement. Taiwan radically reduced levels of inequality in the course of a decade, this being a case of diachronic redistribution. Studies indicate that the change was partly brought about by a set of policies that included agricultural reform and increased expenditures on education and health (purposive diachronic redistribution), whereas the most important agricultural reform involved changes in the distribution of land (redistribution as taking) (Kuo et al 1984; Barry 2004).

Additionally there is a kind of redistribution which is effected by taxes and transfers. A distinction is made between 'redistributive' and 'benefit' taxation (Cappelen 2000). Benefit taxes are typically understood as user charges, such as taxes paid to cover the costs of the use of public and private goods and services. Redistributive taxes refer to 'compensation' taxes. They occur when people have paid taxes that are above and beyond what is required to cover the costs of the public benefits they have received, and the costs they have imposed on others. Examples of these kinds of taxes range from those paid on carbon emissions, to the difference between net income and gross income, which represents the transfer of resources of employees (Barry 2004)

It is usually said that welfare and other social programmes are redistributive in terms of taxes and transfers as such initiatives are funded by revenues that are raised from those who will seldom, if ever, make use of them. Such a narrow understanding of the overall benefits of welfare and social programmes ignores, according to Murphy and Nagel (2003), the indirect gains they provide to those who fund them. For example, indirect benefits of such programmes are determined by the provision of a decent social minimum that may trigger social benefits such as a lowering of crime rates, the promotion of higher growth rates, a better educated labour force, and so on.

Market exchange and market economics

Compared to reciprocity and redistribution the nature of market relations is characterized by being abstract and impersonal. The salient features of market relationships are purchase and sale at a monetary price determined by the impersonal forces of supply and demand (Sills 1968).

There is no such thing as a pure market economy without the influence of social and political forces, but as Polanyi wrote (1944): “Instead of the economy being embedded in social relations, social relations are embedded in the economic system”. Social and political relations are thus ‘economized’. They do not cease to exist, but are subsumed by the market. Social relations are still necessary by the simple fact that society must be sustained, and political relations are needed for the policing of the market and the enforcement of the principle of contracts, through which it works (Sills 1968).

Three features of market exchange are important to highlight (Johnston et al 1990):

- It depends upon a characteristic *spatial structure* involving the transmission of price signals and the interdependence of markets in time and space. Locational Theory focuses on the pattern of markets, as is the case for example with Christaller’s Central Place Theory, giving little or no attention to how price signals are diffused across space. Neoclassical economics, which has generally guided theoretical work in this area, assumes that (i) market exchange is universal; and (ii) it tends towards equilibrium.
- Market exchange is *historically specific*. Polanyi argued that the market of pre-industrial societies was controlled and regulated by social authority. Therefore, there was no such thing as the self-regulation of the market. Such phenomena came into being with the industrial revolution. Approaches drawing upon Marxian economics recognize integration through pricefixing mechanisms as a fundamental feature of the capitalistic mode of production (Harvey 1973).³³
- Market exchange implies *conflict relationships* within a stratified society (Harvey 1973). For Marx and Weber the market is intrinsically a structure of power. A description based on any of these statements needs to acknowledge that “the problem is not the recognition of the diversity of the relationships and conflicts created by the capitalistic market [...] but that of making the theoretical transition from such relationships and conflicts to the identification of classes as structured forms”. Further investigations on this matter made a connection between class structure and residential differentiation, as well as the relations between housing markets and labour markets (Guidens 1981; Johnston et al 1990: 280f).

3.5. Conclusion

Half a century ago Karl Deutsch defined integration as “the attainment, within a territory of ‘a sense of community’ and of institutions and practices strong enough and widespread enough to assure, for a ‘long’ time dependable expectations of ‘peaceful’ change among its population” (1957: 5).

³³ The slow build up of the Industrial Revolution in Britain...represented a gradual penetration of market exchange into production in preference to land and labour. As the industrial revolution gained momentum, more and more sectors of activity became integrated through market exchange...The circulation of surplus value in its capitalistic form finally broke free from the restraining influence of the society based on social rank and subsequently, through its domination of all the key sectors of society, became the medium through which the market mode of economic integration gradually bound society into one cohesive economic system (Harvey 1973:243)

The following statement of Robert Cooley (1968) seems to have acquired a greater relevance after all these years:

Perhaps the key weakness in research on integration is the failure of most scholars to express their criteria clearly and to specify the degree of their fulfilment. Hypotheses regarding the causes of the effects of any sort of integration cannot be tested until this is done. Hence the paucity of research results on which theory can be built.

Social integration, then, remains a central concept in the minds of many, but it is a concept that so far has borne little fruit. Time will tell which of two alternatives is to be the destiny of the concept. Either it will fail into disuse because social scientists find the idea too broad and all encompassing for a scientific concept or it will entrust scientific devotees who will shape it and make it useful in the development of sound theory (Cooley 1968: 386)

After all these years, although classical theorists dealt with the concept of integration and produced a wealth of knowledge, thus offering room for other theoretical avenues towards its understanding, the scientific debate on the issue seems to have been concentrated on defeating one or the other theoretical schools of thought, or relinquishing concepts which seem to be too broad for theoretical and even empirical examination. There is always a tendency to get lost in semantics.

Certainly, as societies evolve so do the complex dynamics arising from human interactions and, therefore, theory contributing towards explaining particular phenomena and challenging such theories in order to advance the understanding of human phenomena is absolutely necessary. Human processes do not occur in a vacuum and therefore their connection with time and space and the specific characteristics of historical standpoints within space, need to be investigated in order to allow for the construction of sound theories which can be empirically tested and go beyond semantics. This might contribute significantly to the formation of a more tangible understanding of concepts, in this case on integration, which at present are seen as being 'too broad or all encompassing', as they are continually being 'reworded' in a futile search for an appealing concept that everyone can understand.

The following chapters (four and five) represent a modest attempt to operationalize the concept of integration and its empirical analysis. A conceptual framework was designed to look at the multidimensional process of integration of barrios of Caracas in Venezuela to create an analytical model to undertake empirical research on the issue of urban integration of disadvantaged groups of society. Before this, comes a description of two projects at the European level which relate to the theoretical framework given herein. Both projects specifically deal with the relationship between integration and space.

4. Conceptual framework for the empirical analysis of barrio integration in Caracas

It has been argued in the previous chapters that urban poverty is the result of the combined effects of the processes of negative spatial segregation and social exclusion in urban areas. Urban poverty, which affects disadvantaged groups of the urban society, is understood as social inequality and injustice leading to socio-economic and political exclusion. This is geographically concentrated most of the time in distinct parts of the city. Wherever the urban poor live these processes are to be observed. Informal settlements, squatter settlements and/or slums are mostly the locations where the poor and disadvantaged in developing countries struggle to obtain a share of the benefits that living in an urban society are supposed to give. In this chapter the conceptual framework will be developed to arrive at an analytical model for the empirical evaluation of the integration process of informal settlements.

4.1. Empirical research on integration and its relationship to space

Little multidisciplinary empirical research exists on the issue of the integration of the poor in developing countries (see 3.3). Empirical studies dealing with what intuitively could be called integration generally focus separately on the economic or social aspects. In the latter case the term social inclusion is the one most commonly used instead of integration. Such studies aim at determining the degree of social exclusion by adopting a multidimensional approach to the concept (Cartaya 1997; Saith 2001)³⁴.

The problem of measuring integration is not only the broad scope of the notion, but lies also in the difficulty of finding appropriate variables which can be empirically researched. However, one way of addressing the above difficulty is to look at the relationship between integration and space. At the European level there was one project that was found to be useful when looking at the issue, namely: The *URBEX Project: Urban Social Exclusion and Modes of Economic Integration*³⁵. It provides a practical analytical framework to look at the modes of economic integration and their relationship to space. This initiative is discussed within the context of the theories presented in chapter 3.4. The project provides a solid point of departure for identifying integration variables and measurements that could have the potential to be operationalized through empirical research.

The URBEX Project: Urban Social Exclusion and Modes of Economic Integration

The URBEX Project was about comparative research on neighbourhoods and the processes of urban social exclusion affecting households in several European cities. The project focused on spatial patterns of exclusion and the extent to which concentrations of deprivation further contribute to the problem of developing effective policy responses. The research investigated and compared the extent to which groups experiencing social exclusion are spatially segregated and examined how far spatial segregation exacerbates social exclusion and makes it more difficult to be addressed. The project also assessed the impacts of different policy initiatives designed to combat exclusion in areas where deprivation is concentrated. The conclusion of the project is that both local and national welfare agencies and the way they operate determines the

³⁴ See also Burchardt et al (2002) for an empirical work measuring degrees of social exclusion in Britain.

³⁵ For details on this visit: http://www2.fmg.uva.nl/urbex/resrep/fd_1.htm (see Appendix 9.4).

various factors underlying urban exclusion in the cities investigated (Musterd et al. 1999; Murie 2002).

Analytical framework of the project

The analytical framework of the URBEX Project (Musterd et al. 1999) relates Polanyi's modes of economic integration to space providing a holistic and multidimensional understanding of the concept. This framework refers to the interrelationship of the three modes of economic integration as being the means to allow households and communities to gain access to resources within space.

The modes of economic integration are described in the project within the European context, linking market exchange to the process of economic restructuring. This is believed to occur at a global level permeating across regional, national and local levels which explains redistribution in the context of changing Welfare States, that takes place at the national and regional level. The relating reciprocity to demographic change, i.e. changes in household structures and social networks, is a matter of the local level.

Based on these three modes of economic integration, the URBEX Project suggests that the study of social exclusion and integration necessarily has a spatial dimension as such phenomena occur across space (see Figure 4.1). The spatial expression of social exclusion is, therefore, regarded as the fourth mode of integration as follows:

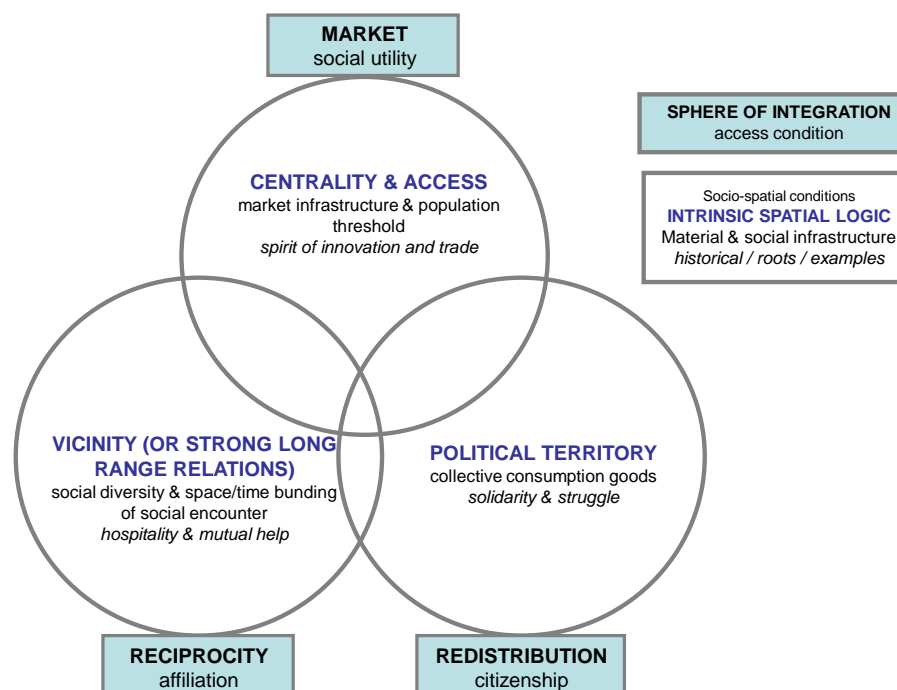
- *Market exchange*: The spatial dimension of market relations is determined by the range of goods and services available across space. This can be seen in terms of both production and consumption. Access to employment by means of being able to sell one's labour or by gaining access to sufficient customers in the case of self-employment are crucial for production. The availability of all necessary goods and services sold in the market is crucial in the case of consumption. This geography of economic integration through the market is related to the classic location theories in which centrality and access i.e. distance and transportation costs are key factors used to measure the degree of integration.
- *Redistribution*: Usually redistribution is occurring within a distinct political or administrative territory where both collection and the distribution of resources occur. The strength of the system of redistribution and the degree of access to these resources by the inhabitants through this system will differ from one spatial entity to another. Differences in redistribution are generally created by political processes where local authorities have different revenue collection capacities and degrees of access to revenues allocated by the national government. The same location theories can be used to describe access to these resources and unveil inequalities related to their location.
- *Reciprocity*: Implies the existence of networks as well as the material exchange of goods and services within these networks. Therefore, spatial proximity is an asset in that it facilitates the dialectical relationship between exchange and network maintenance, and allows trust to develop. Loose spatial relations between the members of a reciprocity network can be compensated by strong family, kinship or community relations.

The analytical framework depicted in Figure 4.1 shows the interrelationship between the three modes of exchange and their socio-spatial conditions. Three dimensions of the geography of economic integration are distinguished by the model: (a) the intrinsic spatial logic of each mode; (b) the presence or absence of the material and social infrastructure which supports the integration activities; and (c) the historical layers of the socio-spatial structure of the city in which symbols, habits and relationships from the past are embedded and possibly reactivated. In the case of market exchange the access condition is the social utility represented by the individual or the community

within the system. The intrinsic spatial logic of the market sphere of integration is centrality and access. In the case of redistribution, the access condition is determined by citizenship. The intrinsic spatial logic is the political territory in which the individual exercises his/her citizenship. Reciprocity in the model needs affiliation of the individual or a social group as access condition. The intrinsic spatial logic is regarded as the existing vicinity and strong long-range relationships of the social group.

Each mode of economic integration also involves different forms of social and physical infrastructure. Thus, market exchange presupposes a concentration of population, which offer the necessary basis for production and distribution. Redistribution entails the actual presence of means of collective consumption and agents for redistribution while reciprocity requires an appropriate arrangement of public and private space that is offering places that foster social networks by bundling social relations in space and time. (Musterd et al. 1999:21).

Figure 4.1.: The analytical framework of URBEX: Spheres of economic integration and their socio-spatial conditions



Source: Musterd et al. 1999

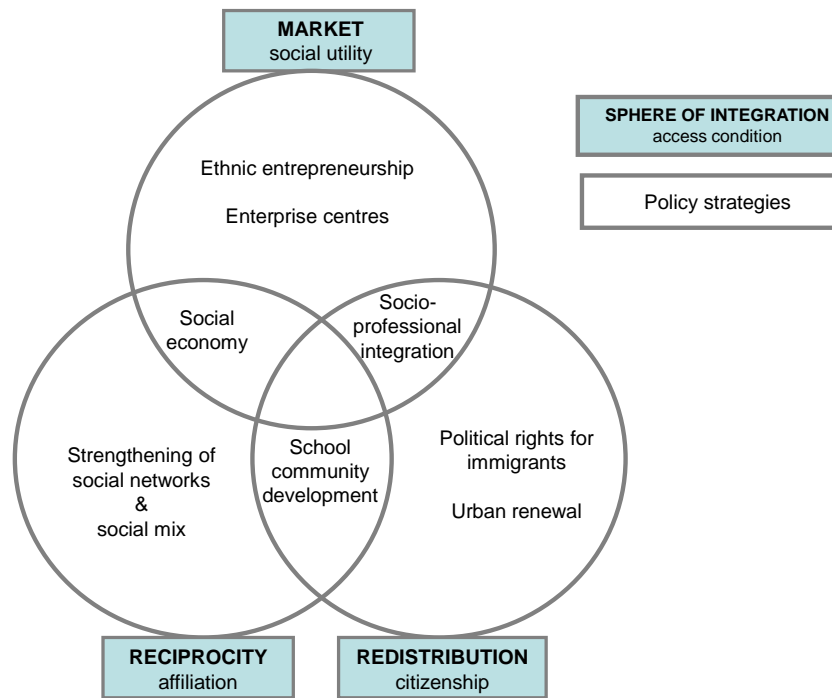
The third dimension of the socio-spatial conditions suggested by the model are based on the fact that “space carries with it a history which potentially reinforces certain mechanisms of economic integration” (ibid.: 22). In the case of the market exchange mode, these are the spirit of innovation and trade. In the case of redistribution these refer to solidarity and struggle of labour (social movements) that fought for a stronger Welfare State. Reciprocity has its roots in long traditions of hospitality and mutual help.

In conclusion it is argued that social exclusion, spatial segregation and integration or inclusion are interrelated concepts, which must be defined as inseparable parts of an urban process related to time, cultural and social contexts, political and economic structures, and space.

Lessons derived from the use of Polanyi's modes of economic integration

The policy implications of URBEX were mainly derived from its two innovative dimensions: the use of Polanyi's modes of economic integration and the spatial dimension of social exclusion (Kesteloot 2002). Figure 4.2 shows the main policy strategies and the relationships between the spheres of economic integration (see also Appendix 9.4 for details)

Figure 4.2: Policy strategies identified by the URBEX Project



Source: Kesteloot 2002

Theoretically redistribution is the only sphere in which measures can guarantee improvements in the situation of socially excluded people. Market exchange on its own necessarily produces winners and losers. Intrinsically market exchange cannot prevent situations of social exclusion. By definition it generates stratification, or an unequal access to resources based on strong or weak positions in the market. Reciprocity is a blind regulation mechanism revolving around a situation of exchange balance, but without any decision process enabling people to control the equilibrium situation and its changes over time.

Redistribution evolves around a central decision-making process. As far as state redistribution is concerned such decision-making processes are the realm of politics and result from democratic processes. In this sense redistribution is the only mode through which access to basic resources for everybody can be guaranteed without exception.

With regard to pursuing the goal of social justice at a higher level (region, country or even Europe) misappropriation of governance could be prevented at the local level. Polanyi's concepts are devoid of power relations, which according to Kesteloot (2002) is a drawback in the theoretical framework adopted by the project. This leaves us with the problem of the empowerment of the socially excluded when political power comes first. This is not only about giving voice to them and fostering their self organization, but it is also about scrutinizing the socio-spatial organization of democracy in the city. This can be achieved through changes in the political territorial organization of cities, the financial resources available, and the extension of political rights to disadvantaged

groups. Inclusion of deprived communities in the policymaking of the city is crucial, and local governments have the responsibility to do this, i.e. organize communities, negotiate with them and implement agreements. The market power of people and places can only be enhanced by interventions in the redistribution sphere (education, economic amenities, transport and communications, etc.). It is also important to strengthen collective defence against market interests through, for example, associative/redistributive institutions like trade unions or consumer associations. Strong reciprocal ties could generate such social control within a network that people could ultimately become involved thus allowing them to integrate into the rest of society. Such networks offer real empowerment when they develop people's awareness of injustice, which is combined with their capacity for organization and the ability to represent and defend people's rights.

Problems of social exclusion can be identified in terms of spheres of economic integration, just as the policy responses to them. A context sensitive policy would be that the balance of the three spheres in policies matches the size of problems to be addressed in that particular context.

In the pursuit of building social justice at higher levels of government (regional, national, and transnational) and preventing the misappropriation of governance at local levels of government, we can turn to the concepts of "good governance." Weiss' article (2000), *Governance, Good Governance and Global Governance: Conceptual and Actual Challenges*, traces the idea of good governance from the 1980's. At this time, institutions such as the IMF and the World Bank conceptualized good governance as a means to correct "the unresponsive character of governments and the inefficiency of non-market systems" in developing countries and in those emerging from the socialist bloc. They linked international development lending to the establishment of good governance, built on the cornerstones of "political democratisation" and "economic liberalisation". Ultimately, their goal was to build a reformed and "minimalist state" (ibid.: 801- 803). By the 1990's, the UNDP lead the way in renegotiating the concept of good governance, highlighting the increasing levels of poverty and income disparities, the "disintegrating social fabric and exclusion," and the environmental degradation present in counties that had implemented the tenants of supposedly good governance (ibid.: 802). At this time, a more holistic approach to good governance came to include a consideration of the human development index (HDI) and a "greater emphasis on leadership and management as well as democracy, human rights, rule of law, access to justice and basic freedoms [...] providing the tools of democracy and freedom that are integral to the political and civic dimensions of governance" (ibid.: 803- 804). In order to tackle these complex, "soft" problems of governance, effective methods of study and analysis are needed to examine the existing conditions on the ground.

The URBEX project presents an innovative way to look at the relationship between integration and space: by addressing this relationship through the lens of three modes of economic integration (market exchange, redistribution, and reciprocity) that regulate access to resources for different families and communities. When implemented in urban contexts in Venezuela, the research variables from URBEX can produce the kind of information necessary to lay the groundwork for new approaches to good governance in that country. In essence, in order to move away from the misappropriation of governance and toward the concepts of good governance and social justice, it is essential to understand the current patterns of integration and exclusion that exist across space in Venezuela. The URBEX project presents an effective model for obtaining this information. Table 4.1 provides a summary of the issues and concepts discussed within

the analytical framework of the URBEX Project that have been adopted in the current study of CAMEBA.

Table 4.1: Analytical framework of the URBEX Project: Modes of economic integration in space

Sphere of integration	Access condition	Socio-spatial conditions		Causes of social inclusion	Weaknesses of deprived neighbourhoods
		Intrinsic spatial logic	Material and social infra-structure		
Market exchange (economic system)	Social utility	Centrality and access	Market infra-structure and population threshold	Economic restructuring	Limited access to labour market
Reciprocity (social network)	Affiliation	Vicinity (or strong long relationships)	Social diversity and space/time bonding of social encounter	Changes in h/h structures and social networks	Social isolation
Redistribution (welfare state)	Citizenship	Political territory	Collective consumption goods	Restructuring of the welfare state	Limited access to state redistribution

Source: Adapted by the author from the final URBEX report (2002)

The various aspects considered by the analytical framework of the URBEX Project are relevant for the research into the barrios of Caracas as long as they represent similar aspects which could be translated into the political framework of Venezuela and the strategies and policies to address the situation of socio-spatial exclusion and integration there. Bearing this in mind the following sections provide the conceptual framework for this study to establish the design of the empirical research.

4.2. Socio-spatial exclusion and urban integration in Caracas

The following propositions, which partially describe the social situation of deprived urban areas in Europe, offer a general overview of the conditions that can be found in poor areas of most developing world cities, especially in informal settlements (Musterd et al 1999: 16f):

The concentration of poverty generates attitudes, behaviours and values that impede the ability of residents to grasp whatever opportunities exist for social mobility.

Crime rates, low participation in higher education and society, and all kinds of other problems tell their own stories and are seen to be causally related to spatial concentrations of poverty.

Other propositions related to the socio-spatial conditions of poor neighbourhoods in European cities also have parallels in the situations observed in Venezuelan cities (ibid: 16f). These are:

The spatial polarization of the population is perceived to be undesirable because of its potentially harmful effect on the social participation of the individual. This disadvantage is moreover translated into a negative stigmatization by those outside the deprived area.

Social inequality tends to be reflected spatially and when social inequality is large, socio-spatial inequality will be large as well.

The above ideas were addressed by a study that dealt with social exclusion and integration in Venezuela (Cartaya et al 1997). According to the study the urbanization process of Venezuela, and in particular Caracas, represented a unique opportunity for analysing the process of social exclusion in a context where the lack of financial resources is not seen as the main problem, and where democracy had been uninterrupted for more than 50 years (something which somehow reflects the conditions of many European countries). It is stressed by the study that policies which expand the channels of participation should be implemented. Social exclusion was defined by the study as a complex notion which must be approached from a multidimensional perspective:

The notion of social exclusion is a complex one. On the one hand, it can denote a situation or process experienced by individuals, namely their marginalization; and on the other, a situation or process which occurs in societies as a result of the malfunctioning of their institutions, and which leads to the breakdown of social cohesion and the fragmentation of social relations. Moreover, rather than focusing on the poor or the outcomes of poverty, the social exclusion approach emphasizes the multidimensionality of, and the processes which result in, poverty, as well as the agents and institutions associated with these processes (ibid.).

The next section builds on the propositions presented so far in order to come up with a definition of urban integration in the barrios of Caracas.

4.3. Defining integration in the context of the barrios of Caracas

In order to define integration in the barrios an operational definition was sought that would be able to relate it to the different theories and concepts discussed thus far. Accordingly, a barrio or a barrio agglomeration is a distinct spatial sub-system of the urban environment (system) where poverty concentrates and in which processes of social exclusion operate at both levels to varying degrees. The degree of social exclusion can be revealed by looking at the different socio-spatial conditions of barrio inhabitants in relation to the definition of spatial integration and the modes of economic integration.

Mechanical and organic (spatial) integration of barrios

In broad terms mechanical integration (see chapter 3.2.) potentially exists in barrios from the point of view of similarities between people, i.e. they speak the same language, follow the same religion and share common norms and values. Spatially they concentrate and share the same urban environment which is characterized by low access to a wide range of social and physical infrastructure. Such access conditions determine to a large extent their organic integration which is the degree of interaction with the socio-spatial system (the surrounding city) to which barrios also belong. The difference between these two levels of integration can be better understood by looking at the socio-spatial conditions determined by the modes of economic integration at both levels.

Modes of economic integration and their relationship to space in barrios

Redistribution is the mode of economic integration considered here as the main determinant of the degree of integration of barrios. It is the redistributory system of the state which provides the preconditions for integrating barrio communities through market exchange dynamics (i.e. economic restructuring to minimize the negative effect of the market with a clear poverty reduction policy) and reciprocity (i.e. fostering community organizations and networking for their participation in decision-making

processes). Bearing this in mind an attempt is made here to differentiate the three modes of economic integration highlighting their major features at the level of internal barrio dynamics (sub-system level where mainly mechanical integration operates), and at the level of the interrelationship of the barrio with the surrounding city (system level in which organic integration prevails).

- *Redistribution.* (a) Sub-system level: It operates within the local political territory to which the barrio sub-system belongs. It is related to the local redistribution policies which provide collective consumption goods and infrastructure at the neighbourhood level. Therefore, adequate access to basic household services, primary health care, primary education, sanitation, and shelter, as well as food security are determinants of the success of the redistribution system at this level. (b) System level: Defined by a wider political territory (i.e. the city, the nation), redistribution as a mode of economic integration is related to the basic function of the government in providing equal access conditions to all its constituencies to the benefits of society, such as employment, higher levels of education, health, and political participation in decision-making processes. Citizenship understood as the fulfilment of one's rights and the attainment of duties within the system represents the access condition of barrio inhabitants to city benefits.
- *Reciprocity.* (a) Sub-system level: It is determined by the degree of social interaction existing in barrios. Such interaction holds them together as a cohesive social group which is characterized by solidarity, mutual help and agreement on common values and social norms. Community organizations are crucial here to be able to demand from the redistributory system the benefits it is supposed to provide. In spatial terms this is related to strength of people's affiliation to community organizations, vicinity, and the existence of places for social encounter and interaction. (b) System level: Reciprocity is scaled up by expanding the influence of reciprocal relationships of the community with the city and by fostering social networks between sub-systems. In this way spatial and social isolation of reciprocal relations at the neighbourhood level can be avoided.
- *Market exchange.* (a) Sub-system level: It is related to the range of goods and services available within the barrio which are necessary to satisfy inhabitants' needs. It is also a matter of being able to find economic opportunities and livelihoods within the barrio. Economic assets such as ownership of land and houses are important in this context because they provide the opportunity for the creation of home-based enterprises and small scale industries within the sub-system. (b) System level: It is determined by the ability of barrio inhabitants to sell their own labour and have access to employment and economic opportunities in the broader system (city). The access condition of barrio inhabitants is determined by their social utility as productive beings and their capacity to participate in the economic life of the city. Market exchange as a mode of integration at this level is determined by access beyond the barrio to a wider range of economic opportunities. Transportation and mobility plays a major role in this respect.

Definition of integration of barrios and their inhabitants

Ideally the combination of all the aspects described under each mode of integration at both levels should be part of the integration process of barrios into the city. Thus integration refers to a process in which the inhabitants of the barrio can experience a sense of belonging to the urban context in which they live, by achieving an acceptable quality of life level and urban conditions, and by exercising their basic human rights. The process is multidimensional and can also be defined as the attainment of different aspects which are indistinctly related to the modes of economic integration previously described. The multidimensionality and interrelationship of these aspects and modes is shown in Table 4.2. The aspects are defined as:

- *Physical: Accessibility and invulnerability.* The realization of the right to access social and physical infrastructure, and to be protected from crime and material damage caused by natural and man-made disasters.
- *Social: Destigmatization and citizenship.* The acceptance and inclusion of barrio inhabitants that benefit from a socially conducive urban environment and the right of citizenship through the attainment of the responsibilities associated with it.
- *Political: Empowerment and participation.* The attainment of the right of being heard and to decide about one's life, as well as the right to justice.
- *In economic terms: Employment and affordability.* The right to participate in economic life, being productive and benefit from the exchange of goods and services.
- *In environmental terms: Liveability and sustainability.* The process of sustaining a healthy physical and ecological environment where the individual can develop and reproduce, bestowing a continuous and better life for future generations.

Table 4.2: Multidimensional concept of barrio integration

	Reciprocity	Redistribution	Market exchange
Physical	Accessibility to social infrastructure and invulnerability	Enabler of accessibility and invulnerability	Access to economic related infrastructure
Social	Social destigmatization and execution of citizenship	Securing citizenship	Citizenship as right to be a productive being
Political	People's empowerment and participation	Decentralized and participatory decision-making process	
Economic	Reciprocal exchange of goods and services	Restructuring of the economy with poverty reduction policies	Social economy
Environmental	Liveability and sustainability	Sustainability	

Source: Developed by the author

The definition of integration provided here represents the starting point for designing the analytical model of the multidimensional integration process of the barrios of Caracas. To define a manageable research scope on the issue of barrio integration, it was decided to examine as the main focus for the empirical research the barrio upgrading strategy component of the housing policy of Venezuela. This decision was taken in the belief that such interventions include many elements and aspects of the modes of economic integration that have previously been described above. The limitation of such decision is determined by the fact that not all aspects of integration can be researched by only looking at one particular strategy, and that urban upgrading projects are just one way of dealing with the problem of the integration of specific disadvantaged groups in a society.

4.4. The integration model of the barrios of Caracas

The purpose of the model is to provide an analytical and methodological framework to guide urban research on the integration of informal settlements through upgrading projects.

The analytical framework of the URBEX Project was adapted to the specific conditions of the barrios of Caracas to act as a point of departure for the analytical model of its integration process. The purpose of the model is to serve as the conceptual

framework of the research for empirical analysis. Urban upgrading projects are posited as the main mechanism to achieve urban integration of barrios. This mechanism is considered as a multidimensional strategy for urban social-economic-political and spatial integration of barrio inhabitants. The earlier figures showing the process illustrate the relationship that exists between the modes of economic integration and space. The three key dimensions of the geography of economic integration, i.e. redistribution, reciprocity and market exchange, were related to the specific process of barrio upgrading under the current policy (redistributory) framework of Venezuela.

The ultimate goal of the 'integration policy' is understood to be the reduction of urban poverty by means of barrio inhabitants' inclusion into the social, economic, political and spatial structure of the city.

Description of the model

The model shown in Figure 4.3 illustrates the ideal integration process of barrios through the implementation of urban upgrading projects. The upgrading strategy is seen as the stimulus needed to trigger the process of integration of low-income areas³⁶ into the urban dynamic of what is recognized as the 'formal city'. In order to achieve the integration goal a set of conditions, namely related to urban policymaking and institutional arrangements, must be met before the planning and implementation process of such a strategy occurs. The process can only start with the realization of a major, unavoidable step: *the recognition of barrios in urban planning and urban policymaking*.

Recognizing informal settlements in urban planning laws is, therefore, the foremost condition derived from an enabling institutional and policy framework specifically aimed at integrating disadvantaged groups, viz. the poor living in barrios. A decentralized bureaucratic structure is seen in the model as decisive for supporting democratic participation processes characterized by transparency and accountability throughout the planning and implementation decision-making process.

The institutional framework is headed by the National Government which using all its power and faculties transformed the previous representative democracy into a participatory one. The main statement of the new Constitution is that the development process of the country will be geared by the people themselves.

Since the integration process presented herein primarily refers to housing issues, the Ministry of Housing and Habitat comes next in the institutional hierarchy. The Ministry is in charge of directing and coordinating the design and implementation of housing policies and programmes together with e.g. the National Housing Council, and then devolve power to regional and municipal housing institutes (decentralization).

Several laws, decrees and planning documents derived from the institutional framework are necessary to guide and implement the proposed integration process. These include the 1999 *Constitution*, the 1987 *Ley Organica de Ordenacion Urbanistica*; the 1994 *Sectoral Plan for the Integration of Barrios into the Formal Structure of the City*, the 1999 *Housing Policy and Programmes related to barrios*, and the 2002 presidential decree on *Land Tenure Regularization* of informal settlements (see chapter 2.6).

At the heart of the model stands the upgrading strategy, which is translated into specific participatory physical integration projects and socio-economic programmes.

³⁶ Low-income areas refer to deprived neighbourhoods in general. In the particular case of this research the focus is on informal settlements and their upgrading. But the model is also meant to serve as an analytical framework of the integration process of other deprived city areas through urban regeneration and renewal strategies.

These interventions are meant to integrate barrios through the improvement of their physical urban condition together with specific social and economic policies underlying people's empowerment through participation in decision-making processes and economic life.

The features of the model described up to now represent only half way towards the integration process. They are the preconditions necessary to support the barrio integration process and constitute the first part of the analytical model.

Once the institutional and political framework characterized by political will, decentralization, and the enablement of a participatory and transparent planning process is put in place, the specific integration projects and programmes of barrios can start.

The integration of barrios is triggered by creating a conducive and favourable urban environment in which accessibility and connectivity to urban social, economic and physical infrastructure plays a mayor role. The attainment of basic human rights through enhancing access to modes of economic integration is also foreseen as being integral to the integration process.

The direct outcome of the upgrading process is to provide an equal opportunity to all inhabitants of the city to adequate urban living conditions through making urban infrastructure³⁷ available and accessible to all.

The model considers the modes of economic integration as evolutionary and bound by time. There is a process by which each mode evolves until it is converted into an asset. This does not mean that once particular assets are obtained that the process ends and integration is achieved. The sustainability of the assets provided by each mode will depend on the continued adaptation of redistributory, reciprocal and economic restructuring processes to changing circumstances. Integration will be attained gradually as the process redefines itself through time:

- *Redistribution* as a process is related to the evolution of an institutional and policy framework that enables a participatory planning process and provides the conditions for barrio integration through social, urban and economic policies specifically designed for the upgrading process.
- *Reciprocity* evolves from the process of participation and inclusion of all stakeholders and it is mainly supported by social policies which are meant to foster the organization of the community and empower people.
- *Market exchange* as a process depends on the economic policies of the government and is in the particular case of barrio integration the result of the implementation of the land tenure regularization policy and the creation of employment opportunities.

The modes are converted into assets once the combined processes of redistribution, (enabling the formation of citizenship), reciprocity (leading to an organized community), and market exchange (providing the preconditions for being productive) evolve into the gradual accessibility and connectivity of barrio inhabitants into urban social, physical and economic infrastructure of the city. This will provide the preconditions for the generation of spatial relationships between the upgrading work and the modes of economic integration, i.e. each mode has a translation into space, as seen in Figure 4.3.

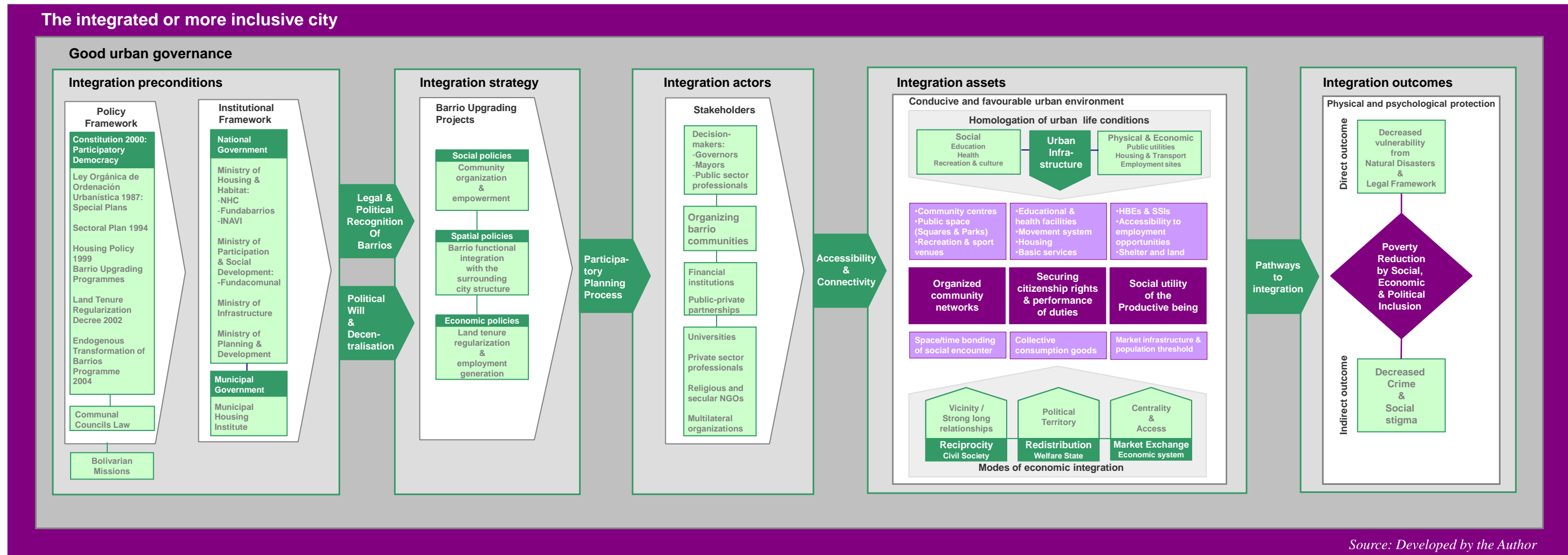
³⁷ Urban infrastructure refers to physical infrastructure such as basic services (electricity, water, sewerage and drainage systems, telephone, etc), transport and market infrastructure, as well as social infrastructure such as education (schools, training centres), health (health care centres, clinics, pharmacies), and recreational and cultural infrastructure (parks, squares, sport venues, community centres, etc).

The model concludes with the attainment of a sustainable barrio integration process characterized by the gradual reduction of poverty and social inclusion of barrio inhabitants into the city dynamic. This goal is additionally nurtured through their recognition by urban society. The final outcome, which is related to physical and psychological protection, has both direct and indirect implications. On the one hand there is a direct reduction of vulnerability from natural disasters (e.g. landslides) and legal issues (e.g. protection from evictions), and on the other hand there are indirect outcomes such as decreased criminality and social stigma. The flow of the whole process is positively influenced by the enabling and facilitating conditions derived from good urban governance, which will ultimately lead to an integrated or more inclusive city.

In the next chapter the selection of the study area is explained in the context of the spatial organization of the barrios of Caracas. The model is used for the purpose of providing the main elements of the research design. These elements represent the working assumptions, specific research questions, methodologies necessary to find answers to the questions posed by the study, as well as the identification of the different operational variables needed to assess the integration process of barrios.

Figure 4.3: The integration model of the barrios of Caracas (Source: Developed by the author)

Figure 4.3: The integration model of the Barrios of Caracas



Source: Developed by the Author

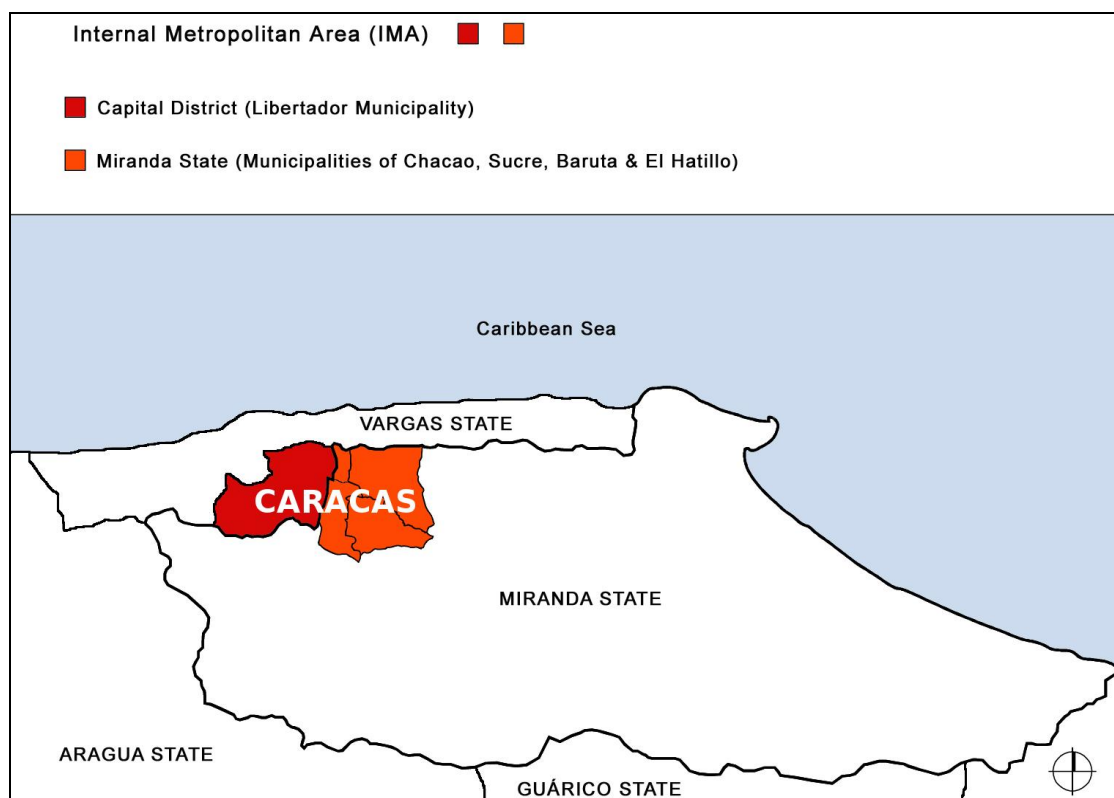
5. Study area selection, operational variables, research design and methodologies

Within the conceptual framework for empirical analysis articulated in the previous sections, chapter five provides a general description of the barrios in the Inner Metropolitan Area of Caracas and the rationale for selecting the CAMEBA Project and Julián Blanco as the study focus for the empirical research on integration. Furthermore, it also explains the derivation of operational variables for field research and the research design and methodologies.

