



KTH Architecture and
the Built Environment

Citizen Participation in the Restoration of Old Havana

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Foreword

This report is my Master Thesis and is based on a Minor Field Study carried out in Havana, Cuba during the period October 2009 – January 2010 with a scholarship from Sida that I am grateful for. The intention of the field study was to follow and investigate a specific planning project in the restoration of Old Havana from both the perspective of the citizens and the authorities regarding citizen participation in the planning process. After a while in Cuba the project focus had to be changed and instead treat the citizen participation in the restoration of Old Havana from a broader perspective. This was mainly due to the bureaucratic system in Cuba that required permissions to be able to formally interview residents and follow a specific project, which the time of field study was not enough for. Therefore the focus of the report became a broader approach on the citizen participation methods used and the possibilities for the residents to participate, with the aim of including the aspect of the authorities as well as the aspect of the residents. This change of focus did not mean that it now was easy to gather data for the report, but facilitated as fewer permissions were required. Added to this had the misfortune to loose my mass storage device that contained a lot of the gathered information for the report, such as interviews and photographs. Despite the difficulties in carrying out the field study the experiences from the time in Cuba are invaluable. This especially since there probably is no country in the world that is running in same way as Cuba. So the goal of coming to a place different from home was undoubtedly reached.

I would like to thank Professor Emeritus Dick-Urban Vestbro at the Royal Institute of Technology for being my extremely helpful and patient supervisor that made the whole adventure of getting this report done possible. Furthermore I would like to thank my supervisor in Cuba, Professor Doctor Architect Jorge Pena Diaz at Instituto Superior Politecnico Jose Antonio Echeverria, for making the field study possible by opening doors and guiding me to key persons for my report. This concerns his helping colleagues as well. Moreover I would like to thank Jessica Argudin de Pena for helping me with the translation during the interviews and thereby solved my language problems. I am also very grateful to all the people that I have had the chance to interview, formally or informally, for my study.

Last but not least I would like to thank my family for the eternal support.

Abstract

The city district Old Havana that is on the World Heritage List because of its Spanish colonial architecture is undergoing a restoration project of great size. The project is run by the Office of the City Historian, which in Cuban proportions is independent, the state. Instead the Office is self-financed by the profits out of the 1,5 million annual tourists that visit the already, with its 63000 inhabitants, overcrowded Old Havana. Alongside the restoration of the deteriorated buildings, the goal is to make it without resettling the current residents. Instead the aim is to involve the citizens in the planning processes to make them participate, which is not a well-tried approach in Cuban planning. This report, based on a field study in Old Havana, investigates what methods for participative planning are used by the Office and to what extent the residents see that they have the possibility to take part.

Resumen

El distrito de la ciudad de La Habana Vieja, que está en la lista de Patrimonio de la Humanidad por su arquitectura colonial española, se encuentra en un proyecto de restauración de gran tamaño. El proyecto está a cargo de la Oficina del Historiador de la Ciudad, que en proporciones de Cuba, es muy independiente del estado. En cambio, la Oficina se autofinancia con los beneficios de la 1,5 millones de turistas anuales que visitan el ya, con sus 63.000 habitantes, superpoblados de La Habana Vieja. Junto a la restauración de los edificios deteriorados, el objetivo es hacerlo sin el reasentamiento de los residentes actuales. En cambio, el objetivo es implicar a los ciudadanos en los procesos de planificación para hacerlos participar, que no es un método de probada eficacia en la planificación de Cuba. Este informe, basado en un estudio de campo en La Habana Vieja, investiga qué métodos de planificación participativa son utilizados por la Oficina y en qué medida los vecinos vean que tienen la posibilidad de participar.

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Introduction

This report is based on a field study carried out in between October 2009 and December 2009 and treats the citizen participation in the restoration project carried out in Old Havana, Cuba. The Old Havana is a city district of the capital Havana and has 63000 inhabitants. Old Havana was placed on the UNESCO World Heritage list in 1982 because of its Spanish colonial architecture.(UNESCO, 2006) This, in combination with the strategy of the Cuban government to focus on tourism, has turned Old Havana into one of country's most important tourist attractions.

Due to lack of maintenance for several decades the culturally valuable buildings are in many cases severely deteriorated. The restoration work is run by the Office of the City Historian located in Old Havana with the goal to restore the buildings and at the same time avoid resettling the residents. This is aimed to be done with participative planning, which is a new way of planning in Cuba and therefore is of interest to follow.

Aim

The aim of the report is to investigate the citizen participation in the restoration of the city district Old Havana in Cuba's capital Havana.

The authorities face several obstacles in their work of restoring Old Havana already in the initial stage. The most influent problem is of course the lack of resources, which slows down the process. This might lead to that the citizens are not willing to participate in the planning processes since it will take a long time to implement the plans due to the lack of resources. Moreover a problem in participative planning is that the residents might be too busy with their daily lives and simply do not have time to take part in a participative planning process. Another factor that might slow down the planning process is the bureaucratic process, which at times might be complicated in Cuba. Furthermore there is not an overload of models for participative planning used in cases such as the one in Old Havana, which most likely leads to a trial-and-error method in the work since Old Havana can be seen as a test case. Another fact that seriously complicates the work is the goal of allowing the residents in their houses during the restoration and avoiding resettlements of the people.

With these potential obstacles for authorities of Old Havana in mind the aim of the report is to treat the following research questions:

- What methods for participative planning are used in the restoration of Old Havana?
- To what level do these methods of citizen participation used in Old Havana reach on the participation ladder?
- What is the perception of the residents of Old Havana when it comes to the possibilities to participate?
- Do the perception of the authorities' contra the perceptions of the citizens differ regarding the possibilities to participate in the planning process of the restoration of Old Havana?

Methodology

In the writing of this report I have been using several methods to gather the information needed. These were used in the preparations, but as well during the field study and in the after work of putting the data together. Below the different methods used in the writing are presented.

Analysis of theoretical literature

This method was mainly used in the preparations of the field study, but in the following phases of the writing as well. The literature used has mainly been in English, but in Swedish and Spanish as well. The main focus when using this method has been to get a view of the existing ways of involving citizens in the planning processes. The work of Arnstein, as well as the book written by Hamdi & Goethert have been of great importance in the work. A problem that I discovered early in the analysis of theoretical literature was that most of it was either adapted to the western world or to developing countries with different characteristics to the ones existing in the socialist Cuba.

Analysis of empirical documents and official statements

The main focus when using this method was to get a picture of the work carried out in Old Havana. Not only what has been done, but also what the aims of the authorities are in order to later be able to compare it to their achievements and the perceptions of the citizens. A problem when using this method was mainly the language as the majority of the empirical documents and official statements were in Spanish, that is not my mother tongue. By improving my Spanish through the writing combined with help from Spanish speaking people and translation tools it became possible to get a grip of the documents and statements.

Key person interviews

Key person interviews have been carried out throughout the writing, but especially during the field study. Since my Spanish is strictly limited when it comes to a professional level I have been obliged to use a interpreter when interviewing the Spanish speaking key persons. This has of course an effect on the interview as the communication between me and the interviewee is not fully direct. Despite this, and the fact that I unfortunately lost notes and recordings from these interviews, it has been working fine and I have had great use of the information gathered from the interview to be able to write my report. The key persons interviewed will be presented below:

Martika - a Sociologist that have been working for the Office of the City Historian for more than ten years with questions regarding citizen participation.

Jorge Veira - an architect that has been working with the Workshops for Integrated Neighbourhood Transformation since the start in 1988.

Manuel Diaz - an urban planner that have been working for the Office of the City Historian for several years and now research at the University of Havana,

Jorge Pena Diaz - a professor at Instituto Superior Politecnico Jose Antonio Echeverria in Havana that has a long experience from the development in Old Havana.

Dick-Urban Vestbro – professor emeritus at Royal Institute of Technology in Stockholm with great experience from work in planning processes in developing countries around the world as well as from Cuba.

Interviews with community members, including informal interviews

Moreover several members of the community have been interviewed and surveyed to be able to see how the perception of the citizens is regarding the participation possibilities in the restoration of Old Havana. Similar to the key person interviews my restricted Spanish often required an interpreter to be able to carry out these interviews. Since neither the surveys or interviews are not in any way statistically secured they have only been used in order to get an picture of what kind of perception the citizens seem to have in the matter. The expected problem of having difficulties to get the opinions of residents due to the internationally frequently expressed lack of freedom of speech in Cuba was not existing. On the other hand several permissions and time consuming bureaucracy of the authorities were needed to be able to make these interviews and surveys formal, which led to that the use of this method had an informal character.

Observations and photographs

The method including observations and photographs was of great use during the field study. By using this method I had the possibility to see the different physical elements of Old Havana both before, during and after restoration. Unfortunately I had the bad luck to loose the photos taken during the field study, which has led to that this report do not contain that many photographs of Old Havana from the time of my field study.

Case studies

Since this report has not been focusing on a specific case, but on the whole restoration project of Old Havana, I have made several smaller case studies during my field study. During these I have been aiming to look at the possibilities of the residents to participate in the planning process. It has been regarding cases that have been in the planning phase, implementation stage or even completed projects. Even here my difficulties with the language have restrained my possibilities to carry out this method, but through the help of an interpreter the outcome of the use of this method has reached an acceptable, and therefore. Usable level.

Background

Cuba

Cuba is situated in the Caribbean Sea south of Florida and is the largest island of the Antilles. Its neighboring islands are The Bahamas in the north, Haiti in the east and Jamaica and Cayman Islands in the south. In the west Mexico's mainland is the closest neighbor. Because of the location of the country the climate is tropical with an average temperature of 26C. The location also brings a tropical hurricane season between July and October. (NE, 2011a)



Image 1. *Map of Cuba.* (Destination360, 2011)

History

In 1492 Columbus disembarked Cuba that was populated by natives. By 1511 the Spanish began conquer the island and immediately started to found cities, for instance Havana. Sugar, tobacco and coffee were the main products brought from the island. Beside this Cuba was a strategic harbor in between Europe, North, Central and South America. Because of the country's qualities it stayed a Spanish colony until 1898 when the United States took over the control of the island. Cuba became an independent republic in 1902. The American influence was still huge in the governance of Cuba. During the 1950s Cuba had developed into a playground for American mobsters. The wealth of the country was in the hands of a few and the discontent among the Cuban people grew. This resulted in the Cuban revolution led by Fidel Castro 1959. This began a new socialist era in the country. The resources of the country got under the control of the state and an equal distribution of services to the people was the goal in accordance to the key word solidarity. Focus was put on education and healthcare, which have resulted in great achievements in these areas. Despite the loss of the important ally Soviet in 1991 and constant pressure for change from the United States the socialist

state is still held today. (NE, 2011a)

Population

The language spoken by the 11 million inhabitants is Spanish. Out of the population about 65% are white, 25 percent mulatto or mestizo and 10% black. The population is spread over the country's 14 provinces, where the capital Havana is one of them. 76% of the population lives in urban areas. Havana and the eastern parts of the country with the second city Santiago de Cuba have the highest population density. (CIA, 2011)

Economy

Since the revolution in 1959 Cuba have been more or less isolated from the first world economy during the cold war. The leading economy of the world and neighbor put a trade embargo on Cuba which made the Soviet Union a vital partner to keep the isolated economy of Cuba on its feet. The collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 struck hard on the socialist system and Cuba suffered hard. The following years got labeled as the special period where the island struggled with shortages in all areas. Changes were now necessary and the state had to slightly open up their economy. The greatest change would be re-introduction of the tourism, which today is the largest economical sector of the country. (NE, 2011a)

Havana

The capital Havana is located on the northern coast of Cuba. Havana has 2, 2 million inhabitants and is divided into 14 municipalities. It is the economical, political and cultural center of the country.

Havana was founded in 1515 in the city district that today is called Old Havana (La Habana Vieja) and expanded throughout the centuries. The city was founded by the Spanish conquerors and soon became the capital of the country. In the New world it was many times seen as one of the most important city, and still today is mentioned as one of the most beautiful ones. (NE, 2011b)



Image 2. *Malecon in Havana.* (Breitman-Homestead, 2011)

The Cuban Socialism system

Ever since the victory of the revolution in 1959 the fight for equality and social justice has been expressed by the regime as a priority in the development of the Cuban society. This means that the basic needs - such as education, healthcare, food, housing and work - are satisfied for everybody by the state. The centrally planned economy makes that the resources are aimed to be fairly distributed according to the country's priorities and different social programs that have to be subsidized. Thereby many of these wishes are to some extent fulfilled. However, a sector that there still is a lot of work to do is housing, which continues to be a responsibility of the government. According to the regime housing is a social right, not a merchandize whose availability is depending on a family's purchasing power. The strongest restriction for achieving this goal lays in the lack of material resources that are needed. (Huberman, 1970)

In 1960 the country got divided into neighborhoods with popular councils, which these neighborhoods also are named after. Within each popular council there is a CDR (Committee for the Defense of the Revolution). Until today they have been of great importance for community cooperation and if the projects have not always been that successful they have at least worked as popular education in different issues, such as sustainability. (Gonzalez Couret, n.d.)

The Cuban national settlement system strategy that focused the development projects on the smaller cities and provincial/regional capitals. The result is that the capital's proportion of the national population has not increased in 50 years and its territory has not expanded. This strategy to focus the development on the other cities has slowed down the influx to Havana. This, combined with the fact that Havana has not changed much in the buildings of the city, makes it easy to monitor the development of the capital. (Gonzalez Couret, n.d.)

The Cuban Planning System

Before the revolution in 1959 planning was strictly steered by the so called "Indian laws" that consisted of a strict set of codes of location, size and proportions that shaped the urban landscape. There was a strong focus on the capital when it came to urban planning which led to marginalization of the rest of the cities in the country. (UNESCO, 2006) Furthermore speculation and corruption on the real estate market was common. After the socialist revolution the planning system got close ties to the state and was institutionalized in 1960 as the Department of Physical Planning was created. These steps were somehow natural as most of the land became state property as a consequence of the socialist revolution. Despite the re-organization the development was relatively slow as there, due to the history, existed a lack of professionals in planning in the beginning. (Pena, 2001)

Structure of the Cuban Planning System

According to Pena (2001) things started to happen in 1976 in the structure of the Cuban planning system as physical planning that had belonged to the Construction Ministry got divided into two levels. Planning on a *National Level* was from now on handled by *The National Institute of Physical Planning*, while planning on a *Provincial Level* was led by *Provincial Directions for Physical Planning*. Later on a *Municipal Level* was introduced as well. The new levels are in accordance to the new trend of decentralizing the state and making the municipalities more autonomous. The specific objectives of this division were according to Pena (2001):

1. *the efficient use of land and soil considering as a finite resource through the adequate*

localization of social and productive activities and the use of land according to its vocation.

2. *a territorially balanced socio-economic development, between regions, settlements and, the countryside and the cities and within cities*
3. *the responsible management of natural resources, the protection and rehabilitation of the environment for an ecologically sustainable development*
4. *the preservation of the public soil and the protection and rehabilitation of the real state and cultural heritage*

(Pena, 2001, p.78)

The institutional structure is illustrated below regarding the tasks and instruments used at different levels.

LEVEL	TASK	INSTRUMENTS
<i>National Level</i>	<i>Formulation of integral proposals of territorial ordering</i>	<i>National Scheme of Territorial Ordering</i>
<i>Provincial Level</i>	<i>Conforms the policies, principles, criteria or premises guiding the development of the territory</i>	<i>Territorial Ordering Scheme, Territorial Ordering Plan</i>
<i>Municipal Level</i>	<i>Control of land uses</i>	<i>Conformation of general plans, special plans and detailed plans</i> (Pena, 2001, p. 79)

Territorial orderings scheme has a strategic approach and covers medium-long term with a strategic approach while the territorial ordering plan covers short term with a tactic operative character.

The national policies cover what is to be done in what province or area, which in order is put on the tables of the provinces and municipalities. The hierarchy in the Cuban Planning system is clear and a hypothetic local proposal can serve as an example. When a local proposal for a specific area is presented it has to be revised and controlled according to the policies set up for that certain area. These policies are set at a national level and kept alive by provincial and municipal authorities. In other words a local proposal has to fit with the national directives for that specific area. Despite this clear hierarchy a potential source of confusion in the Cuban planning system is the provincial level methodologically is under the national institute of planning, but administratively under the provincial government.