5.1. Spatial-administrative organization of the barrios of Caracas

The Inner Metropolitan Area of Caracas (IMA) is divided into five political administrative units consisting of areas from five municipalities namely, Municipio Libertador, Municipio Sucre, Municipio Baruta, Municipio Chacao and Municipio El Hatillo (See Figure 5.1).

Figure 5.1: The Inner Metropolitan Area of Caracas



Source: Adapted by the author (<http://www.a-venezuela.com>)

Spatial organization of barrios according to the Sectoral Plan

Prior to the approval of the Urban Planning Law in 1987 the areas occupied by barrios were shown in blueprints of the city as protected areas reserved for future urban development. It was only seven years after the promulgation of this law that a large scale barrio renewal strategy for the IMA was planned in 1994 under the name of “the

Sectoral Plan for the Incorporation of Barrio Zones of the Metropolitan Area of Caracas and the Capital Region to the Urban Structure”.

According to the Sectoral Plan, upgrading projects imply not only better integration of barrio zones into the metropolitan system, but also social recognition of an important segment of the urban population which is almost equivalent in size to that of what is known as the formal city. The Sectoral Plan is aimed at making the physical conditions within barrio zones homologous through the transformation of the built environment by combining both the internal factors of urbanization and the conditions necessary to link these zones with the rest of the city. This plan became a milestone in the spatial-administrative organization of barrios as it was the first time ever that barrio zones were categorized into specific planning units for the purposes of upgrading and urban development. In all, 144 continuous Barrio Zones divided into 24 Physical Planning Units (PPUs) and 206 Urban Design Units (UDUs) of diverse sizes and characteristics were identified. The Barrio Zones occupied 4,616 hectares and were grouped into five major geographic areas: the Inner Metropolitan Area of Caracas (IMA), Los Teques, Mariches-Carretera Guarenas, Hoyo de la Puerta and El Junquito. These areas are located in different municipalities of the greater Metropolitan Area of Caracas as shown in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1: Type, number and location of barrio zones

Geographical Area	Municipality	PPUs	UDUs	Total Area (ha.)	
Internal Metropolitan Area	Libertador	14	134	3,446.01	
	Sucre				
	Baruta				
Los Teques	Libertador	6	40	675.69	
	Guacaipuro				
	Carrizal				
Mariches- Carretera Guarenas	Sucre	4	27	457.95	
	Plaza				
	Paz Castillo				
Hoyo de la Puerta	Baruta	-	3	28.40	
	Guaicaipuro				
El Junquito	Libertador	-	2	7.92	
	Vargas				
Total		8	24	206	4,615.97

Source: Adapted by the author based on Baldó et al. (1995)

Physical Planning Units

At the apex of this spatial hierarchy are Physical Planning Units (PPUs) which are barrio zones formed by the agglomerations of individual barrios.

The PPUs are as large as the Zone Plans (Planes Zonales) and are equivalent to the Special Plans for the Integration of Barrios to the urban structure. Although these units are less complex than the city itself in terms of planning, owing to their exclusively residential character, their scale can be as large as either the Local Urban Development Plans (Planes de Desarrollo Urbano Local PDUL), or as the Urban Order Plans (Planes de Ordenamiento Urbano POU). The Sectoral Plan identified twenty-four PPUs of which, the Inner Metropolitan Area (IMA) had fourteen, Los Teques sub area had six PPUs, and Mariches-Carretera Guarenas sub-area four PPUs.

The PPUs are further divided into Urban Design Units (UDUs) which could either be spatially contiguous or separated. Table 5.2 lists the area and location of the fourteen PPUs of the IMA.

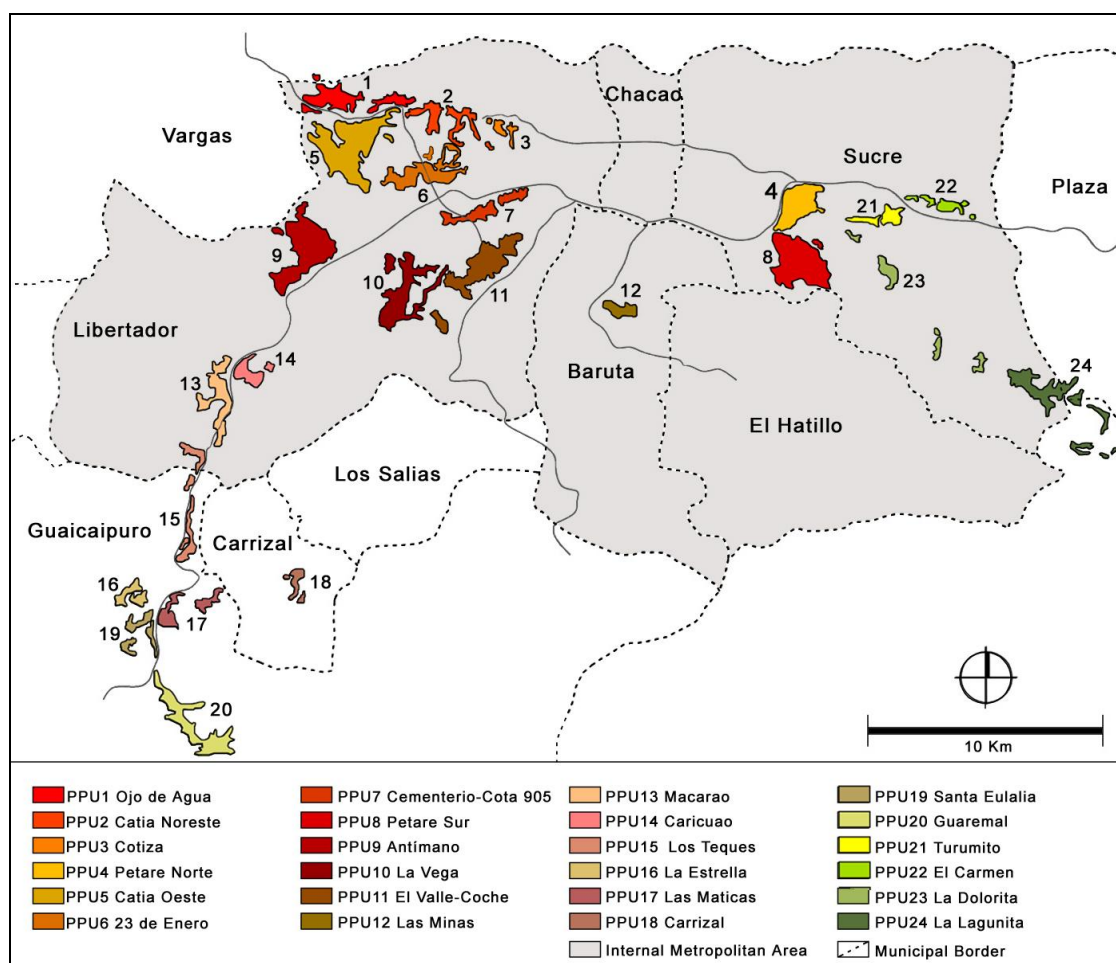
Table 5.2: Area and location of Physical Planning Units of the IMA

Physical Planning Units	Area (Ha)	Municipality
PPU 5 Catia Oeste	506.34	Libertador
PPU 9 Antimano	389.09	Libertador
PPU 8 Petare Sur	387.91	Sucre
PPU 11 Valle-Coche	329,37	Libertador
PPU 10 La Vega	293.68	Libertador
PPU 1 Ojo de Agua	229.01	Libertador
PPU 4 Petare Norte	227.16	Sucre
PPU 6 23 de Enero-San Martin	205.05	Libertador
PPU 13 Macarao	170.01	Libertador
PPU 2 Catia Noeste	135.45	Libertador
PPU 7 Cementerio-Cota 905	122.12	Libertador
PPU 14 Caricuao	81.87	Libertador
PPU 12 Las Minas	58.04	Baruta
PPU 3 Cotiza	31.10	Libertador

Source: Extracted from Baldó et al. (1995)

Figure 5.2 depicts the spatial distribution of PPU's (coloured areas) across the Caracas Metropolitan Area.

Figure 5.2: The Metropolitan Area of Caracas and its barrio zones.



Source: Adapted by the author based on Baldó et al. (1995)

Urban Design Units (UDUs)

UDUs consist of one or more barrios, or sections of barrios. Their characteristics and agglomeration problems are similar to those of a residential neighbourhood. An UDU can be contiguous with other UDUs of the PPU or spatially separated although belonging to the PPU. The Separated Units are further classified as Separated Urban Design Units, which are large enough to necessitate their own physical upgrading plan if such Separated Units that have an area of no less than 15 hectares.

Isolated Urban Design Units (Unidades de Diseño Urbano Aisladas, UDUA) are another type of UDU that does not belong to a PPU or any other planning unit due to distance, topography, lack of access roads and urban constraints. There are also UDUs that although not part of a PPU are related to smaller neighbouring units. These are called Special Urban Design Units (Unidades de Diseño Urbano Especial, UDUE). Furthermore, there are Special Programme Units (Unidades de Programa Especial, UPE) which do not belong to any PPU and are not considered big enough to qualify the scale of urban interventions envisioned by the Sectoral Plan. These Units, similar to separated units, measure less than 15 hectares and are called Isolated Units (Unidades Aisladas, UA). They are frequently not part of the urban grid of the 'formal city' (barrio intersticio).

General characteristics of municipal barrios in the IMA

Table 5.3 summarizes the salient features of barrios in each municipality that are part of the IMA. Municipio Libertador has almost three quarters of the total barrio population (73.54%) in the IMA spread across 11 PPUs, followed by Sucre with 20.57% concentrated in two PPUs and Baruta with only 5.17% in a single PPU. Similarly, in terms of the area occupied by barrios in the IMA, Libertador's share is highest with 77.4%, followed by Sucre with 18.75% and Baruta with only 3.23%.

The barrio agglomerations in the Municipalities of Sucre and Libertador are in general worse than those in the municipalities of El Hatillo and Chacao which only represent 0.63% of the total area occupied by barrios, and 0, 73% of the total population living in barrios. Barrios found in the latter are defined as Isolated Units in the Sectoral Plan. The municipality of Baruta which has only about 21% of its population inhabiting barrios is mainly composed of upper and middle-income neighbourhoods. However, as Table 5.3 shows, the density of barrios in Baruta is significantly higher than that of Sucre and Libertador.

Table 5.3: Salient features of barrios across municipalities in the IMA

Municipality	Number of PPU/UDU	% within municipality		Mean density (inh/ha)	% within IMA	
		% living in barrios	% of area occupied by barrios		% living in barrios	% area occupied by barrios
Libertador	11 PPUs 68 UDUs	41.05%	6.25%	271	73.54%	77.4%
Sucre	2 PPUs 20 UDUs	53.55%	6.20%	266	20.57%	18.75%
Baruta	1 PPU 4 UDUs	21.08%	1.58%	395	5.17%	3.23%

Source: Extracted from Baldó et al. (1995) Un Plan para los Barrios de Caracas

Urban morphology and political territory of barrios

Nowadays the urban morphology of barrios highlights their consolidation process (see Figure 5.3) which can be traced back by looking at the political organization of the urban territory of Caracas. The greater concentration of barrios in Municipio Libertador located in the west of Caracas can be explained by two historical facts.

Firstly, Libertador municipality became the site for social housing projects constructed in the 1950s under the dictatorship of General Marcos Perez Jimenez driven by a policy that advocated eradication of informal settlements to be replaced by massive residential buildings, called 'Super Blocks'. When the dictatorship ended, barrios started growing in and around the social housing sites on account of rapid urbanization and population growth which eventually consolidated as shown in Figures 5.4 and 5.5. Secondly, around the same time, Caracas experienced an outward migration of its affluent citizenry from the city centre to the peri-urban areas. Over a period of time, the city centre became gradually populated by lower income residents through the process of land invasion-succession resulting in a devaluation of property values and urban decay. Finally, the growth of service industries fuelled by the need to sustain the new oil-based economy promoted irrational and rampant changes in land use which destroyed the very character and nature of the erstwhile residential colonies.

Figure 5.3: Barrio morphology



Source: Caracas Cenital (2004)

Figure 5.4: PPU 6. 23 de Enero-San Martín, Libertador Municipality



Source: Caracas Cenital (2004)

Figure 5.5: PPU 10: La Vega, Libertador Municipality



Source: Caracas Cenital (2004)

The barrios located in the east of the city which belong to the municipalities of Baruta and Sucre including El Hatillo and Chacao differ from those in the west on account of huge variations in income levels. This is clearly evident from the abundance of self-sufficient, segregated gated communities that dot the landscape across these municipalities. The barrios in these areas are usually located adjacent to the gated communities. Such is the case of the huge barrio agglomerations of Petare in Sucre (Figure 5.6) and the major PPU's of Baruta which appear as 'insertions' into the 'formal' urban grid (Figure 5.7).

Figure 5.6: PPU 4: Petare Norte, Sucre municipality



Source: Caracas Cenital (2004)

Figure 5.7: PPU 12: Las Minas, Baruta Municipality



Source: Caracas Cenital (2004)

5.2. Urbanization levels of municipal barrios in the IMA

Levels of urbanization of the IMA are based on secondary data provided by the Sectoral Plan (Baldó et al. 1994: 93-186). The most important variable considered by the plan to determine the degree of integration of barrio zones into the city, and thus calculate their deficiencies, was general urban accessibility. Several parameters were assessed such as centrality and accessibility to industrial zones, residential zones, and transport infrastructure. The physical urban conditions of barrios were also assessed by the plan, covering such aspects as slope gradient, pedestrian and vehicular movement, public areas, water supply, watersheds and geological risk.

Centrality, accessibility and transportation

Centrality was measured using the average distance between PPUs entrances (accesses) and the metropolitan centre. This parameter is important in terms of accessibility to formal and informal employment, commercial activity and urban services. Centrality also determined the formation of barrios and ultimately their consolidation and permanence in the urban landscape. Because of the linear settlement pattern of Caracas along the valley, the relative centrality of the PPUs in relation to the nearest centre or urban sub-centres was also considered. The general centrality measure is 9.17 km, with a standard deviation of 5.36 km and a variation coefficient of 58.47%. Relative centrality is 2.84 km, with a standard deviation of 1.85 km and a variation coefficient of 65.38% (ibid. 94-95).

Accessibility to industrial, commercial and residential zones

The degree to which PPUs are located closely to industrial hubs varies. Employment in industries has traditionally been a pull factor for barrio settlers. The vast majority of the PPUs of the IMA are located less than 2 km away from the closest industrial zone. In the case of proximity to commercial zones the average distance is 1.86 km (ibid.: 96-97)

Many barrios in Caracas were established next to well-off residential areas where barrio dwellers provided some kind of household service (domestic help, chauffeur, gardening, etc.). Another reason was access to communal services typical of residential neighbourhoods. The average distance of PPUs to residential neighbourhoods is 1.12 km. Ten out of fourteen PPUs have at least one vehicular access point through their neighbourhoods. For the majority of cases the inhabitants of the neighbourhoods are low and low middle-income households (ibid.: 97-98).

Transport accessibility

PPUs have in general one or more access routes through artery or intra-urban roads. Although in some cases the capacity of the road network has reached its limits and must be improved, this given represents an important factor determining potential accessibility of PPUs to the surrounding urban environment (ibid.: 98). Public transport on the other hand is considered as the main factor binding for different parts of the city into the urban structure as a whole (ibid.: 99). Transportation is for barrio inhabitants particularly important because car ownership is quite low. According to the Third Barrio Survey (FUNDACOMUN 1993) there was one private vehicle per five families.

Circumstances vary among PPUs regarding transport access. The PPUs with the best accessibility are generally the oldest ones. New ones or those on the periphery have generally the worst access to transport systems. Accessibility to transport in distant PPUs is also undermined by the fares which inhabitants find to be too expensive to be able to pay on a regular basis (Baldó et al 1995: 99). Both the municipalities of Sucre

and Libertador have good accessibility to metro stations (13 PPUs). This is not the case of the PPUs of Baruta, which is considered to have the worst accessibility to the metropolitan centre (1 PPU).

Physical conditions of municipal barrios in IMA

Eight criteria that are used to determine the physical condition of the barrios and the challenges they represent for undertaking upgrading interventions are described here:

- **Density:** Each PPU has different densities internally, therefore, density must be considered per UDU in order to have a more realistic picture. Local analysis of densities also indicates characteristics of the urban form with different degrees of building densities, from the concentration of contiguous multi-storey structures to isolated house-units. The PPUs of the IMA have an average density of 291 inhabitant/ha. The highest density is found in Baruta (395 inhabitant/ha.) followed by Libertador and Sucre with 266 and 271 inhabitant/ha respectively (ibid.: 131ff).
- **Geological risk:** This parameter relates to the unstable soil conditions on which houses are constructed. It was used to determine priorities for house relocations. Based on the assessment of geological risk the barrio zones carry, three levels of risk zones can be identified viz. high, medium and low geological risk. Libertador consists of the largest proportion of barrio zones with high geological risk (16% of the total area occupied by PPUs) compared to the other two municipalities, whose circumstances are in this respect similar (10% and 9% respectively) (ibid.:120ff).
- **Average slope of the location:** The slope is a major determinant of the degree of challenges in undertaking engineering works. The higher the slope, the greater the challenges. In Libertador the average slope for all PPUs is 40%. In Sucre the average is 37% and in Baruta 30% (ibid.: 145ff).
- **Number of floors:** One floor is equivalent to a height of 2.5 metres. The average number of floors that a person has to walk down to reach the nearest access road in Libertador is 25 floors with 15 of its UDUs requiring more than 30 floors to reach the access road. For Sucre and Baruta this is 20.5 and 12 floors respectively (ibid.: 156ff).
- **Water Supply:** The highest point of a PPU is used to help to calculate the pumping capacity required to supply water to difficult parts of the PPU. Accordingly, three main types of networks have been classified. Namely: low pressure network with no major supply and pressure problems (between 800-1,000 meters above sea level); high pressure network with major problems for pumping and supply of water (1,200-1,400 m.); and medium pressure network (1,000-1,200 m.). Libertador is the only municipality with PPUs requiring the high pressure network whereas both Sucre and Baruta are within the reach of medium pressure network (ibid.: 102ff).
- **Watershed areas:** The magnitude and characteristics of the catchments basins running across the different PPUs makes it possible to measure and design the necessary drainage and sewerage systems. Rain water levels were taken into account for the design of the drainage system network. It is estimated that each hectare occupied by barrios represent an average coefficient of 7.12 hectares of sub-basin to be considered for drainage studies. This average coefficient was used to determine the PPUs that needed urgent intervention viz. PPU with coefficients higher than 7.12. From this perspective the PPUs of Libertador represent the priority as compared to the PPUs of Sucre and Baruta, whose coefficients are low (ibid.:104ff)
- **Vehicular movement and public areas:** Primary indicators of the level of urban development achieved by a barrio zone located on a steep terrain include access to roads and transportation, and open public spaces. Experiences acquired in urban upgrading projects of barrios located in steep terrains indicate that the percentage of vehicular access should be at least 11%, which represents a minimum index of 125 metres of road infrastructure per hectare. None of the PPUs of the IMA have

attained this level. Only 10% of the total UDUs achieve the minimum level of 11% or slightly more. The worst conditions are found in Baruta (3.83% on average), followed by Libertador (5.76%) and Sucre (8.40%) respectively (ibid.: 146ff).

- **Communal services:** The spatial needs (in hectares) of different communal services per PPU were defined according to a set of norms specifically designed for barrios, which are considerably more lenient than the norms stipulated by the Ministry of Infrastructure and Urbanism (1985). These needs were provided for primary and intermediate urban environments³⁸ and categorized according to recreational, educational, health and socio-cultural facilities. Needs are higher in Sucre with an average of 24.82 ha for primary services and 44.67 ha for intermediate services. Libertador's needs are 16 and 27.43 ha for primary and intermediate services. Baruta has the lowest need accounting to 8.59 and 13.59 ha respectively (ibid.:160ff).

A summary of the varying physical conditions of PPUs in each municipality are provided in Table 5.4.

Table 5.4: Physical conditions of IMA barrio zones per municipality

Urban physical characteristics		Libertador	Sucre	Baruta
Density (inh/ha.)		271	266	395
Geological risk (Area percentage)	high	16%	10%	9%
	middle	27%	27%	27%
	low	65%	63%	65%
Average slope		40%	37%	30%
Number of floors		25	20.5	12
Water supply (metres above sea level)		1,525-575	1,050-825	1,150-885
Watershed areas (maximum coefficient of 7.12)		7.68	1.35	1.33
Vehicular movement and public areas		5.76%	8.40%	3.83%
Area needs for communal services	primary	16 ha	24.82 ha	8.59 ha
	intermediate	27.43 ha	44.67 ha	13.59 ha

Source: Baldó et al. (1994: 102ff)

Given the urban conditions of the barrio agglomerations of Caracas the following section provides the empirical assumption and guiding questions for the empirical research.

5.3. Research assumptions and research questions

The assumptions and research questions of the study were mainly based on the literature review concerned with the process of urbanization under poverty in Caracas, and its socio-economic, political and spatial development. The theoretical framework regarding the meaning of integration provided the foundations for designing the empirical analysis.

The research aimed at unveiling how the integration of informal settlements of Venezuela could be achieved, assuming these are excluded socio-spatial entities which

³⁸ Primary urban environment (*ambito urbano primario*) refers to the basic urban unit with a population between 6,000 and 16,000. Communal services must be accessible by foot. Intermediate urban environment (*ambito urbano intermedio*) consists of three or more primary urban environments. The population threshold is between 30,000 and 80,000. Communal services generated by intermediate urban environments must be accessible through the public transport system (Gaceta Oficial Republica de Venezuela, 1985 – Chapter I, Article 4)

have resulted from a rapid process of urbanization under poverty. Using the example of the barrios of Caracas and both its incipient upgrading process and political recognition in urban planning and development, a study area was chosen to analyse the perception and understanding that people have about the notion of integration. In addition to this, an attempt was made to evaluate the outcomes of a barrio upgrading project based on the author's adaptation of an analytical model on the integration process of barrios. The ultimate goal was to determine how the multidimensionality of the concept can be incorporated in urban upgrading and integration strategies.

The conceptual model is the basic input used for designing the empirical analysis, i.e. the definition of measurable variables, selection of a representative study area, and the choice of appropriate methodological instruments for empirical analysis.

Assumptions and guiding questions

Set in the theoretical framework articulated herein, the research project was based on the assumption that informal urban growth in Caracas is causing socio-spatial segregation thus preventing functional urban development and integration. The main research question was: What is the meaning of integration of barrios in spatial, political and socio-economic dimensions?

Assumption I: Redistribution and the upgrading process of the "barrio city"

Successful interventions in the barrios cannot only be physical but have to be integrated into a wider urban strategy where socio-economic policies and empowerment measures, such as participation and awareness building of the inhabitants are included. The main premise of the integration strategy must be the recognition of the contribution barrios have made in building the city by considering both their positive and negative aspects. Such an approach would necessarily yield better results in terms of integration than those which are aimed at solving only one aspect of the problem. It follows that integration projects, such as the ones designed under the Sectoral Plan of 1994, must be evaluated in terms of their objectives and the effects of their implementation, as these usually focus on the physical dimension of the problem (e.g. provision of infrastructure). The potential of these plans could be enormous and evaluating their impact, as it has been so far, might yield important information on the preconditions and circumstances necessary to achieve barrio integration.

Guiding questions I

A holistic urban strategy geared at eliminating social exclusion and negative spatial segregation of barrios must be the responsibility of the Welfare State and its redistribution policy. Such government endeavour needs to integrate economic, social, political, environmental and spatial policies in a multi-dimensional fashion. The following questions derive from the above statement:

- What has been the impact of the upgrading projects already implemented in barrios in terms of improving their quality of life?
- What are the areas of conflict that have appeared during the implementation of these projects?
- Does the actual policy environment impede or enable the integration process?
- Which elements of the policies and strategies seeking to integrate barrios should be incorporated or redefined?

Assumption II: Reciprocity through community organization and participation

The construction and consolidation of the barrios can be interpreted as the provision of affordable housing for many urban poor who were able to build through mutual-help and solidarity what the government could not. The relative quality of the housing achieved in many cases, and the development of a complex social fabric in combination with a rich informal sector, support the lives of hundreds of thousands of urban poor. This virtue, which can be seen as a survival mechanism for improving livelihoods, represents the inherent potential of the barrio that could lead to the transformation of these spontaneous urban spaces into integrated communities with a human face, assuming that the interventions enable a consensual rational and holistic approach for solving the problem.

This research assumes that the human potential of the barrios is a fact which has been underestimated far too long. Such potential is understood as the will people have to organize themselves and participate in the urban development process in order to improve their living conditions. It follows that by ignoring the human potential existing in barrios it would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to promote in the barrios any kind of integration as citizens to the 'formal' structure of the city and its social, political and economic dynamics. Behind this point of departure is the assumption that political will at the national and local level with a supportive decentralized structure, is more or less operating and, therefore, it is likely to enable a bottom-up planning strategy with people's participation in decision-making processes.

Guiding questions II

Considering the barrio inhabitant as the main actor responsible for supporting the ways to integration for the barrio the research will strive to provide answers to the following questions:

- Do the integration projects implemented in the barrios really activate participatory processes?
- Are community organizations activated by the upgrading process supported by the inhabitants?
- Are social and economic policies integrated into physical upgrading projects, and if so, how do they operate, enabling the process or co-opting it?
- What should be the role of civil society (both outside and inside barrios), of professionals and administrators, and of the municipal decision makers in the process?

Assumption III: Measuring integration by the empirical operationalization of the modes of economic integration

The degree of spatial and socio-economic integration could be measured with reference to a threshold of social exclusion and spatial segregation. The modes of economic integration, i.e. redistribution, reciprocity and market exchange, provide the analytical framework to derive the variables that will measure such a degree. These variables are related to time (consolidation process), cultural and social contexts (solidarity and social cohesion), economic restructuring (employment generation and enhanced livelihoods), political structure and processes (decentralization, urban management and empowerment through participation), and space (centrality and accessibility to urban infrastructure).

Guiding questions III

The process of integration of informal settlements is triggered and supported by a positive tendency towards an increased number of inhabitants benefiting from access to basic needs, employment opportunities, political participation in decision-making processes, citizenship, enhanced and empowered social networks and a conducive and sustainable urban environment. At the conceptual level the research is aimed at finding answers to the following questions:

- What does socio-economic and spatial integration mean in the context of the barrios of Caracas?
- How do the modes of economic integration help in understanding the socio-economic, political and spatial integration process of informal settlements?
- How does the analysis of this process in barrios contribute to the international debate on the socio-economic, political and spatial integration of the disadvantaged and excluded groups of society?

In order to investigate the questions presented a study area representative of barrio conditions in the IMA which has been subject to an ‘integrative strategy’ such as barrio upgrading was selected and described. The following section presents the reasons for the selection of the study area and the upgrading project.

5.4. Selection of the study area components for empirical analysis

Since the main objective of empirical analysis was to assess the role of upgrading projects in the process of barrio integration, the study area selection involved two steps. Step one involved the selection of an ongoing upgrading project and step two entailed selection of a barrio where the pre-selected upgrading project was being implemented.

Selection of the CAMEBA upgrading project

The selection of CAMEBA, a World Bank supported barrio upgrading project was an obvious choice for the following reasons:

- The CAMEBA Project was being implemented in two of the largest PPU's in the main municipalities of IMA viz. PPU 10 La Vega (Libertador) and PPU 4 Petare Norte (Sucre), covering an estimated total population of more than 150,000 inhabitants spread across 11 UDUs. Incidentally, barrios in these municipalities, as explained earlier, faced far stiffer challenges for upgrading and, therefore, for integration than the others in terms of physical conditions such as slope, height, hydrological basin, access to roads and transportation, geological risk etc.
- With an outlay of about US\$ 47 million, it was one of the largest barrio upgrading projects ever undertaken in Caracas and the largest project financed by the World Bank in the entire Latin American region.
- In comparison to other upgrading projects, the CAMEBA Project was more comprehensive and integrated in its approach with a fair blend of both physical and social components. In fact, it was the first ever city-wide barrio upgrading project with an integration vision.

Selection of barrio zone UDU 4.4 Julián Blanco in Petare Norte

The selection of a CAMEBA intervened barrio agglomeration for empirical analysis was driven more by facilitating factors such as access to barrio communities, past history of community mobilization and organization, secondary sources of research data, and institutional presence and likelihood of academic support for the research.

Pursuing this perspective and following enquiries with key informants, UDU 4.4. Julián Blanco in PPU 4 Petare Norte was found to be the most appealing barrio agglomeration amongst all others in the two PPUs intervened by the CAMEBA project that satisfied these criteria. Furthermore, the experts³⁹ affiliated to Centro Ciudades de la Gente (CCG), a research centre specialized in barrio issues of the Universidad Central de Venezuela (UCV), that were involved in an ongoing project of organizing the barrio communities in Julián Blanco, were also of the opinion that one UDU would be sufficient for empirical analysis in order to capture the dynamics of barrio life in the context of upgrading projects.

5.5. Study area UDU 4.4 Julián Blanco

The Urban Design Unit 4.4 Julián Blanco is one of the four UDUs belonging to PPU 4 Petare Norte. It is located east of the PPU bordering to the north with UDU 4.1 Antonio Jose de Sucre. To the south there is the residential neighbourhood of Palo Verde, to the east the industrial zone of Los Mariches and Carretera Petare-Santa Lucia and to the west is UDU 4.3 Jose Felix Ribas and the social housing project of La Bombilla. It constitutes about 25% of the total population of the PPU and consists of nine barrio sectors with about 7,800 households. The internal division of UDUs into sectors or barrios generally follows the community's relationship to their immediate built environment (see Appendix 9.14). Such divisions are also generally defined by features of the physical environment such as topography, service infrastructure and access roads. Table 5.5 provides detailed information on the sectors. Figure 5.8 shows the location of the study area in Petare Norte (see also Appendix 9.12)

Table 5.5: Main features of barrio sectors in UDU 4.4

Name of sector	Population (inh)	Density (inh/ha)	No. of built structures
Zona 5 José Félix Ribas	8,460	675	1128
Zona 6 José Félix Ribas	3,832	524	511
Barrio Colinas de la Bombilla	2,205	518	294
Barrio Julián Blanco	5,490	421	732
Barrio La Montañita	1,666	277	222
Barrio La Capilla	2,235	579	298
Barrio Vista Hermosa	4,575	640	610
Barrio Bolívar	2,205	488	294
Barrio 24 de Marzo	4,192	409	559
Total	34860	Average 503	4648

Source: Salomon Construcciones C.A. (2000)

³⁹ Such as Arch. Teolinda Bolivar who has spent more than forty years of her professional life working for the empowerment of barrio communities.

Figure 5.8: Location of UDU 4.4 Julián Blanco



Source: Salomon Construcciones C.A. (2000)

According to the Upgrading Plan of Julián Blanco in 2000 there were a total of 4,648 structures. Thirty-nine percent of them are one storey buildings, forty percent are two storey buildings, twenty percent have three floors, and the rest have four or more floors. Eighty percent of these structures are in a relatively poor state of repair, which means that they are either in danger of collapsing because of their location in medium to high ecological risk areas, or because the quality of the building structure is poor or both. Twenty percent of the remaining structures are safe and in a good state (see Appendices 9.20 and 9.21).

The structures are mostly used for residential purposes (94%). Some of the structures generally located along internal vehicular routes are exclusively commercial (5.2%), have a mixed residential-commercial use (0.8%) or have a communal use such as religious, educational, or health related services (see Appendix 9.15).

The urban structure of Julián Blanco is determined by topographical conditions and is characterized by an unarticulated and undefined grid typical of Venezuelan informal settlements growing on a steep terrain (see Appendixes 9.16, 9.18 and 9.19). Nevertheless various vehicular axes help to structure the built environment. The settlement pattern of buildings is somehow perceived to be orderly along vehicular and pedestrian movement lines. The rest is disorderly distributed across space depending on slope gradients. Along these axes diverse land uses concentrate. One basic feature seen at the end of these axes is the location of specific communal services such as schools,

churches and ambulatories. Several activities related to industry are concentrated along the Carretera Petare-Santa Lucia providing a direct link for the barrios with the surrounding urban area.

Urban conditions of UDU 4.4 Julián Blanco

The urban conditions were assessed by the architectural firm in charge of designing the upgrading project prior to project design and implementation (Salomon Construcciones C.A. 2000).

Mobility/transportation system

There are two main and two secondary accesses used by vehicles and pedestrians. The two main accesses connect the UDU with the metropolitan area of Caracas as follows: to the south with the underground station of Palo Verde, and to the Northwest with a secondary state road (Carretera Petare-Santa Lucia). The secondary accesses, located only to the north, connect the UDU with other units of the PPU 4. There are ten internal roads in the UDU which form an incomplete network, with widths varying between 7.50 m. to 4.50 m. The average slope of the existing roads is 5%. People built throughout the years a network of stairs and pathways which are also incomplete. The pedestrian network is built on steep terrain with an average slope of 40%. It connects the houses which have no direct access to the internal road network (see Appendix 9.17).

Access to the surrounding city

The main and secondary access of the UDU and the transport system in place allow barrio inhabitants access to employment sources located in commercial as well as industrial zones; to educational facilities of a higher order such as secondary schools and universities; to a higher order health facilities, such as general hospitals, maternity and children's hospitals; and to commercial facilities, such as malls, permanent and temporary markets. All these facilities are located in the Municipality of Sucre to which the barrio agglomeration belongs.

Public transport

Two private companies provide services on the main roads of the UDU, connecting people with the surrounding city and the two metro stations of Palo Verde and Petare, which further connect people with the rest of Caracas. Service is provided seven days a week from 5:00 am to 10:00 pm.

Basic service infrastructure

- *Water supply:* There are four main water feeders which have the capacity to supply water to the whole UDU. The majority of the water pipes are under ground. Nevertheless water is supplied only once a week on average, with disruptions the causes of which are unknown. Household connections are of low quality. Several households make use of tanks (built-in or external) to store water.
- *Sewage system:* The network is insufficient and covers between 40 to 60% of the housing units. As a result of this there is an indiscriminate and widespread use of the existing rainwater collectors to dispose wastewater. Otherwise wastewater is just running freely through the open street space.
- *Drainage system:* It is also insufficient. The existing drainage infrastructure is not technically sound and during heavy rain it is common to have landslides and flooding of the low-lying areas in the barrio agglomeration.

Social infrastructure (see Appendix 9.15)

- *Primary health care:* Before 2003 there were three health care units, two private and one public. With the introduction of the Bolivarian Misiones in 2003 the national government has built about 6 *Barrio Adentro* modules, which provide general health and dental care to the population.
- *Educational and religious facilities:* The existing educational facilities are both private and publically owned. Pre-school and basic education (until 9th Grade) is available. No secondary education is available. The building structures of school facilities are well maintained and offer classes in the mornings and afternoons. There are four Christian religious buildings (Evangelic and Catholic) providing catechesis (religious education) and masses.
- *Recreational, cultural, and sporting venues:* A total of eleven facilities are present in the UDU, six of them are for sports and five have a cultural purpose with activities such as supporting education to children, art workshops, and a library. The maintenance of the sporting venues is done by the community, and these are only open during the day.

Telephones and waste management

- *Public telephones:* There are three telephone centres in three of the nine barrios.
- *Waste management:* The private waste management company SABEMPE collects garbage every two days (except weekends). Garbage is deposited by the inhabitants in any of the seven collection points of the UDU which are usually located on access roads and main entrances.

5.6. The CAMEBA Project

The material achievements of the CAMEBA Project will contribute to the improvement of living conditions of barrios and their integration into the formal structure of Caracas. Nevertheless its major achievement will be the establishment of the ground base to build citizenship (CAMEBA Project website).

Driven by the motto of “change the physical space in order to change the social space”, the CAMEBA Project was a pilot project jointly financed by the national government of Venezuela that contributed 60% of the funds and the World Bank that contributed 40%. It aimed at solving the urban problems faced by inhabitants of the barrio agglomerations located in La Vega, Petare Norte and Vargas. The goal was to facilitate the integration of these zones of uncontrolled development into the formal city through the execution of projects which included the design and implementation of upgrading plans, pedestrian and vehicular access, water supply system networks, sewerage and drainage systems, environmental upgrading, and electric and public lighting distribution (see chapter four, 4.6).

As part of its goal of urban upgrading, the project also envisaged the construction of community centres and the relocation of houses that were either under high ecological and structural risk, or that were located in areas marked for infrastructure development. Urgent problems were to be tackled by constructing retaining walls, drainage and sewage systems, pedestrian movement infrastructure (mainly stairs and pathways) and by providing connections to potable water.

The supervision of these tasks was entrusted to neighbourhood inspectors trained in situ, who were authorized to supervise construction works and the proper use of construction materials. In addition, community members were to be trained as social workers to inform the community about the goals and progress of the on-going upgrading process. Other activities included in the project design were campaigns to

improve the environmental awareness of the community and technical support for the implementation of the land regularization process.

The social component of CAMEBA

The objective of CAMEBA's social component was to support a participatory planning process throughout the entire upgrading process, and thereby establish a new relationship between the state and barrio inhabitants. The main social components were:

- Community-based analysis of existing conditions and priorities of intervention in order to compose upgrading proposals which were meant to be discussed with the community in order to make sure that their concerns were included.
- Approval of the project proposal by the community through the creation of an 'Information and Approval Assembly'.
- Involvement of community members in the execution of works.
- Establishment of regular dialogue and consensus building sessions⁴⁰.
- The creation of a new way of working with the community in terms of shared responsibilities, effective, vigilant and active participation, ownership of achievements, and a collective vision of the common well-being.

The project assumed that further upgrading achievements and the well-being of barrio inhabitants could be sustainable only if the communities participated in the maintenance and upkeep of the infrastructure, and if the community undertakes the future upgrading projects based on the needs identified by community members themselves. Inclusion of such a robust community involvement strategy was expected to translate the benefits into not only physical or material assets but also to allow the people to exercise their constitutional right to organize themselves, participate and be active citizens.

Activities envisaged for realizing the 'Social Accompaniment Component' of the project were:

- Daily and direct contact with the communities (site visits accompanied by community members).
- Capacity building on construction technology and management.
- Support to the organization of community alliances (i.e. conformation of community networks in order to trigger sustainability and participation).
- Empowerment of women and youth by upgrading their skills throughout the process.

Other benefits expected from the project were the consolidation of a cadastral system for the formal registration of households' postal addresses for tax purposes that would enable the barrio residents demand for better services by virtue of their new status as lawful taxpayers.

5.7. The CAMEBA Project and the politics of barrio interventions

At its inception, the CAMEBA Project was subject to a prolonged conflict between the community organization and the project management unit caused by the vagaries of

⁴⁰ In fact the World Bank documents state that "consensus regarding priorities of intervention seems to be the norm, and little variation in demographic profiles facilitates the united vision, where community leaders enjoy legitimacy and truly represent the interest of their communities" (World Bank 1998).

national policies. The situation was far worse than the World Bank's assumption that the community was fully willing to participate in CAMEBA (World Bank 1998).

Subsequent to the World Bank's approval of CAMEBA, the newly elected national government in 1998 created a controversy by viewing the loan agreement with suspicion: "After all, multilateral organizations were generally seen by those now in power as co-responsible for the economic downfall of the once-prosperous oil-driven economy of Venezuela" (Falconer 2005: 34). Furthermore, the *barrio* strategy of the new government was totally different from that of *barrio* upgrading. The then government's strategy was to relocate *barrio* dwellers and populate the hinterland by building new towns outside the metropolitan area of Caracas and by developing the so-called Orinoco-Apure Axis in Southern Venezuela. These interventions were short-lived as, on the one hand, the new towns constructed in the peri-urban Caracas were eventually abandoned by inhabitants due to lack of proper access to transport, employment and economic opportunities, while on the other hand, people were reluctant to settle in the south which had a harsh climate with poor access to basic infrastructure (interview with the former Vice-Minister of Infrastructure and Urban Development 2004).

Given this experience, the relevance and appeal of CAMEBA, which placed a special emphasis on community participation and empowerment, finally prevailed and the project was revived in December 1999 (Falconer 2005).

5.8. Derivation of operational variables for empirical analysis

The variables to be measured by the empirical research were identified based on two sources: the *barrio* integration model as outlined in the conceptual framework (chapter four) and the various project components of the CAMEBA upgrading project.