Planning in Havana

The institutional planning structure of Havana is the same as brought up above, but is complemented by the Group for the Comprehensive Development of the Capital (Grupo para el Desarrollo Integral de la Capital, GDIC). It was created in 1987 and is a think tank for the development of the city. It welcomes the public, has several research programs and has been indispensable for the capital the last decades. (Interview Veira, 2009) Looking at the planning process in Havana, it is characterized by the collaboration of planning specialists from the state and government institutions as well as from the public. This means that the most important economic and social institutions take part in the making of the plans, which equals to institutional

participation and an allowance of great public participation through various organizations. (Pena, 2001)

Prior to the revolution in 1959 Havana has been object for several master plans, but since then five master plans have been made. (UNESCO, 2006) The most recent one is from 2000 and divides Havana into three main zones (central, intermediate and peripheral zone) based on land occupation rate, population densities and functional relations. The *Central Zone* has 40% of the city's population and a large share of highest-level services, infrastructures and jobs. The *Intermediate Zone* has a medium soil occupation, a predominance of individual houses and a low concentration of jobs and services. The *Peripheral Zone* is least urbanized, contains the largest city parks, agricultural extensions, industries, storage places and institutes. Furthermore it consists of disperse residential urbanizations and isolated rural towns that are connected to the compact area. The first ring of the highway defines the border between peripheral and intermediate zones. (Pena, 2001)

The aim of Havana's master plan is “*to achieve an economically efficient, socially equitable, socially equitable, ecologically sustainable, governable and defendable city*” (Pena, 2001, p. 91) In the work of achieving this, the master plan also has, according to Pena (2001) the acknowledgments of Havana presented below:

- Havana is a patrimonial city with more than 5 centuries of history, with recognized cultural, architectonic, urban and environmental qualities.
- Havana is a semi radio-concentric city, with a well defined central zone (...) where better connectivity is given in east-west direction.
- The raising weight of the coast stripe - which has high urban, landscape and environmental values - reinforces the east-west direction.
- The bay and the sea should be used as key elements of the spatial configuration.
- Strive for a minimum population growth.

(Pena, 2001, p. 89)

Looking at the master plan there are no concrete plans of expanding the city or its transportation system. Neither any development centers nor nodes are appointed. Instead, the main focus is on the rehabilitation of the existing residential areas that are concentrated in the central and intermediate zones. The deteriorated status is due to an erratic maintenance policy, a consequence of a combination of lack of resources and a focus on the inner cities. Eventual new buildings are going to be built within the existing urban frame as the master plan advocates compactness instead of sprawl. (Pena, 2001)

Case description: Old Havana

The capital is divided into 14 municipalities, where Old Havana (La Habana Vieja) is one of them. Old Havana has about 63000 inhabitants and is located next to Havana bay. When the Spanish conquerors founded the city of Havana in the beginning of the 16th century Old Havana was the first part to be built. This part was surrounded by a, for that time, typical defensive city wall. By time the city grew, and alongside the economic boost on the 18th century the city spread outside of its walls. The wall got finally demolished in the middle of the 19th century and the expansion continued during the following centuries. (UNESCO, 2006)



Image 3. *Map of Havana.*(Lonelyplanet, 2011)



Image 4. *A typical street of Old Havana.*
(Offbeat Travel, 2011)

The area that today is called the Historical Centre, the in-wall city, covers about 50% of the municipality Old Havana. The rest, the out-wall city, was built between 1750 and 1920. During the first centuries of the existence of Old Havana it was mainly populated by richer people. In the 19th and 20th century these people began to move out to the suburbs and got replaced by the poorer segment of the population. When the revolution led by Fidel Castro triumphed in 1959 focus was put on the development of the marginalized countryside. Even though the will of the regime existed, the resources were restricted and the housing conditions in the capital suffered. This led to that during the first decades of the revolution the deterioration of Old Havana and its buildings continued. (UNESCO, 2006)

However, the focus on Old Havana and its historical environment increased and in 1967 the restoration work started under Eusebio Leal. The next step was taken in 1978 when the Historical centre got declared as a national monument. In 1982 Old Havana got a place on UNESCO's World Cultural Heritage list, which had a boosting effect on the city district's status. The restoration work continued and eleven years later it was decided that Old Havana was a prioritized zone for conservation. These events combined with the re-introduction of tourism to the country led to that the area got declared as a zone of high significance zone for tourism. Today Old Havana is one of the most popular tourist areas in the country. (UNESCO, 2006)

The demographic situation in Old Havana is not in any way different to the rest of the country or in any way remarkable as the population is more or less equally spread over the age groups. Even the education level is not remarkable in any aspect. (UNESCO, 2006) These figures are a consequence of the political system. Something that differs though is the economic activity of Old Havana compared to the rest of the city. Even though the city district only has about 4, 4% of the capitals population over 12, 8 of the workers live there. Furthermore 16,0 % of the mercantile production and 26,4% of the commercial activity of Havana is found in the municipality.(UNESCO, 2006, p. 22-23) As the figures show Old Havana, largely thanks to tourism, has today become an important part for the city and the whole country. Despite that Old Havana has improved its housing conditions there still is a long way to go. The city district still is considered as a poor area, even though several great improvements have been achieved. (UNESCO, 2006)

Architecture

The design and architecture of Old Havana is strongly influenced by the European architectural style and because of this has been special for America. The city includes plazas and squares, which is not the common way to plan a city in the Americas and especially not during that time. Moreover the streets and blocks are of different forms and shapes as they are not following the Indians law. During the beginning of Havana's existence it was dominated by low houses but got higher buildings as it grew. The low-houses (casas bajas) were reserved for non-habitation function, while higher houses (casas altos) were suited for both habitation and commercial function. The buildings are in different styles such as Spanish mujedur, Havana baroque, Neoclassical, Eclecticism, Art nouveau, Art deco, Modern and Post-modern. Since Old Havana has grown and developed throughout time it today has an architecture representing the different eras from early 16th century until the 20th century. (UNESCO, 2006)



Image 5. *Buildings from different centuries in Old Havana.* (Willyang, 2011)

Buildings and Space

Old Havana covers an area of 2, 14 km² and has 3370 buildings. Among these buildings about 20000 dwellings are found. (UNESCO, 2006, p. 9) 81% of the area is covered by blocks and the remaining 19% consists of the road net. (UNESCO, 2006, p. 25) The blocks do not only consist of buildings, but for instance of recreational areas such as small parks and tennis courts.

Due to Old Havana's long history, its buildings are of varying ages. Most of them are from the first half of the 20th century, but several centuries are covered as seen below.

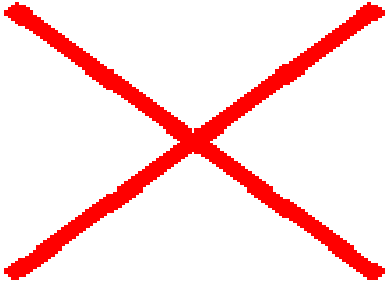


Table 1. *Number of buildings in Old Havana according to different age groups.* (UNESCO, 2006, p. 32)

The buildings are, as mentioned before, of different styles and type. However 88% of the buildings consist of 1-3 stories. Looking at the function typology 47% of the buildings are of domestic typology, while 35% are of mixed (commercial and domestic) typology. This means that Old Havana is not in any way dominated by the commercial sector, but on the other hand still is a residential area with commercial activity. (UNESCO, 2006, p. 33) The full statistics of how many buildings have a certain function is showed below.

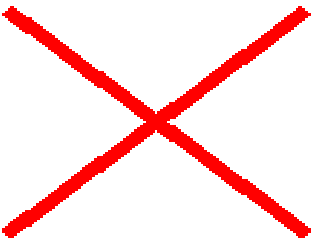


Table 2. *Function of buildings in Old Havana.* (UNESCO, 2006, p. 36)

Not only that there Old Havana can be described as a residential area there also is a great variation of the types of housing. The distribution of the dwellings per type is presented in the diagram below.

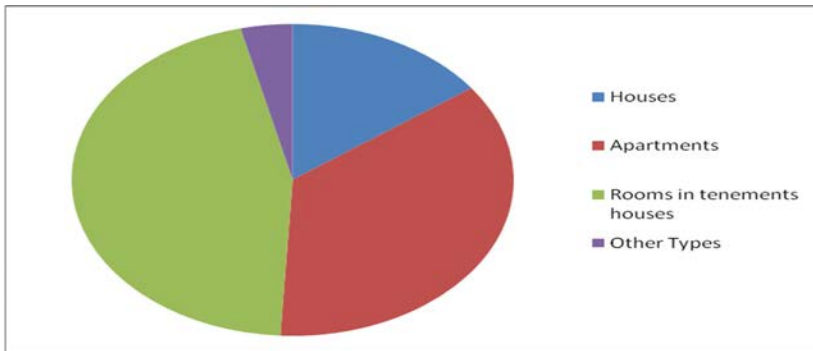


Figure 1. *Distribution of dwellings per type.* (UNESCO, 2006, p. 36)

As mentioned earlier the Cuban socialist system has led to a quite unique real estate situation with its own property categories that the dwellings are belonging to. The division among the four categories is presented below. Traditional ownership is one category, renting the dwelling from the state is another one. A third category is called in usufruct, meaning that the residents have the right to live in the dwelling for free. The fourth category is called other types and covers all kind of

situations.

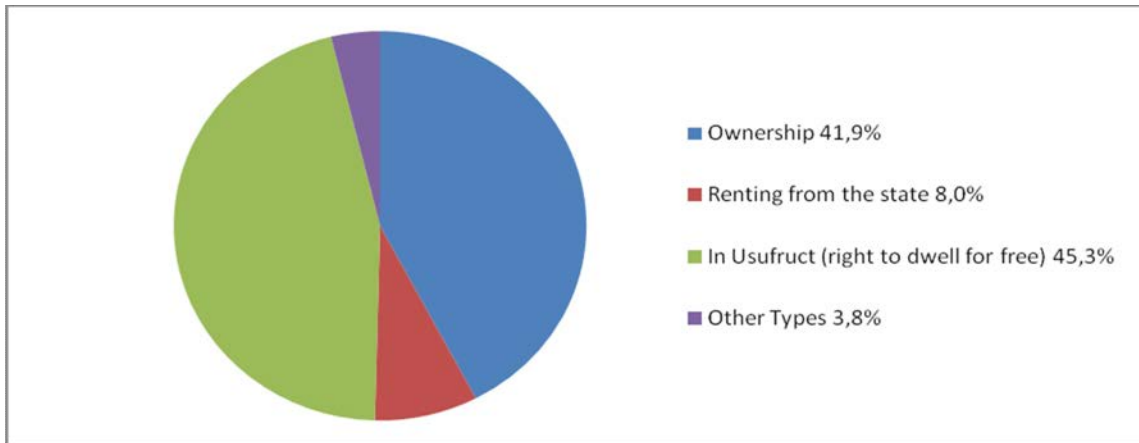


Figure 2. *Dwellings according to property category.* (UNECSCO, 2006, p. 41)

Status

The current status of Old Havana is described as “*under permanent catastrophe of low intense*” (UNESCO, 2006, p. 17) referring to the city district's suffering from physical and technical deterioration. The reasons for this are several. First of all the buildings are in many cases several hundreds of years old. The time has in combination with the yearly six months long cyclone season been stressful on the buildings and their surroundings. An absence of maintenance in Old Havana has resulted in bad conditions. The reasons for incomplete maintenance have throughout time primarily been due to shortages of resources and/or interest among either the state or the residents. Moreover the area has for more than 150 years been characterized by overpopulation, poverty and poor living conditions. (UNESCO, 2006)

UNESCO (2006) states that in average two collapses of different magnitude occur in Old Havana every three days. Below the number of annual collapses of different magnitude around year 2000 is seen.

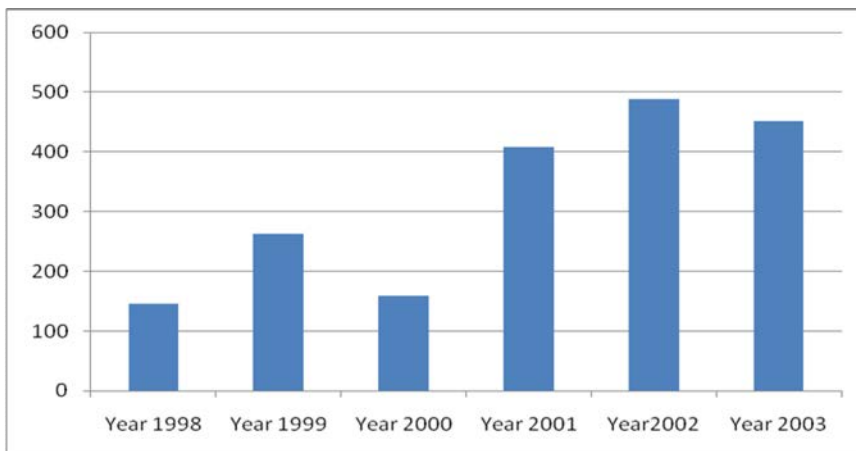


Figure 3. *Collapses of different magnitude per year.* (UNESCO, 2006, p. 38)



Image 6. *Collapsing house in Old Havana.* (Preservation Nation, 2011)

Around half of the 20000 dwellings in Old Havana are located in so called tenement houses. These dwellings are overcrowded and lack several service which leads to shacking conditions for the residents, but at the same time the residents have the full legal right to live there. The examples of lacking services are many in Old Havana and do not just concern the dwellings in the tenement houses. Water supply is a problem for some parts as the taps do not function in their houses which require trucks in the supplying of water. Another problem that occurs is the existence of inadequate plumbing systems. These examples of problems are related to the poor construction of many of the buildings. Other, more external problems, which could be mentioned, are problems with the garbage collection. In this case unoccupied sites and lots are put into risk of becoming rubbish dumps. This would increase the problem of not having enough open spaces in the inner parts of Old Havana for residents to be in. (UNESCO, 2006)

To give a picture of the current state of the buildings of Old Havana after about 40 years of restoration an inventory was made by the Office. The buildings got categorized after their physical condition: Good, Regular, Bad and Very Bad. This gives a glimpse of the extent of the problems in Old Havana when it comes to the condition of the 3370 buildings.

Good	1147
Regular	1189
Poor	832
Very Poor	202

Table 3. *Condition of Buildings in Old Havana.* (UNESCO, 2006, p. 41)

There has even been a mapping of the situation of the 20000 dwellings in Old Havana and the main problems here concern the physical construction.

Roof Deterioration	43,30%
Wall Cracks	39,00%
Sinking Floors	22,00%

Table 4. *Main problems in dwellings.* (UNESCO, 2006, p. 41)

The diagnostics above has been made by the authorities, but expressions of the residents have also been collected and a summary of them can be found below.

Poor Conditions of Dwellings	73,10%
Poor Communal Hygiene	40,60%
Water Supply Irregularities	28,40%
Lack of Gastronomic and Recreational Facilities	20,80%
Lack of Sport Facilities	6,30%

Table 5. *Main problems mentioned by the inhabitants of Old Havana.* (UNESCO, 2006, p. 40)

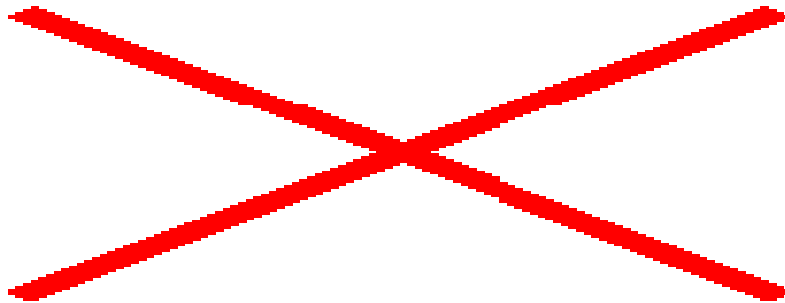
The previously presented figures describing Old Havana physical condition and the citizens view upon it clearly shows that there is a lot to be done. Fortunately the work of restoring Old Havana has started and been going on for about 40 years. This has made that the restoration work has come a long way in some parts of the city district and therefore these examples of service shortages do not concern all parts and residents. There have been several improvements in Old Havana thanks to the restoration work, but there still is a lot to be done.

The Office of the City Historian

The Office of the City Historian (the Office) was founded in 1938. Their restoration work started in 1967 under the head of the office Eusebio Leal. He is still in charge today and has become something of a legend and the face of the restoration work. From the start the Office was subordinated to the vice administration, but in 1993 it became directly dependent to the state. A new resolution was adapted saying that the Office was able to secure social and economical sustainable development in Old Havana. This in practice meant that the Office got the overall responsibility of the development of the city district and was self-financed. This way of working is rare in Cuba as the state otherwise has a dominating role in the system. (UNESCO, 2006)

Organisation and Way of Working

The Office has a hierarchical structure illustrated below. The *Central Directorate* handles issues of larger scale such as master plans and media. The Master Plan for the Integral Rehabilitation of Old Havana, as these master plans are called, sets the directions of the work and makes sure that everything is working. The next level is the *Specialized Directorates* that, as their name reveals, are more specialized as they for instance are focusing on the humanitarian situation or the budget for different missions. The third level of the organigram is called *Management System* and covers the enterprises of the territory sector and other associations.



(UNESCO, 2006, p.41)

The work of the Office in Old Havana is based on *“participation of all heritage subject, that is, citizens and entities with influence in the territory based on the creation of agreement areas among agents to the socio-cultural image of recovery”*. (UNESCO, 2006, p. 41) This means that the Office states that it wants to involve the different parts of the community, not least the citizens, in the restoration work. The work does therefore not only concern the preservation of the monuments, but improving the situation of the residents and the city district as a whole by including the social, economical, cultural, physical and environmental aspects in the work.

The Office has according to UNESCO (2006) five fundamental policies, presented below, that the work has to relate to.

1. **Safeguard the national identity** – meaning that the heritage considered having a strong link to the Cuban identity has to be preserved.
2. **Protect the inherited patrimony, having legal power and having a “navigation map”** - meaning that the when the Office carry out projects that have the aim to protect inherited patrimonies the Office has to have legal power and follow a preset action plan in their project.
3. **Avoid disturbing local population and create adequate densities and life quality** – meaning that the work of the Office has lead to lower population densities in the district as well as increasing the life quality of the population of Old Havana. Furthermore during this work the negative impacts on the people of Old Havana has to be as small as possible.
4. **Provide the territory with a technical and basic service infrastructure** – meaning that the Office, through its work, has to provide the district with the basic needs when it comes to technical and service infrastructure.
5. **Achieve self-financing development** – meaning that the work of the Office has to be self-financed by using the incomes generated from the tourists that visit Old Havana.

Economy

Since 1993, the year that the Office had to become self-financing, a great economical development of the Office's total assets has occurred as seen below.

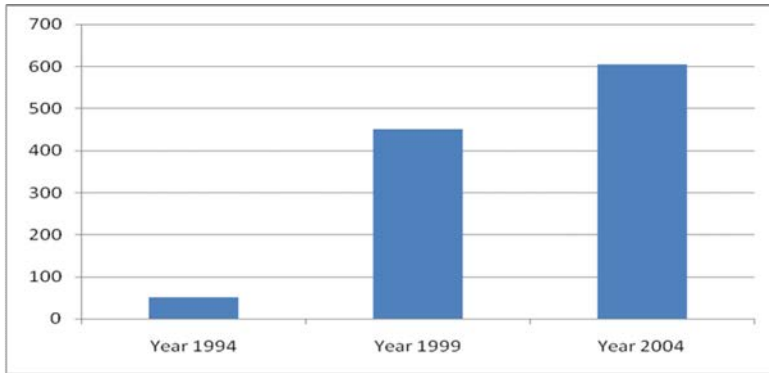


Figure 4. Total assets of the Office in million CUC. (UNESCO, 2006, p. 57)

These incomes are mainly generated out of the tourists that visit Old Havana. There are several museums and other tourist attractions in the city district that create a desire among the tourists to come and visit Old Havana. It is estimated that about 60% of the tourists on Cuba visit Old Havana. (UNESCO, 2006) As Cuba, according to US Department of State (2011) has more than 2,5 million visitors a year, this would mean that Old Havana has around 1,5 million visitors each year. As the Office is supposed to be self-financed the benefits have to be reinvested into both the restoration of Old Havana as well as the improvement of the life quality of its residents. (UNESCO, 2006) The proportion of social and profitable investments of the Office is visible below.

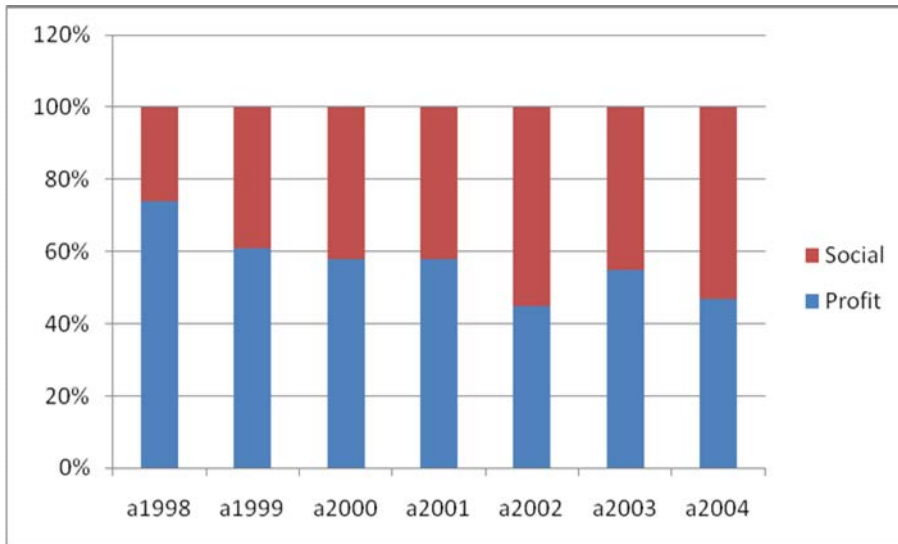


Figure 5. Proportion of investments per year. (UNESCO, 2006, p. 95)

According to the Office (UNESCO, 2006) the balancing between the two different sectors of investment can be difficult, as the two sectors have direct links to each other. Profitable investments have to be done in order to increase benefits, while social investments have to be done to reach an adequate life quality for the residents. The profit-focus and tourist-focus has always to be weighted with the socio-cultural aspects so that the area and its inhabitants do not get over exploited. (UNESCO, 2006) The table though shows that the investments are more or less fairly divided between the two sectors and therefore allows the economical development to go hand in hand with social improvements.

Employment

The Office states that 11000 direct employments, mostly in tourism and construction, have been generated by the restoration process of Old Havana. Furthermore it is estimated that about 2000 indirect employments have been generated. About 60% of the direct employments are taken by residents of Old Havana or nearby municipalities. The 11000 jobs cover the different sectors and job-categories as follows.

Management, Administration and Specialized engineers	25,60%
Cultural heritage	11,40%
Enterprises generating financial recovery	35,60%
Construction enterprises	27,40%

Table 6. *The distribution of the generated jobs over job-categories.* (UNESCO, 2006, p. 115)

A widespread variation when it comes to age among the new-employed exists as well, as the jobs are more or less equally distributed among the different age groups. Looking at the education level, more than half have a middle-upper level of education, which gossips about overqualified workers. (UNESCO, 2006)

Social

One of the main aims in the work of the Office is to restore Old Havana without gentrification, meaning that the current residents should not be forced to move out due to economical aspects. The Office continuously points out the high importance of improving the life quality of the citizens. To succeed in this work the Office is involving the citizens. It can be by guided tours in the city district to get an understanding of what is going on, presentation of projects in media, involvement in the planning processes etc. This is the main focus of this paper and will be treated more thoroughly later on. (UNESCO, 2006)

During the years of restoration the Office has been able to create several improvements for the people in Old Havana. The improved housing conditions that the restoration means for the dwellings in the restored buildings are one example. Further examples are special schools, workshops, programs and attractions that have been established for the locals to enjoy. Even new dwellings for the citizens have been built both in- and outside Old Havana. Figures show that more than half of the almost 1 million visitors to the cultural activities in Old Havana are Cubans, which points at an existence of both interest and will to enjoy what the Office have put forward for the community. (UNESCO, 2006)

Physical

The physical restoration plans began in 1981 and have a five year long lifetime. The Office made an inventory of the buildings and divided them into different levels depending on their protection levels, where level 1 require most protection, level 2 a bit less etc.

Level 1	120
Level 2	431
Level 3	2527

Table 7. *Distribution of buildings in different protection levels.* (UNESCO, 2006, p. 107)

Since the restoration work is of such a large scale as it covers thousands of buildings and a whole city district the Office has, according to UNESCO (2006) developed four directions that aimed to be followed.

1. **The concentration of investment in sectors of high urban value and potential** – meaning that the focus of the restoration work of the Office has to be made on parts of Old Havana that will increase the urban qualities of the whole city district and moreover have the potential to generate profits.
2. **The recovery of streets that link these areas** – meaning that the second focus of the work of the Office has to be on the restoration of the streets that link the parts that increase the urban qualities of Old Havana.
3. **The creation of dynamizer focuses within the deep scheme** – meaning that the restoration work of the Office has to be giving place for dynamic and flexible focuses in order to aloud citizen participation from the beginning of the restoration work as objects to be worked with are chosen.
4. **The specific action in buildings of great cultural and socioeconomic importance** – meaning that the the restoration work of the Office, in the fourth hand, focuses on the building that have great cultural and socioeconomic importance, such as historical churches and deteriorated dwelling houses.

The needs of restoration of course differs among the different buildings, some require minor work while other need total restoration. No matter what the specific needs are, the work has accelerated through time. Below a development of the number of buildings totally recovered is seen.

-1980	8
1981-1994	57
1995-2004	295

Table 8. *Number of totally recovered constructions per period.* (UNESCO, 2006, p. 109)

Looking at the number of buildings totally or partly recovered there are way more. According to the Office (UNESCO, 2006) 33% of the buildings are recovered so far. The figures also show that more than half of the work done has been concerning dwellings.

Culture	109
Hotels	18
Commerce & Gastronomy	92
Dwellings	439
Education	23
Real Estate	19
Health	41

Other Services	99
TOTAL	849

Table 9. *Buildings partly or totally recovered according to purpose of building.* (UNESCO, 2006, p. 109)

International Cooperation

Since Old Havana got included in UNESCO's world heritage list several international cooperations have been done. The partners have been organizations, foundations, companies, private persons etc. A dominating field of cooperation has been in training restoration specialists. (UNESCO, 2006) The partnerships have covered different sectors throughout time, and an image of how the spreading has been during the years 1999-2004 can be seen in the table below. The figures show that the different partners have different interests and specialties as it is well distributed among the different sectors.

Housing	32 (17, 1%)
Economic development	17 (9, 5%)
Community services	69 (38, 5%)
Heritage preservation	39 (21, 8%)
Local management	16 (8, 9%)
Environment-infrastructure	6 (3, 4%)

Table 10. *International cooperation per sector 1999-2004.* (UNESCO, 2006, p. 114)

Achievements

According to UNESCO (2006) the Office has throughout the years made several achievements in different fields as mentioned above and received numerous recognitions. Old Havana has become one of Cuba's most important tourist attraction and therefore able to generate finances. This has led to thousands of new employments and a continuing restoration work. Moreover the Office has kept on investing in social sector and improved the life quality of the residents of the city district.

Old Havana and the Office that are running the work have received several national and international awards. For instance between 2000-2003 the restoration work in Old Havana won 10 different international prizes. The Office is very grateful for these successes but continuously state that the most important is the recognition of the citizens. (UNESCO, 2006)

UNESCO

UNESCO is a part of the UN and stands for United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organizations. (UNESCO, 2011a) It was established 1972 in Stockholm after having several international organizations caring about heritages in separately. In 1978 the first 12 heritage sites were placed on the World Heritage List (UNESCO, 2008) and by 2007 the number was 857.

According to UNESCO (2008) a heritage is "A gift from the past do the future." (p.3) and UNESCO (2011) goes on describing sites on the World Heritage List as a carrier of "outstanding value to humanity". The world heritages is our identity and are defined as belonging to all people in the world, no matter where you find them. Therefore the countries of the world should solidarily take care of the heritages, even though the host countries control them. (UNESCO, 2011)

There are new groups of heritages promoted, but for the moment the World Heritage sites are divided into two main groups:

Cultural Heritage: Monuments, groups of buildings and sites with historical, esthetical, archeological, scientific, ethnological and anthropological value.

Natural Heritage: Physical, biological and geological phenomenon. Habitats of threatened species of animals and plants, and areas with scientific conservation or aesthetic value.

(UNESCO, 2008)

The whole system of including sites in the World Heritage list is controlled by an elected committee. Until 1994 a clear majority of the sites on the list were from the western world when the Global Strategy was introduced to be able to cover different parts and cultures of the world equally in the list are adopted. (UNESCO , 2008)

The aim of the World Heritage list is to encourage the identification, protection and presentation of cultural and natural heritage in the world. To fulfill these wishes states have the obligation to regularly report about the state of conservation and protection measures put on the site.

Furthermore, beside prestige and increased tourist activity, developing countries can access the world heritage fund to finance the treatment of the heritage. (UNESCO, 2008)

Theoretical Framework - Citizen Participation

Origin of Planning Theory

Urban planning has existed for several centuries and been used by all kind of different civilizations in their spatial development, after beginning as a military exercise. Before the 20th century town planning has been seen as a part of art and design. This way of thinking started to be questioned by urban theorists during the beginning/middle of the 20th century. They meant that the city should be seen as a system, consisting of different parts and functions that are interdependent. The city should therefore be planned according to this, compared to the earlier more static view of the city. As this paradigm shift got cemented, the follow-up has been discussions about in what way planning should be carried out and what the role of the planner should be. (Taylor, 2007)

This discussion, as Healy (1996) puts it, has since the middle of the 20th century been mainly dominated by two opposite views. The first is called *Rational Planning* and advocates a strategic planning process where planners follow certain steps and methods to “*maximize welfare and solve problems*” (Healy, 1999, p. 1129). In this case the planner, as well as the authorities, have a very important role and control the whole process. They have the responsibility to decide and deliver what the city, with its inhabitants and functions, need to be able to develop. This way of planning with a top-down process leaves the users out of the action and is accurately described by Hamdi & Goethert “*Consultants who plan, politicians who decide, people who receive*”. (1997, p. 17)

The second view can be called “*laissez-faire*”-planning, which wants to minimize involvement of the authorities in planning and stresses that the process instead should be left in the hands of the market forces. When it comes to the role of the planner it is considerably diminished as the idea is that the free market handles the development. The supply, what is being built in other words, should simply be a direct response to the existing demand. This means that the planner do not have the ability to serve the communities’ needs, which seriously hurts the socio-economically weak segment of the society since the market forces seldom act in their interests. (Horelli, 2002)

The Emergence of Participative Planning

In the 1970s and 80s the just mentioned discussion seriously started to be complemented with a new and more including view on the way of planning. According to Healy (1996) it emerged as a result to the problems with the earlier mentioned orthodox courses of action, where the imbalance in the power structure made that the economic and bureaucratic interests dominated the planning process while the users in best cases got indirectly represented by the planners. In contrast, the new way of planning aims to focus on the diversity in the communities and reach solutions by strategic consensus-building. Purposing in giving more place to the less affluent stakeholders, alongside the big ones, in the discussions. This would balance out the interests and simply let “*the power of the better argument*” confront and transform the power of the state and capital”. (Healy, 1996, p.240) Hamdi & Goethert (1997) means that Planners have to realize the realism, especially in third world countries, that the low-income communities develop by decisions made by communities and individuals and not by plans of the government. They mean that it has to be a move from the key

word for orthodox planning: providing to the new participative planning's key word: enabling. To make this move the authors stress that local community empowerment should be promoted by involving the people that are subject of the development. Furthermore the introduction of incremental and adaptive planning by using appropriate technologies through the planning process. This is of importance since it makes it possible for the new participants that are unfamiliar with the planning process to easily take part.

The emergence of participative planning in the theoretical discussion required a paradigm shift in the planning processes. The acknowledgment of this upcoming theory has taken time as there already was an ongoing argumentation between the other earlier mentioned views, combined with the fact that the critics, who will be gone through later in this report, were many. The publication of Habermas' paper on collaborative action in 1984 had a boosting effect for participative planning. During the last couple of decades the strategy of communicative planning has worked its way up and become more and more highlighted. It is already more or less practiced all over the world and is, according to Innes & Booher (2003), described by many as the future of planning. Imprato & Ruster (2003) mean that participative planning is the strongest idea and trend at the moment when it comes to cooperative development and upgrading.

What Does Participative Planning Mean?

Development in the approach to citizen participation in the planning process, especially in low-income areas, has been going on for many decades. This since the outsiders - such as authorities, agencies, contractors etc - normally handles the decision-making; planning and implementation are not always present in the poorer areas. Changes have been called for in this issue, and one that sat a new set of values was Payne in 1984. The ones of greatest relevance for this paper are presented below:

- A major shift in attitude towards the role of people as users (not a passive burden but productive resources)
- A new interpretation of, and approach to, user's self-initiated housing actions (in that they represented solutions as well as problems)
- A new role for the traditional housing agencies (not controllers, but facilitators)
- A new relationship between agencies and housing clients (not givers and receivers, but partners)
- A new economics (not charity, but investment)
- A new definition of scale (not symbolic gestures but total coverage)
- For some, a new vision, not houses only, but overall development

Citizen participation is supposed to be seen as a long-term investment instead of a short-term. This since participation by residents often means the project is going to be much more time consuming as the goal is to reach a locally accepted consensus. (Payne, 1984) According to Social Learning the only way for different stakeholders can come to solutions of an issue is through interactive/participative action. Social Learning can be seen as equal to Communicative Planning and is a response to the failures of hierarchy and market as mechanisms of planning. (Koutsouris, 2009) Therefore projects should have flexible time tables to allow the probable changes and in that way be able to maximize the level of participation, as it often increases as the project evolves. (Tag-Eldeen (2003) referring to Rakodi & Schlyter (1981))

As in all decision making processes the power structure directly determines the outcome. Therefore

the aim of participative planning is to redistribute the power among the stakeholders so that the ones affected by the plan have the possibility to influence the project according to their interests. Horelli (2002) puts it this way

“Successful shifting of the power from the strong to the weak seems to require significant political and civic will as well as cultivation of democratic values and procedures in planning. The trend is, however, toward increase in participation or varieties in it since the evolving network society of the information age is deeply embedded in participatory processes” (p.621)

Discussion of concepts

Alongside the many names of this way of planning there are also several definitions. They emphasize on different parts, but are still based on the same aim of citizen participation.

Some definitions focus on the importance of involving the disadvantaged, often marginalized, people in the communities. Furthermore, participation may exist throughout the whole project from the initial stage until the follow-up phase. An example of a definition with this focus is the one of Imprato & Ruster (2003)

“Participation is a process which people, and especially disadvantaged people, influence resource allocation and the formulation and implementation of policies and programs, are involved at different levels and degrees of intensity in the identification, timing, planning, design, implementation, evaluation, and post-implementation stage of development projects.”(p. 4)

Participative planning is, many times used to give the less strong stakeholders a chance to take part in the planning of their own future. To build on this others simply mean that it is their right to participate in the planning project as long as it affects them. Desai's (1995) definition below is bringing this up.