In order to define the variables deriving from the CAMEBA Project a closer look was taken at the main and specific objectives of the project. Considering these objectives and their relationship to the modes of economic integration within space the indicators were finally determined.

Relationship between the CAMEBA Project's components and the modes of economic integration

The CAMEBA Project tackles three main problems related to the existing inequality between *barrio* inhabitants and the rest of the city. These are:

- The lack of an adequate definition of property rights and the provision of proper urban infrastructure, which are mainly the responsibility of the redistributive policy of the welfare state, but they have a definite impact on the economic restructuring of market exchange dynamics.
- The lack of appropriate collective action mechanisms between the institutional set up of the welfare state and the community organizations of *barrios* for solving problems related to adequate access to urban infrastructure and public services, which is mainly related to the notion of reciprocity.
- The lack of access to credit to allow the extension and rehabilitation of housing units, which relate primarily to market exchange and depend highly on the economic restructuring performed by the welfare state.

The components of the CAMEBA project were categorized into three main lines of action. Each component identified a set of activities to be carried out under the

following headings: urban upgrading, institutional development and housing unit upgrading.

Urban upgrading

- Design and execution of upgrading projects in the barrios of La Vega and Petare Norte.
- Design and execution of vehicular and pedestrian access.
- Design and execution of networks for: water distribution, drainage and sewerage systems, environmental rehabilitation, distribution of electricity and public lighting.
- Design and construction of community centres.
- Design and construction of relocation houses for families affected by ecological risk and infrastructure works.
- Community participation.
- Environmental awareness programme.
- Legal and administrative expenses related to land titling.

Institutional development

- Creation of the Project Administration Unit.
- Public broadcasting.
- Monitoring and evaluation.
- Technical assistance and capacity building of municipalities in several issues, including cost recovery.
- Elaboration of a municipal cadastre.
- Elaboration of land use regulations for each Physical Planning Unit.
- Development of technical norms for urban projects in barrios.
- Design of the Metropolitan Area of Caracas Barrio Upgrading Body.

Housing unit upgrading

- Development and management of a loan fund for house upgrading.
- Provision of credit to low-income earners residing in barrios to finance the improvement of their housing units.

Initial assessment of the project objectives in the light of the conceptual framework

Aspects concerning redistribution and reciprocity could be said to be included in the project's objectives through the provision of land titles and urban infrastructure with the participation of the organized community of barrios. The market exchange mode of integration can only be measured through long-term cause/effect processes resulting from the combined effect of redistribution initiatives nurtured by reciprocity.

Through the redistribution system of the government working together with the private sector (i.e. multilateral organizations, building contractors and/or NGOs) it is possible to provide the necessary urban infrastructure required by barrio inhabitants to attain similar urban living conditions to those of the formal city. Therefore, redistribution is understood as a process (refer to the conceptual framework) if it starts with the necessary institutional and policy framework that guides urban infrastructure provision. Redistribution is also understood as an asset, when supplying such infrastructure is realized by giving barrio inhabitants a sense of citizenship, making

them participants of the revenue collection necessary to keep both the provision working and ensuring its maintenance over time.

Since another objective of CAMEBA was to optimize the redistribution system through the participation of organized and empowered barrio communities, reciprocity then is seen as a clear goal of the project. Reciprocity is understood as the socio-cultural dimension of integration through the organized community that actively participates in the upgrading process, with the purpose of developing a sense of shared responsibility and ownership. The idea behind this would be the realization of a solid community network characterized by trust, solidarity and mutual-help among its members.

Market exchange is mainly related to the land regularization process and the activation of a microcredit plan for households needing to upgrade their housing units due to structural problems, ecological risk or precarious physical conditions such as the absence of a connection to sewage systems. But if market exchange is also understood as the process of enabling inhabitants of barrios to participate in the economic life of the city by providing accessibility to employment opportunities and the exchange of goods and services within the economic structure of the city, then the project components regarding this matter are rather vague. Realizing these issues through the project is not specifically mentioned, thus allowing one to speculate on indirect ways of integration through market exchange. It is assumed that the project could provide preconditions for establishing economic activities and sources of employment as a result of the multiplier effect in the construction sector on the one hand, and the capacity building imparted by the project to barrio inhabitants on the other (an impact that can only be measured in the long term).

Measurable variables for empirical analysis

The various variables were categorized under redistribution, reciprocity, and market exchange, which were considered as the three main variables affecting the integration process of barrios. These variables are independent with regard to integration. For example, the degree of integration of barrios depends on the combined effects of redistribution, reciprocity and market exchange. Likewise the three main variables are to various degrees dependent upon a set of quantitative and qualitative variables. For example, the effect of redistribution on triggering or impeding the integration process would depend on the attitude of the local government (political will) and on the provision of adequate infrastructure to improve beneficiaries' quality of life and urban conditions.

Three main dependent variables were identified in line with the conceptual framework, i.e. redistribution, reciprocity and market exchange. Sets of specific measurable variables were related to each one of the main variables and sub-categorized under precondition, process and asset variables:

- *Precondition variables:* These set of variables are related to the legal, institutional and policy framework for barrio integration, the financial resources devoted to upgrading projects including the planning instruments necessary to start the integration process through upgrading projects, e.g. number of barrio upgrading projects approved for implementation.
- *Process variables:* This set of variables are used to track planning and implementation measures and describe progress towards the intended results, e.g. number of barrio upgrading organizations assisted for upgrading purposes.
- *Asset variables:* This variables are intended to measure intermediate results, when donor involvement or the agency responsible for the project implementation is close

to completion, e.g. number of households with improved accessibility to physical and social infrastructure.

Tables 5.6, 5.7 and 5.8 describe the different variables, methodologies and sources of information considered for the empirical analysis under each one of the main variables.

Table 5.6: Redistribution variables

Redistribution as a precondition		
Variables	Methods	Information sources
<u>Qualitative</u> Institutional and policy framework	- Literature review	- Policy documents
<u>Quantitative</u> - Resources devoted to design and implement upgrading projects - Number of barrio upgrading projects approved	- Secondary data collection - Interviews with experts - Policy analysis - Secondary data collection	- Stakeholders: e.g. decision makers, government officials, university professionals - Upgrading projects documents and reports - Barrio leaders
Redistribution as a process		
Variables	Methods	Sources
<u>Qualitative</u> - Government attitude - Institutional capacity	- Policy analysis - Secondary data collection - Interviews with experts	- Policy documents - Housing institutions - Government officials
<u>Quantitative</u> - Existence of municipal cadastre of barrios - Number of bodies created for barrio upgrading - Number of awareness programmes implemented in barrios - Number of beneficiaries of awareness programmes	- Semi-structured interviews - Household survey	- Municipal records (cadastre) - Upgrading project documents (description, partial results) - Project managers, project staff, barrio leaders - University professionals working in the study area
Redistribution as an asset		
Variables	Methods	Sources
<u>Qualitative</u> - Perception of improved quality of life - Level of satisfaction with government interventions - Perceptions on quality of services and accessibility to physical and social infrastructure	- Secondary data collection - Photographic records - Community walks - Participant observation - Interviews with experts - Semi-structured interviews - Household survey - Focus Group Discussions	- Barrio inhabitants - Barrio households - Barrio leaders - Upgrading Project records - Blueprints and maps - Barrio community meetings - Project managers and staff - University professionals working in the study area
<u>Quantitative</u> - Number of land titles provided - Number of household connected to basic services - Number of households with improved accessibility to physical and social infrastructure - Elaboration of land use regulations and technical norms for urban projects to be implemented in barrios	- Force Field Analysis - Accessibility analysis	

Source: Developed by the author

Table 5.7: Reciprocity variables

Reciprocity as a pre-condition		
Variables	Methods	Sources
<u>Qualitative</u>	- Secondary data collection	- World Bank upgrading project's document
- Government support of local participation of barrio inhabitants throughout the upgrading process	- Focus Group Discussions	- Project managers and staff
	- Force Field Analysis	- Community meetings
	- Interviews with experts	- Barrio inhabitants
<u>Quantitative</u>	- Participant observation	- Barrio households
- Existing barrio community organizations at project inception		- Barrio leaders
		- Government officials at the municipal level
Reciprocity as a process		
Variables	Methods	Sources
<u>Qualitative</u>	- Household survey	- Barrio inhabitants
- Ability of the group to prevent and resolve conflicts	- Focus group discussions	- Barrio households
- Characteristics of the participatory process	- Force Field Analysis	- Barrio leaders
- Levels of contribution/participation by local stakeholders at planning meetings	- Interviews with experts	- Project managers and staff
- Levels of participation of different groups through different stages of the project cycle (i.e. gender: male/female ratio, children, and elderly).	- Semi-structured interviews	- University professionals working in the study area
	- Participant observation	
<u>Quantitative</u>		
- % of people being informed about the upgrading projects		
- Number of planning meetings held with local stakeholders		
- % of attendance by local stakeholders at planning meetings		
- Audit of resources or funds held regularly and openly		
Reciprocity as an asset		
Variables	Methods	Sources
<u>Qualitative</u>	- Household survey	- Barrio inhabitants
- Level of awareness and involvement in community issues	- Focus group discussions	- Barrio households
	- Force Field Analysis	- Barrio leaders
<u>Quantitative</u>	- Interviews with experts	- Project managers and staff
- Number of community organizations/groups established for upgrading purposes	- Semi-structured interviews	- University professionals working in the study area
- Membership of community organizations/groups established for upgrading purposes	- Participant observation	

Source: Developed by the author

Table 5.8: Market exchange variables

Market exchange as a pre-condition		
Variables	Methods	Sources
<u>Qualitative</u>	- Secondary data collection	- Financial institutions
- Set up of a financial framework for the provision of credits to barrio households	- Policy analysis	- regulations for credit provision
- Efficacy of the cadastral system for land regularization process	- Interviews with experts	- Project managers and staff
- Policy framework for land titling	- Semi-structured interviews	- Barrio inhabitants involved in the land regularization process
		- Municipal records on land property
Market exchange as a process		
Variables	Methods	Sources
<u>Qualitative</u>	- Household survey	- Barrio inhabitants
- Perception of barrio inhabitants regarding procedures to obtain a micro-credit for housing upgrading	- Interviews with experts	- Barrio households
	- Semi-structured interviews	- Barrio leaders
		- Project managers and staff
<u>Quantitative</u>		
- Number of households applying for a micro-credit for housing upgrading		
- Number of households selling their property after the land regularization process		
- Number of households leaving the barrio because of the upgrading process		
- Number of people capacitated in construction work		
Market exchange as an asset		
Variables	Methods	Sources
<u>Quantitative</u>	- Household survey	- Barrio inhabitants
- Number of households benefited by micro-credits	- Focus group discussions	- Barrio households
- Number of households benefited by employment generated by the upgrading project	- Interviews with experts	- Barrio leaders
- Number of new HBE's or SSI's created thanks to the upgrading process	- Semi-structured interviews	- Project managers and staff
- Increase in housing value		
- Increase of the economic base of the household through renting, and HBEs or SSIs		

Source: Developed by the author

5.9. Description of the research methodologies

An approach using a variety of methods, including a wide range of research techniques both qualitative and quantitative, was used to collect both primary and secondary data to address the various research questions. For example, the quantitative data collected through household surveys were combined with qualitative data gathered through focus group discussions and interviews with key informants. The methods applied were further verified at successive stages of the field research through the application of

complementary methodological instruments to cross-check partial results and investigate more deeply the relevant observed phenomena, e.g. a second survey was developed after an initial one taking into account a smaller portion of the study area to validate results coming from the first survey as well as to accommodate some of the issues raised during focus group discussions. Spuriousness or biased responses in the qualitative data was minimized by double checking with different actors. For example claims made by barrio inhabitants about participation procedures during the planning and implementation process were double checked with the government agencies concerned and the project managers involved in the process of barrio upgrading.

Qualitative methods

- *Primary data:* Semi-structured and narrative (unstructured) key informant interviews, focus group discussions, force field analysis, photographic records, community walks and participant observation. Open questions were included as part of household surveys.
- *Secondary data:* Analysis of the content existing databases (quality of census data – country and barrios, reports, newspaper articles etc.), policy analysis of constitutional precepts, urban laws and housing policy and programmes related to barrios.

Quantitative methods

- Primary data: Two household surveys based on a questionnaire.
- Secondary data: Census reports, statistical data, initial assessment of the study area prior to project implementation, and interim reports of the impact of the upgrading project.

5.10. Methods for empirical analysis and research design

Primary data was mainly collected through household surveys in the barrios, focus group discussions in barrios and universities, and semi-structured interviews with key informants. Interviews were conducted at different phases of the research in connection with the methodologies applied in the study area. The complexity of the process was captured combining all these methods with participant observation of community meetings and barrio life, community walks, site observation and photographic records.

Household surveys

The empirical study was mainly based on a survey of a representative sample of 130 households using a questionnaire to measure the variables defined in the analytical framework. The sample was equally distributed along the nine barrio sectors of UDU 4.4 Julián Blanco taking into account the number of households per sector. These were subsequently randomly distributed per sector using a map. The questionnaire was divided into five sections (see Appendices 9.6 and 9.22 for the questionnaire and the determination of the sample):

- *Part one:* Covered general information i.e. name of respondent, address, type of house, house and land property.
- *Part two:* Dealt with general characteristics of all household members i.e. demographic profile, employment profile and income.

- *Part three:* Examined the availability and accessibility of the household to the physical and social infrastructure i.e. health and educational facilities; basic service connections including communication; religious, cultural and recreational venues; transport services; market and commercial establishments; and public security services such as policing and firefighting.
- *Part four:* Explored respondent's understanding of integration, i.e. the meaning of integration of the barrio and its inhabitants, relationship of the barrio with the surrounding city, and general perceptions about the social and spatial characteristics of the barrio.
- *Part five:* Included an assessment of the upgrading project under the three main dependent variables defined in the research design for empirical analysis, i.e. redistribution e.g. awareness about the project and its perceived benefits, reciprocity e.g. community organizations, the nature of participation during the planning and implementation of the project, community attitudes regarding problems and conflicts in barrios, and market exchange e.g. employment generated by the project and the use of households as bases for income generating activities.

A follow-up survey with 102 respondents was implemented in a smaller section of the study area (see Appendix 9.7), in which three barrio sectors, namely Julián Blanco, La Montañita and La Capilla, were surveyed in order to validate the findings of the initial survey and to address specific issues arising from its preliminary findings. Questions included the identification of the main problems in the barrio and their solutions, awareness about CAMEBA, the impact of the project on the quality of life of the respondents, and the participation of the respondents in the planning and implementation of the CAMEBA Project.

Focus Group Discussions (FGD)

Six FGDs were implemented during the research: Four barrio FGDs in the study area and two expert FGDs in Universidad Central de Venezuela (UCV) and Universidad Simón Bolívar (USB). University professionals and barrio leaders were usually involved in both types of FGDs. It is important to note that the presence of women in barrio FGDs outnumbered that of men, with a participation rate of 79%.

Barrio FGDs in UDU 4.4 Julián Blanco

One FGD was conducted prior to the first household survey with the purpose of identifying any variables that were not considered or identified during the design of the analytical model for empirical research. The FGD was conducted in Barrio Julián Blanco with the participation of 34 inhabitants of UDU 4.4 Julián Blanco. It included an assessment of problems faced by barrio inhabitants in their everyday lives, as well as the perceptions they have regarding the CAMEBA project.

Three other FGDs were conducted in three different sectors of UDU 4.4 namely Julián Blanco, Vista Hermosa and Barrio Bolívar. All FGDs were divided into three sessions: (a) meaning of integration through brainstorming and categorization of ideas by the participants themselves; (b) explanation and discussion about the meaning of integration; and (c) Force Field Analysis of government interventions in barrios (including CAMEBA). Appendix 9.8 gives a summary on the nature of the four FGDs conducted.

Expert FGDs in universities

Expert FGDs were conducted at the Institute of Regional and Urban Studies of the USB (January 13th 2005) and at FAU/UCV with the support of Centro Ciudades de la Gente

(January 25th 2005). In both FGDs the purpose of the research and theoretical framework were explained in order to initiate a discussion on the meaning of integration. Participants came from different disciplines and in general had been working in barrios for several years. Participants included architects, urban planners, sociologists, anthropologists, economists, lawyers, as well as barrio leaders and NGO representatives working in barrios. The expert FGDs took place prior to the selection of the study area.

Interviews with key informants

Throughout the research a total of 35 semi-structured interviews were conducted with relevant actors, namely: (a) 13 interviews with barrio leaders (b) 3 with barrio inhabitants working for CAMEBA; (c) 3 with professionals involved in urban policymaking; (d) 3 with government officers at the municipal level; (e) 2 with CAMEBA project managers; (f) 1 with the site engineer of CAMEBA (g) 1 with a building contractor of CAMEBA and (h) 9 with professionals/academics doing research in barrios. All interviews were linked to informal conversations with key informants already interviewed and new ones met during community walks and participant observation of barrio community meetings (Appendices 9.5 and 9.10 provide the schedule of the different community walks and interviews conducted respectively throughout the research).

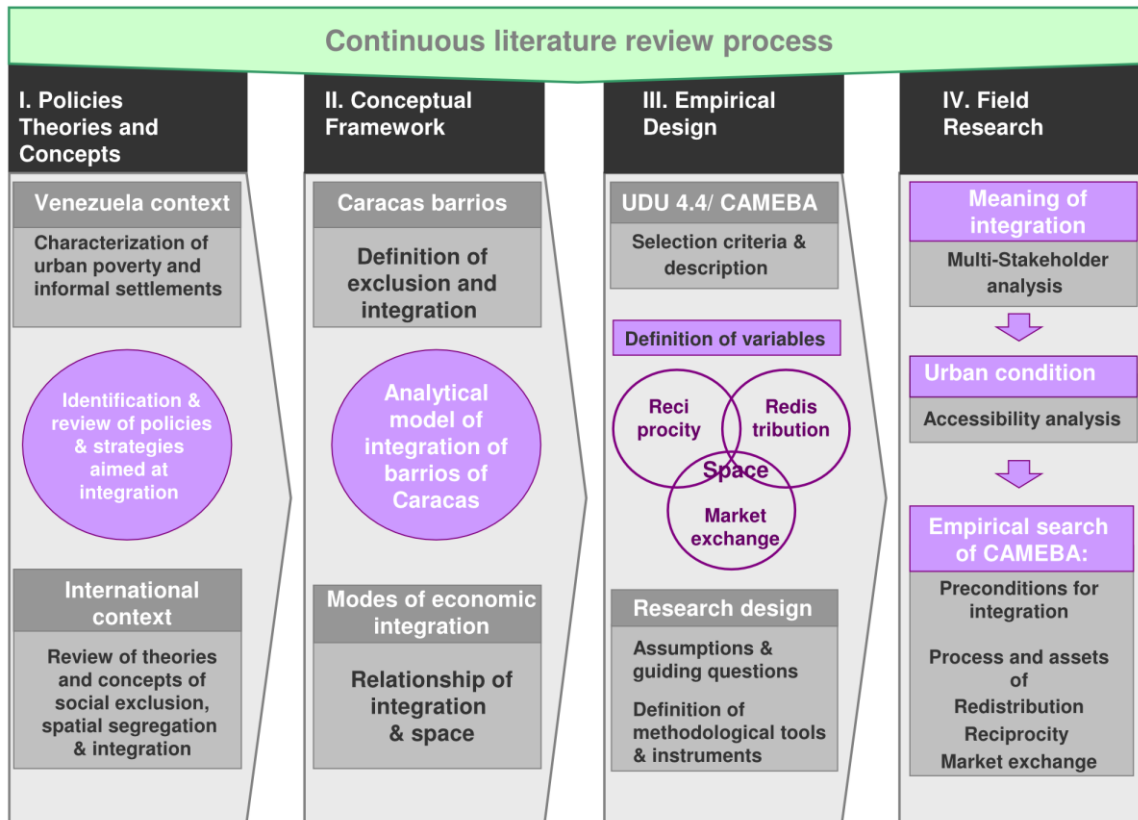
Research design

The research was divided into four main phases which followed each other chronologically to arrive at the desired output per phase. These phases are summarized below:

- Phase I. Policies, theories and concepts: Included extensive literature review on policies, theories and concepts related to poverty, social exclusion, spatial segregation and urban integration, both in Venezuela and in international contexts.
- Phase II. Conceptual framework: An analytical model for the integration of the barrios of Caracas was created.
- Phase III. Empirical design: Included the definition of empirical assumptions and guiding questions, the selection and description of the study area for empirical analysis, and the definitions of measurable variables derived from the analytical model of integration that could be investigated in the chosen study area.
- Phase IV. Field research: The empirical research was divided into three main components: A multi-stakeholder analysis to examine the meaning of integration, an accessibility analysis, and an empirical investigation of the upgrading project being implemented in the study area.

Figure 5.9 depicts the research design with the different phases and main methodologies carried out per phase.

Figure 5.9: Phases of the research design



Source: Developed by the author

6. Empirical analysis: the Role of Urban Upgrading Projects in the Integration of Barrios

6.1. Introduction

The empirical analysis was conducted using a set of variables derived from the theoretical framework that seeks to explain the relationship between the modes of economic integration and space. The variables were categorized across the three modes of economic integration viz. redistribution, reciprocity and market exchange in order to make more explicit the multidimensional and the spatial aspects inherent in the process of barrio integration.

The empirical analysis was undertaken at two levels. Firstly, at the level of the perceptions of barrio inhabitants and the urban development professionals concerning the meaning of “integration” in the context of socio-spatial exclusion of barrios were recorded and assessed. At the second level, the analysis focused on an evaluation of the role and the impact of existing policy interventions such as barrio upgrading projects in stimulating ways leading towards integration, conceptualized through the interplay of factors relating to redistribution, reciprocity and market exchange. The empirical analysis was operationalized in Julián Blanco, the Urban Design Unit 4.4, where the implementation of CAMEBA, a barrio upgrading project supported by the World Bank, was underway.

6.2. Demographic characteristics of the main survey

Only for the main survey with a total sample size of 130 households is demographic data available in detail as the subsequent survey (N= 102 HHs) did not include detailed demographic data on the respondents.

The extent to which the sample represents the UDU and PPU

The sample of the main survey was compared to the total population of the Physical Planning Unit of Petare Norte (PPU 4) and the Urban Design Unit of Julián Blanco (UDU 4.4) in order to verify the extent to which it was representative of the general demographic and urban conditions prevailing in the barrio agglomeration under study.

The results indicate that the general demographic and household profile of the sample is reasonably similar to those of the UDU and PPU as shown in Table 6.1. Population distribution by age shows a higher percentage of people (60% or more) of working age (between 15-64 years). Dependency ratios are alike. Both male and female literacy rates are very high. The median household size is five persons. One third of the households are single-headed households with a woman as the head of the household.

Average monthly household income is available only at the level of PPU Petare Norte which is USD 426 in 1998. Based on household income data, the households covered in the sample can be categorized into three groups viz: households living below the poverty line (BPL)⁴¹; households able to buy the food basket but not the family basket; and households able to buy the family basket and more. For the PPU 20% of the households are BPL according to the 1998 data, whereas 40% of the sampled

⁴¹ Measure of the poverty line is done considering the minimum income a family needs to buy the basic food basket as stipulated by the government (Refer to Chapter 2, 2.4)

households surveyed in 2005⁴² are BPL. This difference is possibly due to the fact that the survey concentrated on one UDU whereas PPU 4 Petare Norte was based on 4 UDUs whose barrio agglomerations vary in size and composition.

For both the PPU and the households surveyed, the duration of residence in the barrio follow a similar pattern of intensive years of occupation occurring in the 1960s, when the barrio was founded, and then during the 1980s.

The percentage of households owning the dwelling units varies between the surveyed HHs and the PPU. Eighty-five percent of the households surveyed said that they owned their dwelling units whereas seventy-five and seventy-one percent respectively reported the same for the PPU and the UDU as a whole. The proportion of houses built with durable construction materials is quite high for all the three categories with an average number of floors being one and half storeys. Both for the UDU and the households sampled almost 100% of the barrio land is owned by the government whereas in the PPU, 80% of the land is government owned and 20% privately owned. Table 6.1 depicts the main characteristics of the sample compared to the PPU and the UDU.

Table 6.1: Comparison of features between the sample HHs, UDU4.4 and PPU 4

Characteristics	PPU 4 Petare Norte (1998)	UDU 4.4 Julián Blanco (1993-2000)	Sample population (2005)
Demographic characteristics			
Population size	102,000 inh	27,681 inh (1999)	648 inh (130 h/h)
Population distribution by age	0-14	33 %	39%
	15-24	43% (15 – 29)	22%
	25-64	20% (30-59)	38%
	65+	4% (60+)	2%
Dependency ratio ⁴³	0.54	0.40	0.40
Household size	5.1	5	4.9
Female-headed h/h	34%	n.d.*	25%
Literacy male	96%	95% (OCEI 1993)	93.5%
Literacy female	96%	93% (OCEI 1993)	92.7%
Average household income per month	426\$	n.d.	37%: 280\$ - 750\$ 21% : > 751\$
Poorest households	20% : 125\$	n.d.	42% : < 280\$
Period of occupancy			
First year of occupation	1958	1958	1960
Between 1-10 years	33 %	n.d	16%
Between 11-20 years	24 %	n.d.	22%
Between 21-30 years	32%	n.d.	40%
Between 31-40+ years	1.4%	n.d.	22%
Ownership of dwelling unit			
Owner	75.1%	71%	84.6%
Rented	22,0%	22%	10.8%
Other	2,9%	7%	3.8%
Durability of materials used in construction			
Permanent materials (concrete structure, brick walls)	96%	91.4%	91.8%
Temporary materials (wood, carton boards, plastic)	4%	8.6%	8.2%

⁴² This result was obtained by assuming the median household size as being five members.

⁴³ Average number of dependents per person in working age (15-64 years of age)

Average # of floors	n.d.	1.5	1.6
Land ownership			
Municipally owned	80%	circa 100	99.2%
Privately owned (but not by the owner of the house)	20%	n.d.	0.8%
			*n.d. = no data

Sources: PPU 4 Petare Norte – World Bank Report N. 17924 VE (1998); Fundacomun (1998). UDU 4.4 Julián Blanco – OCEI (1993); INSURBECA C.A. (1999/2000); Salomón Construcciones C.A (2000).

General demographic characteristics of the main sample

Table 6.2 shows the salient features of the sample (N=130) including household size, average age of the father and mother, the type of family (i.e. single, nuclear or extended), average number of children and the proportion of single-headed households. The general profile of the household is that of parents in their mid-forties with a median number of two teenage children. Fifty-four percent are nuclear families, 38% are extended households. The sample also consists of 25% (N=32) HHs headed by single mothers either as a result of the death of the father or of the father abandoning the family.

Table 6.2: General demographic characteristics of the main sample households

Characteristics	Quantified /Percentage (max value, minimum value)
Average household size	5 members (17, 1)
Average age of father	48 years (23, 79)
Average age of mother	45 years (20,87)
Type of family	
Single	8% (N=10)
Nuclear	54% (N=70)
Extended	38% (N=49)
Median number of children	2.3 (1,10)
Median number of relatives	2.4 (7,1)
Single-headed households	
With no father	25% (N=32)
With no mother	3% (N=5)
Total	28% (N=37)

Source: Household survey October-November 2005

Incidence of poverty amongst the households sampled

The incidence of poverty was calculated based on monthly salaries as declared by the respondents plus the contribution made by other family members. Two levels of analysis were done for this set of data. At the first level, average income of the household was calculated assuming that the average size of the household was 5 members. The second level analysis involved calculation of the exact household size in order to determine the incidence of poverty. To determine the level of poverty, the ability of a household to afford the basic food basket or the family basket on a monthly basis was used as the unit of analysis. Table 6.3 shows the poverty incidence for both sets of households.

Table 6.3: Poverty incidence in the sample

Poverty incidence			
Total poverty (N=112)	Below poverty line (less than 280\$)	Food basket (281\$-750\$)	Family basket (more than 751\$)
Mean household size of 5 members	42% (N=47)	37% (N=41)	21% (N=24)
Exact household size	24% (N=27)	51% (N=57)	25% (N=28)

Source: Household survey October-November 2005

Assuming that the household size is uniform, 42% (N=47) of the sample are below the poverty line (i.e. not able to buy the basic food basket as determined by the government). When monthly household income is recalculated by taking into account how much money is really needed by a family based on the exact family size, the results shows that only 24 % of households are living under extreme poverty (N=27).

Despite these differences, the results do indicate high levels of poverty amongst the households sampled. When the proportion of households that are not able to buy the food basket at all is combined with those who barely manage to buy the food basket for survival, the results show that about 75% of the households sampled are quite poor.

Tables 6.4 and 6.5 show extreme poverty appears to be concentrated in single-parent households and in households with both parents depending on one source of income. Households with two or multiple sources of income are more economically better off than others.

Table 6.4: Poverty incidence assuming a household size of five persons

N=112	Households with no father	Households with no mother	Both parents one income	Both parents combined income	Total
Below poverty line	17	4	23	3	47 (42%)
Able to buy food basket	9	1	1	30	41 (37%)
Able to buy family basket	2	0	1	21	24 (21%)
Total	28 (25%)	5 (5%)	25 (22%)	54 (48%)	112 (100%)

Source: Household survey October-November 2005

Table 6.5: Poverty incidence based on the exact number of household members

N=112	Households with no father	Households with no mother	Both parents/ one income	Both parents/ combined income	Total
Below poverty line	11	2	20	2	35 (31%)
Able to buy food basket	12	2	4	30	48 (43%)
Able to buy family basket	5	1	1	22	29 (26%)
Total	28 (25%)	5 (5%)	25 (22%)	54 (48%)	112 (100%)

Source: Household survey October-November 2005

Contribution of children and siblings to household income

About fifty percent of the children (N=303) living with their parents are engaged in economically productive activities. Their contribution to the household income is an important factor for measuring income poverty. In extended households such a contribution from siblings is also a determining factor for the extent of poverty. The results shows that 57% of the households surveyed combine the income of the head of the household with contributions from children (74%), from both children and siblings (19%) and from siblings alone (7%). Table 6.6 shows these results.

Table 6.6: Contribution to household income by children and siblings

Type of household income	Proportion
Contribution from children	74%
Contribution from children and siblings	19%
Contribution from siblings	7%

Source: Household survey October-November 2005

Main demographic characteristics of the parents covered in the household survey

The respondents in the sample were either the mother (N=88) or the father (N=42) of the household. In all, data is available about 96 fathers and 124 mothers. The mean ages are, 48 years for the father and 45 years for the mother. Almost two thirds of the households are composed of unmarried parents (60%), of which 35% are composed of unmarried couples and 25% are single parent households mostly headed by the mother. The remaining households have either married (35%) or divorced parents (5%).

Table 6.7 summarizes the educational level, occupational status and employment status of the parents. There does not seem to be any significant difference in the level of education between mothers and fathers. The results show that literacy rate is quite high, amounting to about 93% for both the mother and the father. Nevertheless, about 50% of the both parents reported having not completed primary school, which could be used as a proxy indicator of functional illiteracy.

Table 6.7: General characteristics of the parents in the sampled households

	Educational level				
	None	Incomplete primary	Incomplete secondary	Incomplete tertiary	
Father (N=96)	7%	51%	37%	5%	
Mother (N=124)	7%	48%	41%	3%	
	Occupational status				
	Private or public employee	Self-employed	No occupation	Housewife	Other
Father	47% (N=45)	31% (N=30)	18% (N=17)	na*	N=4
Mother	24% (N=30)	15% (N=18)	5% (N=6)	49% (N=61)	7% (N=9)
	Employment status				
	Employed	Unemployed	Other		
Father	76% (N=74)	19% (N=18)	5% (N=4)		
Mother	64% (N=79)	32% (N=40)	4% (N=5)		

Source: Household survey October-November 2005

**na= not applicable*

General characteristics of children

Families with children represent 89% of the sample (N=116). Data on a total of 303 children, representing an average of 2.6 children per household was available. Out of the total, 48% (N=146) are females and 52% (N=157) are males. The results show that the median age of children is 18 years with a standard deviation of 10 years.

As table 6.8 shows, out of the children in the age group of 7-18 years (110), 81% are currently at various stages of schooling. About half (N=150) of the children in the families living with their parents are older than 19 years, out of which about 26% have attended a technical school or a university and about 75% of them are currently employed and 21% are unemployed.

Table 6.8: General characteristics of children in the households

Characteristics		Sex of children		Total
		Male	Female	
Number of children		157 (52%)	146 (48%)	303 (100%)
Age cohort (N=303)	Nursing/Preschool (0 – 6 years)	13%	16 %	14 %
	Primary school (7-13 years)	22%	20%	21%
	Secondary school (14-18 years)	14%	16%	15 %
	Tertiary education (19+ years)	51 %	48%	50 %
Level of education	Nursing/Preschool	11%	11%	11%
	Incomplete 1ry (studying)	17%	18%	18%
	Incomplete 1ry (not studying)	8%	3%	6 %
	Incomplete 2ry (studying)	11%	13%	12%
	Incomplete 2ry (not studying)	15%	11%	14 %
	Complete primary	17%	9%	11%
	Complete secondary	11%	18%	13 %
Tertiary education	11%	17%	14 %	
Employment status	Dependent infants	10	14	24
	Student	68 (43%)	60 (41%)	128
	Employed	63 (40%)	50 (34%)	113
	Unemployed	13 (8%)	18 (12%)	31
	No answer	3	4	7

Source: Household survey October-November 2005

Demographic characteristics of respondents of the subsequent survey

Similar to the results of the main survey, about 65% of the respondents of the subsequent survey were females (N=62), out of which 75% are housewives (N=45). A very high percentage of both males and females are engaged in economically productive activities while most of them are self-employed. More than half of the sampled households have been living in the barrio for more than 20 years. The mean household size is 5.3 persons. The basic demographic characteristics of the households sampled are depicted in Table 6.9.

Table 6.9: Characteristics of the second survey sample

Respondents (N=102)		Male	Female
Sex		35%	65%
Age	14 – 24 years	15%	19%
	25 – 64 years	68%	76%
	65+	18%	5%
	Student	35%	11%

Occupation (N=133) (Multiple responses, e.g. housewife self-employed)	Professional	11%	6%
	Employed	16%	10%
	Self-employed	32%	13%
	Unemployed	5%	4 %
	Pensioner	5%	14%
	Housewife	na*	43%

Source: Survey March 2006

* not applicable

Summary of key features of the sampled households from the main survey

- The selected sample is by and large representative of both the Physical Planning Unit of Petare Norte (PPU 4) and the Urban Design Unit of Julián Blanco (UDU 4.4)
- The majority of the households are nuclear families (N=70) with a mean household size of five members
- Twenty-five percent of the households (N=32) are single female-headed households.
- The household profile is that of a couple in their late-forties with an average number of two teenage children. According to the housing needs theory, the housing and locational need of the sample in accordance to the profile is a family house that offers at least good accessibility to employment, educational facilities and commercial infrastructure.
- There is a correlation between poverty levels, household composition and the level of the contribution of household members to household income. Extreme poverty is found mainly in households headed by a single mother and nuclear households dependent on a single source income. Nuclear and extended families with multiple sources of income are more economically better off than others (See box 2.1 in chapter two).
- The linkage between gender and poverty emerges as an area of concern. Extreme poverty seems to be concentrated amongst households with absentee fathers. Almost 50% of the women feel that they are dependent and attribute their inability to contribute to economic well-being to their status as housewives.
- Income poverty seems to be widespread amongst the households sampled as about 75% of them are not able, or barely able to, manage to afford the basic food basket. Although this finding is exclusively derived from the household income as declared by the respondents, it nevertheless, provides a clear indication of the high incidence of poverty in the barrios.⁴⁴
- About 50% of both mothers and fathers have not completed primary school, which can be used as a proxy indicator of functional illiteracy.
- Educational attainment of children is considerably better than the parents with 80% of the children in the age group of 7 to 18 years (N=110) in various stages of schooling.
- Twenty percent (N=56) of children of school age are not currently studying. More than half of them (N=39) are employed earning a meagre income equal to one fourth of the amount necessary to buy the BFB. Even though their contribution is important to overcome extreme poverty, this situation leads to the perpetuation of the cycle of poverty (See Box 2.1 in Chapter Two)
- Almost two thirds of children who live with their parents are older than 18 years of age. The high proportion of grown-up children in the household suggests two things: either poor access to economic opportunities and housing or a tendency of combining incomes as a livelihood strategy to overcome poverty.

⁴⁴ A more accurate picture of poverty levels could be inferred from the accessibility that households have to socio-economic and physical infrastructure such as educational facilities, health facilities, basic services (e.g. water, sanitation and electricity) and transport.

- The existence of a high proportion of adult children in the household adds also to the number of extended families (38% of N=130), in which the contribution to the household income of, for example, in-laws helps overcome survival problems in extreme poverty conditions.

The summary of key demographic attributes provided to date clearly indicates that even from a purely socio-demographic perspective, the situation evident in a barrio is driven by poverty accompanied by low levels of educational attainment. Employment rates do indicate some degree of integration to the economy of the city, particularly as the majority of employed persons work for the private or public sector. However, given the poor educational levels and the resulting low level of skills, most of these so called employed are forced to accept low-paid jobs. Socio-demographic characteristics are, therefore, not sufficient in themselves in order to understand the extent of barrio integration. They are merely pointers of socio-economic exclusion.

6.3. The barrio problem statement by inhabitants of Julián Blanco

A focus group discussion (August 2005) was conducted prior to the implementation of the surveys with the purpose of investigating the general problems and needs felt by the community. The FGD also helped to capture the general opinions of barrio dwellers about upgrading projects including CAMEBA and about the dynamics of community participation in upgrading interventions.

Major problems faced by inhabitants of UDU 4.4 Julián Blanco

As Table 6.10 shows, the main problems faced by the community in order of importance are: the degradation of urban conditions, a need for community organization, insecurity due to high incidence of crime, and a lack of people's participation in projects and community activities arising from a growing lack of awareness about community issues, poor community organization and retarded flow of communication and information from the state and project agencies.

Table 6.10: Major problems faced by inhabitants of UDU 4.4 Julián Blanco

Issues raised in order of importance (34 participants)	Frequency of responses (N=150)
Upgrading of urban conditions , i.e. water supply, sewage and drainage system, waste management, movement systems and transport	20%
Need for community organization, including building community centres and establishing a relationship with the government	19%
Crime	10%
Lack of participation	10%
Lack of community awareness about barrio issues	9%
Need for more projects to solve problems	7%
Geological risk	6%
Need for education and capacity building	6%
Poor communication and information about projects	5%
Other issues: Lack of employment, teenage pregnancy, poor primary health care, alcoholism and drugs, corruption, abandoned old and disabled people	7%

Source: FGD I (Julián Blanco 20.08.2005)

6.4. Community preparedness and attitude towards upgrading projects in Julián Blanco

Communities of barrios and the poor in general, who have been victims of a political tradition of unfulfilled promises and manipulation are known to have acquired a heightened sense of suspicion about any new external intervention, be it by the government or otherwise. The physical interventions in barrio had always followed a piecemeal approach with low quality standards and community involvement to which the barrio inhabitants had often reacted with a sense of rejection and indifference (Bolívar et al 1996; Bolívar 2006).

Community's attitude towards development interventions in barrios

Prior to the onset of the CAMEBA Project, the communities in Julián Blanco were already informally organized as neighbourhood associations, and even though their focus was not necessarily or exclusively on physical upgrading, one major purpose was nevertheless to improve their living environment.

Given this background, the communities' perception of the efforts by the staff of the CAMEBA Project to create a new community organization in order to comply with the project requirements was filled by mistrust and a sense of being imposed upon with yet another new organization (Bolívar 2006). In addition, the low level of self-esteem prevalent amongst communities shaped by a prolonged process of exclusion has been said to represent a formidable barrier to sustainable social organization and community self-help projects (Barroso 1997).

It was in this context that a group of researchers and academics at the Universidad Central de Venezuela, who had been working in Barrio Julián Blanco since 1996, intervened and convinced the community to create a formal organization⁴⁵ aimed at preparing, managing and implementing a house upgrading project for their barrio as part of the CAMEBA project (Bolívar 2006).

Together with the technical staff of the CAMEBA Project, the members of the newly formed community organization prioritized the needs and types of interventions. The university group again played a major role in creating the conditions necessary to build trust between the technical staff and the community by ensuring that they interacted with barrio inhabitants, walked through the barrio along with people and explained the project proposal to them to work out a detailed blueprint for the upgrading project that was eventually finalized in 2001 (ibid.).

Meanwhile, in 2000, the newly elected government enacted a new law on housing that recognized and included urban and house upgrading projects for barrios and social housing schemes. It was the first time ever that barrio upgrading formulated by the National Housing Council was included in the housing law of the country. As part of the institutional arrangements to implement the new law it was mandatory to set up Local Offices for Technical Assistance (LOTA) in those barrios that were selected for upgrading projects. The main tasks of a LOTA were to establish a link between the community organizations of the barrio and the technical staff and also to provide support and assistance to the housing upgrading process. A LOTA was set up in Julián Blanco in 2000 (interview with Teolinda Bolívar and barrio leader 17.12.2004).