“In the political context community participation is presented as a right where the people are entitled to participate in the decision-making process that effects their living condition, in other words it is a form of grass-roots democracy”.....“grass-roots development”.....“development from below” (p.42)

These definitions might give the appearance of only focusing on the poor segment of the society. This is true in the sense of involving them, but on the other hand a major aim of participative planning is that all stakeholders involved should have the right to be a part of the planning process. This is further highlighted in Michealson's (1996) more general definition that says that whoever is affected should be involved in decision-making.

“The code implies that people should have a say in decisions about actions that affect their lives. Participation should provide necessary information for and facilitate the involvement of those potentially affected. Participation should also include the promise that the public’s contribution will influence the decisions and that the authorities will communicate to participants how their input was, or was not, utilized.” (Cited in Horelli, 2002, p. 611)

To keep walking on the path of general definitions Horelli's definition from 2002 is worth bringing up. Her definition is very covering, but at the same time short and concise. It could actually be used as a base in every planning project with the aim of being participative and let the project runners to customize the way of working to existing circumstances. She simply says that participative planning

is a:

“a social, ethical and political practice in which individuals or groups, assisted by a set of tools, take part in varying degrees at the overlapping phases of the planning and decision-making cycle that may bring forth outcomes congruent with the participants’ needs and interests.” (p.612)

There are also definitions made by huge international organizations, such as the World Bank Group (1987). According to them the definition is *“an active process by which beneficiary/client groups influence the direction and execution of a development project with a view to enhancing their well being in terms of income, personal growth, self reliance or other values they cherish.”* The definition focuses on the economical aspects, which are the main interests of the organization.

It is now easy to understand that there are innumerable definitions of this phenomenon and Desai (1995) says that *“It can mean whatever one wants it to mean”*. (p.43) As seen, in similarity with the names, the definitions vary, but they are still aiming at the same principle of a participative process. Since the focus is on the same goal there still are some common characteristics among the existing definitions. These are pointed out, for instance by Wiesenfeld & Sanchez (2002). Below follows a summary of these:

1. Community participation occurs in different stages of the planning process and happens when the community wants to achieve goals according to their interests and values. Community participation activity is also an action to prevent the interests of outsiders that are not in accordance with the community’s.
2. Participation is a voluntary action and occurs when the community realizes the value of participation and having the people involved in the project.
3. The development of community participation varies depending on the circumstances such as the nature of the project, which has the control of the resources needed, the political conditions etc. Furthermore the citizens themselves determine the nature of their participation as the process develops.
4. It is common that the participants evolve their positions in the projects by time as they get more and more involved and therefore also more influential. Moreover studies have showed that is very rare that projects start with full participation and community control already in the initial phases of the project.

Participative planning could just simply be summarized and described as a planning process where all the different stakeholders, no matter what status they have, are equally involved and work together in accordance to the specific circumstances that exist in the certain project.

Structures and Methods Used in Participative Planning

Now when a picture is obtained of what participative planning is and what its aims are, the question is how the planning process should be programmed and what methods can be used to achieve the ambitions of this way of planning. There are of course several methods and ways of action. They differ and are adapted to specific situations depending on the specific circumstances that occur. Furthermore the choice of method depends on what aspect is being focused on and what is wanted in the certain project.

As mentioned before there are several different methods when it comes to participative planning. They all have the same general aim: to secure better information and better project results that are in accordance to the will and need of the community. A common way to see the different methods

within participative planning and its connections is to see Habermas' (1984) work on Communicative Action, which is the base for Communicative Planning, as the strain. Out of here the different methods have emerged and been tailored depending on the specific needs and aims that are preferred in the project in question. Based on Habermas' (1984) work Healy (1996) promotes the idea of communicative planning as she describes how the idea should be practiced. The first step is to find an arena that is convenient for all stakeholders and encourages them to participate. As the discussions are ongoing certain frames have to be set, so that the arguments stay relevant. When the multiple ideas have taken shape they are to be analyzed and later on sorted out. Based on the consensus of the actors a new discourse is created for the project. Since it is possible that the agreement, despite the democratic process, is not fully pleasing, all participants will have a possibility to appeal against it.

Looking at the role of the planner in a communicative planning process it is, according to Healy, fundamentally changed from the rational way of planning for instance. It seems as the role of the planner is overtaken by the different stakeholders involved in the process as they discuss what should be done. The idea is that the planners do not partially involve in the discussions in order to lead to an agreement that meets the needs of the stakeholders as much as possible. This consensus-building project will then correspond to the diversity existing in the community of question. In this model the planner is somehow supposed to take the role of a facilitator. On the other hand though the consensus built by the participants normally is presented in a professional plan before implemented, which gives the planner the assignment to realize the outcome of the discussions in a concrete plan for the project.

Community Action Planning (CAP)

The World Bank Group (1999-2001) has pointed out what they see as the four major methods when it comes to participative planning and the first one of them is CAP, developed by Hamdi and Goethert. The other ones, that only are going to be briefly mentioned in this paper, are Planning For Real (PFR, developed by Tony Gibson and the Neighborhood Initiatives Foundation), Goal Oriented Project Planning (GOPP, developed by the German Agency for Technical Cooperation) and Urban Community Assistance Team (UCAT, developed by the American Institute of Architecture). The four different methods share a number of characteristics such as that they are all problem driven, have a ranked order of priorities, use workshop arrangement, value partnership and that their main goal is implementation instead of study.

CAP is widely known when it comes to participative planning and the book "Action Planning for Cities: A Guide to Community Practice" by Hamdi and Goethert from 1997 has become like an international guide or model for citizen participation in community development. (Tag-Eldeen, 2003). When comparing the three methods mentioned above with CAP, the table below shows that CAP is slightly more complete as its focus covers more aspects of planning.

	<i>CAP</i>	<i>PFR</i>	<i>GOPP</i>	<i>UCAT</i>
<i>Building community</i>	<i>Low level</i>	<i>Low level</i>	<i>No efficiency</i>	<i>Medium level</i>
<i>Identifying problem</i>	<i>High level</i>	<i>High level</i>	<i>High level</i>	<i>High level</i>
<i>Development strategy</i>	<i>High level</i>	<i>High level</i>	<i>High level</i>	<i>High level</i>
<i>Planning implementation</i>	<i>High level</i>	<i>High level</i>	<i>High level</i>	<i>High level</i>
<i>Setting in motion</i>	<i>Low level</i>	<i>Low level</i>	<i>No efficiency</i>	<i>No efficiency</i>
<i>Monitoring outcomes</i>	<i>Medium level</i>	<i>No efficiency</i>	<i>Low level</i>	<i>Medium level</i>

Table 11. *Community planning approach and goals.* (Hamdi & Goethert, 1997, p.100)

For a planning process to be seen as using the action planning approach it has to follow a certain structure and include certain steps. The following operations are defined as the bases of any action planning by Hamdi and Goethert (1997)

- *Direct observation (looking): to check the information*
- *Semi-structured interviews (listening): listening to the needs, informal interviews; use a vernacular in language style*
- *Measuring, learning from precedents: additional quantitative information, all urban area indicators*
- *Resource surveys: overview on local resources*
- *Prioritizing: ranking communities needs according to resource availability and feasibility. This is a continuous process starting with the problems and ending with the possible solutions*
- *Brainstorming: to concentrating on generating ideas*
- *Diagramming: presenting the gathered information on the community's status, such as, population, daily routine, work habits, organizational structure, work schedule, household routines and lot usages*
- *Mapping and modeling: to document information, express views and opinions, identify differences between one area and another such as density, patterns, land uses. Make use of scrap material with large or real scale is often useful*
- *Gaming and role-playing: to build awareness of planning procedures*
- *Group work and intermixing: forming and reforming groups according to the requirements of each stage of the project*

(p. 34-35)

These points show participation can mean many different things and be carried out in several different ways.

The main objective of CAP is the implementation, no matter what the sequence of the work is. The objectives include following points:

- *Problems and opportunities: to position the problem well enough in order to induce appropriate solutions.*
- *Goals and priorities: why is it a problem and to whom (cause and effect). Prioritize according to urgency, desirability and feasibility.*
- *Options and trade-off: for each option there is some consideration given as to the risks involved.*
- *Resources and constraints: what or who will obstruct the project's commencement (financial, technical, environmental or political hurdles)*
- *Project teams and tasks: who can help, how and when? Implementation and monitoring.*

(Tag-Eldeen, 2003, p. 13 referring to Hamdi & Goethert (1997))

Enabling Tools in Enabling Strategies

When working with citizen participation the wish among the project-runners is often that the citizens take responsibility and thereby contribute to the the process of the project. To make this possible enabling strategies are used. These are methods that support the residents of the certain community produce their own houses and upgrade the community in an incremental process through self-help or small-scale local consumption companies. (Vestbro, 2008) To make the

enabling strategy possible enabling tools are required and therefore used. These simplifies the process and are defined by Horelli (2002) as tools that “*refers to any techniques, even traditional research methods, that enhance the transactions and knowledge creation of the stakeholders during the phases of participatory planning*” (p. 614)

There are plenty of enabling tools, for instance 40 are presented in the appendix of Horelli's paper from 2002. The enabling tools can be divided into different groups, decided by what they are enabling. The tools are needed to simplify the communication among the stakeholders, especially the citizens. Despite the fact that the tools are divided into different groups they are still overlapping and can be included in three of the groups. Depending in what situations the tools are used the focus is differs and therefore they can be placed in several groups.

To make it possible for all kind of stakeholders to express their views and values, *Expressive tools* enables the segment of the society, such as children and elderly that normally are not heard in discussions concerning the community. One of the tools that Horelli (2002) mention here is role playing and drama, meaning that the possible future constructions are presented in a role play that attracts the community's attention in a popular way.

Another type of enabling tools is *Diagnostic tools*. These make the stakeholders able to diagnose what resources exist and make the context, development and outcome of the process understood. Mapping is one tool where the citizens for instance can mark different places of the community with colored labels where each color represents a characteristic. Survey methods are another tool that can help diagnosing at different parts of the process. (Horelli, 2002)

Organizational tools are used to organize resources, events and processes. They are also used to master social situations and conflicts that possibly emerge in the process. According to Horelli time planning is an important tool that makes it possible for the participants to participate in the process and focus on the, for the specific project, relevant issues. (Horelli, 2002)

The last group is called *Political tools* and is of high importance as participation is connected to power issues in many ways and can be used to simplify these situations. One example is to organize fundraising in order to make the fundraising as effective as possible. Another one would be the creation of citizen panels that are well informed and question politicians and experts about the project. (Horelli, 2002)

The diagnostic tools dominate the initial phase while the planning phase is dominated by expressive and organizational tools. The implementation and maintenance phases lack enabling tools since they are dominated by the organizing of concrete actions. The enabling tools are not knowledge-making themselves as they just enable the stakeholders to participate. However, if the enabling tools are integrated with a system of monitoring and evaluation they would be knowledge-making as the work is followed-up.

How many enabling tools should or could be used in a planning process depends on the projects characteristics and size. Horelli (2002) argues that there is a spiral effect when it comes to the use of enabling tools by saying that “*The higher the level of participation, the larger the spectrum of tools and methods that can be applied or created*” (p. 618) This is simply explained by the fact that the more there is need and space for the enabling tools, the more they will be inserted into the process.

Common Characteristics among Participative Planning Structures and Methods

The methods used in participative planning processes, and especially the ones presented above, have several characteristics in common. Weisenfeld & Sanchez (2002, referring to Minkler (2000)) have pointed out the following ones:

- They have a bottom-up structure rather than top-down.
- A democratic participatory process is emphasized to understand the consequences of different action has on the communities.
- The focus is on the priorities of the community rather than the ones of the outsiders.
- The capacity, strength and importance of the people in the community is emphasized in the problem solving.

Furthermore Imprato & Ruster (2003) underline that “*Participation does not work, or at any rate does not achieve its full potential, without a project.*” (p. 6). This is the reverse of another perspective saying that upgrading projects do not work well without participation. Both are relevant but what the authors try to say is that to be able to make use of the full potential of the community’s participation there has to be an initial project that involves the citizens.

The authors go on explaining that a proper program design is a requirement for successful participation and exist in these methods. They mean that focus has to be on progress to have the possibility to create a participatory process. They mean that this can be done by having a program design consisting of the following five stages summarized below:

1. Consensus Building/Pre-Identification stage: The different stakeholders are made to get to know each other’s positions and preferences and this could lead to the creation of different partnerships between the actors concerning certain parts of the development program/project. Communication between the different stakeholders is simply established.
2. Pre-Feasibility/Program Identification stage: At this stage the key stakeholders are identified as well as potential partnerships. Information about the local conditions is collected and analyzed. Different alternatives of the key features of the project is formulated, discussed and evaluated.
3. Feasibility studies and program formulation: The different alternatives are tested according to feasibility and later compared and discussed. At the end of this stage the documents, *strategic plan* (a program framework) and *operating manual* (a clear manual to the program).
4. Setting up a system for monitoring and Evaluating implementation and impact: A dominating reason for unsuccessful upgrading projects is often the lack of monitoring and evaluation of the ongoing work. With these analyses it can be much easier to know when things in the project is going wrong at an early stage. On the other hand it is also difficult to measure the actual impact of a project that is seen as successful since the earlier situation, how and what decisions were taken and what actually is a consequence of the project.
5. Program rollout strategies: This is essential for a successful project. The first year more or less of the project should be devoted to the setting up and testing of the

administrative machinery of the project. This can probably be seen as a waste of time, but insures at the same time that the project has a strong administration for the future of the project. The testing and set up can be paying attention on two main sides: the administrative/operational side and the project/process side.

When it comes to the phasing of the entire process in participative planning Horelli (2002, referring to Hamdi & Goethert, 1997; Moore 1987; Wates, 2000) presents a repeating pattern among the methods.

1. Initiation: The beginning of the process where the context is clarified, participants are defined, level of participation is chosen and the preliminary selection of tools is made.
2. Planning: The specific details and activities are defined in the programming of the project.
3. Design: The details of the plan are developed by technical expertise.
4. Implementation: The execution of the project.
5. Evaluation (and research): The data gathered throughout the project is analyzed and assessed.
6. Maintenance: Handling the outcome of the project in a long-term perspective.

Communication channels

No matter what method is used in a planning process where citizen participation is of interest there must be channels of communication between the project-runners and the citizens. There exist several types of channels and the most common ones will be presented below. They can be used simultaneously in the same planning project. Each channel has its own characteristics and fits better in some situations than others. Furthermore, the communication channels allow different levels of participation as some of them are restrictive whilst others are non-restrictive. Depending on what channels are chosen in a certain project, a glimpse is given of what level of participation the project will have. The use of the communication channels brings great responsibility to the hands of the project-runners as the level of citizen participation depends on what is done with the gathered information. The most common communication channels are brought up below.

Workshops

A very common way of working in participative planning is by frequently using workshops in the planning process where the different stakeholders can attend. (World Bank Group, 1999-2001) The workshops can have differences in different cases but they are all following the same principle of *creating together*. Workshops are so non-restrictive that they can not only be used as a communication channel, but as a method for the whole planning process. It simply depends on how often it is used during the planning project. In some cases it is only used in one or a few phases of the process, whilst throughout the whole project in others. A typical way of working with workshops was carried out in the case of Chiangma, Thailand. The project was about relocating citizens of a low-income area - a consequence of a new road crossing the community – and giving them the possibility to participate in the whole planning process. The citizens also had the right to design their new homes while the authorities provided basic infrastructure. The workshops had both citizens and professionals present and were carried out in the following order:

1. Getting started: understanding the community and building awareness. Architect

communicated with community and got information on the available resources, what they wanted.

Output: families were more aware on what is important to them and what improvements they wanted to their new houses.

2. Making “Dream House”: each family was invited to draw their dream house.
Output: no castles or palaces: output was a basic design from which the final design could be developed. Families had the sense as to what dream could apply in reality.
3. Making it real: the 6m x 14m plot was sketched on grid paper. The families squeezed their “dream house” into the plot. The families were given scale, cardboard cutout furniture to stick on the plan. The furniture showed if the space was viable. Then, the families made a 3-dimensional model out of cardboard.
Output: sketch and model of house. Families more aware of size constraints.
4. Building community level awareness: models were placed together on site plan. Discussions held on the open space, density and common services.
Output: preliminary site, open spaces, agreements on setbacks and house adjustments.
5. Refining the plan – adjusting to size constraints: a module of 3 x 3m was adopted that could be conventionally built and spanned using locally available bamboo.
Output: site plan of community. People were happy with their ideas.
6. Determining costs of materials and construction: a simple list of materials and quantities needed for constructors were given to the families. Families divided into groups to gather information about prices and availability.
Output: list of materials for construction of their houses and the estimated costs.
7. Conclusions: the approach demonstrates the balance between the input of the professionals and the realistic experiences of the local community. Equal partnership between the local community and outsiders.