⁴⁵ This organization was registered in October 2000 under the name "Promotion Force of Barrio Julián Blanco Civil Association" (Asociación Civil Fuerza Promotora del Barrio Julián Blanco)

All the preparations were in place for the implementation of the CAMEBA Project in Julián Blanco, e.g. a community organization had been created, the blueprint for action was approved and a LOTA had been set up. Though the LOTA was a pilot exercise, operationalizing it on a full scale met a major setback when the President of the National Housing Council was removed from her office by the President of Venezuela. Subsequently, the operations of LOTAs were also suspended in 2001. This affected the community in Julián Blanco severely as their renewed hopes for a decent house drew yet again another blank, though the CAMEBA Project had already implemented a few components of the upgrading project. However, a more severe repercussion of these developments concerned the community organization which was showing signs of disintegration (Interviews with barrio leader 28.07.2005 and 08.03.2006)

Given its tentative approach to community participation, the CAMEBA Project was in any event plagued by problems of its own as it was not fully part and parcel of the realities of barrio life. In subsequent years, the implementation of the CAMEBA Project faced more hurdles due to a number of events that created political turmoil in the country, such as the Presidential coup in April 2002, a nationwide strike by both private and public sector employees in March 2002, and a national referendum to decide whether the government should remain in power. These events diverted political priorities and interrupted the functioning of government bodies, including those related to the CAMEBA Project. As a corollary to this problem, administrative discontinuity inhibited the smooth implementation of the upgrading process and created with it widespread discontent amongst barrio residents (interviews with CAMEBA staff 04.03.2006; 07.03.2006 and 13.03.2006).

Figure 6.1: FGD IV Barrio Julián Blanco



Source: Author's photograph (March 2006)

The importance of community organization: perceptions of the barrio inhabitants

Participants during focus group discussions emphasized that community organization was an unquestionable precondition for barrio upgrading, even without government help as it had been the case in the past:

The neighbourhood association we have in our barrio has been able to build stairs, pathways, to connect houses to electricity and water, to more or less solve the sewage problem, and all of this by ourselves, without any help(...) (FGD III March 2006)

Owing to the ongoing ‘political mobilization and the government’s call for community organization and participation’, participants became more convinced of the necessity to

be organized in order to benefit from any projects, either created by the community itself or by the government, like the CAMEBA Project:

Without community organization we can not go to the responsible public agencies to present our projects and demand any help from them. We need to organize ourselves. This is the way to put pressure on the government to obtain benefits for our barrio and our people (FGD I August 2005)

Participants in general, were aware of the CAMEBA Project though their perceptions about the project were contradictory. On the one hand, some people felt that CAMEBA interventions were dispersed and punctual, as some sections of the barrio have been left out of the project purview: “In my barrio there are eleven stairs, CAMEBA has only upgraded three. The remaining eight including the one where I live were left out” (FGD III March 2006). On the other hand, others felt there was a positive change in the urban environment of the barrio due to CAMEBA: “I can see the changes, applause!”; “Since retaining walls were built, there hasn’t been a landslide episode in Julián Blanco” (FGD III March 2006).

Participation in CAMEBA was also criticized by some and praised by others (FGD I August 2005; FGD II November 2005, FGD III March 2006; FGD IV May 2006). Participants reported that prior to the commencement of the project they had been invited to a meeting to identify priorities for intervention. Many participants felt that no prioritization was done since the meeting was not properly facilitated and only few people could express their ideas. They also reported that at the conclusion of the said meeting, they were forced to sign the document containing the identified and prioritized list of interventions otherwise none of the upgrading measures would be implemented (FGD I and III). Other participants of the FGD had positive impressions about people’s participation in the implementation phase.⁴⁶ This perception was mainly related to the position of community inspector created under the CAMEBA Project and also the hiring of almost 70% of the construction labour required for the project from amongst the barrio residents. Both of which seem to have given a sense of social control over the physical measures being implemented under the project (FGD II and III).

It was argued by barrio leaders during the FGD III and in semi-structured interviews (03.03.2006 and 08.03.2006) that CAMEBA had become the only channel available for community organization in the barrio if people wanted to participate and reap the benefits of the project, while many of the existing grassroots organizations had ceased to function, without really evolving into the new forms of organization envisaged for the project.

The FGDs II, III and IV also discussed the meaning of the term integration. Many participants felt that there was still a long way to go before one could talk about the integration of barrios. Some of the participants said they are considered second class citizens by the outsiders and the public agencies. In relation to the CAMEBA project a statement made by one of the leaders present at the FGD I was enthusiastically approved by all the participants: “There is a need to implement several ‘CAMEBAs’ if we ever aspire to be integrated to the city!”.

The following section provides a detailed description of the meanings attributed to the term integration by various stakeholders such as barrio inhabitants, leaders, professionals and academics.

⁴⁶ This perception was confirmed during key informant interviews with a barrio inspector and social promoters working for CAMEBA (semi-structured interviews 07.03.2006 and 15.03.2006)

6.5. The meaning of barrio integration

The perceptions of different stakeholders about barrio integration were analysed using multiple sources of data such as barrio focus group discussions, survey responses and key informant interviews. Separate focus group discussions were held with experts and professionals.

Integration in the eyes of barrio inhabitants as survey respondents

The responses of barrio respondents in the main survey are summarized in Table 6.11. Almost 50% (N=130) of the respondents of the main survey reported that they did not know the meaning of the term integration. The responses of the other 50% of respondents can be grouped into three categories:

- *Reciprocity*: The responses of 40% (N=64) of the respondents touched upon issues related to community organization, union, mutual help, consensus, and cooperation among barrio inhabitants, in a quest to attain better quality of life. The following quotes illustrate responses in this category:

It is a collective of people fighting together for the well-being of the community (Sector Vista Hermosa)

That we work as a community, help each other to achieve things in the sector. There is a lack of cooperation in this barrio (Sector Jose Felix Ribas Zona 5)

If we get united we could solve many problems, there would be better services (Sector Julián Blanco)

- *Developing homologous urban conditions through upgrading*: 22% of the respondents perceived integration as living conditions in barrios becoming homologous with those of the ‘formal’ city through upgrading projects. Typical responses include:

Easy access to public transport in order to connect the barrios to the city centre (Sector Jose Felix Ribas Zona 5)

Upgrading of houses, stairs and services (Sector La Bombilla)

- *Social exclusion*: 15% of the respondents viewed integration from the perspective of social exclusion as a result of which “not integrated” meant isolation from the main city or to be stigmatized. Some examples follow:

The city is not integrated with the people living in barrios (Sector Vista Hermosa)

Integration of barrios is negative, because there isn’t a relationship with the city, there isn’t anything to look for in the city (Sector Jose Felix Ribas Zona 5)

We should be all integrated because we are all humans, but we are marginalized (Sector La Montanita)

The remaining 23% of the responses were quite diverse ranging from the political territory of the barrios; to be beneficiaries of government’s assistance; the eradication of crime; and the determination to improve one’s life through education etc. Some examples are quoted here:

Because we are part of the Great Caracas and the municipality belongs to the Great Caracas (Sector 24 de Marzo)

That they [the government] are paying attention to us and helping us (Sector vista Hermosa)

To solve the problem of insecurity (Sector Barrio Bolivar)

That people have the will to improve their lives, with better culture and education (Sector Julián Blanco)

Table 6.11: Categories of responses related to perceived meaning of integration reported by survey respondents

Categories of the meaning of integration	Number and proportion of answers (N=74)
Reciprocity	40%
Physical upgrading and a homologous city/barrio	22%
Social exclusion	15%
Other answers	23%
Total	74 (100%)

Source: Household survey October-November 2005

Meanings attributed to integration during the focus group discussions

During the FGDs held in the three barrio sectors, the barrio inhabitants who participated as respondents had a lot to say about the meaning of integration. In general, their opinions reflect the general need of solving community problems in order to achieve the goal of integration:

Integration is to be part of any barrio committee so one can study the problems of the community and in this way be able to find solutions to the problems through government institutions (Woman participant FGD II: November 2005)

In order to reach the goal of integration we have to consider as starting point what we have here, in our own community. Understand what our problems are. If we do not identify ourselves with this reality, if we start dreaming and at the end the dream does not come true, then integration is not realized, it is ethereal. People must be realistic and be clear on the issues that we need to solve and on the issues that affect all of us (Woman participant FGD III March 2006)

Integration is the realization and concerted effort of several persons with the specific aim of solving, or at least, finding a short-term solution in a specific community (Male participant FGD IV: May 2006)

As shown in table 6.12, the various definitions provided through brainstorming by those taking part in the FGDs were categorized by the participants themselves as follows:

- Social aspects: 76% of the answers provided were related to a number of issues which were defined by people as social aspects. Issues such as the unity of the community, joint work and participation in the implementation of community projects were repeated several times. Other examples of social aspects were: communication, sharing of opinions and consensus among community members; the attainment of goals that benefit the community; solidarity, brotherhood and harmony.
- Physical aspects: 11% of the responses/comments were related to the urban conditions in the barrio. Accordingly integration was seen as being to complete the urbanization process of the barrio; to have accessibility to decent public services, especially water and transportation; to have recreation space available; and public lighting.
- Combined aspects: a small proportion of the answers were a combination of social, economic and physical aspects. E.g. “Integration is to find solutions. By finding the physical solution, we can also solve the social and the economic issues” (Female respondent FGD Julián Blanco: August 2005).

Table 6.12: Categories of the meaning of integration as perceived by participants of FGD in barrios

Category	UDU Sector or Barrio			Total (43 participants)
	Julián Blanco (10 Participants)	Bolivar (15 Participants)	Vista Hermosa (18 participants)	
Social aspects	19 (63%)	20 (95%)	26 (76%)	65 (76%)
Physical aspects	4	-	5	9 (11%)
Combined aspects	7	1	3	11(13%)
Total answers	30	21	34	85 (100%)

Source: FGD Julián Blanco (August 2005); FGD Vista Hermosa (October 2005); FGD Barrio Bolivar (May 2006)

Is barrio Julián Blanco integrated into Caracas?

One of the objectives of the main household survey (October 2005) was to investigate the perceptions of barrio inhabitants with regard to whether the barrio is integrated to the city of Caracas to which 74% (N=96) of the respondents said yes. Similarly, 66% of the respondents of the subsequent survey (March 2006) said the barrio was indeed integrated to Caracas. As shown in table 6.13, 42% of the main survey respondents who said yes did not state a reason for saying so. Most of those who gave a reason (27%) said the barrio is part of, within, next to or like the city. About 10% of the respondents said the barrio belongs to the city since it is part of a political-administrative unit, either the Municipality of Sucre or the Metropolitan Area of Caracas. About 35% (N=34) of those who said barrio was not integrated to the city did not provide a reason whereas the remainder cited reasons such as, “the barrio is far from the city, isolated and marginalized, not part of any political territory and the not-so conducive living environment prevailing in barrios”.

Table 6.13: Does the barrio belong to the city?

74% Yes (N=96), because...	Total
It is part of the city, within the city, like the city, next to the city	28%
Is part of a political territory (i.e. municipality, Metropolitan Area)	10%
There is a relationship between city and barrio (i.e. employment source)	8%
We are all equal and have the same human rights	9%
Other answers	< 1%
Yes, without stating reasons	42%
26% No (N=34), because...	
It is outside and far from the city	15%
We are isolated and marginalized	18%
Not part of the political territory	15%
Other answers	18%
Simply no	35%

Source: Household survey October-November 2005

The perception of the concept of integration by barrio leaders and professionals

The opinions of different professionals and barrio leaders were gathered through expert focus group discussions and semi-structured interviews. The following transcription of arguments by different stakeholders does not only reveal the complexity of the issue,

but it also shows the tendency towards understanding integration based on their life experiences and particular academic or professional backgrounds.

Great dream for Julián Blanco

One of the barrio leaders interviewed had this to say to a question on whether barrio is integrated to the city:

It is a great dream I have that Julián Blanco will someday really become part of the city, and that the conditions of people living here will be like the conditions of people living in the city. I am not saying that Julián Blanco is not part of the city, I think it is, but there are big differences between the barrio and the city: We are informal, the city is formal... (Semi-structured interview with a woman leader of barrio Julián Blanco: 03.03.2006)

Redistributive economics and integrated urban development

During the FGD with experts, one of the sociologists who participated defined integration as a factor dependent on the subsidies given to the poor by the national government. Such dependency was perceived as a negative condition. According to him, as long as important economic (and social) transformations do not take place, and dependency on the government is overcome, integration will be incomplete (Rafael Briceno Leon; Experts FGD: January 2005).

The issue of economic link between the city and the barrio opened up a question whether barrios are really integrated at all. According to an architect and town planner, barrios are integrated from the economic point of view. She stated that the city is the source of employment for the barrio and that barrios provide shelter to the labour force of the city (Marta Vallmitjana; Experts FGD: January 2005).

Furthermore, she argued that the problem is not the dual understanding of barrios as being economically marginalized vis-à-vis the formal city, but about the differences related to the spatial allocation of government expenditures in infrastructure provision across the city.

Another expert argued that measuring economic integration is not an easy task, at least not from the traditional parameters of housing and the level of urban development. A new vision and understanding of the problem related to barrio integration, therefore, needs to be consolidated which takes into consideration the capacity of the poor to create their own economy and the importance of informal sector for the city's economic development (Iris Rosas; Expert FGD: January 2005).

Reciprocity and participation

Related to the contribution barrios can make to create their own social and economic order, the notions of reciprocity and participation were introduced to the discussion by an anthropologist. In her view, participation becomes a key integration factor through promoting a sense of co-responsibility and is, therefore, fundamental to do away with the economic dependency on a paternalistic State (Teresa Ontiveros; Expert FGD: January 2005).

The notion of the dual city: Does it contribute to the understanding of integration?

According to an architect who was present at the Expert FGD, the problem of perceiving barrios as secluded socio-spatial structures of urban society, and therefore, treated by the state as dissimilar groups as "those living on the edge", creates an ambiguity in defining a 'barrio inhabitant' in terms of his/her citizenship rights and

duties. Besides, by labelling barrios as informal they are kept outside the purview of public investment, which is usually meant to take care of the 'formal' (Oscar Olinto Camacho; Experts FGD: January 2005).

However, one sociologist stated the discussion about the perceived duality between barrio and city poses a threat to the very notion of integration since engenders a dangerous connotation that there are two societies coexisting and governed by different sets of rules and norms, imposing the burden of integration upon the barrio inhabitants, while further alienating the residents of the formal city (Rafael Briceno Leon; Experts FGD: January 2005).

Responding to the notion of dual city, a barrio leader and community activist said that the issue at stake is not the notion of duality but the recognition by society and the state that there are certainly two different citizens coexisting within the same urban space and creating their built environment: the self propagating barrio created by inhabitants themselves and the planned city created and regulated by architects, urban designers, planners and bureaucrats, using different economic modes (Mildred Fuentes; Expert FGD: January 2005).

The chicken and the egg problem: What comes first? Integration or homologous urban conditions?

An activist with a long standing experience of working with the barrio communities, argued that barrios are integrated to some extent. For her, integration can be understood only in terms of levels or degrees. By referring to the morphology of the urban structure of Caracas and in line with international discussions about current urban trends, she argued that the concept of fragmentation and limited accessibility due to topographical conditions might help better explain the barrio situation more clearly:

I think barrios are integrated to the city, there is one city... I think that there are factors in which some barrios are less integrated than others, but barrios are integrated to the city. I always talk about the experience I had in the 1970s when I was working in the barrios of Petare. There a man told me about a strike they organized aimed at forcing the government build a bridge to connect the southern barrios of Petare with the Urbanización El Llanito...and after a long struggle they finally got it done. These are factors of integration one can find in the city. And this happened in the 70s. Then, from a general point of view, and I will not go through details now, it seems to me that barrios are integrated to the city. It could be then that what we are referring to is to the concept of fragmentation...a concept I used when I talked about the Barrio City, or better said, the notion of the Barrio City (Teolinda Bolivar; Expert FGD: January 2005)

Citing the example of how widespread the use of mobile phones is becoming as a way of being connected to the city, she stressed the importance of communication services such as the telephone and internet access in barrios. She considered them as major integration factors as they nurture the consolidation of barrio community organization networks (as it is the case of the REDSCA⁴⁷), and facilitate the communication with academics and barrio dwellers working together on several projects (as it is the case of the CCG). It also creates employment opportunities, especially in the service and construction sector, because people are connected with potential employers (or clients) of the surrounding city.

⁴⁷ REDSCA: Red Solidaria the Comunidades Autónomas is a community network of several barrio organizations in Caracas which often gather to discuss on specific barrio issues, usually with the participation of university professionals and the CCG.

One of the barrio leaders interviewed also concurred with this view and she also said that for her, integration was the possibility of having a public transport system connecting to the city. She explicitly referred to the underground system of Caracas, because the barrio where she lives, located in the western periphery of Caracas, has no access to the metro stations. Such conditions represented for her a factor in the isolation of her barrio not only from the city, but also for other barrios that have better access such as is the case of Petare (Semi-structured interview: 09.12.2004).

Integration was also defined as a fundamental right people have for the provision of all basic urban infrastructure. It is not just about the right to housing. What differentiates barrios from the surrounding formal city is the precarious access they have to basic urban services in comparison to the so-called formal city (Marta Vallmitjana; Experts FGD: January 2005).

The importance of the issue of the physical differentiation of urban conditions in barrios compared to the so-called formal city was emphatically addressed by an architect, who was critical on the tendency of some professionals to perceive physical aspects of urban development as banal and as less important than social and economic aspects. By referring to some barrios where people have to climb down the equivalent of 40 floors to reach a road everyday, she said physical connectivity is the most critical aspect of integration without which a basic human quality of life cannot be achieved. Furthermore, she stressed the importance of urban design and urban planning in meeting the challenge of physically integrating the barrios into the city (Marisabel Pena; Expert FGD: January 2005)

Continuing in the same vein, a barrio leader said how barrios were superimposed on the city structure, and therefore, there was an indescrapancy with the notion of integration through functional connectivity. Like many others, she highlighted the physical differentiation of urban conditions between barrios and the planned city and the denial of their existence by the planning culture of the country (Mildred Fuentes; Expert FGD: January 2005).

Figure 6.2: Dangerous state of the pedestrian movement paths



Source: Author's photograph (November 2004)

Security and integration vs. criminality and spatial segregation

One of the issues the expert FGD touched upon was the way the criminality shapes urban form through the current tendency to spatially segregate to protect oneself from crime. In this context, what does spatial integration of barrios mean in an urban context where even the poor move into enclosed spaces, thus replicating the tendency of better-off residents. As one of the experts said the closing of stairs and pathways and installation of iron bars and gates in many barrios similar to gated communities of the middle and upper classes has created a paradox of sorts that could be viewed by the gated communities as a secure situation since further isolation of barrios makes the middle class less vulnerable to crime (Roberto Briceno Leon; Experts FGD: January 2005).

The need to understand integration from the perspective of the barrio inhabitant

Some of the experts also shared their concerns about the efforts to understand the integration of barrios from the “formal city” perspective with the underlying assumption that barrio integration is possible only when it is connected to the formal city or when it is made to look like a part of the formal city. Questions such as whether Caracas is really a city that can be used as a model for the incorporation of barrios, or should the barrio have its own network, own grid, and own urban structure remained opened. One of the architects stressed the need to look at the barrio and their inhabitants as a specific and unique situation and not merely from the perspective of an architect, engineer, urban designer etc. (Yuraima Martin; Expert FGD: January 2005).

This idea was supported by other experts as well who believed that the most appropriate approach to deal with barrios is to first recognize their diversity in terms of lifestyle, and how they use the city and contribute to its growth (Iris Rosas; Expert FGD: January 2005).

However, as one of the barrio leaders pointed out, the recognition of such diversity is threatened by the way outsiders perceive and feel about those urban realities leading to evident stigmatization of barrio insiders (Semi-structured interview with a woman barrio leader in Julián Blanco: 05.01.2005).

Taking a romantic view of how barrios were in the past, another barrio leader and a political activist argued that integration of barrios should aim at reviving the past glory that got lost on account of rapid and rampant urbanization (Rosa de Pena; Expert FGD: January 2005).

Integration of whom and into what?

Responding to issues raised in the FGD while sensing the futility of grand ideas, an anthropologist, posed the question whether it was really worth attempting to integrate barrios into a city like Caracas, a city which is not a city but only fragments of one. According to him, there is no sense of ownership amongst the citizens of Caracas for their city nor do they identify with it. And with increasing walls, social polarization and closed, almost self-sufficient residential enclaves, the city has been reduced to no place, where all pass through without experiencing or enjoying it (Julio de Freitas; Expert FGD: January 2005).

The Integration Perception Matrix: A summary of stakeholders' ideas

The wide range of ideas expressed by the survey respondents, interviewees and FGD participants concerning their understanding and perceptions on integration is summarized in a matrix.

As shown in table 6.14 the issue most frequently mentioned by barrio inhabitants is the social factor of community organization and social relationships. For barrio leaders, integration is social inclusion, understood as eradicating stigmatization. Academics and professionals on the other hand, perceive security as one of the most important social factors determining integration within the city.

Professionals also consider redistributive policies of the State such as government investments in urban infrastructure as important factors contributing towards integration, such subsidies by the government are viewed as creating negative dependency of the poor on the State. In contrast to this, barrio inhabitants feel that such assistance from the State is a sure way towards integration. Access to employment as an economic factor of integration did not figure in the perceptions of either barrio inhabitants or leaders.

Spatial and physical factors were the aspects of integration most frequently mentioned by all stakeholders, particularly the barrio leaders and professionals.

The rankings provided in Table 6.14 indicate that the recurring themes expressed by stakeholders are primarily related to access to basic services and urban infrastructure followed by the notion of the dual city and reciprocity in terms of community organization and participation.

Table 6.14: Stakeholders' perception about the meaning of integration

Occurrence of factors related to the meaning of integration	Barrio inhabitant	Barrio leader	Professionals	Average (Ranking)
Social factors				
Reciprocity as community organization and participation	4	3	2	3 (2)
Social inclusion or exclusion (stigmatization and differences)	2	4	2	2.7 (4)
Insecurity (Crime)	2	2	4	2.7 (4)
Economic factors				
Government expenditures	2	2	4	2.7 (4)
Employment	1	1	4	2 (7)
Spatial & physical factors				
Dual city	2	3	4	3 (2)
Access to basic services and urban infrastructure	3	4	4	3.7 (1)

Legend: 4 = Most frequently mentioned; 3 = Frequently mentioned; 2 = Seldom mentioned; 1 = Not mentioned

Source: Developed by the author

Summary of findings: What does barrio integration mean?

The multi-faceted nature of barrio integration is revealed by the the perceptions gleaned from the empirical evaluation of surveys, interviews and FGDs. Integration is seen as a combination of several factors which could be broadly categorized under social, economic, political and physical/spatial. The findings are summarized following the conceptual framework of the thesis by grouping them under redistribution, reciprocity and market exchange. Physical-spatial notions and general interpretations of integration were added to the categories in order to include all other relevant ideas derived from the analysis.

General ideas

- Integration is a process bound by time for the ever changing political and socio-economic conditions in a given context.

- Barrios are integrated into the city, but at different levels and through different factors.

Redistribution

- Integration by means of urban infrastructure provision solely depends on the expenditures incurred by the national government.
- The manner by which the public sector allocates its resources creates a strong dependency of citizens in general, and for the poor in particular, on the government. The poor only avail themselves of services through the paternalistic actions of the government, often driven by political manipulation.
- The allocation of resources to barrios is affected by the strong perception of the public and the private sector around informality, because government investment in urban development is traditionally committed to the so-called formal city.
- Allocation of resources is geographically biased, thus highlighting urban socio-spatial exclusion which strongly differentiates barrio zones from the surrounding city in terms of accessibility and connectivity to urban infrastructure and basic services.
- There is a need for a sound economic and social transformation of the underlying Venezuelan ethic in order to cater for the needs of those who have been deprived of their basic human rights for far too long.
- The function of the redistribution system is questioned: Is the existing administrative, institutional set-up and capacity of the public sector able to implement urban development policies soundly that officially recognize the urban conditions of barrio inhabitants as being part of the surrounding city?

Reciprocity

- Community organization, mutual help, solidarity, consensus and participation of community members in solving barrio issues affecting their everyday lives seems to be the unequivocal precondition for attaining the goal of a better quality of life.
- The recognition of the diversity and socio-cultural ethos are important for understanding how barrios operate at the social and economic level. Therefore, the drive towards integration must come from the barrio itself and not from the imposition of what the city government and professionals dictate.
- The participation of barrio inhabitants in every aspect of their urban development and citizenship conditions should be understood as reciprocity in a wider sense. It is not about giving and receiving, it is about generating co-responsibility of barrio inhabitants with the other relevant stakeholders throughout the process.

Market exchange

- Barrios are in general seen as economically integrated to the city. The majority of barrio inhabitants work in the city providing the labour force.
- The contribution of the informal sector to the economic life of the city cannot be under emphasized. Without the contribution of thousands of urbanites living in barrios, how could the city of Caracas survive or function?
- Contrary to theory, economic aspects of integration such as employment opportunities or the furtherance of economic activities were not considered as factors of integration by the barrio inhabitants. This could be partially explained by the fact that in general, barrio dwellers have relatively secure livelihoods.
- Housing and property markets are affected by the integration across a city of movement networks that need to spatially segregate in order to protect their constituencies from rising crime rates.

- The right to be a productive being is endangered by living in a social environment in which low levels of education are compounded by low income and limited opportunities for obtaining well-paid jobs in the formal sector.
- The ethos of the barrio seems to be characterized by being trapped in a spiral of poverty which cannot be relieved due to a lack of structural changes in the economy.

Physical-spatial integration

- There are not two cities. Academics and politicians must do away with the dual understanding of the city.
- There are not two cities but two different citizens: those belonging to the planned city and those living in the unplanned city. Each one of them experiences urban life from two opposing and mutually exclusive points of view.
- The differentiation between barrios and the city is not to be understood as the dichotomy of formal-informal, legal-illegal, poor-rich, but because there is an acute difference in urban conditions between the two in terms of accessibility and connectivity to urban infrastructure.
- Integration is the fundamental right to be connected to such urban infrastructure: water, drainage and sewage systems, transport, electricity and communication services
- The degree of connectivity to basic services and infrastructure determines to a large extent the status of a person as a citizen, irrespective of where he/she lives.
- Integration is negatively affected by urban fragmentation, which seems to be the current urban development trend across developing cities around the world. Caracas does not escape from such a trend.
- The appropriation of public space through crime reduces the chances to create the opportunities for an integrated city. Regardless of the social strata and the place of residence, criminality shapes the way people use and function within the urban environment and how they interact with it on a daily basis.
- The tendency is towards spatial isolation, and the killing off the basic idea of the city as a place for integration and interaction among different groups, based on social values such as freedom, democracy, social justice, solidarity and commitment to the public good.

The most pertinent conclusion derived from the analysis is that there is a fundamental difference between what people in barrios understand under integration and what integration means to professionals. Regardless of the complexity of the themes discussed and the various opinions expressed, to the barrio inhabitant, integration is a matter of reciprocity (Ghezzi et al 2007). The economic aspect of reciprocity is not an issue to the common people, who understand integration more in the direction of what Durkheim defined as structural integration or integration through solidarity (Luke: 1985; Crow 2002).

Professionals on the other hand (considering that most of the arguments were coming from physical planners) relate integration of barrios mostly to the homologous of urban living conditions. A strong emphasis is placed on the accessibility of barrio inhabitants to urban infrastructure and basic services. Contrary to barrio dwellers, their understanding tends to go in the direction of system integration and on the role of the State and the economy (Sills 1968; Johnston et al 1990; Crow 2002).

The position of barrio leaders is somewhat in between these two major perceptions. For them, the social, the economic and the physical aspects are all of equal importance. Such a conclusion is not surprising since barrio leaders have been working with university professionals for quite sometime. In a way, the relationship with academics

and technical experts has broadened their intellectual horizon to interpret the complex reality they represent. Their opinions seem to be richer in content because their understanding is nurtured by their life experiences, their advocacy to trigger change, and their continuous movement between these various urban realities.

One important issue that emerged quite prominently throughout the discussions is the problem of viewing the city as being composed of two different and opposing physical and social milieus: The formal (the city of Caracas) versus the informal (the Barrios). Several issues derived from the urban dichotomy that might evolve into a need for reinterpreting and questioning what is generally referred to as integration are: the process of urban fragmentation i.e. *is the barrio less integrated than the planned urban fragments?*; the paradox of insecurity and spatial isolation, i.e. *are spatial segregation and isolation driven by crime more imperative than spatial integration, which represents a threat to physical security?*; the dilemma of *what comes first, socio-economic integration or physical-spatial integration?*; and the philosophical question, *into what kind of city do we wish the barrio to integrate ?* Some of these questions are left open others may find pointers towards answers from the outcomes of the further empirical analysis that follows.

One major purpose of this thesis is to reveal the relationship between several interrelated factors and the perceived meaning of integration. Accessibility to basic services and urban infrastructure constitute a large part of the physical dimension of integration discussed thus far. The following section describes the physical urban environment of the study area.

A multiple choice questionnaire was used to find out why the respondents chose to live in the barrio. The responses related to locational advantage of barrio are shown in Table 6.15. About 62% of the respondents (N=130) said they live in the barrio because they have access to transport and metro stations. Whereas more than half of the respondents cited access to basic services, i.e. water and electricity (72 of N=130) as another main reason for living in the barrio.

Table 6.15: Locational advantage of living in the barrio

Reasons for living in the barrio	Single answers		Combined answers	
	N=130	%	N=290	%
I have accessibility to transport and metro	81	62%	81	28%
I have basic services (water and electricity)	72	55%	72	25%
It is connected to the city	57	44%	57	20%
I am near my work	30	23%	30	10%
I have my means of livelihood here	28	22%	28	10%
I have recreational space	22	17%	22	8%

Source: Household survey October-November 2005

Public transport, access to metro stations, pedestrian movement and access road

The use of the public transportation system appears to be widespread since 82 (N=130) of respondents said they have access to public transport. The responses of the remaining 18% varied widely from financial constraints to owning a private vehicle.

The average slope gradient of UDU 4.4 is 44%. Households with no direct access to roads have to walk up and down the equivalent to 21 floors to reach the nearest road. This situation reflects the poor network of access roads in the study area and below the

minimum stipulated requirements (4.31% compared to the accepted standard of 11% or 125 meters of road per hectare).

The results of the accessibility analysis of the UDU 4.4 show that the transport connectivity between the barrio and the surrounding city is reasonably good. In general, people were of the opinion that although buses or jeeps (main transport modes used inside barrios) are not sufficient for the large proportion of people using them, at least they were available for connecting to the main metro stations of the Municipality, i.e. Palo Verde and Petare stations.

A special emphasis was placed on the importance of access to metro stations. In fact, about 62% of the respondents surveyed had cited access to the Metro as the main reason for living in the barrio. This is corroborated by the words of an activist:

The underground system of Caracas represents a landmark in the development of the mass transportation system of the city. Functional urban integration of barrio inhabitants through the metro allowed for the first time a great number of people living on the periphery of Caracas to reach the city centre in just a few minutes (Semi-structured interview with Teolinda Bolivar: 22.11. 2004).

The public transport service owned by private transport cooperatives is the only option the inhabitants of UDU have to get out of the barrio and reach the surrounding city. Although a majority of the respondents use this service, they expressed their discontent about its quality and price:

Mornings are a mess. A lot of people need to go to Petare or Palo Verde and queues are so long! When you finally enter the bus it is so full that anything can happen. You need to watch out your butt [laughs]. There should be more buses available. (Woman from Vista Hermosa working as maid in the East of Caracas; Community walk 21.11.2005)

These drivers are charging more and more each time. I know life is expensive, but it is the same for us, I also have a family to maintain. They raise prices whenever they want, and if the government opposes, then it is worse because they go on strike. It is always the same, we suffer the days buses are not available, and in the end prices are higher and we have to pay... (Construction worker in Julián Blanco; Community walk 03.08.2005)

Well, if you wear a school uniform and you want to enter the bus, because you know that we students pay less, many drivers refuse to take us. Sometimes they don't even stop when they see we are students. I have paid the full price on many occasions, that depend on the bastard driving the bus... (Student waiting for the bus in Barrio Bolivar; Community walk 03.08.2005)

Figure 6.3: Movement network in UDU 4.4: Stairs and access road



Source: Author's photograph (August 2005)

The incomplete internal road network compounded by the difficulties posed by the topography has made pedestrian movement an uphill and precarious task with steep stairs and pathways. Added to this, the pedestrian system is unsafe and built to low quality standards. As a result households with no direct access to roads, especially those located far away from them consider pedestrian access a burden in their daily lives.

Every morning I have to fight with my children because they are tired of walking up the stairs to go to school. I am also tired, but what to do, this is our life... (Mother in Julián Blanco; Community walk 15.03.2005).

When I remember that I had to walk these damned stairs for years to get the bus to go to the University I feel happy I don't have to live here anymore...Sorry [looking at her mother] but I hated living in this place"(Visiting daughter in José Felix Ribas, Zone 5; Community walk 04.08.2005).

Basic household services and health

As shown in table 6.16, almost 100 percent of the respondents reported access to piped water and electricity while 21% of the sample (N=130 households) said their houses were not connected to an underground drainage system. Connection to LPG (liquefied petroleum gas) was also included as a basic service as it is the main source for cooking for barrio households. Although pipeline supply of LPG is not available in barrios unlike most of the households in non barrio areas, the LPG supply system was reported to be working fairly well. Furthermore, 60% of the households use a water tank to store water and 97% of the houses have a flush toilet. About 7.5% of the households surveyed have a toilet that is not connected to the wastewater system. As shown in table 6.17, about 79% of the respondents reported access to primary health care facilities within the barrio.

Table 6.16: Accessibility to basic services

Basic service	Access within UDU 4.4 Julián Blanco
Water	97%
Electricity	99%
Drainage	79%
Water tank	60%
Gas	99%
Toilet	97%

Source: Household survey October-November 2005

Table 6.17: Access to health services

Health services	Within UDU 4.4	Outside UDU 4.4	Next option
Primary health care	79.2% (103 h/h)	20.8% (27 h/h)	Sucre Municipality (19 h/h)
Dental clinic	62.3% (81 h/h)	37.7% (49 h/h)	Sucre Municipality (21 h/h)
Pharmacy	27.7% (36 h/h)	70.0% (91 h/h)	Sucre Municipality (86 h/h)
Hospital/Clinic	4.6% (6 h/h)	95.4% (124 h/h)	Sucre Municipality (100 h/h)

Source: Household survey October-November 2005

Almost all of the respondents stated that they have household connections to water and electricity (an average of 98%). This is confirmed by the report prepared by Salomon Construcciones (2000) which identified four water feeders which are able to provide water to all households of the UDU. Nevertheless, the frequency of water supply is

intermittent. Better-off households have found a way to cope with this by constructing water reservoirs within the house or installing a water tank on top of their buildings. Few of them have even installed rainwater harvesting system for toilets, cleaning and washing purposes.

Electricity is “legally” supplied to those houses built next to main access roads. But a majority of the households are “illegally” connected by means of public lamp posts.

Though a majority of the respondents stated that they have access to water and electricity services, the way such services are being supplied and used vary considerably among barrio inhabitants. The following statements illustrate this point:

No one knows when the water supply will be cut off. We know that usually on Thursdays and Saturdays water is supplied. These days I wake up at four o'clock in the morning to start doing the laundry. But this month something is really wrong. We haven't got water for the last 20 days and I have exhausted the reserves I had in my water tank. I haven't been able to do the laundry. We had to pay for a water truck that came last week and charge us a lot of money. I am telling you, I sometimes don't know what to do. And there is nowhere I can go to complain. In the end we are just barrio dwellers, so who cares...(Housewife living on the main road of Barrio Julián Blanco; Community walk 03.08.2005).

Water is a problem here. When I don't get it in the house I have to go up the stairs to the main road and ask some of the guys to carry some recepticals to my home ...No I don't have [a water tank]. It is expensive for me, and I have nowhere to put it anyway...(Old woman living about 250 meters from the main road, Barrio 24 de Marzo; Community walk 03.08.2005)

The majority of houses along the main road have an electricity meter...Yes, we pay regularly... The bills are left in the beauty parlour at the entrance of the barrio...Those living down there are all illegally connected. Can you see the cable mess in the lamp posts on the road, and then all the cables going up and down? That is the way the majority of houses here obtain of electricity (Housewife in Barrio Bolívar; Community walk 03.08.2005)

In contrast, people are generally happy with health services mainly because of the Mision Barrio Adentro of the national government. The vast majority of sample households make use of the health facilities that had been recently constructed by the government. This compensatory programme also includes free dental care which is used by 62% of the households in the main sample. Few people make use of pharmacies as medicine is more expensive, which in any case is somehow subsidized by the Barrio Adentro Mission.

I am very happy with the Cuban doctors of Barrio Adentro. They take care of us and give us medicines for free. Only when one is really sick and need some special medication, then one has to pay. But for normal illness everything is for free (Housewife in Vista Hermosa; Community walk 21.11.2005)

Though public hospitals are available in the municipality, ambulance services are not available, emergency situations in barrios are mainly resolved through mutual help, where neighbours make use of their reciprocity network to find someone with a car who is willing to take the patient to the hospital. The following statement illustrates the reciprocity prevailing in barrios:

About a month ago my nephew was shot in the leg at midnight by a gang of the other sector, the ones below. His friends carried him to my house full of blood. I thought he was dead. The surrounding neighbours woke up because of all the shouting. One of them had a son-in-law who was a taxi driver and had just come back from work. This blessed soul took him to the emergency ward in the Perez Carreño Hospital. If it wasn't for him my nephew would have died...Yes, this is a

problem we have here, criminality and no way of calling an ambulance, they would never enter a barrio during the night, it is too dangerous... (Man in sector La Capilla, Community walk 04.08.2005)

Can you imagine if someone has a heart attack here? This person will of course die. Who is going to come to this place and take this person out? And if a woman is pregnant and is about to deliver, we have to carry her however we can and try to get her to the maternity hospital. But somehow we manage to solve this, it is hard, but we do it. Thanks to all the good people that still live here... (Woman in Julián Blanco; Community walk 03.08.2005)

Educational facilities

Table 6.18 provides data on access to and use of educational facilities. Use of day care and secondary education facilities is low compared to preschool and primary school facilities.

Table 6.18: Access to day care and educational facilities

Education service	Number of households with children	Within Julián Blanco	Outside Julián Blanco	Not using it
Day Care Centre (1 month-2 years)	30	6 (20%)	0	24(80%)
Pre-school (3-6 years)	32	21 (65%)	5 (16%)	6 (19%)
Primary school (7-13 years)	59	38 (64 %)	11(19%)	8 (14%)
Secondary school (14-18 years)	57	30 (53%)	15(26 %)	12 (21%)

Source: Household survey October-November 2005

From table 6.18 it can be deduced that school drop out rate increases as children reach higher levels of education. Fourteen percent of households with children aged between 7 and 13 are not making use of primary schools. In the case of secondary schools, the proportion is higher and households with children aged between 14 and 18 not attending school represents 21% of the sample (See also table 6.8)

Further analysis must be carried out to understand why 21% of those households with children qualified to attend secondary schools do not send their kids to school. The main reason may be that there are no secondary schools in the barrio which discourages children from further studies.⁴⁸ But there are many reasons why teenage children give up school. These reasons are related to the social environment of the barrio. The statements made by two barrio dwellers typify the situation:

I always tell my children: You have to study to have a better life than the one I had. Life here is uphill. But at least if my children study they could have something better and help themselves. But once they reach a certain age and feel they are free to do whatever the hell they want it is difficult to control them. They don't want to study or listen to me. They just want to hang around with friends and bad company. I am seriously thinking of sending the twins to my mother's house in my village. Otherwise I will lose them to criminality (Semi-structured interview 03.03.2006).

⁴⁸ According to the study undertaken in UDU 4.4 Julián Blanco by Salomon Construcciones C.A. there were no secondary schools at all in the UDU in the year 2000. The access to secondary schools within Julián Blanco as expressed by 30 household of the sample might be related to the implementation of the Mision Ribas (2003) the aim of which was to guarantee access to secondary education.

No my dear, things here are corrupt. People drink a lot and they only think about sex. It is a big problem here. All these young girls who get pregnant at fifteen years old... Quit school... And they don't even have any means to work because they have to look after that baby. It is shame. I am happy my children are adults now and have their families. But I pity those mothers having this problem (Female participant of FGD III: March 2006).

The limited use of day care centres may either be due to lack of sufficient day care centres, or due to extended families where children of the working mothers are looked after by other members of the household.

Recreational, commercial, religious and emergency services

The use within Julián Blanco of recreation facilities, markets and commercial establishments, religious buildings and emergency services (police and firemen) is alarmingly low as can be seen in Table 6.19.

Table 6.19: Access to social, economic, cultural and emergency services

Facilities and services (N=130)	Making use of it within UDU 4.4 Julián Blanco	Making use of it outside UDU 4.4 Julián Blanco	Not using it at all
Recreation (Parks, squares, sport venues)	11%	65%	25%
Market and commercial establishments	32%	64%	5%
Churches	21%	65 %	15 %
Emergency services (police and fire)	18%	36%	61%

Source: Household survey October-November 2005

The results show that almost 25% of the surveyed households do not make use of any recreation facility and that a considerable number of households (61%) said no when asked if they make use of emergency services.

There are certainly not enough recreational venues within the barrio, particularly open public spaces such as parks or squares. Therefore, the large majority of people use such facilities that are outside the barrio (65%). When such space does exist, its social function is usually impeded by a feeling of insecurity, e.g. sport venues such as basketball courts have to be closed during the night.