(Tag-Eldeen, 2003, p. 17)

Public Hearings

Public hearings are a non-binding channel. Through this channel the community can express their views and opinions concerning the ongoing project. By this the citizens can obtain approvals and resources for their program. On the public hearings there is often a facilitator that keeps the discussion relevant to the questions that are asked by the project-runners. (Heartland, 2001) The aim of public hearings is to involve the community but this communication channel can still be described as restrictive due to the fact that it does not guarantee that the wishes of the citizens are directing the process. It is still common that this forum is used to find solutions for existing problems for the benefit of the project as a whole. (Wiesenfeld & Sanchez, 2002)

Public Meetings

This communication channel is something in between workshops and public hearings. It is less restrictive than the public hearings as it does not have the same preset frames. On the other hand it is not as comprehensive and covering as the workshops. Public meetings are normally designed in a

way that the citizens are welcome to participate in an unconditional meeting regarding the community's future. The participants can express their opinions and discuss how they would like to see the development of the community. This does still not guarantee that the participants will fully influence the planning. On the other hand the citizens have the opportunity to provide the project-runners a proposal that is non-restricted. Normally these meetings decide in what direction the planning project is going to be carried out in order to be able to meet the needs and wishes of the citizens as much as possible.

Interviews

The Interview method is a channel of communication that is very common and well known. It is normally carried out face to face between the citizen and the interviewer that is linked to the project-runners. Either residents or group leaders can be interviewed. Depending on the structure of the interview and the questions that are prepared by the project-runners, the interviews restrictiveness can vary. To get a representative view by using this communication channel several interviews have to be carried out. This is though resource consuming, another option would be to focus on community leaders that answers on behalf of the people. How strong the influence of the information gathered from the interviews will be, of course depends on the project's aim to involve the citizens in the planning. (Heartland, 2001)

Surveys

A well established communication channel is surveys. These are normally anonymous and sent by mail to a sample of the citizens. The citizens can choose to respond or not and this often leads to a low level of response. (Heartland, 2001) The questions on the surveys are often well prepared by the project-runners and are formed according to the objectives of the project. The gathered information from the surveys is supposed to be put together to give an overall view of the situation according to the citizens and used as a reference in the planning. (Järvas Framtid, 2011) This means that the survey method is a restrictive communication channel for the citizens since the frames are already set. Furthermore there is no guarantee that the answers will be taken into account as they are just representing the view of the citizens that participated in the surveys. Because of this it can easily be seen that surveys are more of a one-way communication.

Information Through Media and Meetings

This communication channel can be seen as restrictive as its greatest aim is to inform the citizens about the ongoing project. It is done through one-way communication and the project-runners are having a monolog instead of a dialog that would enable the citizens to participate. When this communication channel is used to inform about possibilities to participate through other channels it can still be restrictive itself, but might lead the citizens to a channel where their views are welcome. There are several ways to inform the people of the community. It can be through leaflets, mailings, newspapers, websites, radio and even TV. Another way is meetings where the community is gathered to be informed by the project-runners about the ongoing plans and eventual possibilities to participate. Using all these different ways that exist to inform the citizens a big part of the community can be reached. (Horelli 2002)

Drop-in participation

The name of this communication channel is not official in any way, but is a good description of it. It

consists of a center in the community where the citizens can go to either get informed about the project and the participation possibilities or to express their opinions and views regarding the ongoing project. It is not supposed to be accessible only during a short period, but through a long time so that the citizens can give their view whenever they come up with them or feel like expressing them. It can either consist of people receiving the feedback in person or just a mailbox where the citizens can drop their notes. The point is that the project-runners are supposed to gather the feedback and try to apply it on the ongoing project if possible. This communication channel can be seen as non-restrictive as the citizens can come up with whatever they feel like. On the other hand it does not guarantee that the proposals will be realized by the project-runners. (Interview Martika, 2009)

Informal channels

The previously mentioned channels are of a formal character as the project-runners have pushed them forward. Beside these there are informal channels that seldom are taken into account when the planning projects are initiated. They do also often emerge more or less unexpected. They can appear in different ways, but have the common base of that the community gets together to protest against a certain planning project, or just a part of it. In what character they emerge are actually only limited by the imagination, but for instance demonstrations and written protests can be seen as common.

Whatever method is used, the use of the informal channels can be seen as a failure of the formal ones. On the other hand it can be seen as a minor success of the participative planning process as it has reached out to the citizens in that sense that they understand that their will and opinion can be expressed. How this is seen simply depends on the project-runners' will and ability to fulfill the wishes of the citizens.

Levels and Degrees of Participation

When the participative planning approach is chosen to be used in a certain project it still has to be decided what level or degree the participation of the citizens and the community in whole should be at. A way to describe the effect of the different levels of participation is that the people either influence, share control over or control the planning process depending on what level of participation is utilized. There are several degrees of participation and whatever the degree is, it will improve the outcome of the project. According to Imprato & Ruster (2003) "*studies have found that participation improves project performance and increases their impact and sustainability*". (p. 4) This should motivate the different actors in the planning processes to enable participation. However, this is not easily done especially since the decision making often is in the hands of the political sphere. Horelli (2002) describes the challenge of this transformation in the planning approach by saying that "*Successful shifting of the power from the strong to the weak seems to require significant political and civic will as well as cultivation of democratic values and procedures in planning.*" (p. 621) Despite this difficulty there are several projects undergone where the community has been involved at different levels. The theories and methods therefore exists when it comes to participative planning. A part of the theory consists of the analysis of the different levels and degrees that participation can be at in planning projects. There are several measurements and analysis on citizen involvement done throughout the years and below some of these will be treated.

Arnstein's Ladder of Citizen Participation

The most famous description of different levels of participation is Arnstein's (1969) Ladder of Citizen Participation. The author is very critical to the situation in the planning processes since the powerless citizens are often set aside and she emphasizes that the word participation is often used by the power holders to make the projects look good, but the actual power that the participant have is often marginal. Her ladder is the most known and is often seen as the base or inspiration for the participation level descriptions that have come out later. The author emphasized that participation should be done correctly in cases where the project description stated that citizen involvement was supposed to be the approach. This instead of a way that allows the power holders to claim that all sides were considered, but makes it only possible for some of those sides to benefit. She means that participation without redistribution of power is just an empty and frustrating process for the powerless. As this was the time of civil unrest around the world due to the will to increase freedom and the people's influence on the society she could refer to a French student poster from the riots of 1968 and link it to the planning. .



Image 7. *French student poster.* (Arnstein, 1969)

Translation: I participate, you participate, he participates, we participate, you participate, they benefit.

Arnstein's ladder of citizen participation consists of eight different levels. They describe different degrees of involvement or power in the planning process where the first level corresponds to no participation at all and the eighth levels corresponds to full citizen power. This ladder is not exact when it comes to the borders, but its purpose is more to show that there are different levels of participation. The ladder is presented below followed by a review of the different levels.

8. Citizen control	Degrees	Power
7. Delegated Power	of Citizen	
6. Partnership		
5. Placation	Degrees	
4. Consultation	of	
3. Informing	Tokenism	
2. Therapy	Non-	
1. Manipulation	Participation	

Manipulation and Therapy: These levels equals to non-participation. The objective of participation at this level is not to enable citizens to participate, but to enable power holders to educate or even, as Arnstein (1969) puts it, “*cure the participants*” (p. 217). Manipulation: the citizens have no real function or power, but are just made believe that the project is in their interest and by that involved by signatures so that the power holders can prove that the planning process has been participative. Therapy: the author describes this level as “*therapy, masquerading as citizen participation*” (p.219) since the power holders are both arrogant and dishonest as the aim of the gathering of the no-haves in the project is just to change their mind into what is seen as the right way of life by the power holders.

Informing and Consultation: These levels are described as degrees of tokenism, where the citizens get the possibility to hear and have a voice. On the other hand they lack the power to ensure that their opinions will be taken into account by the power holders, so this level does not guarantee at all that status quo is changed. Informing: This is a very important first step in participative planning, as long as it is not the only step. This is one way communication (authorities to citizens) and when it comes late in the process it is just a symbolic degree of participation. This since the participants practically does not have a possibility to influence the outcome of the program, which is claimed to be for the benefit of the have-nots. In projects with this level of participation it is also common that advanced technical language is used, discouragement of questions by giving irrelevant answers to confuse and diminish their ability to participate. Consultation: This level is also a good step towards real participation, but if it is not combined with other modes of participation it is still more or less useless as it does not assure power or influence for the participants. A common way of action is to hand out attitude surveys, neighborhood meetings and public hearings.

Placation: This level is also a degree of Tokenism, but it allows have-nots to advice, but the power holders still have the power as they make the decisions. At this level the have-nots are involved in the decision-making by getting seats in the deciding organ, but they are simply over numbered by the seats of the traditional power holders. So it is still an apparent degree of tokenism. The level of the power of the citizens still depends on two main factors: the quality of the technical support that the have-nots have, and to what extent the community really want to press for the priorities of the have-nots.

Partnership: Is described as a degree of citizen power. At this level the citizens are enabled to negotiate and engage in trade-offs with the traditional power holders.

Delegated Power and Citizen Control: Are also described as a degree of citizen power. The have-not citizens have the possibility to make the majority of the decisions and have full managerial power.

Despite the fact that Arnstein’s ladder has been very popular and well used it has also been criticized. The main critique has been that it has been that it is not being empirically valid and too simplistic. Furthermore the ladder is claimed to be overlapping and not recognizing the complexities that the varying interests of the different stakeholders means. (Horelli, 2002, referring to Sharp & Connelly (2000)) This has led to that several new ladders have been developed. These have the same fundamental structure as Arnstein’s ladder. The main differences in the structure are that the number of levels is five instead of eight, and that the names of the different levels may differ to the ones used by Arnstein (1969). Another big difference is that the other ladders do not specifically focus on the powerless citizens as Arnstein (1969) do, but instead on the community as a whole with all of its stakeholders.

Hamdi & Goethert

One of the newer descriptions that often are used is the one published by Hamdi & Goethert in 1997. Instead of solely focusing on the citizens' perspective it measures to what level the outsiders are involved in the planning process. A newer ladder published is the one published by Hamdi &

Goethert (1997) and include more or less the same levels and descriptions. According to this ladder there are five different levels of participation, from none to full control, which is illustrated below.

1. **None:** When the participation is at this level the outsider is solely responsible in all aspects as makes the decisions alone and develop the planning process without any involvement of the community.
2. **Indirect:** When the participation is at this level the outsider takes responsibility of the whole planning project, but still gives the community the chance to express their views on the community through secondary sources such as reports, censuses etc. The outsider then has the power to decide if the information gathered from the community is to be used or not in the planning process.
3. **Consultative:** When the participation is at this level the outsider gathers information from the community's inhabitants. This information is then used by the outsider in the planning process, but the outsider still has the upper hand in the decision making and therefore can choose what information is to be used in the planning process.
4. **Shared control:** When the participation is at this level the outsider and the community interact as far as possible as equals. This means that the outsider and community share the power in the decision making and therefore the control over the project.
5. **Full control:** When the participation is at this level it means that the community has the full responsibility and makes the decisions. The outsider on the other hand is only used as a resource for the community, within the premises of the community, to advance in the planning process. The community simply control the process totally.

The sum-up ladder

By referring to several authors Horelli (2002) presents a ladder that can be described as a sum-up of the participation level ladders that exist. This is more or less equal to the frame that most of the practitioners use when it comes to deciding the level of participation. Here the focus is neither on the powerless citizens or the powerful outsiders only, but on the whole community. The borders between the levels are difficult to define, but it works more as a hint for the practitioners. It has the appearance as follows:

- **No Participation:** At this level there is no participation existing from the community or the users. Instead it is the authorities or the outsider that runs the project that has full control over the development and decision making.
- **Information:** At this level Information concerning the project is provided to the public, a form of a monolog by the authorities or the outsider that is running the project is held. For instance surveys might be handed out to the public in order to get information, but the project runners still decides if the information from the surveys are to be used as they still are fully in charge.
- **Consultation:** The authorities or the outsiders that run the project, that still are in charge, ask for the community's opinion on presented options that the project runners already have created. The community and the users then have the possibility to give their opinions concerning the presented proposals. The project runners still have the power and therefore the possibility to decide whether these opinions can or will be taken into account.

- **Partnership:** At this level the community and the authorities or project running outsider is on an equal level when it comes to responsibility and power in the decision making and therefore share the work. In some regulated planning processes the decision making is still in the hands of the politicians. The role of the community can be described as a the role of a stakeholder that has a strong stake in the project.
- **Community control:** At this level the users and residents of the community has the full control and responsibility of the decision making and makes the decisions. The outsiders and the authorities are in this case just used as resources that follows the wishes of community.

What level/degree is the ultimate?

It can be assumed that the most favorable and best level of participation in a planning project would be the highest level; the citizens having full control. This can be the case in many situations, but far from always. Imprato & Ruster for instance, point out that it is not always desired to achieve an extremely high level of participation or letting the citizens replace the authorities, but to “*achieve the level of participation that is appropriate to the circumstances*” (2003, p.2). In this context the circumstances refer to the specific objectives of the certain project and the unique properties and possibilities that the affected community has.

On the other hand there are others, such as Wates (2000) and Hamdi & Goethert (1997) in Horelli (2002), meaning that the participation level in a planning project has to at least reach the level of partnership/shared control to have the right be called participative.

However, the level of participation may vary throughout the project as it is different depending on what phase the project is in. Furthermore the participation level of full citizen control is seldom reached since it is common that legislations only recognize decisions made by politicians. The partnership level can therefore also be a bit misleading since it normally means collaboration between the citizens and the planners or other professionals, and not with the political decision makers. Nevertheless most planning projects are initiated by or in consensus with politicians. This means that, when it is a truly participative planning process, the decision makers are prepared and more forthcoming to plans and suggestions that mainly come from the citizens. This only shows the heavy influence that politics have in planning projects. (Horelli 2002)

According to Hamdi & Goethert (1997) full control is not shared control but full empowerment of the community and represents the ideal visions. What level of participation that is the most effective depends on what method or tools that are used in a certain project. Furthermore it can vary in different stages of the project.

What level of participation that is the most appropriate depends on the certain project and what method that is chosen in the planning process. An example could be a planning project which has the desire of a higher level of participation from the community. If it then turns out that the citizens have different personal obstacles to participate in the planning, such as lack of interest, will or time, the project will not develop and nothing will happen. In these cases a lower level of participation has to be accepted to get things done if the obstacles are prohibitive.

To give an example of what level of participation is suitable in relation to what method is used we take a look at Community Action Planning (the method will be addressed later on). Here the participation level corresponding to shared control is the ideal level of participation to get the best and most effective result through the whole process. Below is a table showing how each level of participation is able to handle the different stages of a project.

	<i>INITIATE</i>	<i>PLAN</i>	<i>DESIGN</i>	<i>IMPLEMENT</i>	<i>MAINTAIN</i>
<i>NONE</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>yes</i>
<i>INDIRECT</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>yes</i>
<i>CONSULTATIVE</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>yes</i>
<i>SHARED CONTROL</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>yes</i>
<i>FULL CONTROL</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>yes</i>

Table 12. Ability of each participation level to handle each stage of the planning process. (Tag-Eldeen, 2003, p. 14)

Apart from the participation level Imprato and Ruster (2003) points out that the degree of intensity of the participation in a planning process is very important to have a good result. Since it is widely known that most of the projects do not reach the highest level of participation, even though this might have been the aim, a great degree of intensity in the communication between the project runners and the community has a good result as it has a great potential to influence the outcome of the process in a major way.

When should the citizens be involved?

The introduction of participation into a project can be done in two different ways according to Imprato & Ruster (2003). The first way is done in a *reactive manner*, and is described as a response to specific problems. The second way is done in a *proactive manner*, which means that participation is incorporated into a project design afterward. The same authors on the other hand stresses that great process can be made by a so called demand-responsive supply. The demand side consists of the community and its people with a strong will to be involved in the improvement of the community. This desire to take part in the work is often widespread among the people within impoverished communities. The supply side consists of the ones running the process and is supposed to create a framework that enables participation in the project. The authors declare this to be one of the most important ways to act in a project to have a good possibility to achieve a satisfying level of participation.

Whatever method is chosen in a participative planning project, a lot of changes along the project have to be allowed to happen in the planning, design, construction and management. One main reason for this is that the opinions throughout the project might change as new discoveries and consensuses may emerge among the participants. (Imprato & Ruster, 2003)

The initial stage

To make a planning project participative, no matter what method is used to involve the citizens, the initial part of the planning process is of importance. This to facilitate being able to have a satisfying level of participation in the following steps of the process. Initially there is seldom a high level of participation in a project, but this can be developed. It is therefore very important to deliver a good supply structure with right channels of communication and an environment that makes it possible for the community to be involved. This means technical support, a sound management framework, specialized services such as socio-technical support and seed money needed to the leverage of local resources. Since it is essential that many of these factors exist to be able to have a process including the community, a big responsibility is on the shoulders of the external support agencies such as

public sector agencies, private non-profit organizations, private profit organizations and international development aid agencies. (Imprato & Ruster, 2003) According to Churchman (Horelli (2002) referring), there are two different strategies to organize the introduction of participation in a planning project, independent of what way it was introduced in. The first one is called Autonomous Participation and means that the form of organization is determined by the participants. The second one is Mobilized Participation, meaning that the process is started by, for the community, external actors.