The lack of emergency services within the barrio combined with low priority given to them by a large proportion of respondents is indicative of the mistrust people have for the police which has been shaped by corruption and criminal practices within the barrio:

I am telling you straight! When I see a policeman riding his motorcycle through the barrio I am very dubious about his intentions. I know that some of them have dealings with criminal gangs. They even protect them. And if something happens, a murder, or a robbery, or something else, they are usually helpless. They pretend they are doing something but the truth is that they don't want to risk their lives. Sometimes it is worse to see a policeman than a "malandro"[a common criminal] ... (Semi-structured interview: 04.12.2004)

The local police of the municipality intervene in the barrios, supposedly to bring us security. But what happens is that when the police come to the barrio, and the majority of them living in the barrio are very badly paid, what happens is that when they enter the domain of economic power, such as weapons, such as drugs and the selling of information, then, well, they are perverted, and there we have the insecurity problem. Simply they change "clients", their "clients" are no longer us,

the citizens, but the transgressors of the law, whom they protect and with whom they negotiate... (Semi-structured interview: 10.08.2005)

Communications

The sample shows low level of access to basic communication services such as landline telephone connections (20%) and postal services (1.5%). More than half of the sample (55%) possesses a mobile telephone, indicating not only relatively good access, but also its use as a substitute for landline telephone. Internet access is quite low, accounting for only 11.5% of the respondents as shown in Table 6.20.

Table 6.20: Access to communication services within UDU 4.4 Julián Blanco

Communication services	Within UDU 4.4 Julián Blanco (N=130)
Landline telephone	20%
Postal service	1.5%
Mobile telephone	55%
Internet	11.5%

Source: Household survey October-November 2005

Although households cope with the lack of landline telephone connections by using mobile telephones, in the long run, however, landline telephone services need to be strengthened. But a more urgent need regarding communications is related to the absolute absence of household postal addresses. Having a formal postal address usually implies living in a legitimate neighbourhood of the city. To acquire the status of being a formal citizen is also related to having a postal address where one can receive, for example, information and service bills. A postal address is also necessary to apply for a number of formal procedures of civic life such as being registered as a resident of the municipality, opening a bank account etc. The lack of a postal address also adds to the stigmatization of barrio dwellers by the outsiders as illustrated by the statement below:

When I am looking for a job sometimes my educational background carries less weight than the place where I live. Living in a barrio is a stigma⁴⁹. Therefore when employers ask me where I live, I just tell them that I live in one of the formal neighbourhoods [urbanizaciones] next to the barrio, such as Palo Verde or La Urbina (Female private sector employee; Community walk 04.08.2005)

The relationship between accessibility deficiencies and integration

This study considers accessibility to social and physical infrastructure by barrio households as a one of the factors for measuring the level of urban integration. The underlying assumption here is that a certain satisfactory degree of access to a range of urban basic services and facilities must be achieved in order to point the way towards integration i.e. homologous urban conditions for all city inhabitants. When such accessibility needs are not adequately fulfilled integration is by and large questionable. As the analysis shows, the problem is not so much about the level of access but more so about the quality of access that is compounded by the constraints imposed by the precarious physical conditions, such as incomplete access roads and daunting (pedestrian) movement networks. As Baldó and Villanueva (1995) have argued, the problems pertaining to physical urban conditions of barrios must be resolved before addressing social or economic aspects.

⁴⁹ The word used in Spanish is *raya*, which is slang for something to be ashamed of, or something which is perceived as being bad.

The analysis also points to a strong relationship between poverty, life in a barrio, and low or poor quality access to basic services and social and economic infrastructure. Such conditions represent an important cause for exclusion as suggested by Cartaya et al (1997:26): "...being located in a rural or marginal area [barrio] implies reduced or zero access to public goods. Where these goods do exist, their quality will be lower, and this constitutes a mechanism of differentiation and segmentation".

6.6. The contribution of the barrio upgrading project to the process of integration

An extract from the Completion Report of the CAMEBA Project published by the World Bank makes strong claims about the project's contribution to social integration of barrio communities into the wider city of Caracas. This section empirically evaluates of such claims and aspirations based on the integration model developed in chapter four.

The project (CAMEBA) evolved an approach to community mobilization and participation that was new to Venezuela and enabled an observable empowerment of local leaders and residents as well as a degree of social integration of communities in the broader municipality fabric (Completion and Result Report, World Bank March 30, 2007: 22)

The starting point: The political and legal recognition of barrios in urban development

The recognition of barrios as part of the Urban Development Plan was only partially reflected in the urban development policy of Venezuela through the Urban Planning Law of 1987, where upgrading interventions in barrios were mentioned under the so-called "Special Plans". This event marked the beginning of a new approach to interventions in informal settlements. The most important outcome of this policy was a metropolitan-wide barrio integration plan⁵⁰ formulated in 1994 by the National Housing Council (Baldó & Villanueva 1995). Across the city, large barrio agglomerations were identified as Physical Planning Units (as it is the case of PPU 4 Petare Norte) and further divided into decentralized sub-units named Urban Design Units (as it is the case of UDU 4 Julián Blanco). These sub-units formed the spatial entities for which urban upgrading projects had to be formulated with the involvement of the inhabitants throughout the planning and implementation process.

Although the 1994 Sectoral Plan mandated participation in the planning process, its importance as a precondition for implementation was enforced only in 1999 when the Participatory Democracy of the Fifth Republic was created. The preamble to the new Constitution states that the country's development process shall be achieved through people's participation in the decision-making process. This new paradigm resulted in the creation of four housing programmes under the National Housing Policy of 2000, two of which specifically addressed the barrios. They are: Programme II, Physical Rehabilitation of Barrios; and Programme III, Upgrading and Extension of Barrios' House Units.

Throughout the evolution of the project a number of other laws were passed which further legitimized the recognition of barrios in urban development, and, in a way, facilitated the organization of barrio communities under a strong political ideal. Such

⁵⁰ Called *Plan Sectorial para la Incorporación de los Barrios a la Estructura Urbana del Area Metropolitana de Caracas y de la Región Central* "Sectoral Plan for the Incorporation of Barrios into the Urban Structure of the Metropolitan Area of Caracas and the Central Region"

laws were the Presidential Decree on Land Regularization (2002) and the call for organizing barrio communities in the form of committees responsible of various aspects (e.g. health, education, culture, sports). The call for the formation of barrio committees was subsequently integrated under the so-called law of communal councils which were intended to embrace the barrio committees under one legal unit for community autonomy and participation (2006).

The impact of the CAMEBA Project in terms of creating grassroots organizations aimed at barrio upgrading (such as the Barrio Project Administration Unit and the Local Organization of Technical Assistance) was somewhat affected by the strong political intervention, which diverted people's attention away from the CAMEBA Project to the new policies and programmes of the National government.

Nevertheless the CAMEBA Project was able to successfully make use of one of the committees created for the implementation of the land regularization process (the Urban Land Committee or CTU), which evolved to be one of the most important components of the capacity building strategy of the project. CAMEBA trained ad-hoc barrio inhabitants in surveying techniques in order to gather information about the complex nature of land occupation and "informal ownership" in barrios.

6.7. Empirical analysis of the CAMEBA Project based on the barrio integration model

The CAMEBA Project intended to initiate the barrio upgrading process using three major components: Institutional development of the project management unit including capacity enhancement of the municipality; urban upgrading which included urban infrastructure provision, community empowerment through community development and participation, housing resettlement and land titling; and microcredit for housing upgrading. Of these components, housing resettlement, land titling and housing microfinance were not implemented in the study area due to various institutional developments. Therefore, the analysis was focused mainly on two components: Community organization and participation and physical upgrading measures. Capacity building of municipalities and project management staff was considered a sub-component of community organization and participation. These two components were juxtaposed with the concepts of redistribution, reciprocity and market exchange in order to guide the analysis based on the theoretical framework and the integration model derived from it.

Redistribution as a process

The CAMEBA Project is considered as an instrument of the State's redistributive policy as the targeted beneficiaries were not required to pay either for the infrastructure or for the upgrading services provided through the project. The effectiveness of a redistributive public programme such as the barrio upgrading project is reflected in beneficiary community's awareness of the project; the capacity building of public institutions in charge of managing and implementing the policy; the quality of infrastructure created; the level of satisfaction of beneficiaries concerning the quality of infrastructure, and the accuracy of targeting.

Awareness of CAMEBA by respondents

The findings of the first survey revealed that only 49% (N=130) of the respondents were aware of the term CAMEBA. The second survey revealed that only 42% (N=102) were

aware of the CAMEBA Project. During the focus group discussions (Barrio Julián Blanco 2005 and 2006; Barrio Vista Hermosa 2005; Barrio Bolívar 2006) the general feeling of discussants was that “CAMEBA was there and doing something” particularly in relation to visible interventions like construction of roads, stairs and pathways as well as retaining walls that were perceived as ‘good’ and ‘necessary’ for the barrio.

The land regularization process in UDU 4.4

Even though land regularization is expected to impact the dynamics of market exchange, the process behind implementation in the case of Venezuela is mostly related to the redistributive policy adopted by the Welfare State. Such a practice is defined as ‘redistribution by taking’, which is commonly associated to property expropriation (Christian Barry 2004). In the case of barrios, land usually belongs to the government and is, therefore, a complicated issue because it could be the property of the National or of the Municipal government. The regularization policy is a mandate of the National Government, which is also in charge of enforcing the expropriation of Municipal land in order for it to be given to barrio inhabitants. ‘Redistribution by taking’ is clearer when private land is expropriated (usually involving some kind of economic compensation to the original owner) and distributed to others, thus changing the ownership pattern of the society in which it takes place. In the UDU 4.4 a great proportion of the land belongs to the Municipality. Only a small proportion belongs to private owners (Semi-structured interview with CAMEBA manager: 13.03.2006)

In the study area, the Urban Land Committees (CTUs) were still surveying the barrios of the UDU 4.4 and were facing several problems regarding the implementation of land surveys. In Barrio Julián Blanco, for example, shortage of staff was a major constraint for the regularization process. On the one hand, such an endeavour requires not only expertise in understanding the complex nature of how land has been occupied and developed throughout the years, but on the other hand it is also extremely time-consuming and needs people’s engagement and commitment to it. The fact that this is an ad-hoc activity driven by political sympathy does not guarantee its sound implementation, as expressed by a barrio leader involved in the process:

The problem of Julián Blanco is people’s engagement with the process. At the beginning we were ten persons who committed ourselves to do the job. Nowadays we are only three, and one of them is showing signs of fatigue and is most likely about to quit. I do it because I believe in the process, in what my president is telling me. In the end it is a good thing for all, isn’t it? But people are too busy, or too comfortable, remaining in their homes, doing nothing, but of course waiting for someone to give them their title. And many people confront me and say: Hey where is my title, how long is it going to take? And I tell them, well if you were helping me you might probably have had it by now... (Semi-structured interview with barrio leader member of a CTU:: 28.07.2005).

The findings of the survey indicate that not even a single household in UDU 4.4 has acquired the land title. Apart from the limitations of the CTU of Julián Blanco, other factors have also hampered the implementation of the regularization process. According to the General Project Manager of CAMEBA at the time of the research, land tenure was never clear in some parts of Petare:

In general land was supposed to belong to the Municipality, but even this assumption proved wrong when looking at the municipal records. Several parts of Petare had no clear indication as of to whom land belonged to. The process of tracking down private owners was in general cumbersome and quite difficult. Even if official notices in major newspapers are published appealing for the rightful

owners, nothing happens. Therefore, the regularization process takes a lot more time than expected (Semi-structured interview: 13.03.2006).

Redistribution as an asset

Redistribution as an asset is understood according to the proposed model of integration via upgrading projects as the provision of urban infrastructure to barrio inhabitants. Integration is better achieved by realizing homologous urban conditions for all citizens. Therefore, the redistribution system must enable the involved barrio communities to gain adequate access and connectivity to the social, physical and economic infrastructure.

The redistribution system needs, on the other hand, to be addressed not only from the perspective of the quantity or quality of the infrastructure provided, but also from its *modus operandi* which includes the managerial capacity of the local government to service its constituencies. Therefore, the empirical analysis included both these aspects, focusing first on the institutional capacity of the government.

Community feedback on government's implementation of upgrading projects

Views expressed by those involved in the Force Field Analysis (FFA in Vista Hermosa 2005, Julián Blanco 2006, and Barrio Bolívar 2006) were usually related to the mode of implementation of physical interventions and projects. Although their opinions did not always target CAMEBA, the judgements expressed by participants reflected the general perception and experience barrio dwellers have had with respect to infrastructure provision by public authorities. Such interventions were generally seen as insufficient and dispersed, including those from CAMEBA. The perceptions of participants of the FGD conducted in Julián Blanco (March 2006) regarding the physical interventions were worryingly negative as reflected by the following statements:

When the ruling party wants votes, they come to the barrio offering things and afterwards they forget us. Projects are used for electoral purposes.

There is an unequal distribution of government resources. Resources of the Municipality are devoted to the 'urbanizaciones' and not to the barrios.

Construction works are of low quality.

Projects are designed without the consensus of the community.

During the FGD held in November 2005, the inhabitants of Barrio Vista Hermosa argued that the problems affecting the implementation of upgrading projects were mainly related to managerial capabilities of the institutions responsible for the implementation. They admitted that:

There is a mismanagement of the financial resources allocated for construction works.

There are moments when one has questions and problems regarding the project, and when one goes to ask for help from institutions, the community is frustrated or gets depressed because there is neither a clear nor a fast answer. One wants to cooperate, but too many obstacles are put along the way.

There is a lack of supervision by the community in the projects under construction.

People are excluded from the project's planning and implementation.

The attitude of the local government precipitated the negative perception of upgrading projects during the FGD of Barrio Bolívar (May 2006). It was mainly described as

being apathetic and corrupt. The following opinions were openly expressed during the discussion:

There is an absentee municipal government that keeps on being apathetic, resulting in the delayed release of financial resources and late commencement of the much needed infrastructure works.

Sometimes in the middle of the construction the work stops. They [the 'Alcaldia'] say there is no more money, or that the money has not been released. Nobody knows where the heck the money went.

The local government officials in charge of the project were interviewed in order to understand the negative perception of barrio inhabitants with regard to their *modus operandi*. The interviews revealed that the officials had never participated in any capacity building programmes at all in the study area and at the time of the research.

In the Municipality of Sucre, to which the UDU 4.4 Julián Blanco belongs, there was not even a local office in charge of the project. Neither was there a municipal counterpart or spokesperson of CAMEBA since the project was seen as a National Government endeavour represented by FUNDACOMUN. They admitted that they had their own projects which served in one or another way the upgrading process of municipal barrios. Such projects were mostly related to Municipal Missions.

Nevertheless, the implementation of a cadastre system of the barrios by CAMEBA was certainly appreciated by Municipal Officers as a contribution to enhance the capacity of the local government to manage the future implementation of social, economic and infrastructural projects and programmes, if such cadastre system is properly used and exploited by trained professionals and technicians, and if it is adequately updated. Expressing his view on the municipal cadastre, an architect from the Municipality of Sucre said:

Before addressing the needs of the population living in barrios was an uphill task, they remained unaware of government interventions. One of the greatest contributions of the CAMEBA Project is the creation of the municipal barrio cadastre which was not existing before and now it can be used to assess the situation and monitor the implementation of projects and programmes (Semi-structured interview with municipal officer, Sucre Municipality headquarter, 24.01.2005)

Institutional capacity building of CAMEBA

Institutional capacity building of the project management staff was quite an uphill task considering the huge staff turnover experienced by FUNDACOMUN. The main reason for this was political instability, which led to institutional discontinuity. Between December 1999 and March 2007, over eight years, FUNDACOMUN had seen seven politically appointed presidents and twelve general managers of CAMEBA. During the period of this empirical investigation, which was a relatively stable period of implementation (November 2004 – March 2007), there was only one change in the presidency of FUNDACOMUN and the general management of CAMEBA towards the full utilization of the funds provided by World Bank (June 2006). The former manager of CAMEBA in charge of Petare Norte explained the flipside of the implementation CAMEBA as follows:

...especially the institutional changes at both the presidency of FUNDACOMUN and some technical staff of CAMEBA have created great difficulties in managing the continuation of the project. A lot of time was lost until we could resume working again. Besides, the clumsiness of institutions, with which CAMEBA

needed to work, made the development of the project quite difficult (Project Manager of Petare Norte; Semi-structured interview: 04.03.2006)

The success of the institutional development component of the CAMEBA Project can only be expressed in terms of the capacity building it imparted to barrio inhabitants who were directly involved in the upgrading process as 'socio-technical staff' of the project under the Social Monitoring Strategic Plan.

The Project Managers in charge of CAMEBA at the time of the interviews were genuinely convinced that the project had led to important outcomes: People's empowerment, achieved through the building of the capacities of barrio dwellers in construction work (inspection) and social work, with people's participation throughout the project's physical interventions, thus enabling a transparent process and ensuring the maintenance (sustainability) of infrastructure work; plus awareness programmes such as environmental and basic safe construction techniques in order to minimize geological risk. Selected opinions from the management staff of CAMEBA and a social worker illustrate their positive evaluation of this aspect of the project:

Capacity building has been successfully implemented by CAMEBA. Barrio dwellers were trained in construction issues such as how to read blueprints, how to construct retaining walls, how to manage the effective utilization of construction materials, and so on (Project Manager of Petare Norte; Semi-structured interview: 04.03.2006)

CAMEBA has done something no other project in barrios has done before, that is to involve people in the process, to let them express their minds, to learn how streets, sewage and drainage systems, and stairs are built. And all of this in line with the participatory emphasis of the new Constitution of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela (General Manager of CAMEBA and Project Manager of La Vega; Semi-structured interview: 13.03.2006)

CAMEBA has changed my life. Through the capacity building I have discovered my skills as a social worker. That was something I wanted to study and never did. But CAMEBA wants me now to be more involved into technical issues, construction work, you know. So I should study afterwards civil engineering! ...My self-esteem and my image within the barrio is a lot better now. I feel people respect me and listen to me. Even criminals open the door when they see someone with the CAMEBA uniform... (Social promotion worker of CAMEBA; Semi-structured interview: 15.03.2006)

These positive opinions concur with the initial assessment of CAMEBA done during the first FGD in Julián Blanco (August 2005), where some of the participants expressed their satisfaction about how CAMEBA had successfully trained and hired people to inspect infrastructural work. A female inspector in Barrio Bolivar, who was in charge of inspecting the construction of a retaining wall shared during an interview that:

At the beginning when I started working as an unpaid inspector I received proper training and I learnt a lot about the way things are done. I report to my people about the progress and I make sure work is properly done and no funny business is going on regarding the acquisition of materials and the use of it. After almost two years, CAMEBA –thank God- realized that the work I have been doing is very demanding, so I am happy they decided to pay me for my time. This is hard work, just look at the way we are sweating as we speak [laughs]... (Semi-structured interview: 07.03.2006).

Urban infrastructure and service delivered

With regard to the implementation of the planned physical measures, the information provided by CAMEBA concerning the status of construction work (Blueprint of

“Estado de Obras” Petare Norte, CAMEBA-Fundacomun, March 2006) shows that out of fourteen infrastructure projects, ten had been executed and four were at various stages of implementation (Refer to Appendix 9.23). The implementation of infrastructure work was slow during the initial stages and gained momentum during the final stages, when the agreement with the World Bank, which was scheduled to conclude in June 2004, was extended twice until June 2006. Several reasons are cited by the project team for this uneven pace. These include the following: Time frames for construction work were not adequate; managing the contractors was an uphill task, especially because of their poor managerial skills; community participation and organization at the beginning took up more time than expected; the pace of work was slow owing to a feeling of insecurity amongst the construction workers; and the disadvantages posed by the physical context, such as the steep topography and the density of the built environment, which necessitated constant changes to the original blueprints (Semi-structured interviews with Project Manager of Petare Norte: 04.03.2006; site engineer: 07.03.2006; General Manager of CAMEBA: 13.03.2006; social promoter: 15.03.2006; Building contractor CAMEBA: 21.03.2007).

Community feedback on ‘benefits’ from the upgrading project

The percentage of community respondents (N=130) who reported not having benefited from the various components of the project are: Construction of retaining walls (75%); water supply (69%); drainage system (72%); sewerage system (65%); streets (68%); stairs and pathways (62%), electricity connection (82%); public lighting (85%); squares and parks (89%); and community centres (78%). Thus on an average, about three quarters (75%) of the respondents seem to feel that they “not benefited” from one or the other infrastructural components of the upgrading project. See Table 6.21.

Table 6.21: Perceived benefits from the infrastructural components of CAMEBA

Physical Measures(N=130)	Not benefited	Benefited	No answer	Quality (Answer benefited)		
				good	regular	bad
Retaining walls	75%	15%	11%	84%	10%	6%
Water supply	69%	24%	7%	84%	16%	-
Drainage system	72%	21%	7%	67%	18%	15%
Sewerage system	65%	28%	7%	75%	19%	6%
Streets	68%	25%	7%	64%	30%	6%
Stairs and pathways	62%	32%	6%	83%	14%	2%
Electricity connection	82%	9%	9%	67%	17%	16%
Public lighting	85%	5%	10%	66%	17%	17%
Squares and parks	89%	1%	10%	100%	-	-
Community Centre	78%	12%	10%	75%	25%	-

Source: Household survey October-November 2005

Empirical evidence also shows that the impact of CAMEBA is mainly limited to the physical measures of barrio upgrading. This is partly the reason why a large number of respondents who were aware of CAMEBA (N=64) associated it predominantly with construction activities such as the construction of retaining walls (81%); upgrading or construction of stairs and pathways (74%); building or improving the drainage and sewerage systems (61%); and upgrading or construction of paved access roads (49 %).

It is also noted that the physical upgrading component enjoys a relatively higher acceptance and appreciation by the community, compared to the component on

community organization and participation. For example, some of those who had said that did benefit from the upgrading measures also reported the quality of the public works as 'good'. About 50% of the respondents in the second survey (March 2006) who were aware of CAMEBA (N=42) reported that their living conditions had 'somewhat' improved due to the physical measures implemented in their barrio while 21% of them declared that their living conditions had considerably improved.

Disappointment with CAMEBA was observed in some sectors of the UDU 4.4. During one of the community walks in barrio Vista Hermosa (21.11.2005), with a group of women and the president of the local neighbourhood association, it was observed that houses had problems due to water leakage resulting from a lack of proper underground drainage and sewerage, even after those facilities were supposedly upgraded under CAMEBA. People were generally disappointed with the quality of some of the public works such as the construction of staircases, stormwater drains and sewerage connections as they were already showing signs of deterioration. The problem has worsened due to negligence of community members who continue to dispose of garbage and litter into the stormwater drains. This indicates that CAMEBA did not fully comprehend the barrio realities and its failure to educate the community on the importance of maintaining the physical infrastructure.

The questionable quality of particular physical interventions, the delays in completing the same and the feeling of being 'deprived'⁵¹ by members of some communities as compared to certain other areas which seemed to be preferred for the project have all led to considerable discontent among the residents of these areas (Semi-structured interviews with barrio leaders: 03.03.2006; 08.03.2006; 13.05.2006). Such a conclusion is further supported by the responses of community representatives during barrio FGDs in Julián Blanco (2005 and 2006), Vista Hermosa (2005) and Barrio Bolivar (2006), where the characteristics of the projects implemented were evaluated as: Driven by low quality, done by unskilled labour, with a lack of long-term vision (quick fix solutions), unfinished work, insufficient financial resources and irresponsibility on the side of contractors in charge of construction.

The appreciation of the benefits derived from the redistributive policy of the Welfare State is to a large extent influenced by the specific social ethos of barrio communities, as well as the prevailing reciprocity dynamics that determine the nature of community organization and participation in the given political context.

Reciprocity as a process

Fostering and enhancing the organizational competencies and social structures of grassroots organizations is a precondition to activate reciprocity networks. As it was clearly expressed by barrio inhabitants, integration is a social issue that resonates with the concept of reciprocity as defined in the conceptual framework of this thesis. Accordingly, integration is perceived as a process sustained by community organization, mutual help and solidarity. Such integration should be the result of a set of values which hold the community together and guides its participation as a cohesive social entity working for common well-being.

⁵¹ For a technical expert the physical space of the barrio is one large interrelated entity, whereas for the barrio residents it is rather uneven, and their identity and sense of ownership is often driven by factors like "below" or "above", "here" or "there", and the ones who "benefited" here as against those "marginalised" there.

Figure 6.4: Retaining walls built by CAMEBA



Source: Author's Photographs (August 2005 and March 2007)

As an initial approach to assess participation in barrios as a mode of integration through reciprocity, the household survey sought to find out how the community understands participation. Table 6.22 categorizes the meanings attributed to the notion of participation by respondents. The responses of 79% (N=130) of the respondents included concepts such as union, cooperation, mutual help, consensus, integration, organize the community etc. The remaining 21% did not respond.

Table 6.22: Meaning of participation according to barrio inhabitants

Category	Number of responses	Percentage
Reciprocity (Union, cooperation, mutual help, consensus and integration)	47	46%
To help organize the community and assist to community meetings	23	22%
Involvement on the physical and social upgrading of the barrio	12	12%
To be informed and aware of what is happening	11	11%
Participation does not exist	7	7%
Other answers	3	3%
Total	103	100%

Source: Household survey October-November 2005

The majority of responses (47%) related the concept of participation to characteristics typical of reciprocal relationships such as cooperation among persons and the community, the union of people, and consensus about how to solve the issues affecting community life. Participation was also seen as the result of an integrated community. Secondly, participation was understood as the organization of the community and the assistance of barrio inhabitants to community meetings (23%). Some of them related participation to the involvement of the community during the upgrading process, which also included that the community should be informed and aware of what was going on in the barrio (12%). Seven percent of the respondents felt that there was not participation at all in the barrio. Examples of responses include:

[Participation is]:

The union and cooperation of people in order to try to solve community problems.

People who want the barrio to be better and want to live in a cleaner place, thus finding benefits for the whole barrio.

There must be integration to be able to work together as a community.

It is good because then we are integrated and informed regarding the problems of the barrio and its solutions.

They get together and agree together about things: More people achieve more things.

People should devote themselves to meetings and know more about the projects, so they can contribute and make our quality of life better.

To organize meetings, and inform the community about the projects they are going to do.

When everybody meets together, projects are explained and we reach a mutual agreement.

Is to mediate between the community and government entities.

I think we need to get united, but people like to be given something, only then they participate.

Inhabitants' sense of belonging to the barrio: Critical for reciprocity

The extent to which barrio inhabitants felt that they belonged to the barrio as a precondition for the development of a reciprocity network was qualitatively gauged by asking people the reasons for living in the barrio and their feelings about it. Respondents in the initial survey were asked to choose from a set of responses indicating what they felt about their barrio. The results given in Table 6.23 show the appreciation barrio inhabitants have for their barrios.

Table 6.23: Feelings about the barrio (Multi-response)

Answer (N=130)	%
I like it	78% (101)
I dislike it	22% (29)
I am ashamed of it	1% (1)
I am not ashamed of it	99% (129)
People are good	55% (72)
There are a lot of criminals	52% (68)
Other answers	12%

Source: Household survey October-November 2005

The results show that a majority of barrio inhabitants of the study area like where they live (78% of N=130). Moreover, they do not feel at all ashamed of living in the barrio. But criminality seems to be an issue. The respondents said that although there are good people in the barrio (55% of N=130), there is also a general feeling that the barrio is full of criminals too (52% of N=130).

The survey also sought to find out the reasons why respondents chose to live in their respective barrio. The results provided in Table 6.24 indicate that 50% of the respondents live in the barrio because of their proximity to family and friends. Their poverty and left with no other option ranked second (45% for both), followed by nearly a quarter of the respondents who said the main reason to live in the barrio was because they were founders of the said barrio (22%).

Table 6.24: Reasons for living in the barrio (Multi-response)

Reasons for living in the barrio	Single answers		Combined answers	
	N=130	%	N=212	%
My family and friends live here	66	50%	66	31%
I have no option	59	45%	59	28%
Because I am poor	58	45%	58	28%
I am a founder	29	22%	29	14%

Source: Household survey October-November 2005

The responses of the second survey pertaining to the perception inhabitants have about the barrio seemed to be sometimes at odds with each other, as on the one hand, they generally felt positive about the social and built environment of barrios, while on the other they were eager to leave the barrio at the very first opportunity on account of high crime rates and the stigmatization of barrios by the so called formal city. Sixty-four percent of the respondents (N=102) said that they wished they could move out of the barrio. The main reasons were criminality and a lack of security (95%), the low quality of housing services (90%) and the search for a better physical environment so that they are not labelled as second class citizens (73%).

These contradictions are further strengthened by a barrio leader of Julián Blanco, who, although having a strong sense of belonging to the barrio and who was an ardent advocate for a better quality of life in barrios, nevertheless said she would prefer that her children would move out of Julián Blanco (Narrative: 05.01.2005)

Community organization and participation

Conflicting trends of reciprocity were observed in the study area. On the one hand, the barrio inhabitants perceived integration as the joint efforts of the organized community, mutual help and brotherhood and, on the other hand, they reported having no motivation to participate in community meetings. This was because community meetings were perceived as a “waste of time” since such meetings had proven to be futile on several occasions in the past. The attitude of barrio dwellers as expressed by inhabitants themselves during FGDs reinforces this picture. In general, the level of distrust, self-centredness and apathy seemed high amongst the community members as the following statements illustrate (FFAs conducted in Vista Hermosa 2005; Barrio Julián Blanco 2006 and Barrio Bolívar 2006):

Neighbours only criticize and do not help in the betterment of the sector where they live. They always have a ‘but’ regarding the projects proposed.

The hindrance is people themselves, because they are not united, they do not participate and they do not collaborate in a way that benefits us all.

Negligence and apathy of the people regarding the problems of the community affect the organization and participation of the community, which is also not informed about what is going on.

Neighbours excuse themselves from participating because of lack of time.

This situation necessitated capacity building of local government staff to enable them work with chronically less-motivated communities. However, as some of the expert interviews pointed out, it was an uphill task and owing to a sense of urgency with regard to implementation of physical measures, this component had received scant attention at

the beginning of the project (Semi-structured interviews: 02.12.2004; 17.12.2004; 03.03.2006; 08.03.2006; 13.05.2006).

Facilitation of community organizations

As was explained at the beginning of the analysis, the communities' perception of the efforts by the staff of CAMEBA to create a new community organization in order to comply with the project requirements was filled with mistrust and a sense of 'being imposed upon' by yet another new organization (Semi-structured interview: 17.12.2004). Some of the participants of the FGD carried out in Julián Blanco (March 2006) and Barrio Bolívar (May 2006) pointed out that they had been victims of the indifference and co-option by the government, compounded by a weak community which does not work by self determination. Some excerpts from the force field analysis conducted as part of focus group discussion illustrate these feelings:

We were told that if we were organized as a committee we will get financial support for our projects. I spent a lot of time going to the municipality asking for financial resources for a small project the community needed and nobody listened to me. Apart from that it was almost impossible to adhere to all the requirements they were asking in order to get the release of the money. In the end I quit. And to this day nobody cares about the trouble I went through. So we have a problem as a community...and I am fed up of living in a dream created by lies (FFA Julián Blanco 2006)

We feel we have been co-opted once and again by the government which does not recognize our original organizations and asks us to create new ones. This has created mistrust in the community against those who come and promise they will do some kind of a project for the barrio only if we comply with that. On the other hand, people are sometimes so afraid they will not benefit from these 'promises', that they just try to create these new forms of organization without defending the ones we have consolidated through so much effort over all these years (FFA Barrio Bolivar 2006)

After six years of implementation in the study area, not even a single self-reliant organization has been created for the purpose of steering the upgrading project. Of those that have somehow managed to survive, only a few are active and run by a handful of community leaders. An overwhelming 92% of the respondents (N=130) reported they were not affiliated to any community organization, CAMEBA or otherwise. The general tendency seems to be a declining trend in terms of membership organizations as revealed by the key informant interviews (Semi-structured interviews with barrio leaders in Julián Blanco: 04.12.2004; with CAMEBA social promoter and community leader in Sector La Montañita: 15.03.2006; with leader in Barrio Bolívar: 13.05.2006, and community walk with the Neighbourhood Association President of Sector Vista Hermosa: 21.11.2005).

On the other hand, CAMEBA employees at the project management level revealed that due to lack of established community organizations, their task was rendered difficult during the initial stages and, therefore, alternatives had to be sought. Construction work was awarded to sub-contractors, who ultimately hired around 70% of their labour force from the barrio itself. Additionally, community members were engaged locally and trained to act as inspectors and to report to the community about the status of the development of construction works (Semi-structured interviews with Project Manager of Petare Norte: 04.03.2006; site engineer: 07.03.2006; General Manager of CAMEBA: 13.03.2006; social promoter: 13.03.2006). However, the goal of CAMEBA to implement Local Technical Advice Offices for the purposes of management and implementation of the upgrading project was not achieved, thus

reducing opportunities for genuine community participation and capacity building through specific community organizations.

Level of community participation in planning and implementation

One of the salient goals of CAMEBA was to mobilize community participation in both project planning and implementation. For a community that is used to live on hope and gifts handed out by the government as a show of patronage, participation is inseparably linked to expectations of immediate material benefits. Participation levels are higher at the start of the upgrading project cycle and declines over time as the community begins to realize that no immediate benefits are forthcoming (Semi-structured interview with barrio leader: 04.12.2004; FGD I: 20.08.2005). Hence, during the inception phase of the project, the frequency of inhabitants' participation was higher due to the expectations created. With the passage of time, however, the measures being implemented were perceived as scattered resulting in a drastic decline in the participation of the inhabitants. CAMEBA staff claimed, as it has been documented before, that hiring of community members as construction workers and inspectors had increased participation in implementation and a sense of community involvement and control over the works (Semi-structured interviews with CAMEBA staff: 07.03.2006).

Of those who were aware of the term CAMEBA during the main survey (N=64) only 56% (N=36) reported having participated in the planning phase, 20% (N=13) in the process of implementation of the project, and 50% in a community meeting related to CAMEBA (N=32). In the subsequent survey, about 49% (50 of N=102) of those who were aware of CAMEBA reported having participated in one or the other activity related to CAMEBA, while about 67% (68 of N=102) said they had participated at the inception phase. Based on the findings of the survey presented here, it can be concluded that the CAMEBA Project has had limited success in fostering the community's participation.

In order to acquire a deeper understanding of social relationships and dynamics as a possible key to low levels of participation, qualitative studies were carried out using focus group discussions and individual interviews with experts, barrio inhabitants and leaders. They revealed that a culture of voluntarism and participation is practically non-existent in the barrio under study owing to a chronic history of unfulfilled promises by a political leadership that is both unscrupulous and paternalistic in its approach. The residents' feedback also reveals that participation demands a great deal of time, effort and financial resources, which poor people find an additional burden on their eternal struggle to secure urban livelihoods.

The findings also indicate that women are crucial as agents of participation. Most of the barrio leaders as well as barrio inspectors of CAMEBA were housewives, and the participation of women in community meetings was usually greater than that of men, i.e. about three quarters of the participants in the focus group discussions were women. This is also confirmed by a finding from the first survey in which 69% (N=130) of the respondents reported women to participate to a greater extent than men in community meetings. The fact that women spend more time than men in the barrio as mothers and housewives and are affected much more by the quality of community infrastructure and public services can be cited as a possible reason for the greater participation of women.

In the light of these findings it would only be fair to argue that the CAMEBA Project cannot be solely blamed for low levels of participation since the prevalent community culture is equally not conducive to participation. In effect, however, participation is undermined and a joke when community members blindly agree to projects through signing project documents that they are shown by the project officials (semi-structured

interview with one of the architects in charge of designing the barrio upgrading project of UDU 4.4 Julián Blanco: 22.07.2005; FGD I: 20.08.2005).

Reciprocity as an asset

Given the complexities of community participation, this section assumes reciprocity to be somehow translated into space by specific conditions provided and enabled by the upgrading process. Such conditions represent assets that nurture the energy required for reciprocity, such as public space, i.e. squares, parks, sport venues and community centres plus the consolidation of community organizations and their legitimate participation in community and urban life.

The creation of open spaces and community centres, as well as the facilitation of community organizations and participation were the two components of the CAMEBA Project that directly sought to address issues of community reciprocity. Such goals if achieved would become an asset to the community's process of integration.

Physical space for reciprocity

Streets and stairways are usually the only available open spaces where social life of a barrio unfolds. Therefore, provision of social infrastructure and open public spaces and upgrading of the rights-of-way are seen as necessary to foster social interaction. In the study area, no new community centres or open public spaces have been constructed although they were amongst the priorities identified by the community, whereas, the works on rights-of-way were not perceived as adding any new benefits to the community. The focus group discussions and interviews also raised criminality as a holding back the optimal use of whatever public space was available. This situation has given rise to a sense of being in a state of curfew which works against the development of reciprocal relationships and, therefore, the social integration of barrio inhabitants.

Levels of community organization and participation: Misiones vs. CAMEBA

An overwhelming 89% (N=116) of the respondents answered no to the question on whether they belonged to any type of community organization. Out of the fourteen who said yes (11%), eleven declared to belong to an organization promoted by the National Government (Misiones, Committees or Communal Councils), of which two said they belonged also to a neighbourhood association, and four of them belonged only to a neighbourhood association. Even those who said they had participated in the awareness programmes related to the upgrading project, were in fact actually referring to their participation in the awareness programme provided by Misiones.

Though the findings may not seem significant in quantitative terms, it does signal that short-term compensatory programmes like Misiones may be at odds with a long-term project such as CAMEBA.

Throughout the study, it was seen that the particular political environment played a crucial role in the process of community building and participation as a way towards enhanced reciprocity as a mode of integration. Such an environment may not have necessarily helped the upgrading project to achieve its goal to the fullest extent, and in fact may well have created a conflicting situation.

Effects of the paternalistic redistribution system on reciprocity dynamics

The findings show that throughout the implementation process of the CAMEBA Project there was a conflicting relationship between the project component of facilitating and enabling community organizations and participation, and the interference of the ever-

changing policy-making environment of the National Government. Two major events that contributed to reducing the impact CAMEBA may have had in this respect were the launching of the Bolivarian Misiones in 2003 and the creation of a new barrio upgrading policy called Endogenous Transformation of Barrios Programme in 2006.

Transition from CAMEBA to Missions – the translation of disappointment into hope

The most important observation during, for example, a study-walk in Barrio Vista Hermosa, was related to the way people's disappointment with CAMEBA was rapidly translating into hope in the Misiones, as revealed by a group of women who stated their intention to organize the community into committees as urged upon by the National Government. For these women, the creation of Mission committees (health, education, sports, culture, etc.) appeared to be the only hope to secure government intervention to resolve community problems and educate people about the importance of community life.

Community awareness of Missions

Compensatory programmes in barrios have taken the form of Misiones Bolivarianas. These programmes were created in 2003 with the aim of deepening the Bolivarian Revolution and consolidating participatory democracy. They function as quasi organizations outside the purview of public institutions. Their primary goal is to tackle the causes and consequences of poverty and exclusion, through participation of the people. Misiones were initially conceived as operational entities to penetrate barrios and assist them in accessing various services such as primary health and education (MCI 2006) (Refer also to chapter two, 2.6).

In contrast to the 56% awareness rating of CAMEBA, the rating for both national and municipal Misiones was 97%, though Misiones were launched only in 2003, whereas CAMEBA had been in operation since 1999. This is an indication of the success of the public communication campaign of the National Government. Those who were aware of Misiones recalled on average the names of three Misiones. Most prominent amongst the recalled Misiones were: Mision Rivas and Mision Robinson (for education and literacy), Barrio Adentro (health) and MERCAL (subsidized food market). The recall rate for national Misiones was considerably higher than that for municipal Misiones for house upgrading such as Abispa and Hormiga. Only 12% (N=130) of the respondents said they belonged to a community organization of which 75% (N= 16) said they were affiliated to community structures created by the Misiones such as Urban Land Committee, Community Kitchen, and Health Committees.

Immediate benefits of Misiones vs. long term effects of CAMEBA

The low level of community (target group) participation in CAMEBA has been compounded by a profoundly paternalistic approach of the National Government that promised immediate relief and benefits in the form of compensatory programmes such as Misiones, thus reinforcing habitual dependency amongst the poor people. The various Misiones Bolivarianas, being rather more innovative than their counterparts in the previous regimes, offered quick-fix solutions to pressing problems, e.g. creating a community kitchen which employs women in barrios to provide free meals to all single mothers in extreme poverty, handicapped persons, to malnourished children and to the elderly. These immediate benefit programmes seem to have had an inhibiting effect on community organization and participation in a project like CAMEBA which had long-

term objectives and had aspired to create sustainable self-reliant communities in the project areas.

Endogenous Transformation of Barrios: The perverted influence of the ruling elite

One important aspect of the qualitative analysis of community dynamics was to be present in community meetings as a participant observer. Of all the meetings observed the most impressive one was when the National Government in 2006 called for the formation of the so-called Self-managed Community Organization or OCA (Organizacion Comunitaria Autogestionaria). Such an organization was meant to be created under a new barrio upgrading policy which was about to be launched by the newly created Ministry of Housing and Habitat. The programme was called Endogenous Transformation of Barrios Programme. The idea behind the new form of organization was quite innovative in the sense that each UDU was to elect representatives from each barrio sector forming part of the UDU in order to identify priorities for development interventions. Once priorities were identified, each OCA was required to formulate a barrio upgrading plan. Instigated by the President during his weekly TV broadcast, the idea was to bypass the municipality and the private sector by giving the financial resources directly to the OCA, which would then be responsible for contracting and managing the implementation of their barrio improvement plans.