Included in the initial phase of a planning process is the gathering and analysis of information. In this action it is beneficent to have a high level of participation of the community. The significant benefits of this are according to Imprato & Ruster (2003):

- *They confirm a vision of the problems that includes, in addition to technical aspects, the knowledge, views and expectations of the community.*
- *They transform the local residents involved into communicators and resource persons, strengthening the link between the population and the project.*
- *They create trust and establish a working relationship between socio-technical support providers and local residents.*
- *They help create a core group of community organizers with attitudes and skills that will be necessary throughout the project.*
- *They contribute to the building of a interdisciplinary vision that takes into account the community's diversity and contributes to the compatibility of proposed solutions.*

(p. 10)

Horelli (2002) treats the importance of the initial part of the planning process by referring to several authors. By this she goes into what is crucial to inform the participants to increase the possibilities of a high level of participation as possible in accordance to the wishes of the project-runners. First of all the participants have to be clarified about what context the planning project is in and what the aims and expectations of it are. The participants also have to be informed about what level of participation is expected or allowed and in what phases of the process. It is also important to let the participants know what techniques, methods and tools are going to be used. Having these issues addressed to the community in the initial stage makes it possible for all stakeholders to be on the same page already at the start. Source

Implementation stage

In the same way as the initial phase of the planning process is important to reach a level of participation as high as possible, the implementation stage is of importance to maintain the participation in the project. This is many times diminished, but by having the residents involved in the implementation they get the responsibility to realize the outcome of the planning and at the same time treat it. This way of working makes the planning project more sustainable and is also pointed out by the World Bank Group (1999-2001) as very important. According to them some points have to be in consideration to involve the citizens in the implementation stage. First of all a clear plan of the participation of the local community. This plan has to include space for changes in the implementation in the form of adjustments and improvements based on the reactions of the community. It also has to be clear what roles the community and the outsiders have in each activity of the implementation. Furthermore the World Bank Group stresses the importance of providing the community information about the implementation stage in a way that suits the community and respects the local knowledge. (World Bank Group, 1999-2001)

In addition the World Bank Group (1999-2001) have emphasized that the project-runners should prioritize community contracting, meaning that local actors are contracted instead of firms from the outside. This would increase the involvement in the implementation stage. Moreover there are several advantages beside this such as increase local employment, improve skills of local labor, there is an interest of a good outcome and that the community can take over the responsibility at a later stage. Despite this the project-runners still have to provide professional support to the community and its self-builders. By this the community will really have the possibility to participate in the implementation stage. The recommended support of the World Bank Group (1999-2001) is divided into four aspects to focus on:

1. Technical support: provision of technical plans, possible construction of a full scale “house model” in addition to on-site technical supervision.
2. Material support: provision of building materials with preference to local small suppliers, on-site fabrication of some possible building components and on-site availability of tools and equipments.
3. Financial support: arrangements of loans to cover materials and constructions.
4. Organizational support: formation and training of collective groups for building loans applications, administrations and accounts.

It is less troublesome to offer prefabricated solutions when it comes to time consumption and often also more economical as well, but the positive long- and short-term effects that participation has on the community should be enough to convince the choice of participation since the goal of upgrading normally is to improve the situation of the community in so many aspects as possible. Furthermore it increases the participation and satisfaction level as the families have the opportunity to design their own homes.

Discussion

Despite the fact that participative planning may be a useful way of satisfying the multiple needs of a society, the method is legitimately criticized and discussed. A dominating reason for this is that there always are different interests in planning issues. According to Social Learning the only way that different stakeholders can come to solutions of an issue is through participative action. The approach is that where problems exist, solutions do as well. Social Learning is equal to Communicative Planning and is seen as a response to the failures of hierarchy and market as mechanisms of planning. (Koutsouris, 2009)

The long-term impacts of participative planning is not thoroughly researched or documented. The main reason for this is that the practitioners are not monitoring or evaluating the process in an extent that is satisfying. This is seen as a consequence of the nature of the process as very extremely action-oriented. However, the research done shows that participative planning have resulted in positive effects such as increase of individual competence and satisfaction or social capital when the process has been well organized and facilitated. (Horelli, 2002)

Looking briefly at the long-term effects of participative planning there are though several ones

expressed in literature. One often repeated thing is sustainability. A common argument is that people are more careful with the outcome of the project and facilitates the maintenance since they are attached to it in a new way thanks to their involvement in the creation of it. (Community Planning, 2009) Furthermore Imprato & Ruster (2003) emphasize that the communicative planning develops local capacities. These new capacities cover the whole planning process that contains economical, environmental, social and physical aspects. Moreover Community Planning (2009) underlines that this way of planning creates a sense of community and understanding of that they are able to achieve things together. The new knowledge out of an inclusionary planning process therefore makes it more likely that further initiatives of development occur after the project to take on new challenges.

Innes & Booher (2003) promote communicative planning by comparing it to other ways of planning that are in use today. The parameters used in the comparison are diversity and interdependence. One of the three ways of planning included were technical bureaucracy, where the planners simply meet the preset goals. The second was political influence, where politicians are involved in the planning to affect the project in a direction that guarantees votes. The third way of planning is called social movement and means that a group of people pushes a planning project in relation to their specific interest. The results of this comparison showed that it is only "*the communicative model that deals with both diversity and interdependence*". (Innes & Booher, 2003, p. 54)

There are several topics that are covered by the discussion related to participative planning and the most important ones are going to be treated below.

Consensus-building

Forrester's (2009) book focuses on the many difficulties that might arise when involving a broad base of participants in the planning process. What is treated here is how the different stakeholders and actors in planning process are supposed to be integrated. As the opinions and interests will be extremely widespread and opposing each other a unity will be difficult to achieve. The interest conflicts cover the economic, ecologic and social arenas. At the same time the planners work in between these involved participants and should hopefully satisfy them all at once in order to obtain a sustainable solution. So the question is how a consensus process can be achieved?

Among the critiques an aspect is found that questions the value of a built consensus when it is not accepted by the decision-makers. (Innes & Booher, 2003) This issue of power can be linked to the paper of Haugaard (2003) covering different ways of creating power. Firstly there is a division between the sources of power; *nature* and *social*. Power by using nature includes physical force and is not relevant when it comes to communicative planning. The other category is about the social forces and acceptance by the society, which can be achieved in many sociological ways. The relation between them is, as Haugaard (2003) puts it, "*the use of physical power represents the failure of social power*". (p. 108) What is relevant here is that a built consensus is most likely to be accepted by the society. This strength is rooted in the wide participation in the process which guarantees that all the different interests of the different parts of society will be more or less satisfied. This makes the outcome legitimate and should therefore be accepted by the often populist rulers in order to maintain power. Therefore the focus should, as Connelly & Richardson, (2004) mean, be put in the design of the process which they see as "*a crucial element determining the outcomes and legitimacy of the process*". (p. 9)

Related to this, the concept of power is brought up in the discussions. Instead of the traditional view

of power to decide as something auctorial, it is seen as an ability to make a difference in the paradigm of communicative planning.

This way of planning is criticized by Tewdwr-Jones & Allmendinger (1998) in many ways. On a larger scale they point out that communicative planning as a whole, challenges “*a set of values within a system that has been created by those values without destroying the system or process itself*”. (1998, p. 1978) The authors mainly refer to the diminishing of individual values as the interest of consensus-building is put first. Healy (1999) on the other hand answers to this critique arguing that the focus on diversity and consensus-building actually gives the individual values a helping hand compared to the present situation where the values of a few powerful individuals are prioritized. As brought up by Healy (1999) this argumentation has its roots in the different “world views” of the discussants, the utilitarian and the institutional. Whilst the utilitarian view see people as individuals that set their own values and preferences independently, the institutional instead try to analyze the reasons to the emergence of certain values and preferences.

Is Exclusion Necessary When Consensus is Being Built?

The critics see many problems when consensus-building in communicative planning is put into practice, not least the impractical inclusive character. Tewdwr-Jones & Allmendinger (1998) mean that the theory does not comply with the egoistic nature of humans. The authors emphasize that it would be almost impossible to achieve an attitude of making sense together among the participating stakeholders. The reason is that this is described as an assumption that does not relate to the human psyche.

According to Connelly & Richardson (2004) exclusion is necessary for the process to work. They divide the exclusion into three different types. The first is exclusion of people, meaning that it is unsustainable when all different stakeholders are included in the consensus-building. The second type of exclusion concerns the issues. The authors mean that focus should be put on issues where an agreement is most likely to occur. The third type of exclusion is outcomes, telling that some of the outcomes should be set aside already from the beginning.

This way of designing the process opposes the original idea of ideal consensus building, where an agreement is freely reached, towards a more practical consensus. The authors on the other hand simply mean that “*exclusion is necessary if consensus is to be achieved*”. (2004, p. 14)

The advocates on the other hand see the possibilities and a couple of them are Innes & Booher (2003). By relating to actual cases the authors mean that without exclusion the negotiations normally are very slow in the beginning, but develop and gain pace through time. As the participants start to accept the situation and respect the needs of the involved stakeholders. This automatically leads to that the stakeholders themselves agree on excluding unrealistic issues and outcomes without excluding people. They simply make progress and by patience a consensus is finally built where the diversity and interdependence of the society is utilized.

The theory is many times considered as very naïve and idealistic by the critics. The reason is that it is seen as too far away from the way the world in general, and planning in particular, is working. It is simply seen as non-realistic and impracticable. This is somehow awkward as democracy is advocated all over the world, but in this case when the democracy and power balance would be greatly improved. Instead of seeing community involvement in the planning process as an important part of democratization of different parts of society, the same advocates of democracy are opposing it. This is unfortunately though a common hypocritical behavior that the economically and politically powerful individuals bring to surface as soon as their level of influence is threatened. There is though a small light in the darkness as community involvement is increasingly becoming a legislative requirement in planning processes. Added to this several grant-making organizations

either require or at least prefer citizen participation in the projects they choose to assist financially. (Community Planning, 2009)

Local Knowledge

The great value of local knowledge is an argument related to consensus-building in communicative planning that is difficult to dispute as it is very useful when the bottom-up approach is used. Local knowledge can be used to ensure that informed decisions are made and therefore improve the targeting of the project. By working with the local people, that invariably are the best source of knowledge and wisdom about their surroundings, the project's feasibility enhances and the decision-makers are able to come up with a demand responsive outcome. (Imprato & Ruster, 2003) Furthermore the local community can offer additional resources to complement the ones of the project-runners' in combination of effectivising the use of resources and in this way solve more problems. (Community Planning, 2009)

This fact is accurately emphasized by the World Bank Group

“The community knows the area and their problems better than the practitioners as outsiders will ever know. Getting their input and having them help decide the nature of a project will develop a sense of “ownership” and increase the project’s chance of success. Sustainability is another factor – without the backing of the community, the project will have difficulty in continuing.” (Cited in Tag-Eldeen, 2003, p. 8-9)

According to Horelli (2002) the valuable knowledge gathered from the users during participatory planning can be divided into three groups.

1. Place knowledge – covering material and physical
2. Local knowledge – covering the users subjective interpretations
3. Situational knowledge – covering partial contextual visions

Power and Communication

As the holder of information also is the holder of power, it is of high importance that the distribution of information, and therefore the power, is done correctly. The information has a long way to travel between the project-runners and the citizens of the community, which makes it important to assure that the information does not get manipulated before delivered. The way consists of mainly three stations described below.

Outsiders

Despite the fact that the point of participative planning projects is that the process should be ran by the citizens of the community as much as possible, there still are often outsiders involved. This leads many times to, sometimes even unintentionally, that a significant amount of control ends up in the hands of outsiders. One negative aspect of this fact is that the consequence in many cases is that the outsider’s specific interests, mainly political, are pushed forward by the outsiders themselves. Therefore the true participation of the citizens of the community can be damaged or deformed. However, external involvement has also shown in many cases that the degree and level of participation is much higher than initially thought as the outsiders provide technical assistance, resources and a framework that enables participation. This assistance is many times crucial for the projects to be realized. Furthermore the participation in the planning process has shown to be a very

dynamic, as it is common that it increases as the projects develop. (Imprato & Ruster, 2003)

As the point of participative planning is that the power in the planning process is distributed among the stakeholders, who will lead to an agreement among them that corresponds to the diversity existing in the community of question. The question of redistribution of power in the planning process is one of the most fundamental issues in participative planning, which Arnstein (1969) clearly points out by "*It is the redistribution of power that enables the have-not citizens, presently excluded from the political and economic processes, to be deliberately included in the future.*" (P. 216)

To make this possible social intermediaries are a vital part to be able to have a functioning communication in a participative planning process, which makes the participation as successful as possible. This is often seen as the role of planner who is supposed to link the project promoters to the people living in the community and being affected by the ongoing project. This role requires broad knowledge to be able to facilitate the communication between the stakeholders and is sometimes called socio-technical support or social engineering.(Imprato & Ruster, 2003) The role of the planner in participative planning is radically changed compared to rational planning and the role is well described by Taylor (1998) "*not as a technical expert, but as a negotiator, communicator, or facilitator who enables various participants or stakeholders to express themselves and make planning value judgments*" (cited in Horelli, 2002, p. 610)

Community leaders

When it is a project involving a lot of citizens it can be difficult to reach out to everybody with the information. In these cases it is therefore common that information that is aimed for the citizens pass through the mediation of local, formal or informal, leaders. This means that the project runners cannot choose the leaders as the existing leaders already have the community's support. Thus, resources have to be put on finding these leaders and making them willing to participate in the project. The leaders have a very important task to inform their followers, but using them as communication channels can be problematic. It can even counteract the initial intentions since the leaders can, as Imprato & Ruster (2003) puts it, "*filter information according to their own vision and agenda*". (p. 9) A common problem in participative planning processes is that minority groups are often underrepresented.(Horelli, 2002) Because of this focus has to be put on the distribution of information to these people, especially to vulnerable and disadvantaged groups such as the poor. A lack of information automatically leads to a lower level of participation. Since it is this segment of the society that already is disadvantaged it is even more important to inform and involve in a correct way.

Citizens

When contact is finally established between the project runners and the community there still may turn up difficulties when efforts are made to include the community, for instance when it comes to communication between the professional planners and the citizens. This can depend on that the people are unaccustomed to participate or simply just lack competence in the subject of question, which make it difficult to know what people really want. Payne (1984) has pointed out some common problems in the communication that are presented below.

- The experiences and competences of the people may be lacking in the area and therefore a lot of issues may not be fully understood.
- In many cases the respondents say what they think the interviewer wants to hear, or

what is considered as fashionable to answer.

- Representatives and leaders may not always present the thoughts and will of all groups in the community.
- Sometimes the people may mislead or lie in the answers just to assure future personal benefits, that would have been adventured if the truth was told.

Payne (1984) goes on meaning that the solution to these communication problems is to combine household surveys with interviews. Also house to house visits and continuous contact with the residents is supposed to facilitate. Furthermore Hamdi & Goethert (1997) mean that the planner has to make direct observations in the community by looking at the current state of the actual site and having a continuous dialog with the citizens.

Time consumption

Linked to the difficulties in transforming the theory of participative planning into practice is the time that a participative planning process consumes. The consensus-building process, which includes several meetings where different interests and values of the stakeholders are supposed to be put together, can due to the interest conflicts seriously postpone the decision making. It is not even guaranteed that a broadly accepted solution will be found and taken. Adding possible appeals it can lead to that a definitive decision is finally taken at a time when the needs have changed, increased or even disappeared in relation to the needs that the project emerged from. This problem is not properly treated in the existing literature on participative planning, despite the fact that it might lead to that urgent needs might be neglected in order to be loyal to the planning process. (Forrester, 1999)

One of the authors that brought up this issue is Forrester (1999) and he admits that it is a complex situation, but underlines that the stakeholders in a participative planning process are often aware of the structure and therefore are ready to let some of their requirements go.

He also puts forward some simplifying methods throughout the book that reduces the time consumption of a participative planning process. One of the most important, according to him, is storytelling where the actors tell the story of their point of view to create understanding among the stakeholders. There is no doubt about this being difficult in practice, but methods that reduce the potential delays of participative planning projects exist and should therefore be used.

There are though those who mean that time-consumption is not a problem in communicative planning, but on the contrary actually speeds-up the process compared to other planning methods. The main argument here is that the people, because of their involvement in the planning process, gain better understanding of the different options. The citizens are able to see what alternatives are realistically available and therefore tend to start thinking positively. The outcome is then a speedier development as the citizens are aware of the constraints and time-wasting conflicts can be avoided. (Community Planning, 2009)

Theoretical relevance to the study

The field study in Cuba is about the citizen participation in the planning processes for the restoration of Old Havana. Since the study do not focus on a specific restoration project within Old Havana, but on the different ways that are used to make the residents participate in the restoration of the city district, a broad presentation of citizen participation theory comes to its right in this study.

As the restoration projects are many and stretch over long terms different aspects are touched and different methods of participative planning are used. The aim of the theory chapter is to get an overview of these aspects based on a discussion of existing theories. These are then going to be compared to the work of citizen participation carried out in Old Havana. Because of this it is important to get a picture of what citizen participation in theory is and how it is discussed in the literature. This discussion shows that there are several methods existing, as presented above. Beside the methods, tools are used to execute these methods and simplify the participation. The methods also include communication channels that make the participation possible. What these different methods and their including parts result in, when it comes to the participation level, can be defined according to the ladders of participation presented in the theory chapter.

Result

The Aims of the Work of the Office

The project of restoring Old Havana covers an area of 2, 14 square kilometers, with 3370 buildings and about 67000 inhabitants. Because of the magnitude of the project, the importance to preserve the World Heritage and the economical and logistical constraints as well it is impossible to restore the whole city district at once (UNESCO, 2006). Another self-set obstacle that complicates the work of the Office is one of their main aims, to restore Old Havana without gentrification. This means that current residents should not be forced to move out due to economical aspects, which goes hand in hand with the socialist system that is running the country. Since one of the goals is to decrease the extremely high population density of the area it makes the restoration project even more difficult. (Pena Interview 2009)

Despite this there is a Master Plan made every five years for the regeneration of Old Havana describing the planned development of the project. These plans do not only cover the physical rehabilitation, but the environmental and especially the socio-economical aspects as well. However, the Master Plan does not strictly determine what is going to be done and when. According to Mutal (2006) this means that the ongoing restoration of Old Havana is open-ended Partly basing it on one of the criteria of the Master Plan *"It bases itself in active participation of all the individuals and organizations with influence in the area so that from the outset all projects are kept manageable, open and flexible."* (p. 151) This means that there exist an intention for having great space for citizen participation throughout the project. The Office is of course well aware of these possibilities that they have given themselves and try to make use of the opportunity to involve the citizens. This is already done in the making of the Master Plan as it is, according to key person informant Martika (Interview, 2009), created based on the realistic elaboration of the gathered suggestions from the people of Old Havana.

Furthermore the Office continuously expresses a will to involve the citizens in their work of restoring Old Havana throughout the whole process from the initial programming stage until the stage of evaluation and maintenance. (UNESCO 2006; Martika Interview 2009; Diaz Interview 2009; Mutal 2006; Pena Interview 2009) To make this possible the Office has been trying to use several different methods in their work in order to open up several channels for the citizens to participate through. The Office is as well both finding and trying new ways continuously. Moreover the different projects carried out in Old Havana have different needs and circumstances that determine what participative method is appropriate for a specific project. The different methods for citizen participation in planning process of restoring Old Havana will be presented and discussed later on in this paper.

To evaluate the participative planning methods used, the Office makes regular investigations of the citizens' perceptions of the development program in Old Havana in general. A part of this investigation covers the perception of the possibilities to participate in the planning process. The surveys of 1995 and 1999 have according to Martika (Interview 2009) given satisfying results, that will be brought up later on, but also showing that great work had to be done. The results of the investigation of 2008 were still in progress at the time of my field study in Cuba.

Methods Used for Citizen Participation in Old Havana

Map of risks and resources

One of the most comprehensive methods of citizen participation that is used in Old Havana is Mapa de Riesgos y Recursos, which translated into English is Map of Risks and Resources (MRR). (Interview Martika 2009) It is included in the framework of the Local Human Development Program that is supported by the United Nations Development Program. (Universitas Forum, 2008) Several of the Office's planning projects derive from the outcomes of MRR as this is a participation method that has been used in Old Havana to determine what areas to prioritize in the restoration. (Interview Martika 2009)

According to UNESCO (2006) a MRR is seen by the Office as an end product of an entire method consisting of procedure, technique, theory and practice/treatment/system. The method is used as a tool for citizen participation in planning at local level in order to make communities, groups and institutions cooperate for their social benefit. The development of the MRR in Old Havana is tied to the conditions of the physical constructions of the more or less deteriorated buildings in the neighborhoods. (Diaz, 2004)

MRR was born in connection to natural disasters when communities worked with the affected areas, but developed and is today possible to use for social development projects. There are actually no differences of the method whether it is used in emergency actions and preventions or in programming for social development. What might differ though is how the method is implemented. (Diaz, 2004)

A risk in this context can be described as the probability that the people or the environment of the area is hit by a natural or man-made disaster. (Universitas Forum, 2008) Resources highlights the awareness of what is can be used in the community to prevent the disasters. (Diaz, 2004)

Course of Action

The MRR methodology consists of 5 main phases in the work of producing a map. (Diaz, 2004) Below the five phases will be described and related to the work carried out in Old Havana.

Phase I - Collection

In this first phase data on problems that the community has suffered from are collected by the Office. To collect data the Office organizes meetings for the residents of the district. At these meetings the citizens can put forward their suggestions, complaints and opinions regarding the neighborhoods. The aim is to have these meetings held 5-6 times every year, but according to Martika (Interview, 2009) there have been difficulties keeping up to this goal mainly due to that the preparations are not in phase. Instead the number of meetings has normally ended up at 3-4 each year. She on the other hand says that the meetings that are kept are well attended and appreciated by the citizens as they see it as a good opportunity to express their issues. A compensation for the failure of having enough meetings is that the residents of Old Havana has the possibility to drop by the office whenever they want and leave their contribution to the collection of data. This communication channel is according to Martika (Interview, 2009), that has a part of the responsibility for the drop-in participation, used and appreciated by the residents.

In order to make a successful project as possible when using this method according to UNESCO (2006) the Office a high involvement of the citizens already in this initial phase is desired. Diaz (2004) explains it by saying "*whatever is possible to achieve will entirely depend on the degree of*

organization and involvement of themselves.” (p. 16)

Phase II – Field Research

In this phase the professionals of the Office carry out a field research in Old Havana to check the problems that were identified in the previous phase. The appointed staffs of the Office visit these constructions and make a professional defining of the existing needs. This is done to assure that the collected data is accurate. (Diaz, 2004)

Phase III – Assessment and Discussion

This phase consists of the assessment of the data recognized in the previous phases. Furthermore the Office discusses the risks with these problems and the resources available. An important aspect in this phase, as it in some cases in Old Havana concerns acute risks and limited resources, is to be efficient in the use of resources to reach the urgent goals. This leads to that the project-administrators in this phase try to make use of the interest of the participants in the first phase by encouraging them to continue their involvement and thereby transform the engagement into useful resources later on in the project. (Diaz, 2004)

Phase IV – Design

This phase covers the designing of the map based on what is collected, confirmed and assessed from the previous phases. The meaning of designing a map in this method does not only include the possible layout of the map, but also decision-making and preparations of action plans and implementations. (Diaz, 2004)

As the MRR project of Old Havana involves great quantities of data and is therefore administratively confusing. The mapping area is divided into more practical and suitable sectors in order to get a grip of each part of the city district before putting them together. (Diaz, 2004) According to Diaz (Interview 2009) and Martika (Interview 2009) this division is simplified by the government structure as there already are People's Councils that cover a suitable area for MRR.

Phase V - Making

The fifth and last phase is to make the Map of Risks and Resources for Old Havana with all that is brought from the previous phases. (Diaz, 2004) The last map that was made is from year 2000 and clearly points out what areas are in worst conditions and therefore are in most urgent need of restoration. According to the action plans of the map the areas are then successively restored. The map also points out what areas are not in severe need of actions and what resources Old Havana have and should be used. (Interview Martika 2009)

Discussion of Map of Risks and Resources

This method for participative planning can be extremely useful in Old Havana, primarily when it comes to the decision making of what areas to prioritize. According to UNESCO (2006) the Office states the MRR is frequently used as a visual tool that gives both the citizens and the planners of the Office a good overview of the situation in Old Havana by using the map as base. However, the map has to continuously be updated in order for it to be relevant, which is why these meetings where the citizens can express their views in combination with the possibility to drop by the office with a suggestion of future restoration exist. The process is of course time consuming, but if the MRR is taken into account and used in a correct way the Office, according to UNESCO (2006), sees it as worth the effort. In the case of Old Havana the map describes more risks than the city district has

resources which can be frustrating. On the other hand the field study gave a strong impression of that small steps are continuously taken to get rid of all existing risks.

The mapping in this method for participative planning can be described as an organizational enabling tool. It is righteously used in the initial phase of the planning process. A great thing with this way of working is that the huge local knowledge that exists in the community is at least aimed for being taken into account and sets a base for the agenda of the entire restoration project.

The communication channels used in this case is mainly public meetings and drop-in participation. How the gathered information then is used is of course in the hands of the Office, which classifies MRR as a consultative participation method.

Micro Planning

This method of participative planning, called Microplanificacion (Micro Planning translated to English) in Old Havana, is action oriented and designed to be used in smaller communities based on the residents' participation. According to Diaz (Interview 2009) it is fast and easy for the citizens to comprehend and in that way encourage them to participate. Micro Planning covers the whole planning process from the initial phase when the program to be followed is designed, all the way to the evaluation of the implemented project. Moreover it can be used in all kinds of planning issues, which makes it possible to include not only physical planning, but social, economical and environmental as well. (Gomez, 2007)

In March 1996 the Micro Planning process in the people/popular council of San Isidro started. San Isidro is a district in the southern part of Old Havana with 11600 inhabitants. San Isidro has been considered as one of the poorest districts of Old Havana due to environmental, social and economical problems in the district. These characteristics were the main reasons of why San Isidro got chosen as the community to plan by using micro planning. (Gomez, 2007)

The work in San Isidro followed a custom-made manual for the district. For the project technical, political and administrative staff is needed. Because of this a team was constructed before the participative process really started in San Isidro. It consisted of a main leader that was chosen from the community of San Isidro with relevant education, a logistics officer from San Isidro with both local and municipal authority that had the responsibility of the logistics, a project officer that had local authority and got the responsibility of that the work follows the program established, and finally people that functioned as local promoters of the project that made it possible to involve the citizens. When this was done three groups - the decision, technical and communication group - were created consisting of the people mentioned above and residents that the community had identified as appropriate for these missions. When the team and its belonging groups were formed the five stage manual was followed in the work made in San Isidro as described below. (Gomez, 2007; Interview Diaz 2009; Interview Martika 2009 ;)

Stage I - Identification

The first stage involved the identification of the problems that existed in the community of San Isidro. Furthermore why these problems were problems and for who they were a problem was defined in this stage. The work that was included in the first stage was made in four steps.

In the first step a field study was made to identify the problems by observing the district and talking

to as many families as possible to find out what the problems were, why they were problems and for whom. In the second step a summary table of the problems was developed by the three groups. The table consisted of the problems discovered and descriptions of why and for whom they caused difficulties. In the third step the problem summary table was presented by the communication group for the residents of San Isidro in order to be approved as complete. In the last step the three groups ranked the problems in order to be able to make priorities in the work. (Gomez, 2007)The ranking of 20 problems detected in San Isidro is presented below.

1. Poor housing construction
 2. Lack of public lighting
 3. Poor control of San Isidro Plan (slowness of the plan, diversion of resources and poor quality of intervention)
 4. Poor community hygiene
 5. Crime
 6. Instability in electric service
 7. Deficit of basic services (dining, hairdresser, barber, dry cleaner)
 8. Lack of sports and leisure facilities
 9. Deficit in the family economy
 10. Supply of aqua (water pipes and network problems)
 11. Lack of diversity of job options
 12. Teacher shortages
 13. Roads in poor condition
 14. Deficiency in the distribution of drugs
 15. Social indiscipline
 16. Malfunction of the National Revolutionary Police (PNR)
 17. The municipal body of the Union of Young Communists (UJC) does not work or performs in the neighborhood
 18. Elaboration of bad food in kindergartens and schools
 19. High prices of food service and recreational
 20. Malfunction of the existing services in the area (dining, repairing electrical effects)
- (Gomez, 2007)

Stage II – Strategies

The second stage consisted of finding appropriate strategies to solve the problems of San Isidro that were identified in the first stage. The search for strategies was based on what strategies would be most convenient for the existing problems, what resources of the community could be used when using these strategies and what strategies were able to eliminate the problems. The work in this stage was divided into two steps. (Gomez, 2007)

In the first step phase the strategies for solving the problems were classified as either immediate or long-term. This, according to Diaz (Interview 2009), gave the feeling that the strategies for the problems in the immediate group were urgent and therefore hopefully would speed-up the process of improving San Isidro.

In the second phase the priorities were established by dividing the actions into three groups where the first group consisted of the most important actions, while the second group consisted of approaches that were less important and the third group of those that could wait. These assessments were made by the three groups. (Gomez, 2007)

The five most prioritized immediate and long-term strategies of San Isidro are presented below.

(Gomez, 2007)

Immediate

1. Lack of public lighting
2. Poor community hygiene
3. Instability in electric service
4. Efficiency in the distribution of drugs
5. Malfunctioning Revolutionary National Police (little action on the siege of young to tourists)

Long-term

1. State of housing construction
2. Poor control of San Isidro Plan (slowness of the plan, diversion of resources and poor quality of intervention)
3. Crime
4. Deficit of basic services (dining, hairdresser, barber, dry cleaner)
5. Lack of sports and leisure facilities

(Gomez, 2007)

Stage III – Options and Points to Discuss

In this stage the different strategies for San Isidro that were brought up in the previous stage were discussed and compared to each other. The discussions were mainly run by the technical and decision group and were divided into two steps. (Gomez, 2007)

In the first step the different strategies were firstly defined regarding their ability to solve the problems of San Isidro. Secondly they were divided into three categories based on the economical aspect. Strategies in the first group were fully financed by the government, the second group strategies were co-financed by the state and the community while the strategies in the third group had to be fully financed by the community of San Isidro. (Gomez, 2007)

In the second step the different options were discussed before chosen, based on which strategies were most important to use and possible to implement with the financial aspect in mind. (Gomez, 2007)

Stage IV – Planning of the Implementation

In this stage the plans were made for the implementation of the prioritized strategies in the improvement of San Isidro. Furthermore the plans had to reveal (settle?) who were going to do what and when in order to develop an action plan for the improvements in the community. This plan included a task table that in detail listed each step of the implementation of each prioritized strategy as well as a detailed description of the specific improvements that were planned to be done in San Isidro. The technical group took the initiative of planning the implementation while the communication group informed the residents about how they could contribute. This whole stage was divided into two steps. (Gomez, 2007)

In the first step the exact tasks that had to be done with each strategy were determined. If it turned

out that some of the strategies ended up to be too expensive, it was necessary to go back to the second step in Stage III and reevaluate. (Gomez, 2007)

The second step handled the location of the planned improvements on a map of San Isidro. The location of the improvements had to be done in the most smooth and effective way in order to fit within the budget, minimize the disturbance on the community and maximize the benefits for the San Isidro district. (Gomez, 2007)

Stage V - Evaluation

In this stage the work was evaluated with the focus on the questions of: how the process went? And what could the community of San Isidro learn from the experience? The goal was to learn from the experience and encourage the community to work for new improvements as they now knew how the work was done. Each one of the three groups made two tables, one that summarized the situation and another table that resumed what had been learned by the experience. To simplify and succeed in this stage, the strong documentation throughout the process was of high importance. This stage was divided into two steps. (Gomez, 2007)

The first step was to describe the situation in San Isidro after the implementation of each action by answering to the questions: Who made the change? How does it work? Did it succeed? To answer these questions the three different groups had to ask the affected residents. (Gomez, 2007)

The second step was to draw lessons from the experience. This was done by reviewing both the positive and negative experiences from the process in order to use it next time a Micro Planning project is started. (Gomez, 2007)

Discussion of Micro Planning

This method for citizen participation is based on Community Action Planning (CAP) developed by Reinhard Goethert and Nabeel Hamdi and customized Rafael Borroto Chao into a manual for the San Isidro district of Old Havana. (Gomez, 2007) According to Diaz (Interview 2009) and Martika (Interview 2009) the project carried out in San Isidro had a good level of participation already from the beginning, as the citizens were involved in the planning process of the restoration as they took part in the designing of the project. The participation level was kept on a high level all-through the project as the residents also contributed with labor and the building materials were sold at a cheap price for this project. The involved people were very pleased with the possibility to participate and showed a huge interest. According to Diaz (Interview 2009) and Martika (Interview 2009) based on interviews and surveys carried out with the involved community of San Isidro the result turned out good regarding the level of participation as well as the outcomes. Moreover it was seen as a successful project both by the residents and the office.

Just as CAP this method is a complete planning process covering all the stages of a planning process, all the way from the initial stage to the evaluation of the implemented plan. A planning process where the citizens participate from the beginning to the end, meaning that the citizens have a fair chance to take part in the decision-making. Because of this the method used in San Isidro can be placed on a high level when it comes to deciding the level of participation. To be exact it lands in the section of community control. This since the professionals was used as resources in the restoration of the community and the decisions were made by the three groups that consist of citizens of the community. On the other hand these three groups that have a central role in the whole

planning process are to some extent constructed by the authorities which gives them an indirect role in the decision-making. However, that role is relatively small, and according to Martika (Interview 2009) accepted, as the outsider, in this case the Office, were used as resources.

The method for citizen participation was using several communication channels to involve the community. Workshops, public meetings, interviews, surveys, and information meetings were the most common communication channels used. This made it possible to make use of the local knowledge that exist in the community to the maximum as the residents even took part in the implementation stage as labor. One negative aspect of this method could be the time consumption due to the number of actors that are involved and have to reach a consensus. In the case of San Isidro no such problems were mentioned either by the community or the Office according to Manuel (Interview 2009)

All in all when this method is used it is citizen participation in a nutshell as all aspects possible are covered. The question that remains is that, if it was that successful in Old Havana, how come it is not used more frequently in the restoration of Old Havana.