The deficiencies of the community in terms of how to organize themselves became quite apparent during this phase. First of all, participation was scant and not every sector of the UDU 4.4 elected a representative for the meeting. Even though they asked a leader from Petare Sur (PPU 8) to facilitate the process because he was involved in the design of the new policy and was aware of the steps necessary to create the OCA, the meeting proved to be a futile exercise. None of the participants were able to agree upon priorities because inasmuch the UDU is supposed to be an integrated design unit for barrio upgrading purposes, each representative considered the priorities of his/her particular sector to be more important than the others. The meeting ended up in a debate about who should first get the funds (which according to the moderator was only enough for a few interventions that could not benefit all sectors at once). As time passed and the meeting was not showing any signs of a consensus emerging amongst the participants, the moderator proposed to agree upon a second meeting on the condition that every representative should present their most urgent problems and priorities for intervention and reach a consensus. Following this meeting, there were no other developments and there was no quorum and before realizing its full potential, the programme was terminated and faded from the public memory.

Market exchange as a process

The third important aspect of integration vis-à-vis. CAMEBA that the empirical analysis attempted to unveil was CAMEBA's impact on market dynamics as a mode towards the integration of barrios from a strictly economic perspective. It was not possible to fully explore this relationship as the economic benefits were envisaged to be long-term effects.

Nevertheless, an attempt was made to analyse the economic mode of integration from the perspective of the upgrading process. It is worth recalling here that economic aspects did not emerge as a priority in the analysis of perceived meanings of integration. In the case of barrio inhabitants integration was never related to, for example, having access to employment opportunities. In the case of professionals the economic issue was of secondary importance, whereas the primary factors were physical and social

conditions. In general, the feeling was that barrio inhabitants were somehow economically integrated to the metropolitan area of Caracas since they represented the labour force of the city and as they actually made up the workforce in the city.

As market exchange was neither an explicitly stated goal nor a project component of CAMEBA, its effects as a factor for barrio integration was theoretically articulated as a long-term consequence of the combined effects of the processes of redistribution and reciprocity activated by CAMEBA. The confluence of a redistributive policy embedded in a participatory strategy was expected to lead to ways towards integration through education, empowerment and increased protection from physical and social risks that culminate in creating an enabling environment for an effective exchange of goods and services thereby improving the quality of life. Some of the components of the CAMEBA Project were directly or indirectly related to this market exchange.

House upgrading and land regularization process

One of the components of the CAMEBA Project most directly related to market exchange was the microcredit programme aimed at supporting the upgrading of individual house units, which for various reasons, was never implemented. Instead, a process of land tenure regularization was initiated which perhaps represents the most profound impact CAMEBA might have had on market exchange (i.e. housing and land values) over the long term. However, as it was yet to commence, the actual impacts could not be assessed.

As it was seen in previous sections of the analysis the land regularization process in the study area has been affected by the constraints posed not only by the complexity such an endeavour entails, but also by the level of community participation through the politically driven Urban Land Committees (CTUs). This was corroborated by a barrio leader working on an ad-hoc basis in the CTU of Julián Blanco who literally cried during one of the FGDs asking for help from the community

Regardless of being with the political process or not, we need a lot more people to help carry on the land survey needed to make the regularization of land ownership in the barrio a fact, because in the end it will benefit each and everyone one of us (FGD III: 04.03.2006)

Market exchange as an asset

Physical improvements of urban conditions in the barrio through the upgrading process lead in one way or another towards facilitating enabling conditions for employment opportunities through, for example, adequate transport infrastructure and so on. Likewise improvement of the physical infrastructure and basic services together with improved accessibility should facilitate a better exchange of goods and services within the barrio, and between the barrio and its surroundings. An important component of market exchange is the creation of the conditions for a thriving economic environment, resulting, for example, in thriving home-based enterprises and diversification of the range of goods and services made available in the barrio.

Employment generation

The only component of the project directly related to market exchange which could be assessed through the survey was the creation of employment opportunities during the implementation phase. Owing to a regulation which stipulated that 70% of the construction workers had to be hired from within barrios, it was found in the study area that about 12% (N=16) of the respondents themselves or a member of his/her family

reported to have worked as project staff on CAMEBA as either construction workers (N=14) or as community inspectors (N=2). Whether their training and the experience they have gained in CAMEBA enabled them to access better employment opportunities in the construction industry is impossible to tell at this stage.

Physical space for market exchange

An attempt was made through the survey to assess whether there were signs of an increase in the home-based enterprises as a result of the upgrading project. The findings revealed none of the respondents reported having gone into home-based enterprises (including renting out space) and understandably so, as the upgrading project was still being implemented.

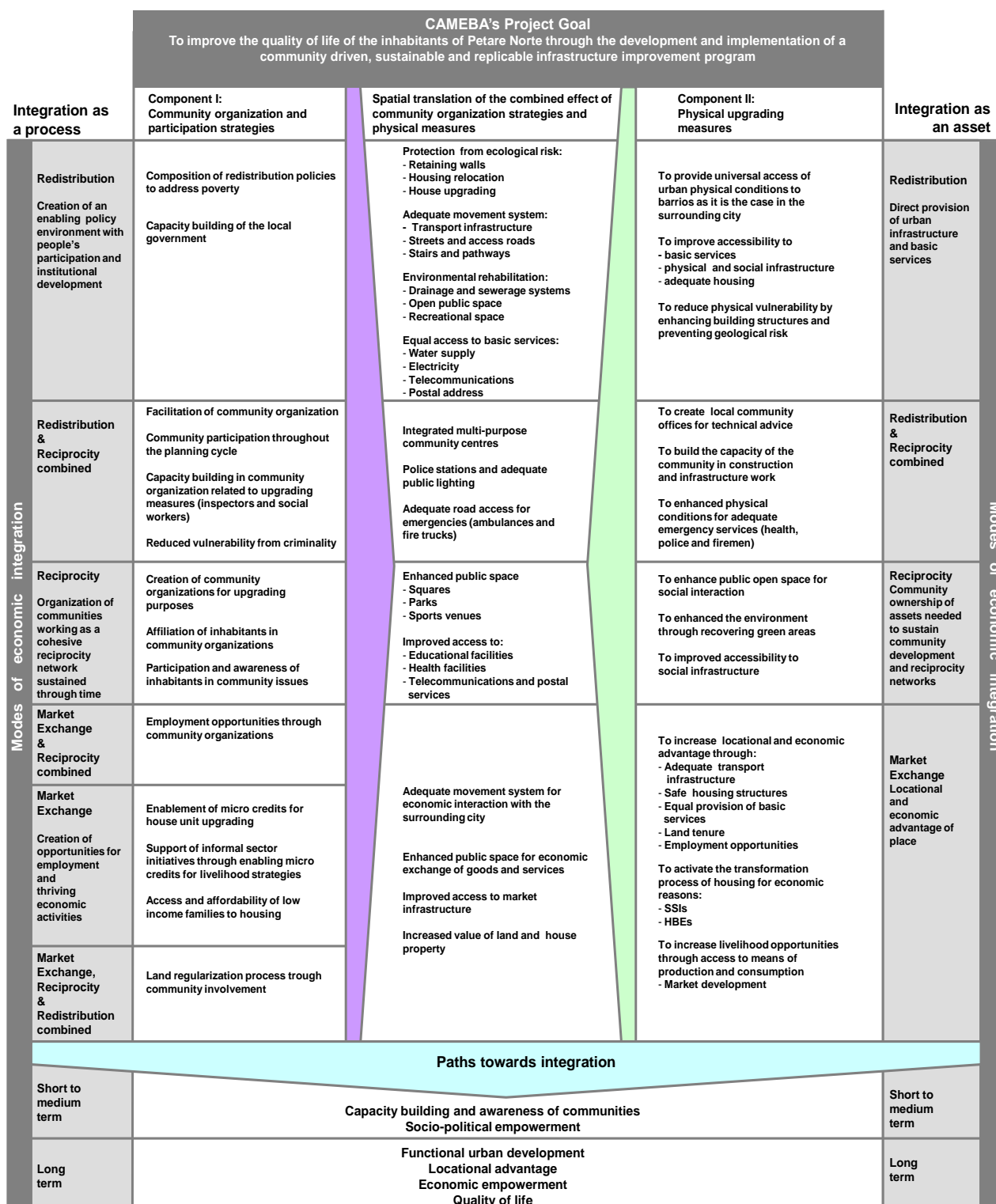
Sustainability of interventions

The question of sustaining the interventions carried out in the UDU 4.4 Julián Blanco remains open because at the time of field research CAMEBA was still being implemented. Even so the household survey carried out in October 2005 still asked respondents about their plans following the completion of the upgrading project. Regardless of being aware or not of the existence of CAMEBA, 78% (N=101) of the respondents said they would like to stay in the barrio. Eight percent said they would sell off their property and move elsewhere, 5% said they were planning to move anyway, and the remaining 9% gave various reasons including investing in house upgrading etc.

6.8. Analytical framework of the process of barrio integration through upgrading projects

Figure 6.5 is a diagrammatic representation of the analytical outputs of the CAMEBA Project based on the model of integration derived from the conceptual framework. It depicts the relationships existing between the modes of economic integration and the project components of CAMEBA. Several aspects which emerged during the analysis, which were not necessarily part of the objectives of CAMEBA, were included in the diagramme in order to provide a full picture of what an upgrading project should ideally consider if the ways leading towards integration are to be activated through such project components. The assets resulting from the process at the three modes and levels of exchange were spatially translated into specific outcomes of the upgrading process as the result of the combined effects of the project's strategies, namely community organization and participation, and physical upgrading.

Figure 6.5: Analytical framework of project components of CAMEBA



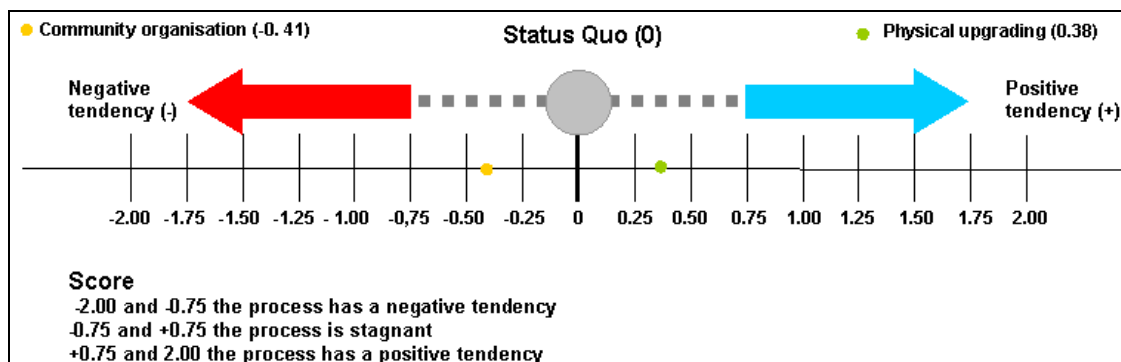
Source: Developed by the author

A qualitative analysis based on the above diagramme was conducted in order to evaluate the degree of integration achieved as a result of the implementation of the CAMEBA Project.

The degree of barrio integration

A qualitative analysis of the findings regarding the level of integration achieved by the project was undertaken based on a set of criteria (see Appendix 9.11 for a detailed description on how the analysis was conducted). Figure 6.6 shows the impacts CAMEBA has had in integrating the study area in terms of community organization and physical upgrading strategies.

Figure 6.6: The degree of integration ('integration-meter')



Source: Developed by the author

The above figure shows that the strategies of CAMEBA, viz. community organization and physical upgrading as ways leading towards integration, are in fact moving in opposite directions. Organizing the community for upgrading purposes shows a negative tendency which might remain unchanged or stagnant. Physical upgrading strategies have a positive tendency towards integration but with a danger of becoming stagnant in the course of time.

The analysis of these two major elements using an 'integration-meter' is useful to identify the constraints and potentials offered by this upgrading project. The purpose of this methodological exercise is to identify acute problem areas, and what needs to be strengthened in order to encourage integration.

However the following questions remain: Do upgrading projects have the potential to encourage all appropriate ways towards integration? What are the challenges for encouraging ways towards integration through the implementation of these projects? What are the most effective ways to measure the degree of integration through upgrading projects? And: What gaps or problem areas must be tackled for to ensure sound planning and implementation of upgrading projects?

While the subsequent chapter will attempt to answer these questions to some extent, the importance of the empirical analysis performed herein to highlight the multi-faceted nature and complexity of the integration and/or exclusion process of barrios cannot be underestimated. Such processes certainly need to be thoroughly explored to enhance a proper understanding of the complex realities of the situation. These can then be translated into policies aimed at rectifying and minimizing the negative effects of social exclusion, poverty and spatial segregation prevalent in barrios.

7. Conclusions and recommendations

7.1. Summary of key findings

The empirical evidence suggests that the process of integration must start from within the community itself. The research findings thus far point out that projects like CAMEBA, if implemented using the full participation of targeted beneficiaries, do have the potential to achieve successful integration. But participation is not possible if supportive community organizations are not in place. Participation must then be understood as an instrument for sound community organization and management based on a new understanding of reciprocity as joint responsibility of civil society and the government, and not as a 'decreed must' within the hollow ideal of constitutional democracy.

The meaning of integration

For the barrio inhabitants integration is a matter of reciprocity dynamics involving community organization and participation in barrio affairs, including the upgrading project. This understanding of integration and reciprocity is closely related to the concepts of social integration and mechanical solidarity, which highlights the interrelationships of individuals with similar socio-cultural characteristics based upon moral or value consensus, co-operation and moral solidarity. Professionals and experts, on the other hand, tend to perceive integration from the perspective of system integration and organic solidarity, in which relationships exist between parts of the social system, going beyond a single social group and regardless of socio-cultural differences.

Considering that the multi-stakeholder analysis mostly includes the opinions of physical planners and that FGDs and key informant interviews were focused on barrio upgrading projects that have a strong focus on provision of physical infrastructure, barrio integration was generally understood as attaining homologous (physical) urban conditions for barrio inhabitants to at least the same levels of the surrounding city.

These results strengthen one of the assumptions of the study which stated that certain satisfactory level of access to a range of urban basic services and facilities must exist before initiating ways towards integration. In other words, improving urban functionality and achieving homologous living conditions for barrio inhabitants to those of the surrounding city is a must to instill a sense of integration amongst the barrio inhabitants.

Furthermore, the attainment of urban functionality was assumed to be primarily the responsibility of the State. In this respect, both professionals and barrio leaders (experts) consider the role of the State (redistribution) and the economy (market exchange restructured by the State) as important components for achieving urban (barrio) integration. Whereas, the barrio inhabitants perceive the redistributive policies and programmes as their only means for obtaining the social and physical infrastructure necessary to achieve living conditions that are homologous to those seen in the formal city.

Urban conditions and accessibility

The analysis also shows that although there are deficiencies in the social and physical infrastructure within the barrio, the problem is not necessarily the level of access but

rather the poor quality of the available infrastructure and services aggravated by the deficiencies of the pedestrian access and movement system.

Inasmuch as physical planners believe that such issues must be resolved before addressing social and economic problems, the findings indicate the need to design strategies that take into account all interrelated aspects i.e. social, economic, political and physical factors affecting disadvantaged groups.

Barrio upgrading projects and ways towards integration

It appears that barrio communities are potentially prepared to activate the process of integration towards a better future. This preparedness and volition is restrained by several forces, of which the community attitude that has continuously been shaped by the patronising policy of the successive governments seems to be the most acute. Ever since Venezuela became a Constitutional democracy at the end of the 1950s, the approach to poverty eradication has been driven by charity and compensatory programmes. Such an approach has only strengthened the deep-rooted dependency of barrio communities on populist measures.

Although it is generally perceived that CAMEBA has not brought about a substantial change in the living conditions of the barrio, some community members as well as the project staff, particularly those working at the grassroots, do believe that CAMEBA was on the right track towards a positive change. The project staff attributed the success of CAMEBA, however limited as it may be, to their own commitment and active participation. There was a positive sentiment about CAMEBA that "something has been achieved" and "some lessons have been learnt". At the same time, they also acknowledged the serious gaps between planning on paper and the reality of the barrio. They attributed these shortcomings to the widely practiced politics of patronage and the concomitant culture of short sightedness and pursuance of immediate gains on the part of the "patronized" communities. This places the spotlight back on the earlier criticism that adequate efforts and resources are not being invested prior to planning development interventions in order to understand the cultural ethos and behavioural patterns prevalent in the barrio.

Though one segment of the community understands integration as a reciprocal process where a community organization is envisaged to play a major role, a majority of the members are driven by the paternalistic forces at work in barrios. For example, even when upgrading measures such as retaining walls, paving of streets, etc. aimed at improving the living conditions in barrios are being implemented right in front of their houses, most inhabitants neither pay attention to it nor are aware of the objectives of the upgrading project.

The low level of community (target group) participation in CAMEBA has been compounded by a profoundly paternalistic approach of the National Government that promises immediate relief and benefits in the form of compensatory programmes thus reinforcing habitual dependency amongst poor people. These quick-fix programmes seem to have had an inhibiting effect on community organization and participation in a project like CAMEBA which had long-term objectives and had aspired to create sustainable self-reliant communities in the project areas. This conclusion is reinforced by the results of the survey, which show that the awareness of the community regarding compensatory programmes is by and large greater than that of CAMEBA.

These factors have somehow hindered the process of community organization which in any case involves training of communities to be legitimate and autonomous by overcoming their chronic dependency syndrome.

On the whole, it appears that CAMEBA has had a limited impact on barrio integration. The redistributive policy reflected in the CAMEBA Project has not been effectively translated into practice due to weaknesses in the institutional arrangements, the community's susceptibility to political manipulation and cross-cutting impacts of other redistributive programmes such as the Misiones. Though in theory, redistribution is identified as one of the modes of economic integration, it probably assumes a far more central position in the case of Venezuela in terms of its potential to trigger economic changes reflected in market restructuring and the shaping of community reciprocity. In such circumstances the degree of spatial integration as it appears will be a spatial translation of the interaction between the redistributive policies, market exchanges and reciprocity factors within and between communities.

Though the evaluation of CAMEBA has generated significant empirical evidence that contributes towards creating an analytical model of barrio integration, more in depth empirical investigations are perhaps required to validate the model across various political and cultural contexts. The following section covers the recommendations based on the findings of the empirical research.

7.2. Challenges for upgrading projects to be viable ways towards integration

If ambitious projects like CAMEBA are to realize their aim of generating viable ways towards integration, the following issues must be addressed both adequately and strategically:

Creation and enhancement of autonomous barrio community organization

For upgrading projects to be successful in achieving their objectives, they must take the cultural context of the people they intend to benefit into account and evolve appropriate mechanisms for creating the necessary awareness to ensure people understand that upgrading is a process which does not always produce immediate results.

Community inclusion and involvement is a precondition for the upgrading planning process if interventions are to be sustained over time. However, such an effort will not yield results if the community is not organized and does not work together as a cohesive reciprocal network and as a collective entity. Self-centeredness, apathy and cynicism, coupled with a resignation to their lot in life which is prevalent among barrio inhabitants, needs to be tackled effectively if driving forces for positive changes are to be sustained.

A strategy aimed at fully involving existing barrio community organizations or facilitating the creation of such organizations for upgrading purposes is a must to be able to implement sound upgrading projects. Networking of these organizations at the city and national level through a platform to share best practices and experiences is also a must to further empower community organizations.

Even though the prevailing political environment nurtures and supports the establishment of community organizations in the form of Communal Councils, barrio communities must understand that the only way to escape political manipulation and co-optation is to openly address barrio issues from a genuine and legitimate barrio organization which indiscriminately includes people from different walks of life and political ideologies.

One good example of a non-partisan effort regarding barrio organizations is the REDSCA created under the support of the CCG of the UCV. The REDSCA is a barrio

community network with representatives from several barrios from Caracas, including the study area of Julián Blanco, which usually gets together during times of political upheaval.

Community capacity building on planning issues

An effective public awareness campaign explaining the goals, objectives and expected outcomes, together with capacity building of community members for project planning and implementation must be incorporated prior to commencement of the project and not just during its implementation. By so doing, the gap between professionals, government officials and barrio inhabitants could be more effectively bridged. The stereotype opinion that, “such a strategy based upon active involvement of the communities from the inception phase requires too much effort, time and funds” needs to be revised.

A community awareness and capacity building strategy will help identify community needs and priorities and educate people on the mechanics and different stages of the project cycle including issues like problem and stakeholder analysis, planning, implementation, and monitoring and evaluation. The next step in such an endeavour would be enhancing the community’s skills in construction works and the monitoring and management of public infrastructure. Even though CAMEBA was able to implement such a strategy in the study area, the results show that it was not adequate in terms of scale and reach. Furthermore, now that the process has been initiated, the most pertinent question lingering in the minds of community members who were involved during the implementation of CAMEBA is: “What will happen after the completion of CAMEBA?”. While some members seem to place their hopes on the recent initiative of the government to form Community Councils, the question still remains whether such government-driven initiatives will effectively represent community’s expectations and aspirations and sustain the process of integration triggered by CAMEBA.

Gender orientation and involvement of youth

The findings indicate the need to pay special attention to gender differentials at the level of participation in community initiatives. An understanding of the cultural ethos of barrio communities is again a precondition for designing participatory strategies which include all inhabitants. On the one hand, a higher level of participation of women must be fostered and ensured through gender-sensitive approaches to planning, while on the other hand, a motivation strategy must be designed in order to enhance the participation of men on community issues. Furthermore, the involvement of youth in the process is crucial since this is the group that will either benefit or suffer in the future on account of current policies and projects. In the same vein, involvement of youth also increases the chances of sustaining the gains derived from upgrading projects.

Ensuring sustainability

A strategy to ensure sustainability of the positive impacts must be inbuilt into the project design in order to ensure continuous monitoring and maintenance of infrastructure and amenities. The focus must be on preparing and organizing the community to manage and maintain the services and amenities, with a special focus on the participation of young people. Another crucial dimension of sustainability is financial viability. For example, user fees for services will not be viable if the community members are not motivated and given the appropriate economic capacity. There is a need to gradually do away with paternalistic approaches to service delivery

based on populist initiatives. In this way not only can a sense of ownership amongst the beneficiaries be created, but also a sense of citizenship, which is crucial for social inclusion and integration processes.

The barrio as an interrelated holistic space

Planners and implementers must fully acknowledge that the community in a barrio is fragmented along various self-centred spatial identities within an interrelated whole. Therefore, it becomes all the more important that the physical space is perceived as interrelated whole and not as isolated sub-entities. Consensus among barrio sectors should be built so as to make inhabitants understand and agree upon the priorities of intervention.

Upgrading vs. urban renewal

Given that barrios constitute almost one third of the built-up space in Caracas, there is a need to do away with the distinctive boundaries that segregate barrios from other surrounding parts of the city by including them in the formal plans and blueprints. This would lend the much needed legitimacy to and recognition of the barrios and make the city a harmonious entity. The current preoccupation with a piecemeal, tinkering approach such as “barrio upgrading” must be done away with to embrace a broader approach and policy towards integrated and sustainable urban development.

Capacity building of the city government

If a policy of integrated and sustainable urban development has to bear fruit, then capacity building of municipal government officials on a wide range of issues related to urban planning and management is of paramount importance. The officials have to be sensitized to why it is necessary to involve all the relevant stakeholders in the policy formulation process in order to design effective enabling instruments aimed at benefitting barrio inhabitants. The city government must have a clear developmental orientation driven by an explicit focus on poverty reduction, socio-economic inclusion, and provision of basic services and infrastructure. Such an orientation can only evolve through a multi-disciplinary platform, where the government enables and creates the necessary conditions for the participation of civil society in the decision-making process. Civil society here includes the community organizations of the barrio, institutions of higher education, businesses and private sector, financial institutions and both religious and secular NGOs.

Regularization of land ownership

The issue of land regularization is quite fundamental to the integration process because it fosters a sense of citizenship, creates organized urban spaces subject to social control, and removes the stigma attached to illegality, thereby promoting a sense of inclusion amongst the barrio inhabitants. This would go a long way towards gradually changing the image of a barrio as a source of criminality, dirt, disease and extreme poverty into a source of creative energy and human potential.

Sound campaign against criminality

A sound strategy for combating crime must be deployed together with projects and programmes aimed at integration. Urban management must ultimately tackle this social problem which is both a cause and a consequence of the vicious cycle of poverty and social exclusion. Through anti corruption programmes, campaigns against drug dealers

and peddlers and by offering appropriate incentives and remuneration to police personnel, the police force would gain enough strength to provide adequate physical security to the barrio inhabitants and the city as whole. Such an approach can also be complemented through the physical upgrading project by intervening in urban form, by for example, designing a spatial network of well-defined, accessible and illuminated public spaces. Youth-oriented educational and recreational programmes together with an employment generation policy to integrate a young labour force are also a must in combatting crime, since the empirical evidence shows that young males below 30 years of age are involved in most criminal activities.

In conclusion, it can be stated that unless there is a profound change in the mindset of citizens and politicians alike regarding informal settlements, achieving integration through barrio upgrading will prove to be an extremely uphill task. The general all pervasive perceptions and attitudes towards barrios need radical transformation. The participation of barrio residents must not be assumed as decreed (as stated in the Constitution), but as a reconciliatory process between differences and deceptions in which gaining trust without creating false expectations becomes crucial. Integration does not happen solely by connecting a barrio street with a city avenue, but by facilitating an integrated interplay of physical, social, economic, political and environmental factors. It has to start with the mutual acceptance of one another within the barrio, and then of those inhabiting the surrounding city, which then would then synergize into a shared collective understanding that all people are bestowed with the same rights and obligations as inhabitants of one city.

7.3. Limitations of the analytical model and recommendations for future research

The empirical study based on the barrio integration model presented in this thesis is a major contribution towards enhancing the understanding of the complex process of the integration of informal settlements. Wider application of the model in a given context requires incorporation of the particular contextual components into the model. This mainly depends on four main components: (a) the precondition for integration i.e. policymaking; (b) the strategy for integration i.e. planning; (c) the assets of integration i.e. impacts of implementation and; (d) the outcome of integration i.e. social goal:

- The preconditions are related to the policy and institutional framework of the context.
- The strategy is related to the translation of institutional and policy frameworks into tangible projects and programmes aimed at integration with the participation of all stakeholders.
- Creation of assets is a function of providing universal access to all benefits (material and otherwise) derived from the balanced interrelationships of the State (redistribution), civil society (reciprocity) and the economy (market exchange).
- The outcomes are reflected in the attainment of particular integrative social goals which will be determined by the design, planning and implementation of the other three components.

Inasmuch as the study attempted to decipher the complexities inherent in the notion of integration, there are a number of weaknesses that could be identified throughout the research process.

The adoption of the analytical framework used by the URBEX project, with a solid theoretical framework based on Polanyi's modes of economic integration and their

relationship with space, provided this research with an innovative perspective on how to address the issue of barrio integration. Theoretical parallels defining processes of social exclusion of disadvantaged groups at distinct spatial levels in European urban societies were used by relating them to the social, economic, political and spatial conditions prevalent in barrios of Caracas, though the nature and the dimensions of urban poverty in Venezuela is quite different to the European context addressed by URBEX.

As the research evolved it was frequently noticed that perception of 'being poor' and of 'not being integrated in society' were highly interrelated. The analytical model articulated by the study which guided the empirical research could have, therefore, incorporated more innovative measures of poverty and satisfaction of basic needs and their relation to the perception of integration. However, given the novelty of the model and the need to do away with semantics and focus on integration which is an all encompassing variable that combines the effects of poverty, social exclusion, inequality, spatial segregation, political manipulation, and ill-driven market dynamics juxtaposed with the driving forces of social inclusion, inclusive economic restructuring, justice, human rights and citizenship, appears to have diluted the empirical research to some extent.

Given the limited scope of the study, time and resource constraints, the empirical testing of the model of barrio integration had to be restricted only to one upgrading project as the only initiator of such a complex process whereas a more comprehensive and comparative research design would have been desirable.

The phenomena revealed by the empirical research open up various interrelated themes that could enhance the understanding of urban integration of informal settlements. Cross-cultural studies on the following themes are suggested for future research endeavours:

- Changing the image of barrios as a precondition for the sound implementation of integration projects;
- Criminology shaping the cities and urban spatial fragmentation as a consequence of crime;
- Cultural aspects determining the success or failure of community organization and participation in low-income communities;
- The politics of integration: Balance of power relationships between the State and civil society;
- The long-term effects of land tenure regularization of informal settlements on integration;
- The effects of socio-political polarization on integration;
- The role of public space as an integration factor; and
- The role of transport accessibility in the integration process.

Empirical inquiry into each one of the themes mentioned above will certainly yield a variety of different perspectives and focal points that can contribute towards a better understanding of the forces operating in favour of and/or against urban integration. One major challenge would be to incorporate them into the analytical model and to translate them into empirically measurable variables and bridge the gap between the scientific community and the barrio inhabitants.

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9. Appendices

9.1. Articles 70, 82 and 184 of the constitution of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela 1999

Participation in the decision-making process:

Article 70: Participation and involvement of people in the exercise of their sovereignty in political affairs can be manifested by: voting to fill public offices, referendum, consultation of public opinion, mandate revocation, legislative, constitutional and constituent initiative, open forums and meetings of citizens whose decisions shall be binding among others; and in social and economic affairs: citizen service organs, self management, co-management, cooperatives in all forms, including those of a financial nature, savings funds, community enterprises, and other forms of association guided by the values of mutual cooperation and solidarity. The law shall establish conditions for the effective, functioning of the means of participation provided for under the present article. (MIC 2006:27)

Universal right to housing:

Article 82: Every person has the right to adequate, safe and comfortable, hygienic housing, with appropriate essential basic services, including a habitat such as to humanize family, neighbourhood and community relations. The progressive meeting of this requirement is the shared responsibility of citizens and the State in all areas. The State shall give priority to families, and shall guarantee them, especially those with meagre resources, the possibility of access to social policies and credit for the construction, purchase or enlargement of dwellings (MIC 2006: 31-32)

Decentralization as a mechanism to empower people and create self reliant, proactive and co-responsible community organizations:

Article 184: Open and flexible mechanisms shall be created by law to cause the States and Municipalities to decentralize and transfer to communities and organized neighbourhood groups services the latter manage and demonstrate the ability to provide, promoting: (1) The transfer of services in the areas of health, education, housing, sports, culture, social programs, the environment, maintenance of industrial areas, maintenance and upkeep of urban areas, neighbourhood prevention and protective services, construction of works projects and providing of public services. To this end, they shall have the power to enter into agreements, whose content shall be guided by the principles of interdependence, coordination, cooperation and shared responsibility.(2) Participation by communities and citizens, through neighbourhood associations and nongovernmental organizations, in the formulation of investment proposals for presentation before the state and municipal authorities in charge of preparing the pertinent investment plans, as well as participation in the execution, evaluation and control of works projects, social programmes and public services within their jurisdiction (MIC 2006:67)

9.2. Ley Orgánica de Ordenación Urbanística 1987(LOOU)

Barrio related articles of the Venezuelan Urban Planning Law

Chapter IV: Special plans and barrio eviction

Article 49: Special plans are those whose fundamental objective is the ordering, creation, protection or upgrading of a particular sector of the city, specially historical, monumental, architectonic or environmental conservation areas, zones of tourist or landscaping interest, the uncontrolled settlements, the areas of progressive urbanization and any other area whose specific conditions deserve separate handling within the local development plan.

Article 50: The elaboration of plans contemplating total or partial eviction of uncontrolled settlements, which are located in zones interfering with infrastructure and equipment of public services and those which, due to geological reasons or any other are considered of high risk, will be done in coordination with the respective municipal authorities.

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Chapter V: Urban property regulation

Article 54: The Ministry of Urban Development and Municipal Councils respectively will determine [...]the different uses of urban land; the conditions and characteristics of urbanization processes; and the distribution and redistribution of land paying special attention to uncontrolled settlements.

9.3. Housing policy

Section II: Physical Upgrading Programme of Barrio Zones

Article 6

The physical upgrading program of barrio zones, aimed at upgrading the urban structure of great barrio zones and its relation to the rest of the city where these belong, consists of construction, reconstruction, extension, remodelling, upgrading, provision of urban equipment and maintenance of preventive construction works due to geological risk or else, great infrastructure works and intermediate level infrastructure work.

Article 7.

In article 7 the following specifications are included as part of the upgrading process: (a) Local construction of vehicular and pedestrian movement infrastructure, other public spaces, urban equipment (furniture), as well as streets, stairs, semi-private paths; every kind of infrastructure, including public and collective service connections, and communal equipment of primary level. (b) Total or partial demolition of existing houses and construction of substitution housing for those families whose dwellings interfere with infrastructure work or are located in high geological risk zones, as well as necessary investments for the acquisition of private land occupied by barrios. (c) Pre-investment on necessary studies for better orientation: National inventory, Sectoral Plans, Special Plans, as well as special studies, project schemes and supervision of all the above types of work described above (d) Pre-investment in social or community studies and work related to community organization capacity building, management and administration, as well as other needed within the physical upgrading of barrio zones

Article 8

The physical upgrading of barrio zones can imply research, through pilot projects in order to obtain and update reliable data on the behaviour and applicable costs throughout the programme, as well as technical housing assistance in legal, technical, building, urban, organizational, administrative, and financial aspects, and administrative assistance for guided-contract of community micro-enterprises in their capacity building phase, among others. It comprises the installation and operation of Local Technical Assistance Offices (LTAO) and expenses derived from different "practicum" systems. It is understood under guided-contract, that related to enterprises preferably composed of members of the community itself, with direct labour force without engineering capacities, where the building work follow up is mostly the responsibility of the client, which in this case is the professional associated with the community, and not the contractor.

Section III: Upgrading Programme of House Units in Barrios and Social Housing Projects

Article 11

The upgrading program of house unit and social housing comprises also the upgrading and eventual extension of other type of private residences in the same type of low-income neighbourhoods and in other zones, such as central city zones and other zones of traditional housing considered or not as historical patrimony.

Article 12

In the case of extension and upgrading of house units in barrios, this programme, apart from other type of upgrading work, includes particularly structural

reinforcement for preventing earthquakes risk, and it can be implemented simultaneously to the physical upgrading of the barrio, supported by the same implementers, NGOs and organized communities for urban self-management, as well as the LTAOs (Local Technical Advice Organizations).

9.4. URBEX Project. Main themes and lessons derived from the study

Main themes

Several themes were identified by the findings of the comparative study. They reflect how cities are dealing with urban social exclusion by looking at urban territorial policies and their effect at the neighbourhood level (Murie 2002: 91-98).

- *Comprehensive approaches to policy integration:* For example the Big Cities Policy of the Netherlands, the National Socially Integrative City in Germany, and the Social Impulse Fund in Belgium.
- *New neighbourhood initiatives:* The new strategic approaches outlined above place considerable emphasis on neighbourhoods and the need for improving integration policies at this level.
- *Economic and labour market policies:* Labour market policies are generally seen to be the key elements which will prevent long-term dependency on government benefits and ensure that strategies are effective and sustainable.
- *Restructuring housing and residence:* Although the housing dimension is rarely a central element in new policies, it remains an important issue in some cities. As an example, urban restructuring of the Tarwewijk neighbourhood in Rotterdam aims to achieve more differentiation in the housing stock, therefore preventing segregation. In the UK it is more about rescuing people from and reducing concentrations of deprivation that have already progressed. Similar elements in terms of social and tenure mix are key features of the approach in these neighbourhoods.
- *Community development:* A major element in the policy approaches relating to neighbourhoods with a concentration of problems is developing stronger resident and community involvement. Emphasis is placed on building stronger links with residents and supporting resident organizations.
- *Targeting social groups:* Most of the new approaches referred to above involve an explicit desire to reach certain sections of the population that are not well served by existing policies. In general, policies in this sense addressed immigrants.

Different starting points in policy systems determine policy responses:

- Responses which reflect differences in local and national welfare state systems.
- Responses which reflect differences in systems of governance and the politics of scale. These are related for example to degree of centralization, government system operation, capacity of local administrations to initiate action, and the extent and nature of fragmentation of local governance.
- Responses to particular crises or events which are not found elsewhere (e.g. Berlin unification, riots in Brussels)

Common themes were identified albeit these differences:

- A concern with better policy integration at different spatial levels.
- The adoption of flexible, longer term contracts and compacts under policies which takes accounts of the priorities identified by different partners in the policy process.
- New neighbourhood initiatives.
- Sustainability concerns regarding employment, neighbourhood restructuring, social mix and community development and empowerment.

Lesson derived from the spatial dimension of social exclusion

A distinction was made by the project between policies aimed at territorial target groups and policies aiming at changing elements of the built environment. The following policy implications were then derived:

- Residential mobility should be taken into account when assessing territorial target group policies. This means that improvement of the built environment may displace the poor, and therefore changes on the housing and retail markets should be controlled, because it could result into gentrification rather than social inclusion. Part of this market should be transferred to the redistribution sphere.
- Certain spatial conditions must be met to increase the efficiency of territorial target group strategies. These are centrality, heterogeneity and historical thickness. There is a crucial difference between trying to integrate poor neighbourhoods in inner city areas than those located in the periphery. For those which are not in central locations, non-territorial policies are more adequate. Thinking that dispersing the poor spatially and thus creating social mix will accrue to the integration of the poor (if poorness is understood partially as an effect of their spatial concentration) is not correct. Instead policies should be geared at making the poor richer and giving the inhabitants equal rights. From a spatial perspective peripheral neighbourhoods are integrated through better communications and transport. Socially this is done through political participation in the city's decision making process.
- Territorial approaches and policies advocating for social inclusion imply politics of scale. The urban integration of neighbourhood and their inhabitants is seen as an inter-scalar scale. Claiming for political rights, changes in fiscal policies and in the institutional and territorial design of local authorities are measures belonging to the national level.
- Solutions should aim at abolishing the causes of social exclusion and not at dealing with its consequences. Full employment access, as the main policy to combat social exclusion, could only create 'working poor'. Therefore a universal basic income should be carefully considered.
- Finally, one important consideration of target group strategies is to pay especial attention to youngsters. This is based on the empirical findings of case studies in which deprived areas in cities generally correspond to the main concentration zones of youngsters.

9.5. Community walks in UDU 4.4

No	Place	Date	Remarks
1.	Julián Blanco	30.11.2004	House structure situation Ecological risk Informal conversations with different barrio inhabitants
2.	UDU 4.4	03.08.2005	Ocular inspection of 6 sectors of UDU 4.4 – Julian Blanco, La Montañita, La Capilla, 24 de Marzo and Barrio Bolívar Visit of construction sites and informal conversation with CAMEBA staff
3.	UDU 4.4	04.08.2005	Ocular inspection of 3 sectors of UDU 4.4 – José Félix Ribas Zona 5, Zona 6 and Vista Hermosa Visit of construction sites and informal conversation with CAMEBA staff
4.	Vista Hermosa	21.11.2005	Ocular inspection of finished work of CAMEBA with the President of the Neighbourhood Association and a group of six women who were organizing themselves in committees
5.	UDU 4.4	15.03.2006	Ocular inspection of retaining wall construction and rain water collection system in Julian Blanco, Barrio Bolivar and 24 de Marzo Informal conversations with barrio staff working for CAMEBA
6.	UDU 4.4	19.03.2007	Ocular inspection of finished work of CAMEBA Informal conversation with barrio inhabitants living next to the physical measures implemented e.g. houses constructed next to retaining walls, along new access road and next to drainage systems

Source: Author's field work records 2004-2006

9.6. Household Questionnaire: October – November 2005

Universidad de Dortmund Facultad de Planificación Espacial El Proceso de Integración Socioeconómica y Espacial de los Barrios de Caracas Encuesta de Hogar	Confidencialidad: La Facultad de Planificación Espacial de la Universidad de Dortmund, Alemania garantiza la confidencialidad de TODA la información recogida en esta encuesta
Propósito de la encuesta: El propósito de esta encuesta es evaluar el proceso urbano y las políticas relacionadas con los barrios del Área Metropolitana de Caracas. Esta investigación tiene un fin netamente académico, ya que se inscribe dentro del trabajo de extensión de investigación de la Universidad de Dortmund, que persigue a través de proyectos específicos, profundizar y avanzar en el entendimiento de los procesos de habilitación física de los países en vías de desarrollo, utilizando en este caso particular a los barrios de Caracas como zona de estudio. El estudio cubrirá alrededor de 100 viviendas en la Unidad de Planificación Física, Petare Norte, y usted ha sido seleccionado como hogar a ser encuestado	

Información general Nombre: Nombre del barrio o sector: Clasificación de la vivienda a/: Propiedad de la vivienda b/ : Propiedad de la tierra c/ :		
a/ Código clasificación vivienda 1. Rancho sin bloques 2. Casa de bloque un piso 3. Casa de bloque dos pisos 4. Casa de bloque tres o más pisos	b/ Código propiedad vivienda 1. Bienhechuría / propietario 2. Alquilado 3. Vivienda prestada / ocupada 4. Otro _____	c/ Código propiedad tierra 1. Tierra ocupada propiedad municipal 2. Tierra ocupada propiedad privada 3. En proceso de regularización 4. Propiedad registrada con título de propiedad

¿Desde cuando vives en este barrio? (indique el año):

Primera Parte: Características Socio-económicas

a/ Código estado civil 1. Soltero (a) 2. Casado (a) 3. Divorciado (a) 4. Viudo (a)	b/ Código nivel educativo 1. Ninguno 2. Pre-escolar 3. Primaria incompleta 4. Primaria completa 5. Secundaria incompleta 6. Secundaria completa 7. Técnico incompleto 8. Técnico completo 9. Universitario incompleto 10. Universitario 11. Especialización	c/ Código ocupación 1. Ninguna 1. Estudiante 2. Ama de casa 3. Auto-empleo (trabaja por su cuenta) 4. Empleado público 5. Empleado fábrica o empresa 6. Otro, especifique
d/ Código estado laboral 1. Estudiante 2. Tiempo completo 3. Medio tiempo 4. Casual 5. Contractual 6. Desempleado 7. Mantenido 8. Beca trabajo	e/ Código trabajo principal 1. De 0 a 99 mil Bs. 2. 100 mil – 250 mil Bs. 3. 251 mil – 500 mil Bs. 4. 501 mil – Un millón Bs. 5. Más de un millón de Bs.	f/ Código otros ingresos 1. Alquiler 2. Empresa del hogar (quincalla, taller, carpintería, abasto, etc.) 1. Otros, especifique

Características de hogar								
Perfil demográfico					Perfil laboral		Ingresos	
Miembro del hogar *	Edad	Sexo M/F	Estado Civil a/	Nivel Educativo b/	Ocupación c/	Estado Laboral d/	Trabajo Principal e/	Otros ingreso f/
Padre								
Madre								
Hijo 1								
Hijo 2								
Hijo 3								
Hijo 4								
Hijo 5								
Otros parientes que viven en la casa								

*Sólo los que viven juntos

Segunda parte: Disponibilidad y accesibilidad a servicios básicos e infraestructura urbana

Servicios básicos e infraestructura urbana					
¿Usas alguno de estos servicios en el barrio donde vives?	Si	No	No: ¿A dónde vas?		
			Otro sector dentro de Petare Norte	Dentro del Municipio Sucre fuera de Petare Norte	Dentro de Caracas fuera del Municipio Sucre
Servicio de Salud Primario					
Clínica Dental					
Farmacia					
Hospital/Clínica					
Guardería					
Preescolar					
Escuela Primaria					
Escuela Secundaria					
Escuela Técnica					
Universidad					
Línea telefónica					
Telefonía celular					
Correo					
Internet					
Transporte Público					
Recreación (Plazas, parques, canchas deportivas)					
Mercados/Establecimientos Comerciales					
Iglesias/Capillas					
Servicios de Protección (Cuerpo policial / Bomberos)					
Servicio de Agua (IMAS)					
Electricidad de Caracas					
CANTV					
Sevicio de aseo					
Otros (Especifique)					

Tercera parte: Significado de integración

1. ¿Qué entiendes tú por integración del barrio y su gente a la ciudad de Caracas?