Information Meetings and Media

According to the Office along the restoration project informative meetings are held to keep the residents updated on what is happening in the community. The information does not only cover ongoing projects, but also potential future projects. Residents are informed about existing opinions and alternatives regarding the projects coming up. During these meetings the citizens are also told in what way they can participate in the planning process. Furthermore this information is broadcasted on both local radio and television to be able to reach as many residents as possible. Moreover guided tours around the city district to show the residents what has been done, is being done. This is to give the people an understanding of what is going on in their area. Furthermore, the Office use different media channels to reach out to as many people as possible. Information is spread in the newspapers and magazines. Even radio and TV is used to inform the citizens about the restoration of Old Havana. (UNESCO, 2006; Interview Diaz 2009; Interview Martika 2009)

Discussion of Information meetings and Media

In Old Havana the Office is using several ways to inform the citizens of their work in restoring the city district. Many of the traditional ways are used, such as information meetings. Furthermore more ambitious ways are used as the guided tours and the media channels.

This communication channel clearly belongs to the group called information. As long as this is the only existing channel it does not really matter in what stage of the planning project it is introduced since the informed people do not have any chances to participate. However, in the case of Old Havana there are often other communication channels in the projects that are higher up in the participation ladder. This means that it could be seen as important that the people get informed about the projects in their initial stages. This in order, if interest exists, to take part in the other more participative methods. According to UNESCO (2006) the Office sees it as important to inform about accomplished projects to show the citizens that the plans are implemented and that there is a value and possibility to affect the outcome. Moreover it is also important to inform about the ongoing projects so that the residents know what is going on in their area.

The Office seems to put a lot of effort in this channel, why this is done can be discussed. It could be

about political propaganda, meaning that the authorities want to show the people what they have accomplished in order to gain or maintain support from the people. Another option would be that the authorities see it is easier to only inform the people about the work, than really involving them. What the intention really is difficult to say, but what seems to be a fact, according to my interviews, surveys and informal talks with community members, is that the people are getting informed about the restoration work of Old Havana, which at least can be seen as a step in the right direction for a participative planning process.

Lookouts of the World Heritage Site

As presented there are several methods for citizen participation used by the office to involve the citizens in the planning process of the restoration of Old Havana. Moreover new ways are being called for and tested through time. A new and successful method according to Martika (Interview, 2009) is named "Vigias del Patrimonio", which could be translated to Lookouts of the World Heritage Site. The method is not in use yet as it is in the preparation stage.

The procedure is to choose random persons on the streets from Old Havana that is a resident or in another way a part of the community. This person is then asked about his views about the current situation in his house, neighborhood and the area in general. He is not only asked about his own opinions but also about the views of the people in his neighborhood and his friends. This is, according to Martika (Interview, 2009) believed by the Office to be a very effective way to work and at the same time increase the level of participation. As mentioned it has not been started yet and the actual results cannot be evaluated yet, but Martika (Interview, 2009) as a representative of the Office sees it as a promising way to work as it indirectly involves several people. Furthermore it is seen as a possible way for the participants to be able to be honest as it in many cases is considered easier to speak about what other people think than talking about personal perceptions.

Discussion of Lookouts of the World Heritage Site

This method for citizen participation is not fully developed yet by the Office, but can still be interpreted as a smart way of involving the people in the planning process. Primarily since people feel more comfortable to express other people's views than their own, since they do not have to defend them. This way of working have several similarities with both interviews and surveys, but is not exactly the same thing as interviewed or surveyed person's views are not the only ones of interest.

How useful and successful this way of working will be simply depends on how and when the gathered information will be used. Most important in this method for citizen participation in a planning process is that the gathered information from the people on the streets is used in an early stage of the planning process. This in order to make the information as useful as possible and maximally integrated into the plan.

Where in the participation ladder presented in the theory chapter this method would be placed is difficult to say, as it depends on how and when the information is used. But the method clearly has potential to take place within the groups of consultation or partnership. If there are no promises of that the gathered information will be used in the upcoming plans it would just be considered as consultation and therefore only a symbol of participation. If the information on the other hand would be used early in the planning process and truly integrated into the plan it could be described as a partnership between the citizens and the authorities.

Informal participation

Besides the common methods mentioned above that are promoted by the Office and are of a formal character, there also are informal methods. These methods can be named as informal channels of communication and appear in different disguises in different phases of a planning process. A good example of this is an anecdote told by Pena (Interview, 2009) that he picked up from the President of The Office of the City Historian Eusebio Leal's opening speech at an international conference about the restoration work in Old Havana. It is about the restoration of the famous Plaza Vieja (The Old Plaza) in Old Havana.

Before the restoration of the plaza there was a garage under the plaza. The square was elevated a bit to make place for the parking below. The square was designed in a Quasi-Baroque style that was not well done. This place was disliked by the community in general and a decision to demolish it was made. In order to do it in the most efficient way, meaning minimizing the impacts on the surroundings, the army was hired. The engineers of the army then placed out the explosives in extreme precision to avoid external damages and that only the parts that were aimed to be demolished would be the parts destroyed. As this was a spectacular way of working a lot of people were expected to the sight at the day of execution so brackets were placed around the square in order to keep the expected spectators within a safety distance. At the very day of the operation large crowds showed up to follow the spectacular action. Close to execution a group of the community lead by a religious leader surprisingly stepped forward. The leader expressed his and the communities worries about the operation and their fears of negative effects to the surrounding houses. This action of the group of the community showed that the community was not supporting the planned procedure of blowing the plaza away. Despite the fact that it was the very day of execution, Eusebio Leal and the people in charge decided to cancel the spectacular demolition. Instead the plaza was demolished in a less efficient, but more traditional way with smaller demolition machines and human labor.

Discussion of Informal Participation

This anecdote, from a case when an informal channel was used to participate in the planning process, describes and illustrates the situation of the citizen participation in the restoration work of old Havana. There is an expressed will both among the authorities, planners and citizens of having a participative planning process, but there does not seem to be a fully working strategy or frame to follow. The impression is that it is not really documented or communicated how the citizens should act, alternatively that the existing communication channels in this specific project did not function. When this happens the consequence is that citizen participation many times can be done in a very informal and special way, as in this case.

Thanks to the action of the community group and the will of the project-administrators the participation in this specific case reached a high level on the ladder of citizen participation. It can be difficult to confirm in what level it ended up in as it fits everywhere in between consultative, partnership and community control. It could be defined as consultative as the protesting community group consulted the office to stop the explosive demolition, partnership as the decision was made by the partnership of the Office and the citizens, and community control as the protestors of the community simply stopped the execution.

In this case of the Old Plaza in Old Havana the final participation level was high, but it came in late in the planning process as it was in the implementation stage. The earlier the participation is

introduced in a planning process the more effective the work gets. This is of course difficult when informal channels are in question as the decision-makers are not always aware of their existence due to a lacking communication with the residents. Furthermore the use of informal channels is in many cases, as in this, an act of desperation since the perception of the residents is that no other communication channel is working. The best thing to do would be to, as Veira (Interview, 2009) said it, “*formalize the informal*”. This can be seen as difficult thing to accomplish, but a step in the right direction would be to make use of enabling tools. When it comes to informal channels in general and in this case in particular no enabling tools are used. To avoid these kinds of actions a political tool of citizen panels could in my opinion be used. These, as described in the theory chapter, consist of residents of the affected area that continuously inform the decision makers of the public opinion of the district that they represent. By using citizen panels local knowledge can be used and a stable communication established which leads to that it could be avoided to cancel a well planned project in its implementation stage and instead make it right from the beginning.

Workshop for Integrated Neighbourhood Transformation

Background of the Workshop

The Group for the Integrated Development of the Capital (GIDC) was created in 1987 and is a part of the provincial planning level of the hierarchical planning structure of Cuba. GIDC has been seeking to integrate the environmental, physical and social aspects with the economical aspect. Earlier the planners in Havana have suffered difficulties in integrating these aspects and in 1988 GIDC implemented a new model in order to make it possible for these aspects to harmoniously integrate. (Coyula, Coyula & Oliveras, 2002) The new model is called Workshops for Integrated Neighborhood Transformation and is monitored by the GDIC involved in the planning of Havana. The first year three workshops were opened in different parts of the capital, and today there are 20 workshops in the city. One of them is located in Old Havana and the goal is to have a workshop in each of the 103 Popular Councils of Havana. The Workshop in Old Havana is located in the popular council called Jesus Maria – Tallapiedra with 30000 inhabitants. This Workshop shares the same structure and way of working as the 19 other workshops in Havana. (Interview, Veira, 2009)

Structure of Workshops

To be able to handle the integration of the different aspects of planning the Workshops consist of interdisciplinary teams of five to twelve professionals from architecture, sociology, social work, engineering and so called natural leaders that are respected by the residents. The majority of these professionals live in the neighborhoods they work in. In the case of the Workshop in Old Havana the staff consists of 8 professionals that all live in the city district. Thanks to the structure of the Cuban Society, that has a long history of a strong local social structure since focus has been on community work since the revolution, the establishment of the workshops has got a helping hand from this. (Interview Veira 2009; Coyula, Coyula & Oliveras, 2002)

Way of working

Aims and Focuses

The main aim of the Workshops is to educate the community in order to make it the protagonists of their own transformation. In Old Havana the Workshop is working as a complementing assistance to

the work of the Office. What the Workshops focus on differs in each community depending on the specific situation of the neighborhood in question. However, according to Veira (Interview 2009) and Coyula, Coyula & Oliveras (2002) the Workshop of Old Havana shares the following seven focus areas with all the other 19 Workshops in Havana.

- Housing Improvement – The housing conditions in Old Havana is by the Office documented as is very poor in many cases.
- Urban Education of Children and Young People – Using this strategy the children and youths can pass the knowledge on to family, relatives and friends.
- Reinforcement of Neighborhood Identities – To strengthen the historic and unique identity of Old Havana and by time make the residents proud of it.
- Integration of Local Actors – The different actors and organizations that work in Old Havana has to work together for a better city district.
- Attention to Social Problems and Vulnerable Groups – Important to work with the fact that Old Havana is a relatively poor district of the city and supports its vulnerable groups.
- Development of Local Economies – Encourage the economical growth in Old Havana.
- Environmental Sanitation – In order to improve the poor environmental situation in Old Havana

According to Veira (Interview 2009) and Coyula, Coyula & Oliveras (2002) all these focuses are of high interest for the authorities and the citizens of Old Havana, but most of the force is put on the points Housing Improvement, Integration of Local Actors and Environmental Sanitation.

Functions

Looking at the functions stated as most important of the Workshop in Old Havana, as well as the other Workshops, they all according to Coyula, Coyula & Oliveras (2002) cover areas that work for the promotion of citizen participation by providing tools and structures for this.

- Organization of people and resources for the planning and execution of necessary projects and for the supervision of urban activities.
- Direct contact with local populations to mobilize their involvement in community projects and ensure their participation in neighborhood transformation from the initial conceptual phases.
- The introduction of ideas and technological innovations that incorporate the capacities of pedagogical, research and cultural institutions.
- Coordination with administrative bodies to solve problems.
- Technical advising to neighborhood Popular Councils (local governments) for the elaboration of strategic community planning, decision making and transformation.

Methods Used for Citizen Participation in the Workshops

Since the mission of the Old Havana Workshops is to promote the participation of the institutions and the citizens in the planning process of the integral development of the neighborhoods, (Ruiz, n.d.) participative methods are used to make sure that objectives and choices of necessary actions rest in the hands of the residents of Old Havana. To make this possible several methods for citizen participation, presented below, are used in the work of the Old Havana Workshop. (Interview Veira 2009; Coyula, Coyula & Oliveras 2002)

Drop-in: Since the Workshop in Old Havana is permanent, and not only a traditional provisory workshop with scheduled meetings, it is as well an open office where the citizens can come whenever they feel for it to leave suggestions for improvements or complaints. (Interview Veira 2009)

Brainstorming Meetings: These are meetings where citizens of Old Havana gather in a group run by the Workshop. The aim of these meetings is to pursue new ideas of solutions among the participants for a certain problem in the neighborhood. There are few or no frames in these meetings in order to increase the dynamic attributes of the creativity among the attendees in order to be as productive as possible in the discussions. (Coyula, Coyula & Oliveras 2002)

Design Competitions: During arranged design competitions residents of Old Havana participate in the designing of the solution that they support. The different alternatives that take part in the competition all aim at solving the same problem, but through different methods. Furthermore the different designs are argued for and based on this the community help to decide which contribution is most suitable to try to realize. (Coyula, Coyula & Oliveras 2002)

Group Interviews: Another method for citizen participation in the Workshop of Old Havana is group interviews. In these cases a group of citizens of Old Havana is gathered and answer questions concerning their neighborhood. The group interviews stimulate discussions on the current situation and aim to generate a creative base for solutions. (Coyula, Coyula & Oliveras 2002)

Focus groups: The focus groups consist of people that are asked questions about current issues of Old Havana. The members are allowed to talk to each other within the groups and in that way express their perceptions. By this the discussions and the created ideas are framed into a specific focus area and make the outcome more accurate. (Coyula, Coyula & Oliveras 2002)

Local Knowledge

Another method, or strategy, is that the majority of the staff in the Workshop is from Old Havana. Furthermore the Workshop has done an inventory of the people council in question, Maria Jesus - Taillapiedra in this case; to identify what skills exist that could be useful in the development work. By involving the residents the solutions are not only based on local knowledge, but also generated from the bottom up. These facts, together with the great possibility for the citizens to participate, increase the ability to use local knowledge in the work. (Interview Veira 2009; Coyula, Coyula & Oliveras 2002)

Position in the planning structure

As the presentation of the Workshop give appearance of it has a valuable position in the planning process of Old Havana. Primarily the Workshop in Old Havana treat local problems of the popular council by making an hierarchy of the needs existing in the community starting by identifying them with the citizens. However, local suggestions and complaints also tend to be related to planning matters at municipal or even provincial level. As the Workshop works as an adviser for the central planning institutions the gathered needs from the workshops that concern municipal or even provincial level are therefore passed forward to these institutions. This is done systematically as two representatives from the Workshop are sent to meetings with the Office to tell the wishes of the people and the suggestions gathered during the month. This information is then filtered at this level according to what is realistic, possible and needed to do. In case of provincial matters they are passed upwards to the strategic planning level of Havana. (Interview Veira 2009)

Discussion of Workshops for Integrated Neighbourhood Transformation

The use of the Workshop for Integrated Neighborhood Transformation makes the planning more decentralized as residents have the possibility to affect the planning within their neighborhood and involves great citizen participation. By having these workshops the larger problems of the city are broken down into smaller more manageable units. The planners can more easily identify and handle the difficulties by using the help of the population as a small scale approach is used. Despite this the data gathered from the Workshop can still treat not only local matter, but municipal, provincial and even national issues as well.

Looking at enabling tools the Workshop of Old Havana is offering it is in some way using all types of enabling tools – expressive, diagnostic, organizational and political – as the citizens are both encouraged and helped to participate. The communication channel used in this method for participative planning is of course Workshop. However, this Workshop differs from traditional workshops as it is permanent and offering the communication channel of drop-in participation. Furthermore other communication channels are used such as Focus Groups, Group Interviews and brainstorming meetings. All these characteristics make the Workshop of Old Havana more or less unique.

On what level the Workshop of Old Havana is on the participation ladder is strictly depending on how much the gathered data from the citizens is used in the planning processes. According to Veira (Interview 2009) and Pena (Interview 2009) the Workshop is inserted early in the planning processes, more exactly in the initial stage. This means that the Workshop has a strong possibility to have a strong impact and the outcome of the planning process as long as the planners have the will and ability to use the information. Veira (Interview 2009) answered the question of what level the Workshop of Old Havana corresponds to that it in some cases even is decisive with community control as the citizens design the plans themselves. However, it cannot be that in all cases due to economically, scientifically or juridical unfeasible proposals from the citizens. On the other hand Veira (Interview 2009) said that “*It cannot be called citizen participation if it is only informative*”. This means that there is an expressed aim to be on at least a consultative level

The Perception of the Citizens

Now when the different methods for citizen participation in the planning process for the restoration of Old Havana are both presented and discussed it is most appropriate to have a look at the residents’ perceptions of their possibilities to take part. When looking at the perception of the citizens living in Old Havana it is difficult to say with a statistical accuracy how the situation really is due to the large scale of the area. Therefore the gathered information during the field study can only be seen as an indicator of what is going on.

Involvement in the Planning Processes

Looking at the involvement of the inhabitants in the planning processes, there clearly is several methods used which have the aim to involve the people in the work. Through initiative of the Office there have been three investigations covering the citizens general perceptions about the work of the Office, out of which participation possibilities was a part. The last investigation was made 2008, but was still under process at the time of the field study. The other two surveys were made in late 90s

and showed, according to Martika (Interview 2009), good results in the sense of that the a large part of the people felt that they had the possibilities to be involved in the planning processes. In these surveys the residents had expressed pleasure over the methods for citizen participation used in the restoration work as they welcomed the people to take part in the planning process. Furthermore Martika (Interview 2009), point out by experience that the different gatherings for participative planning in the city district are well attended by the citizens. Most of the attending citizens also express gratefulness for the existing opportunities to tell their view and make their voices heard.

According to