2. El Barrio pertenece a la ciudad, forma parte de ella

Si

No, ¿Por qué?

3. ¿Qué sientes tú por el barrio? (Marque con una X todas las que apliquen)

- El barrio me gusta
- El barrio no me gusta
- Yo estoy orgulloso de vivir en este barrio
- A mí me da pena decir que vivo en este barrio
- El barrio está lleno de gente buena
- El barrio está lleno de malandros
- Otra proposición

4. Yo vivo en este barrio porque: (Marque con una X todas las que apliquen)

- Soy fundador
- Aquí crecí y viven mis familiares y amigos
- No tuve más opción
- Es más barato vivir aquí que en la ciudad
- Estoy cerca de mi trabajo
- Soy pobre
- Aquí tengo mi negocio y medio de subsistencia
- Se comunica con la ciudad
- Tengo transporte y llega el metro
- Tengo espacios de recreación
- Hay calles y escaleras
- Tengo servicios básicos (marque cuáles): agua luz teléfono
- Otras razones (especifique)

Cuarta parte: Proyectos de Mejoramiento del Barrio

Redistribución

1. ¿Conoces alguno de los siguientes proyectos de mejoramiento del barrio?

- Proyecto CAMEBA
- Misiones del gobierno. Si, cuáles?
- Proyecto Alcaldía Libertador. Si, cuáles
- Proyecto de alguna universidad. Si, cuáles?
- ¿Has trabajado en alguno de estos proyectos?

2. ¿Qué te benefició de los proyectos mencionados?

Servicios e infraestructura	Si	No	Calidad de servicios e infraestructura		
			Buena	Regular	Mala
Construcción de muros de contención					
Suministro de Agua					
Drenajes (Aguas de lluvia)					
Cloacas (Aguas negras)					
Calles vehiculares					
Escaleras y veredas					
Electricidad domiciliaria					
Alumbrado público					
Plazas o parques					
Centro comunitario					
Cancha deportiva					
Recolección de basura					
Depósito de basura					
Reparación de Fachadas					
Otros (especifica)					

3. ¿Realizas o estás realizando mejoras en tu vivienda gracias al proyecto? ¿Si, cuáles?

4. ¿Participaste en algún programa de concientización dentro del barrio? Si, ¿Cuáles? (Llenar cuadro abajo)

Tipo de Programa	Nombre del Programa	Marca con una X	
		Como beneficiario	Como voluntario
Ambiental			
Educativo			
Salud			
Social			
Otro			

Reciprocidad

1. Cuando se realizan proyectos de mejoramiento dentro del barrio:

¿Eres informado acerca de los proyectos y lo que van a hacer?

No (Siguiente pregunta)

Si, ¿Cómo eres informado? Marque con una X todas las que aplican

- Con una visita personal en casa
- Con un panfleto o aviso pegado en la calle
- Porque alguien por allí te lo contó
- En una reunión de la comunidad
- Por televisión, radio o periódico
- Otros

2. ¿Has asistido a alguna de las siguientes actividades relacionadas a los proyectos?

Actividades	Si	No
Identificación de las necesidades de la comunidad en grupos de trabajo con profesionales		
Preparación del proyecto en los planos junto con los profesionales		
Discusión de las propuestas del proyecto con la comunidad y los profesionales		
Aceptación del proyecto		
Otras actividades. ¿Cuál o cuáles?		

3. ¿Has asistido ha alguna reunión donde explican algún proyecto de mejoramiento del barrio?

No (Siguiente pregunta)

Si Si la respuesta es Si (Marque con una X)

¿Cómo es la reunión?	siempre	a veces	nunca
Oyes de qué se trata y después te vas			
Entiendes todo lo que explican y estás de acuerdo			
¿Cuando no estás de acuerdo con algo?			
levantas la mano y expresas tu desacuerdo			
te quedas callado			
te vas porque te parece que es más de lo mismo			
¿Cuando no entiendes algo?			
levantas la mano y expresas tus dudas			
te quedas callado			
te vas porque te parece que es más de lo mismo			
¿Cuando expresas tu desacuerdo o dudas, ¿Cómo es la respuesta?			
Satisfactoria			
Confusa			
Muy técnica y no entiendes			
¿Cuando la reunión se termina, ¿Cómo te sientes?			
Satisfecho, te parece que puedes confiar en los expositores			
Confundido, no entiendes que es lo que quieren hacer			
Molesto, te parece que es más de lo mismo			
Dudoso, te parece que eso es muy difícil de hacer			

4. ¿Asistes a reuniones donde te explican en qué y cómo han utilizado el dinero?

No

Si

5. ¿Trabajas en el mantenimiento de las mejoras físicas del barrio?

No (Siguiente pregunta)

Si, ¿En cuál o cuáles?

6. ¿Qué entiendes tú por participación de la comunidad en los asuntos relacionados al barrio

7. ¿Pertenece a alguna organización comunitaria creada por algún proyecto de mejoramiento del barrio?

No (Siguiente pregunta)

Si, ¿Cuál o cuáles?

8. Contesta Si o No

El barrio o sector donde yo vivo está organizado

Si

No

9. Los miembros de mi barrio o sector se apoyan y ayudan cuando tienen problemas

Si

No

10. ¿Cómo es la asistencia de las personas a las reuniones de la comunidad?

Las mujeres asisten más que los hombres a las reuniones

Los hombres asisten más que las mujeres a las reuniones

Mujeres y hombres asisten por igual

Los niños y jóvenes asisten

Los niños y jóvenes no asisten

Las personas de la tercera edad asisten

Las personas de la tercera edad no asisten

11. ¿Cómo es tu relación con las comunidades de los barrios o sectores vecinos?

Muy buena

Buena

Regular

Mala

Ninguna

12. ¿Cuando hay problemas dentro de la comunidad, ¿Cuál es tu actitud?

¿Vas a reuniones para tratar de resolverlos?

Si No

¿Esperas que se resuelvan solos?

Si No

¿No te importa, porque no eres afectado sino otros?

Si No

Intercambio Mercantil

1. ¿Sabías que hay un programa del gobierno para mejorar o ampliar tu vivienda?

Si No

2. ¿Has intentado beneficiarte de este programa?

Si No

3. Si es SI, ¿Qué ha pasado?

No sé que debo hacer para obtenerlo

Cuando fui a averiguar no entendí lo que tenía que hacer

Necesito ayuda para reunir los recaudos que me pidieron

Estoy esperando por el crédito para comenzar a mejorar mi vivienda

Ya mejoré mi vivienda

Otras ideas

4. ¿Has obtenido tú o alguien de tu casa empleo en alguno de los proyectos de mejoramiento del barrio? (Marque con una X todos los que apliquen)

Construcción, ampliación o mejoramiento de calles

Construcción de muros de contención

Construcción, ampliación o mejoramiento de escaleras y/o veredas

Construcción de centros comunitarios, canchas deportivas

Ampliación o mejoramiento de viviendas

Supervisión de los trabajos que se realizan

Actividades de mantenimiento, tales como limpieza o vigilancia

5. Gracias a las mejoras hechas en tu barrio o vivienda (Marque con una X todos los que apliquen)

Hiciste una empresa hogareña fuera de tu casa

Hiciste un negocio dentro de tu casa

Hiciste una habitación para alquilar

6. Con las mejoras del barrio que piensas hacer

Voy a vender mi propiedad y mudarme

Me voy a quedar aquí

Otras ideas

Muchas gracias por tu colaboración

9.7 Subsidiary survey: March 2006

SITUACIÓN DE VIDA EN JULIÁN BLANCO

1. ¿Qué le parece vivir en Julián Blanco? Se siente:

- Muy a gusto a gusto menos a gusto no se siente a gusto

2. ¿Cuáles son las cosas que a Ud. le gustan en Julián Blanco?

3. ¿Cuáles problemas ve Ud. en Julián Blanco?

- | | |
|--|--|
| 01 <input type="checkbox"/> Consumo de alcohol | 15 <input type="checkbox"/> Mala calidad de calles y caminos |
| 02 <input type="checkbox"/> Consumo de drogas | 16 <input type="checkbox"/> Mal servicio de agua |
| 03 <input type="checkbox"/> Corrupción | 17 <input type="checkbox"/> Mala condición de electricidad |
| 04 <input type="checkbox"/> Delincuencia
pasarelas | 18 <input type="checkbox"/> Mala condición de escaleras y |
| 05 <input type="checkbox"/> Desempleo | 19 <input type="checkbox"/> Mala condición de vivienda |
| 06 <input type="checkbox"/> Desinterés de habitantes (Apatía) | 20 <input type="checkbox"/> Poco alumbrado público |
| 07 <input type="checkbox"/> Embarazos precoces | 21 <input type="checkbox"/> Polución y basura |
| 08 <input type="checkbox"/> Estigmatización de los barrios
negras | 22 <input type="checkbox"/> Problemas con drenaje de aguas |
| 09 <input type="checkbox"/> Falta de aceras y semáforos | 23 <input type="checkbox"/> Problemas de salud |
| 10 <input type="checkbox"/> Falta de comunicación
los terrenos) | 24 <input type="checkbox"/> Riesgos geológicos (inestabilidad de |
| 11 <input type="checkbox"/> Falta de organización de la comunidad | 25 <input type="checkbox"/> Ruido (Música alta) |
| 12 <input type="checkbox"/> Falta de transporte | 26 <input type="checkbox"/> Violencia |
| 13 <input type="checkbox"/> Inestabilidad de empleo
cuáles: _____ | 27 <input type="checkbox"/> Otros, |
| 14 <input type="checkbox"/> Insatisfacción de habitantes | 28 <input type="checkbox"/> Sin respuesta |

4. ¿De los problemas mencionados, cuáles son los más importantes en su opinión?

(Poner números de los problemas) 1.:__ __ 2.:__ __ 3.:__ __

5. ¿En su opinión, cuáles serían medidas adecuadas para solucionar estos problemas más graves?

(Escribir las propuestas para medidas)

CAMEBA

6. ¿Ud. conoce el proyecto CAMEBA?

- Sí no sin respuesta (si la respuesta es negativa continúe con pregunta no. 14)

7. ¿En el caso que sí: Qué lo relaciona a usted con CAMEBA?

- | | |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Acceso a servicios de urgencia
(Bomberos, urgencias médicas, policía) | <input type="checkbox"/> Mejor drenaje de aguas negras |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Construcción de centros comunales | <input type="checkbox"/> Mejoramiento de viviendas |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Construcción y mejoramiento de accesos peatonales
(Escaleras y callejones) | <input type="checkbox"/> Nuevas viviendas |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Estabilización de taludes | <input type="checkbox"/> Participación de habitantes |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Disposición de créditos de vivienda
comunitaria | <input type="checkbox"/> Promoción de organización |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Imposición externa de medidas
tierra | <input type="checkbox"/> Regularización de tenencia de |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Mejor acceso al agua
de vida | <input type="checkbox"/> Empeoramiento de la situación |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Mejor acceso para vehículos | <input type="checkbox"/> Promesas vacías |

- Mejor alumbrado público Nada
 Mejor disposición y recolección de la basura Otro: _____

8. ¿Hay una medida de CAMEBA que Ud. evalúa como muy positiva? En el caso que sí:Cuál es?

9. ¿Que efecto ha tenido CAMEBA sobre su situación de vida? Diría que su situación de vida ahora es:

- Mucho mejor un poco mejor ningún cambio un poco peor mucho peor

10. ¿En qué medida diría Ud. que CAMEBA responde a las necesidades de los habitantes de Julián Blanco?

- Mucho bastante neutral poco
 para nada

11. ¿Ud. o alguien de su familia ha estado involucrado con CAMEBA de alguna manera?

- Sí, yo mismo/a sí, alguien de mi hogar No
 Sin respuesta

12. ¿En el caso que sí, de qué manera le han involucrado/a? (Varias respuestas posibles)

- Me han informado/a sobre las medidas de CAMEBA Me han preguntado sobre mis necesidades
 He participado en decisiones Estuve involucrado activamente en la planificación
 Estuve involucrado en la implementación de los proyectos He recibido entrenamiento y capacitación de CAMEBA
 Estuve involucrado en evaluaciones de CAMEBA He trabajado para CAMEBA, como:
 Otros:

13. ¿En caso que no: Por qué no fue involucrado/a?

- No me han preguntado No estuve interesado/a No tenía tiempo Otros:

PARTICIPACIÓN

14. ¿De qué manera le gustaría que le informen acerca de los proyectos?

- Quisiera que alguien pase por mi casa para informarme
 Quisiera ir a informarme en alguna oficina del proyecto en mi barrio
 No quiero que me informen No me importa Sin respuesta

15. ¿De qué manera quisiera Ud. involucrarse en los proyectos?

- Quisiera que alguien venga a mi casa y me pregunte por mi opinión Quisiera participar en los talleres de capacitación
 Quisiera ir a una oficina en mi barrio para dar mi opinión Quisiera participar en la evaluación de proyectos
 Quisiera ser involucrado/a en la toma de decisiones No quisiera participar
 Quisiera participar en la planificación No me importa
 Quisiera participar en la implementación de medidas Sin respuesta

PLANES PARA MUDARSE

16. ¿Usted quiere irse de Julián Blanco?

- Sí no sin respuesta

17. ¿En el caso que sí: Por qué quiere irse de Julián Blanco?

18. ¿Si quiere irse: A dónde quiere irse?

19. ¿Usted opina que Julián Blanco está integrado a la ciudad de Caracas?

Si no sin respuesta

PREGUNTAS GENERALES

20. ¿Hace cuánto tiempo que ud. vive en Julián Blanco?

_____ años / menos de un año nacido/a en Julián Blanco

21. ¿Dónde ha vivido antes?

En otro barrio en Caracas. Nombre de este barrio: _____

En una zona rural, en el Estado de: _____

En otra ciudad. Nombre de la ciudad: _____

En otro país. Nombre del país: _____

INFORMACIONES SOBRE LA PERSONA

22. Sexo hombre mujer

23. Edad:

24. Ocupación (varias respuestas posibles):

Alumno/a en colegio Estudiante Formación profesional Asalariado

Auto-Empleo Jubilado/a Ama de casa

25. ¿Cuántas personas viven en este hogar?

Número de personas:

26. Algunas informaciones sobre su vivienda:

Agua por la llave Tanque de agua Electricidad Poceta / letrina
 Conexión a drenaje de aguas negras Teléfono Servicio de correos en la casa

9.8. Summary of FGDs conducted in UDU 4.4 Julian Blanco

FGD Date	Location	Participants description			
		No	Gender	Coming from	Role / profession
FGD I 20.08.2005	UDU 4.4. Julian Blanco	29	Female	Julian Blanco (14) 24 de Marzo (7) Barrio Bolívar (3) La Montañita (1) Municipal Housing institute (Sucre) FAU/UCV	3 community leaders (1 CTU) 22 barrio residents 2 municipal social workers 2 university professors
		5	Male	Julian Blanco	1 community leader (Bolivarian Circles) 4 barrio residents
FGD II 30.11.2005	Barrio Vista Hermosa	14	Female	Vista Hermosa USB	5 Barrio Committee (health, education, culture and sports) 8 barrio residents 1 University professor
		5	Male	Vista Hermosa	1 president of Neighbourhood association 4 barrio residents
FGD IV 04.03.2006	Barrio Julián Blanco	6	Female	Julian Blanco FAU/UCV	2 barrio leaders 3 barrio residents 1 university professor
		4	Male		4 barrio residents
FGD III 13.05.2006	Barrio Bolivar	11	Female	Barrio Bolivar	1 community leader 10 barrio residents
		2	Male	Barrio Bolívar	2 barrio residents

Source: Author's field work records and research's documentation (2005-2006)

9.9. Example of a FGD-Report

Caracas, 13 de mayo de 2006

Discusión de Grupo Focal: La integración espacial y socioeconómica de los barrios

Participantes

Número	Nombre	Procedencia
1	Maritza G.	Barrio Bolívar. Sector Los Topitos
2	María L. Madra	Barrio Bolívar. Sector Los Topitos
3	Benigna Ospino	Barrio Bolívar. Sector Los Topitos
4	Petra Luisa Aguilera	Barrio Bolívar. Sector Los Topitos
5	Miren Eguiguna	Barrio Bolívar. Sector Los Topitos
6	Luis Yáñez	Barrio Bolívar. Sector Los Topitos
7	Francis Castillo	Barrio Bolívar. Sector Los Topitos
8	Yamilet Echegarreta	Barrio Bolívar. Sector Los Topitos
9	Gracia Marina Romero	Barrio Bolívar. Sector El Parquecito
10	Dorisnel Martínez	Barrio Bolívar. Sector El Parquecito
11	Félix Quintana	Barrio Bolívar. Sector Los Topitos
12	Belkis Moncada	Barrio Julián Blanco. Sector El Nazareno
13	Rosa Narváez	Barrio Bolívar. Sector El Parquecito
14	María Elena Mellior	Universidad Monteávila
15	Blanca Fernández de Alemán	Escuela Don Bosco. Barrio Brisas de Turumo.
Facilitador	Alonso Ayala	Centro Ciudades de la Gente. UCV

Introducción a la discusión

En la introducción se explicó el propósito de la reunión y el emplazamiento del Barrio Bolívar como parte integrante de la Unidad de Diseño Urbano 4.4 Julián Blanco (UDU 4.4), nomenclatura dada por “El Plan Sectorial para la Incorporación de los Barrios a la Estructura Urbana del Área Metropolitana de Caracas y la Región Central” (1994). Hoy en día, esta nomenclatura, es la base para la implementación del Programa de Transformación Endógena de Barrios (2004). Se explicó que la UDU 4.4 forma parte de la Unidad de Planificación Física 4: Petare Norte (UPF 4), aclarando que dicha nomenclatura está relacionada con la estrategia de planificación del mejoramiento del barrio, para poder concebir los proyectos de habilitación física y poder gerenciarlos. Luego, se dieron los datos estadísticos demográficos del Barrio Bolívar y las condiciones urbanas del mismo, identificados en el año 2000, para dar una idea de los problemas principales del sector. Estos problemas son: la ineficiencia de infraestructura de drenajes y canalización de aguas de lluvia, el mal estado general de las viviendas derivado principalmente de su ubicación en pendientes pronunciadas y, la alta densidad de construcción dentro del sector lo cual deriva en lo que la comunidad identificó como falta de un espacio adecuado para la recreación y esparcimiento de los habitantes.

Primera Parte: Significado de integración

Metodología: Tormenta de ideas y categorización de las ideas

Descripción del Proceso

Tormenta de ideas

Se hizo una tormenta de ideas donde se pidió a los participantes escribir alguna palabra o frase que describiera lo que para ellos significa integración del barrio y su gente.

Se colocaron en la pizarra las tarjetas mientras iban saliendo. Una vez culminado el proceso se comenzó la categorización de las ideas en aspectos físicos, económicos y sociales. Se fue leyendo cada tarjeta y preguntando a los participantes a cuál categoría pertenecían. Cuando no estaba claro lo que estaba escrito, se le pedía directamente al autor que explicara lo que quería decir.

Categorización de las ideas por los participantes

1. Ideas generales sobre el concepto de integración

- Integración es la realización y concentración de varias personas con un fin específico para solucionar o, por lo menos, buscar una solución a corto plazo en una comunidad determinada
- Incluir algo a una cosa
- Justicia social, económica y física
- Honradez, ser fiel, ser humano. “Pensar en los otros. Yo soy los demás”

2. Aspectos sociales

- Realizar los proyectos donde la comunidad se da apoyo y logra las cosas
- Participación. Asistir a los talleres como comunidad (x 5)
- “Unirse a los demás que habitan el barrio para mejorar la calidad de vida de todos”. Unión de la comunidad (x 4)
- Solidaridad (x 4)
- Compartir, compartir ideas, vivir compartiendo (x4)
- Sensibilidad (x2)
- Armonía
- Comunión
- Humanidad
- Acercamiento
- Integración es formar, crear, organizar

3. Aspectos Físicos

- Mejor servicio de agua
- Transporte a toda hora
- Que no se vaya la energía eléctrica al llover
- Agua permanente
- Alumbrados públicos

Conclusión de la primera parte

En un sentido general la integración es entendida como la unión de la comunidad para encontrar las soluciones a los problemas que los afectan, mediante la búsqueda de la justicia social, económica y física donde el barrio mantiene su identidad urbana propia

pero con condiciones y oportunidades iguales a los que habitan la ciudad “formal”: “Queremos ser del cerro, vivir en el cerro, que nos tengan envidia, no queremos ser de La Urbina”. Se destaca la necesidad de que los habitantes del barrio se perciben como honrados, fieles y humanos: “Pensar en los otros. Yo soy los demás”

Los resultados de esta primera parte muestran que para los participantes la integración está relacionada principalmente con el aspecto social ya que para que ésta exista es necesaria y fundamental la participación, la unión, la solidaridad y la sensibilidad de la comunidad. Esta unión se basa principalmente en el apoyo y participación de la comunidad organizada en la realización de los proyectos necesarios para el barrio.

Por otro lado, la integración se relaciona con el aspecto físico, en el sentido de que para que ésta se dé es necesaria la mejora sustancial de los servicios básicos tales como agua, electricidad (tanto en los hogares como en espacios públicos) y transporte interno. Esta afirmación se refuerza por diferentes opiniones emitidas por los participantes tales como:

“La luz se va cuando llueve” y “es necesario mejorar el transporte porque el pobre paga todo el doble”. Esto último trae como consecuencia que para ahorrarse el tiempo y costo del “viaje a Petare”, prefieren comprar en las bodegas del barrio a pesar de estar conscientes de que éstas son más caras: “En las bodegas todo es más caro que en Petare”.

Segunda Parte: Explicación Marco Teórico del Proyecto de Investigación

Metodología: Clase participativa

El significado de integración fue explicado desde el punto de vista de los derechos humanos tomando como punto de partida los tres conceptos básicos del marco teórico del proyecto de investigación que considera la interrelación de los modos de integración económica como componentes inseparables e indivisibles del concepto de integración. Estos son la redistribución, la reciprocidad y el intercambio mercantil. Estos tres conceptos fueron definidos y explicados a los participantes como sigue:

- *El intercambio mercantil* es el derecho que tiene cada persona a ser productiva y al trabajo, a obtener un empleo y a ganarse la vida, y a dar algo y obtener algo a cambio. Es el intercambio de bienes y servicios
- *La redistribución* es el derecho que tiene la persona a ser ciudadano, un ciudadano que además de derechos, tiene responsabilidades con la sociedad. Es también no sólo el derecho a participar de las decisiones y las políticas del Estado, sino también de una redistribución equitativa de los ingresos que éste genera
- *La reciprocidad*, que es lo que se relaciona más directamente con la comunidad del barrio, es el derecho a pertenecer a la sociedad y a beneficiarse de las redes y organizaciones comunitarias dentro de un ambiente de confianza, cooperación, ayuda y fraternidad, donde también se da un intercambio informal de bienes y servicios

Si estos tres aspectos entendidos como derechos y que se resumen en el derecho a ser productivo, el derecho a decidir sobre aquello que afecta nuestras vidas y el derecho a organizarnos se cumplen a través de los proyectos de mejoramiento, y de diferentes estrategias coordinadas que se ocupan de cada uno de estos aspectos, hablamos entonces de integración, porque se cubren e interrelacionan todos los aspectos que afectan al ser humano.

Luego se mostró a los participantes un conjunto de ideas descriptoras del significado de integración preparadas por el facilitador con anterioridad, relacionándolas a los modos de integración

Se explicó la necesidad de acompañar los proyectos integracionistas con campañas de concientización y capacitación. Entre éstas se nombraron campañas ambientales, de alfabetización, vacunación, prevención de enfermedades y accidentes. Capacitación de la comunidad en construcción, mantenimiento de servicios e infraestructura, organización comunitaria y resolución de conflictos, establecimiento de cooperativas, así como también el diseño e implementación de proyectos comunitarios por los propios habitantes para generar ingresos adicionales dentro del grupo familiar.

Una vez culminado este proceso comenzó la discusión acerca de los proyectos de mejoramiento que se realizan en el barrio.

Se preguntó a los participantes acerca de los proyectos que ellos conocían y que se han implementado en la zona de barrios, no sólo en ese momento, sino también en el pasado, o si tenían conocimiento de proyectos a ser implementados en el futuro. A pesar de que, en general, la opinión fue que en el sector específico del cual vienen no han sido implementados proyectos de mejoramiento, nombraron los que han visto u oído tales como CAMEBA, el programa de cambio de rancho por casa, el embaulamiento de aguas negras y aguas de lluvia y la formación de guarderías. También hablaron de proyectos realizados por ellos mismos, como la creación hace 20 años de una cooperativa de ahorro para mejorar la vivienda, haciendo hincapié en que el programa de cambio de rancho por casa no es bueno porque éste “no forma a la gente, es como anular su esfuerzo”. El éxito de esta cooperativa fue reconocido hace algunos años mediante un premio otorgado por el CONAVI. Otro proyecto nombrado fue la solución del problema del agua por todos los habitantes del sector mediante la instalación de un tanque de agua para tal fin, afirmando que las cosas si se pueden lograr cuando la comunidad está organizada.

Tercera Parte: Análisis de las ventajas y desventajas de los proyectos de mejoramiento del barrio

Metodología: Análisis de Fuerzas del Proyecto y tormenta de ideas

Descripción del proceso

En esta sesión del taller se explicó el diagrama de fuerzas de campo así como el significado de las fuerzas impulsoras y represoras de los cambios propuestos por los proyectos, pidiendo a los participantes tener en mente los proyectos mencionados por ellos mismos, al final de la sesión anterior.

Se realizó el diagrama básico en la pizarra escribiendo la meta principal de los proyectos en la parte superior, seguido de una pregunta central y luego las dos columnas de fuerzas (Ver Anexo 1) Se preguntó a los participantes cuál era la meta de estos proyectos. Muchos expresaron que la meta debería ser que los proyectos fueran culminados satisfactoriamente: “La meta es terminar lo que se comienza, con constancia y perseverancia”, “que los proyectos se lleven a cabo”. Otras metas nombradas fueron la creación de espacios humanitarios, solucionar el problema de la basura, educación y que la gente viva con dignidad, lo cual se traduce en la necesidad sentida por los participantes de crear espacios adecuados para el esparcimiento de la comunidad, sobretodo de los niños que no tienen donde jugar. La necesidad de crear conciencia entre los habitantes, a través de la educación, para solucionar, por ejemplo, el problema

de la basura, y la mejora de la calidad de vida para sentir que viven en un espacio digno y humanizado.

Una vez definida la meta principal por consenso, las fuerzas impulsoras y represoras fueron recopiladas en una tormenta de ideas donde la gente contestó la pregunta central: ¿Qué fuerzas impulsan o reprimen el cambio propuesto por los proyectos que se implementan en el barrio?

Conclusión de la tercera parte

Las fuerzas impulsoras de los proyectos fueron en general entendidas por la comunidad como participación, unión y organización de la misma en la implementación de los proyectos, cuya principal característica debe ser que estén priorizados por la comunidad, que su realización sea de calidad (“que los profesionales tengan sensibilidad y construyan como si fuera para ellos”) y que haya la disponibilidad suficiente de los recursos financieros para que éstos se terminen satisfactoriamente. El aspecto de la participación, como fuerza impulsora, se define: como la necesidad de que la comunidad sea escuchada y consultada por un lado, y por el otro, que el individuo participe en la elaboración e implementación de los mismos sin esperar que otros lo hagan por él. Es importante señalar que la mayoría de las fuerzas impulsoras se centran en el potencial humano y su actitud frente a los proyectos, entre éstas la constancia, perseverancia, honestidad, apoyo mutuo, deseos de transformar el contexto donde viven, consenso, confianza, humanidad y en especial la capacitación y educación de la comunidad.

Entre las fuerzas impulsoras identificadas por los participantes una resume y entrelaza muy bien el tema de la integración con los proyectos de mejoramiento del barrio:

Las fuerzas impulsoras son la integración de la comunidad mediante el aporte ideológico, económico y físico que cada una de las personas comprometidas puedan dar para ver concluido el proyecto (Male participant)

Las fuerzas represoras fueron identificadas principalmente como un problema de actitud tanto del gobierno como de la comunidad. La actitud del gobierno se caracteriza por la poca asistencia, negligencia y apatía del ente responsable, que se considera deshonesto, corrupto y manipulador: “Debemos prepararnos para actuar como comunidades organizadas y evitar que el gobierno o las autoridades nos envuelvan y podamos estar preparados para llevar a cabo las acciones necesarias y no dejarnos manipular”. Por otro lado, la actitud negativa de la comunidad, como fuerza represora, fue caracterizada como el desinterés, la flojera, el egoísmo, la apatía, la criticadera, el chismorreo, la desconfianza, la desunión y la falta de educación y conciencia de los miembros de la comunidad. Es importante señalar que como fuerza represora se destaca la estigmatización de los habitantes del barrio con respecto a ellos mismos, cuestión que se deduce con la afirmación: “Cuando una persona deshonesto ve a otra con un saco piensa que éste es un ladrón”. Es importante señalar aquí, que la persona que piensa que el otro es un ladrón se considera como deshonesto.

De las fuerzas represoras nombradas se realizó una discusión acerca de cómo cambiarlas, en el caso que ello fuera posible. Se escogió entonces una común tanto para el gobierno como para la comunidad: La flojera o apatía. Se concluyó que para ambos casos esto podría solucionarse con información y concientización, ya que por un lado la comunidad debe ser informada acerca de las reuniones mediante un trabajo de concientización de la necesidad de participar para lograr el bienestar común, así como el

gobierno debe estar informado acerca de las necesidades que apremian a la comunidad, que al estar organizada puede exigir al ente gubernamental responsable la solución y apoyo en la resolución de los problemas.

Con respecto a la flojera de la comunidad, más que hablar de soluciones, la discusión se centró en las razones por las cuales la gente no participa. Éstas fueron, la falta de tiempo para asistir a las reuniones, ya sea por trabajo o por enfermedad. La falta de conciencia comunitaria y el interés personal (egoísmo), donde si la persona no obtiene algún beneficio inmediato (dinero, comida, materiales de construcción, etc.) no participa. Estas personas que sólo participan para que les den se definieron como “los flojos interesados”. Sin embargo, en general, los participantes creen que la flojera se puede cambiar a través de talleres de formación y concientización. La pregunta de cómo lograr la motivación para que la gente participe quedó abierta.

Con respecto al gobierno y su actitud apática, no hubo consenso respecto a la posibilidad de cambiar o no esta situación. Sin embargo, todos estuvieron de acuerdo con que la única manera de movilizar al gobierno e impulsar el cambio es mediante la organización de la comunidad que actúa como un solo ser para poder lograr lo que desea. Se recalcó la importancia entonces de que este ser organizado debe tener conocimiento de sus derechos para poder exigirlos y que en el caso de los proyectos la contraloría social es fundamental para no dejarse engañar como tantas otras veces. Es importante señalar que hubo un consenso general de los participantes en el hecho de que no desean que les regalen las cosas, sino ser responsables y copartícipes en la obtención de sus necesidades

Para cerrar la sesión y como conclusión final de la discusión, el facilitador explicó a los participantes las doce lecciones de desarrollo comunitario participativo y su relación con la realidad del barrio (Ver Anexo 2). La conclusión final se centró en que la integración del barrio a la ciudad no es la transformación del barrio en una urbanización caraqueña, sino la preservación de las virtudes y potencialidades del barrio, mediante la homologación de sus condiciones de vida con la ciudad “formal”: utilizando los proyectos de mejoramiento como instrumento para el desarrollo participativo de la comunidad.

Esta integración debe incluir a los ciudadanos del barrio a la dinámica y gerencia urbana, mediante su acceso adecuado y eficiente a la infraestructura social (salud, educación y recreación); económica (empleo e intercambio de bienes y servicios) y física (escuelas, hospitales, espacios públicos).

Esta integración contempla la satisfacción de las necesidades básicas del individuo y la familia y la concientización de sus habitantes respecto a sus derechos y deberes ciudadanos como protagonistas de la implementación de las políticas públicas, destinadas a beneficiarlos, con la posibilidad real de vivir dignamente en un ambiente saludable, alejado de la criminalidad y sin la exclusión derivada de la estigmatización de la sociedad en la cual se insertan.

Resultados diagrama de Fuerzas de Campo

META: Terminar los proyectos satisfactoriamente	
PREGUNTA CENTRAL: ¿Qué fuerzas impulsan o reprimen el cambio propuesto por los proyectos que se implementan en el barrio?	
Fuerzas Impulsoras	Fuerzas Represoras
<p>General “Las fuerzas impulsoras es la integración de la comunidad con el aporte ideológico, económico y físico que cada una de las personas comprometidas puedan dar para ver concluido el proyecto”</p> <p>A. Participación Que la comunidad sea consultada Ser escuchado No esperar que otros hagan, hacer yo también</p> <p>B. Organización y unión comunitaria Comunidad organizada (x6) Unión Unidos todos logramos e impulsamos En la unión está la fuerza Gente que quiera trabajar para la comunidad</p> <p>C. Actitud positiva de la comunidad Que se llegue a un acuerdo Convencimiento de que si se puede hacer Ser tenaz y perseverante Constancia (x3) Honestidad Apoyo Tener espíritu fuerte y transformar Decisión fuerte de que requiera transformar el ambiente Luchar con fuerza Humanidad que tengan las personas a la hora de realizar las cosas</p> <p>D. Recursos financieros Obtener recursos financieros Recursos Dinero Impulso económico Que lleguen los recursos consecutivamente</p> <p>E. Educación Comunidad capacitada Conocimiento</p> <p>D. Calidad de los proyectos Que se hagan los proyectos de forma prioritaria Que los profesionales tengan sensibilidad y construyan como si fuera para ellos</p>	<p>A. Actitud del gobierno Poca asistencia de los entes del gobierno que siguen actuando con apatía retrasando así el mismo en lo económico y físico Apatía de los ente gubernamentales Falta de honestidad por parte de entes gubernamentales Cuando la negligencia es superior a todo Trabas Falta de dinero</p> <p>B. Corrupción Cuando los reales desaparecen (corrupción) Trampa y mala i.e. (x2) Cuando se roban los proyectos No llegan los recursos</p> <p>C. Manipulación Desconfianza de la comunidad en los que traen los proyectos Engaño</p> <p>D. Actitud de la comunidad La falta de información de la comunidad por negligencia y falta de interés por los problemas del barrio Flojera (x3) Egoísmo (x4) Los vecinos se excusan de no participar por falta de tiempo Falta de conciencia Falta de educación No hay unión de los vecinos La criticadera. Todos critican, pocos ayudan (x3) El chismorreo La intriga Es uno mismo Apatía de la comunidad Cuando una persona deshonesto ve a otra con un saco piensa que es un ladrón</p>

9.10. Interview schedule November.2004 – March 2007

No	Place and date	Key informant name and description	Type of interview and main themes
1.	CCG/FAU/UCV 19.11.2004	Arch. Teolinda Bolivar Founder of CCG known as one of the "Barriologist of Venezuela"	Semi-structured - Professional experience and research work in barrios
2.	CCG/FAU/UCV 22.11.2004	Arch. Teolinda Bolivar	Semi-structured - Meaning of integration and housing policies related to barrios
3.	Barrio Julián Blanco 30.11.2004	Arch. Mildred Guerrero Researcher and lecturer of FAU/UCV and CCG	Semi-structured - Formation and consolidation of the community organization "Asociación Civil Fuerza Promotora del Barrio Julián Blanco" (ACFPBJB)
4.	Barrio La Bandera 01.12.2004	Sra. Carmen Barrio inhabitant	Semi-structured - House upgrading and technical support from the CCG
5.	Barrio Julian Blanco 04.12.2004	Mrs. Belkis Moncada Barrio leader Julian Blanco CTU member of UDU 4.4	Semi-structured - Barrio problems - Relationship with the CCG
6.	CCG/FAU/UCV 09.12.2004	Arch. Teolinda Bolivar and Mrs. Rosa de Peña (Barrio leader Hoyo de la Puerta)	Semi-structured - Barrio upgrading and the CAMEBA project - Meaning of integration
7.	Personal address 09.12.2004	Arch. David Gouverneur	Semi-structured - Political situation of Venezuela. - National Government attitude towards barrios and upgrading - Sectoral plan and pilot experiences in barrio upgrading
8.	CCG/FAU/UCV 17.12.2004	Arch. Teolinda Bolivar and Mrs. Belkis Moncada	Semi-structured - Community organizations and role of professionals in barrios
9.	Local restaurant 05.01.2005	Mrs. Belkis Moncada	Narrative - Formation and consolidation of Julian Blanco - Life and community work in the barrio
10.	CCG/FAU/UCV 10.01.2005	Arch. Iris Rosas Director CCG	Semi-structured - Barrio construction culture, formation and consolidation - Research experiences in barrios
11.	Barrio Julian Blanco 11.01.2005	Sr. Manuel Santana Circulos Bolivarianos and Cocina Comunitaria	Semi-structured - Functioning of Misiones in Petare Norte - Impact of CAMEBA
12.	Private Office 19.01.2005	Arch. Josefina Baldó Former president of the National Housing Council Co-author of the Sectoral Plan of 1994	Semi-structured - Characteristics, objectives and composition of the Sectoral Plan. - Barrio upgrading projects and integration
13.	Municipality Chacao 20.01.2005	Arch. LG1	Semi-structured - Barrio upgrading in Chacao

14.	Municipality of Baruta headquarter 21.01.2005	Arch. LG2 Dirección de Planificación Urbana y Catastro	Semi-structured - Barrio upgrading projects in Baruta, UDU 12.2 Las Minas
15.	Municipality of Sucre headquarter 24.01.2005	Arch. LG3	Semi-structured - Barrio upgrading in Petare and project CAMEBA
16.	CCG/FAU/UCV 22.07.2005	Arch. Carolina Tinoco Member of the professional team that design the barrio upgrading plan of UDU 4.4 Julian Blanco	Semi-structured - Characteristics of the upgrading plan for UDU 4.4
17.	Barrio Julian Blanco 28.07.2005	Mrs. Belkis Moncada Barrio leader Julian Blanco CTU member of UDU 4.4	Semi-structured - Functioning of the ACFPBJB - Land regularization process
18.	Baruta town centre 10.08.2005	Mrs. Mildred Fuentes Barrio leader and activist of Macarao and Hoyo de la Puerta	Semi-structured - Barrio community struggle - Urban infrastructure needed in barrios - Land regularization process
19.	Barrio Julian Blanco 03.03.2006	Mrs. Martha Hernández Member of "Asociación Civil Fuerza Promotora del Barrio Julián Blanco"	Semi-structured - History, objectives and functioning of the organization - Participation and impact of CAMEBA
20.	Barrio Julian Blanco 08.03.2006	Mrs. Belkis Moncada	Semi-structured - Meaning of integration - Barrio upgrading projects and CAMEBA - Community organization and participation in barrios
21.	Office of FUNDACOMUN/ CAMEBA 04.03.2006	Arch. Isaira Sanchez Project Manager of CAMEBA /Petare Norte	Semi-structured - CAMEBA project objectives and characteristics - Meaning of integration
22.	Barrio Quebrada Catuche 06.03.2006	Arch. César Martín Director Consorcio Catuche	Semi-structured - Organization of the Consorcio Catuche - House relocation project
23.	UDU 4.4 07.03.2006	CAMEBA staff Site engineer	Semi-structured - Functioning and operationalisation of project CAMEBA - Barrio attitude towards the project - Lessons learnt and difficulties experienced during project implementation
24.	UDU 4.4 07.03.2006	CAMEBA barrio staff - Community inspector - Social Promoter	Semi-structured - Functioning and operationalisation of project CAMEBA - Barrio attitude towards the project - Lessons learnt and difficulties experienced during project implementation
25.	PPU 8 Petare Sur 09.03.2006	Mr. Antonio Barrio leader of San Blas	Semi-structured - Community organization - Barrio upgrading plan in San Blas - House relocation within the barrio
26.	Office of FUNDACOMUN/ CAMEBA 13.03.2006	Project Manager of CAMEBA/ La Vega	Semi-structured - CAMEBA project objectives and characteristics - Impact of the project - Land regularization process

27.	PPU 10 La Vega 13.03.2006	Mr. JH Social promoter La Vega	Semi-structured - Impact of project CAMEBA - Community organization and participation in project CAMEBA
28.	Private office 14.03.2006	Arch. Josefina Baldó	Semi-structured - Endogenous Transformation of Barrios Programme - New Housing Policy
29.	Barrio Julian Blanco 15.03.2006	Mr. Jesús Cisneros Barrio inhabitant working for the social component of the CAMEBA project	Semi-structured - CAMEBA project experience - Lessons learnt throughout the upgrading project
30.	FAU/UCV 16.03.2006	Arch. Carmelita de Brandt Professor and researcher of the Institute of Urban Studies involved in the composition of Local Urban Development Plans	Semi-structured - Venezuelan planning system - Local Urban Development Plans
31.	Barrio Los Anaucos 30.04.2006	Arch. Professor and researcher affiliated to the CCG	Semi-structured - Barrio eviction
32.	Barrio Bolivar 13.05.2006	Mrs. Miren Eguiguna Barrio leader. School director and teacher	Semi-structured - Community organization - Government interventions in barrios
33.	Barrio El Guataparo 16.05.2006	Sra. Anunciación Perafan Barrio leader and director of community centre	Semi-structured - Barrio history - Social work and community organization
34.	CAMEBA/ FUNDACOMUN 21.03.2007	Arch. CM2 Building contractor Project CAMEBA La Vega	Semi-structured - CAMEBA management and coordination - Work conditions in barrios
35.	NGO Headquarter in Caracas Barrio La Silsa-Morán 22.03.2007	Arq. Luis Alemán Director of the NGO "Dividendo Voluntario para la Comunidad A.C."	Semi-structured - Role, projects and programmes of the NGO in La Silsa-Morán. - Community organization, education and house upgrading.

Source: Author's field work records and research's documentation (11.2004-03.2007)

9.11. Evaluation criteria of the degree of integration

Qualitative criteria and evaluation of the community organization component of project CAMEBA

	Community organization			
	Variables	Impact's tendency/score		
		-	0	+
Redistribution	Enablement of participation in planning		-	
	Capacity building in community organization			-
Reciprocity	Level of participation	0		
	Level of affiliation	-		
Market exchange	Capacity building for the future			0

Negative tendency -		Score	Weight			Score X Weight		
			Red	Rec	Mkt	Red	Rec	Mkt
+	Situation has a negative tendency, but might get better	-1	1	2	0.5	-1	-2	-.5
0	Situation remains negative and stagnant (status quo)	-1.5	1	2	0.5	-1.5	-3	-.75
-	Situation has a negative tendency, and might get worst	-2	1	2	0.5	-2	-4	-1

Worst scenario weighted score = -14

Status Quo 0		Score	Weight			Score X Weight		
			Red	Rec	Mkt	Red	Rec	Mkt
+	Situation has a positive tendency although stagnant	0.5	1	2	0.5	0.5	1	0.25
0	Situation remains unchanged and stagnant	0	1	2	0.5	0	0	0
-	Situation has a negative tendency although stagnant	-0.5	1	2	0.5	-0.5	-1	-0.25

Status Quo Scenario = 0

Positive tendency +		Score	Weight			Score X Weight		
			Red	Rec	Mkt	Red	Rec	Mkt
+	Situation has a positive tendency and getting better	+2	1	2	0.5	2	4	1
0	Situation remains positive and stagnant (status quo)	+1.5	1	2	0.5	1.5	3	0.75
-	Situation has a positive tendency, but might get worst	+1	1	2	0.5	1	2	0.5

Best Scenario weighted score = +14

Total score for Community Organization = -5.75.

Divided by maximum score (14) = -0.41 which means the situation has a negative tendency rather stagnant

Qualitative criteria and evaluation of the physical upgrading component of project CAMEBA

	Physical upgrading			
	Variables	Impact's tendency/score		
		-	0	+
Redistribution	Enablement of participation in implementation		+	
	Infrastructure provided			0
	Capacity building in construction work			0
Reciprocity	Creation of organizations for upgrading purposes	-		
	Social space for interaction		+	
	Community centers built	0		
Market exchange	Creation of organizations for upgrading purposes			0
	Urban infrastructure allowing market exchange			+

Negative tendency -		Score	Weight			Score X Weight		
			Red	Rec	Mkt	Red	Rec	Mkt
+	Situation has a negative tendency, but might get better	-1	2	1	1.5	-2	-1	-1.5
0	Situation remains negative and stagnant (status quo)	-1.5	2	1	1.5	-3	-1.5	-2.25
-	Situation has a negative tendency, and might get worst	-2	2	1	1.5	-4	-2	-3

Worst scenario weighted score = Red (-27); Rec (-13.5); Mkt (-13.5) = -54

Status Quo 0		Score	Weight			Score X Weight		
			Red	Rec	Mkt	Red	Rec	Mkt
+	Situation has a positive tendency although stagnant	0.5	2	1	1.5	1	0.5	0.75
0	Situation remains unchanged and stagnant	0	2	1	1.5	0	0	0
-	Situation has a negative tendency although stagnant	-0.5	2	1	1.5	-1	-0.5	-0.75

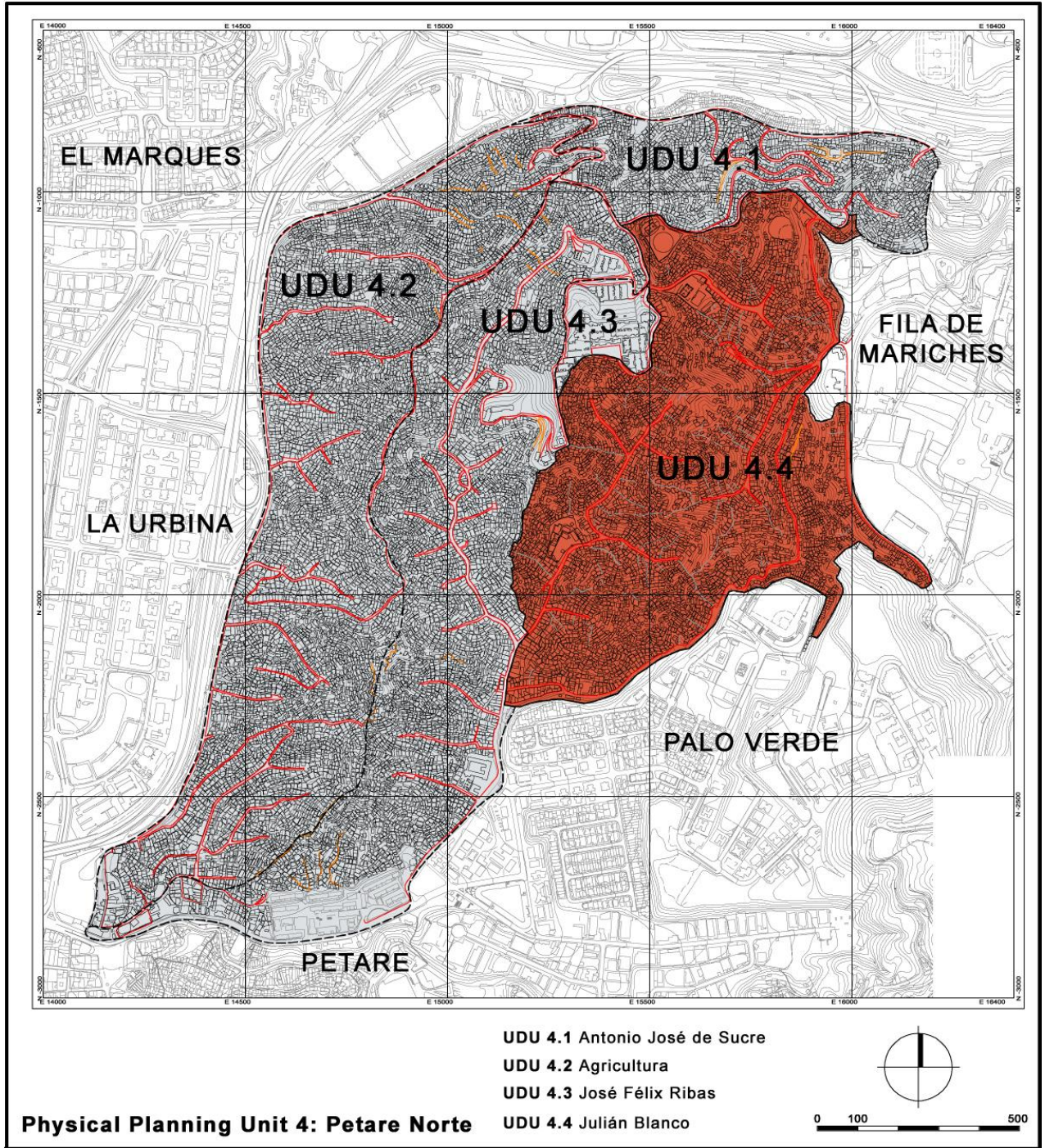
Status Quo Scenario = 0

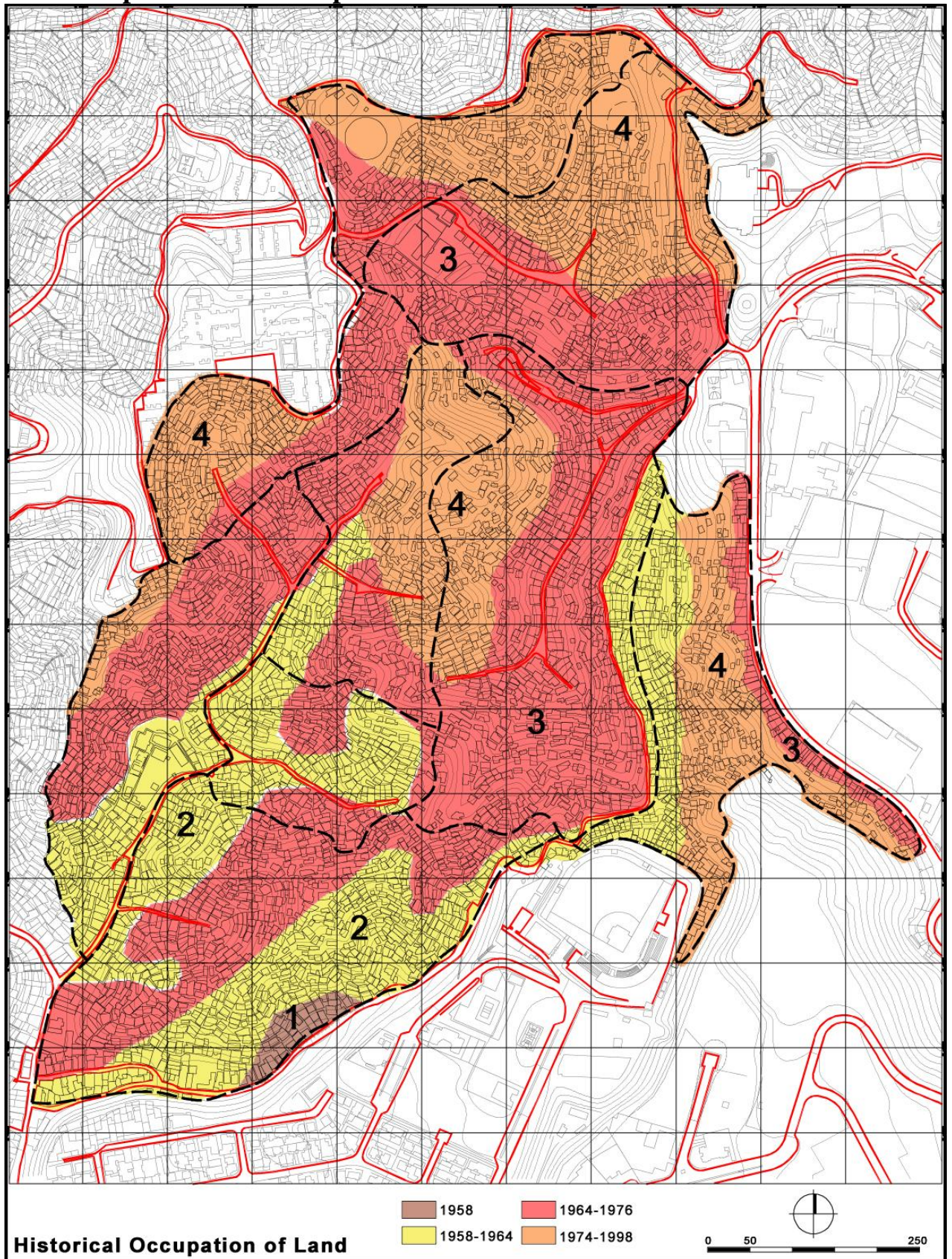
Positive tendency +		Score	Weight			Score X Weight		
			Red	Rec	Mkt	Red	Rec	Mkt
+	Situation has a positive tendency and getting better	+2	2	1	1.5	4	2	3
0	Situation remains positive and stagnant (status quo)	+1.5	2	1	1.5	3X2	1.5	2.25
-	Situation has a positive tendency, but might get worst	+1	2	1	1.5	2	1	1.5

Best Scenario weighted score = Red (27); Rec (13.5); Mkt (13.5) = 54

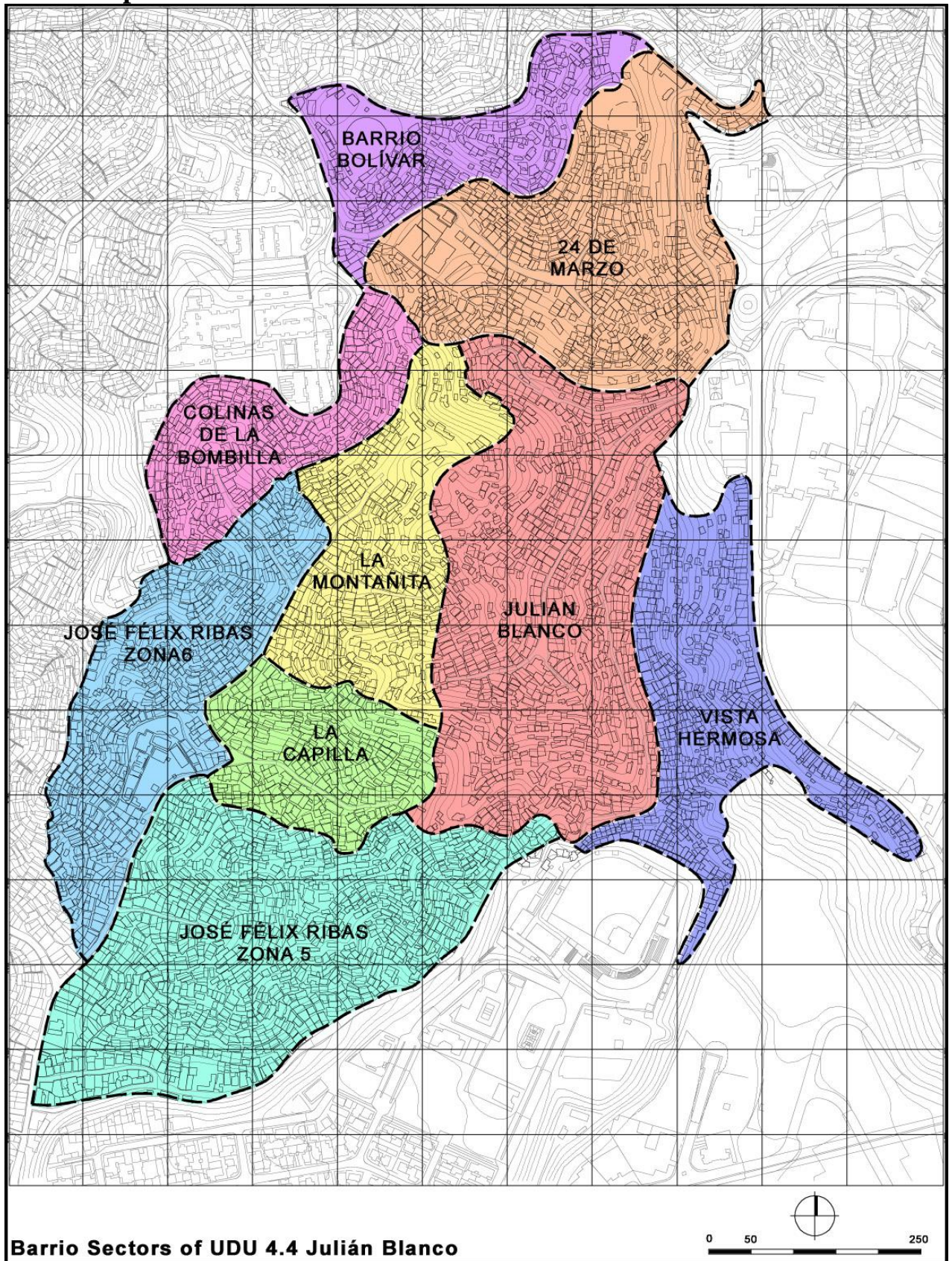
Total score for Physical upgrading = 9.25. Divided by maximum score (24) = 0.38 which means the situation has a positive tendency but rather stagnant

9.12. Map: Overview map of Petare Norte



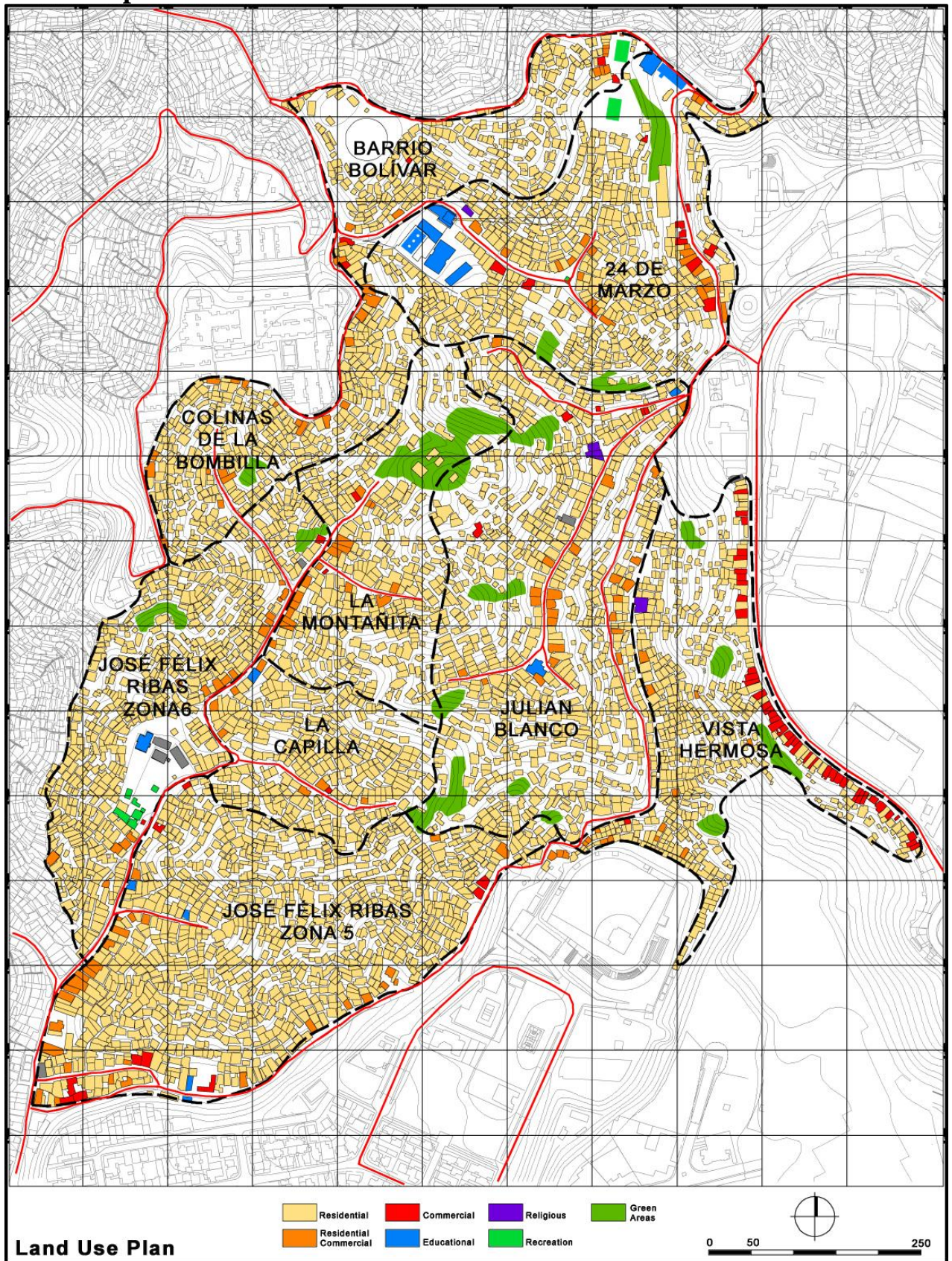
9.13. Map: Historical occupation of land

9.14. Map: Barrio Sectors



Barrio Sectors of UDU 4.4 Julián Blanco

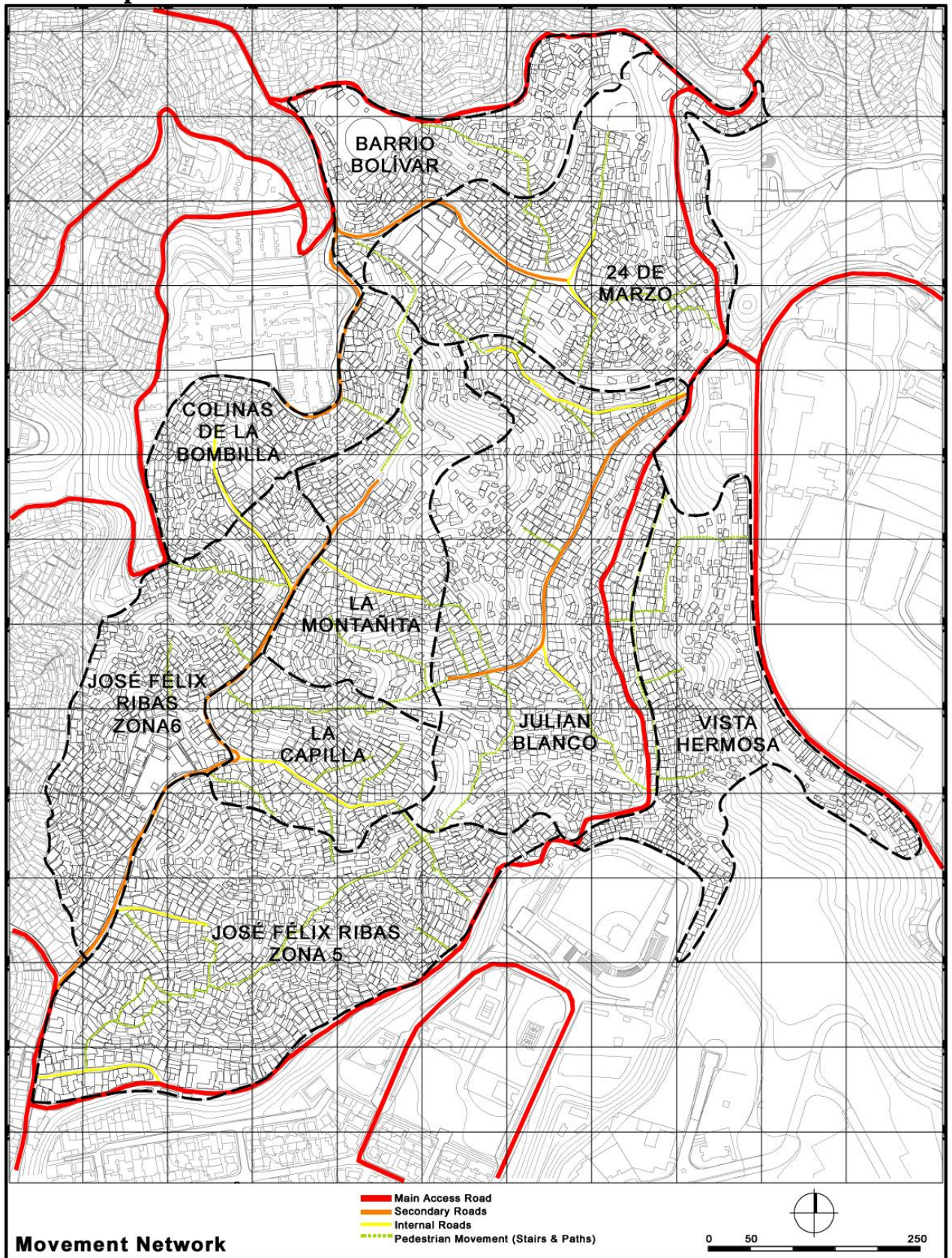
9.15. Map: Land Use Plan



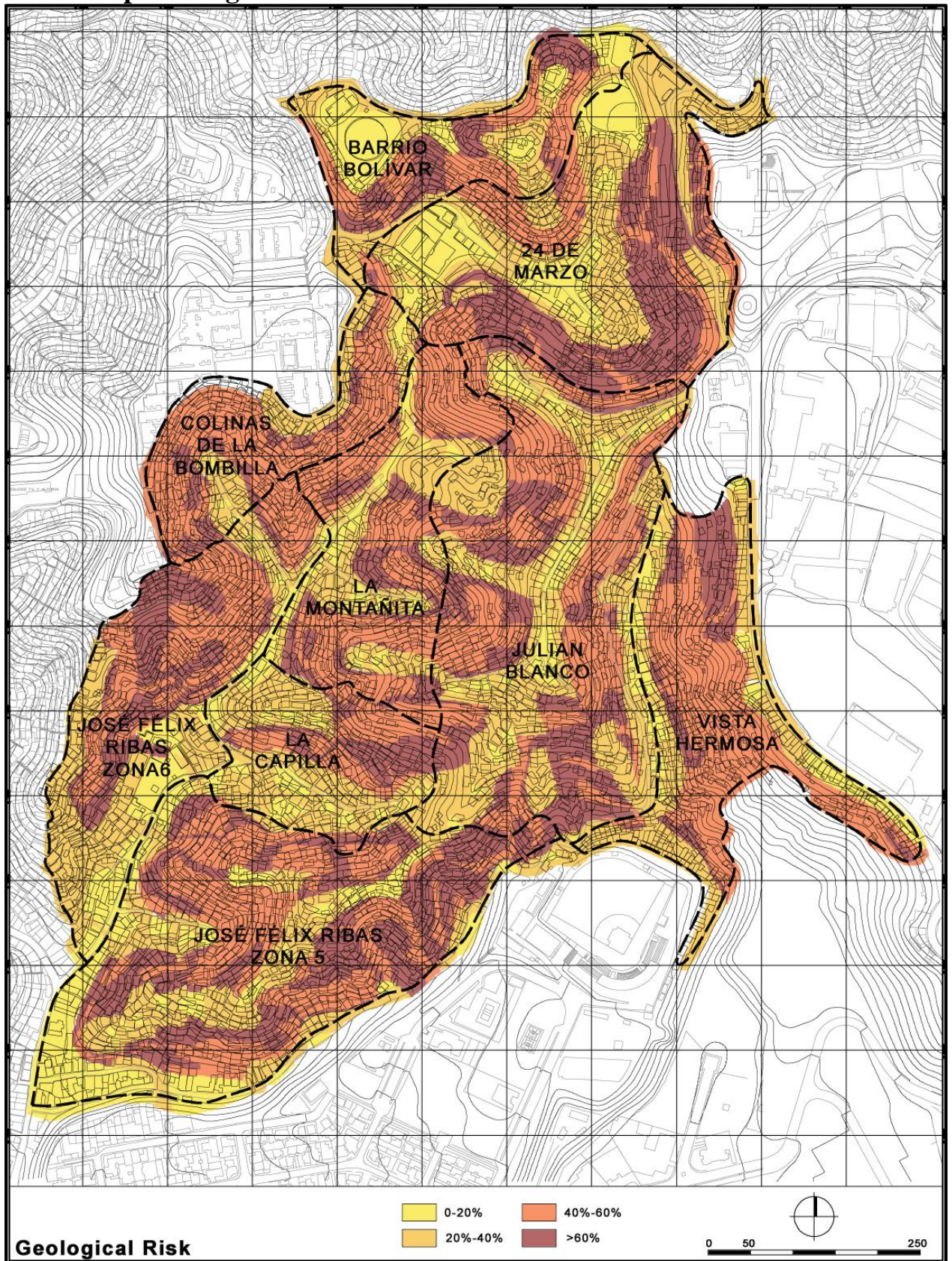
9.16. Map: Urban Grain



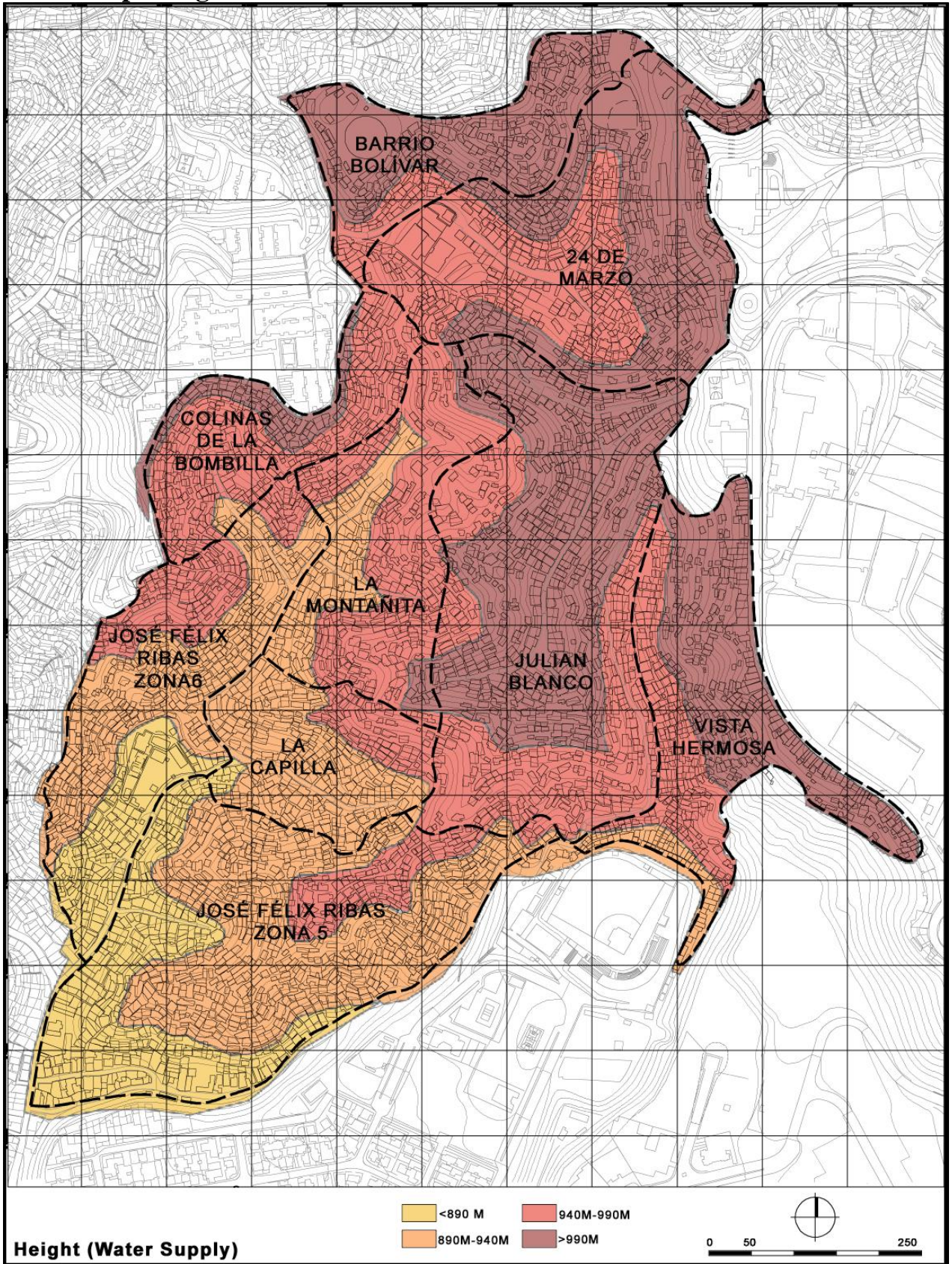
9.17. Map: Movement Network



9.18. Map: Geological Risk



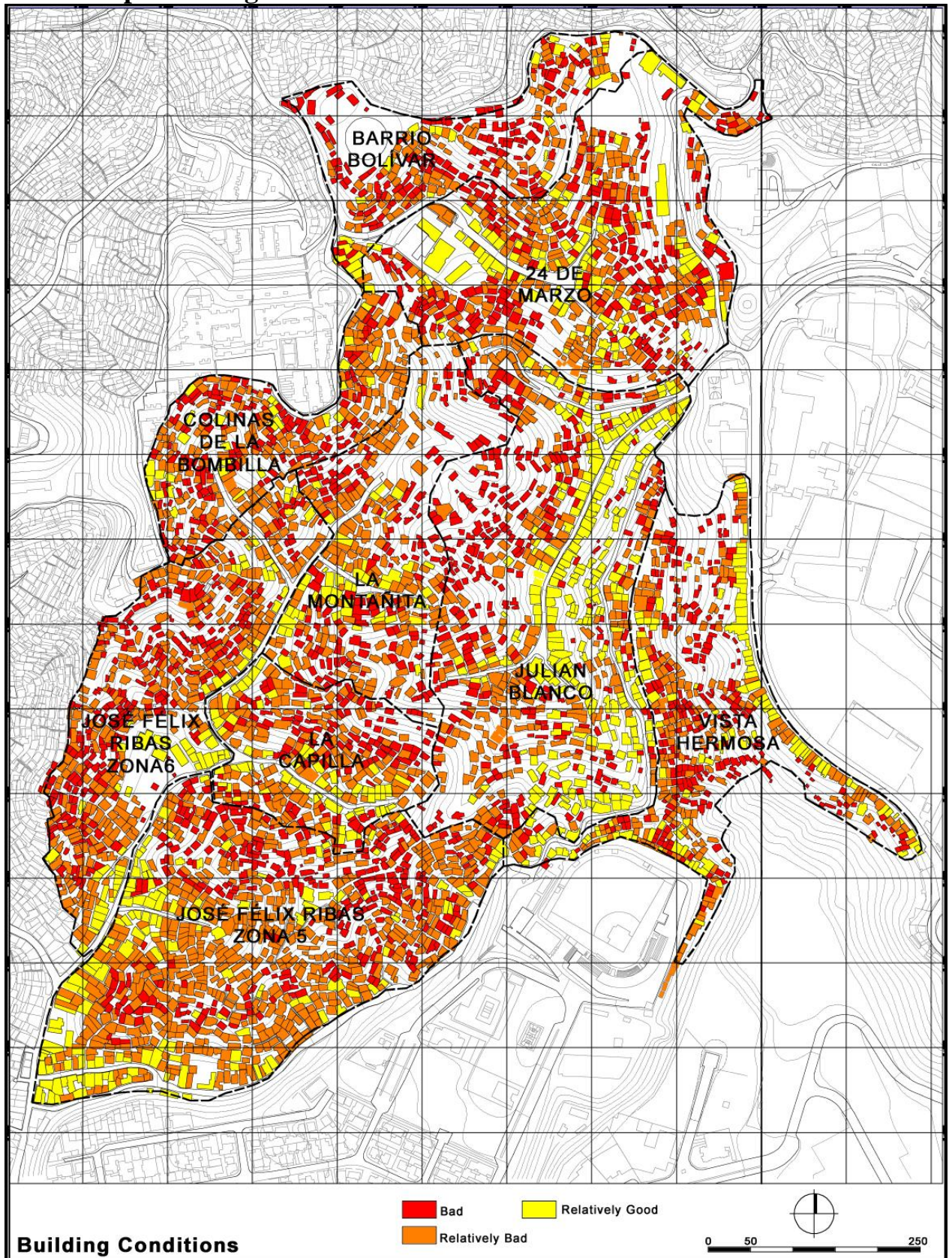
9.19. Map: Height



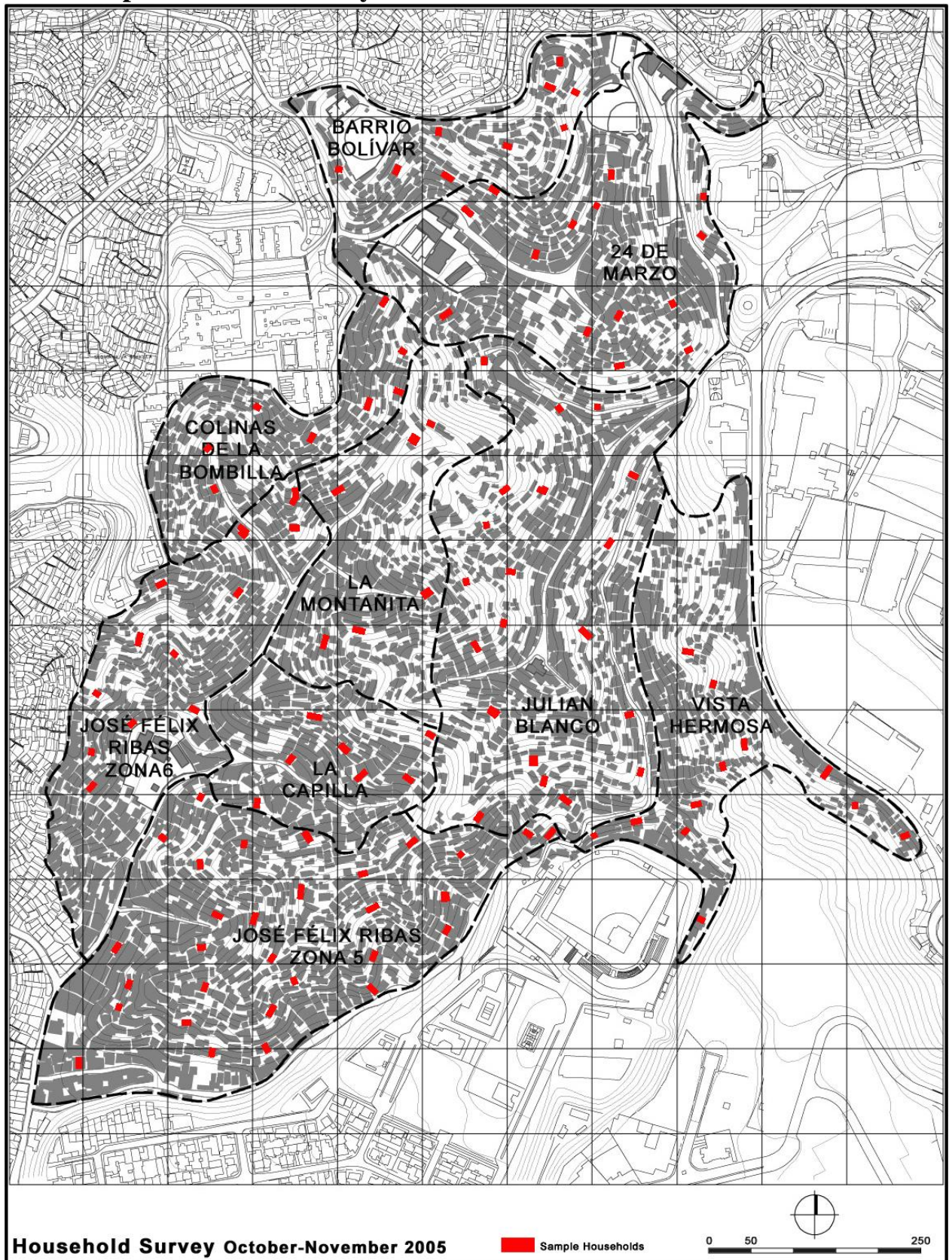
9.20. Map: Height



9.21. Map: Building Conditions



9.22. Map: Household Survey



9.23. Map: Construction Work Status

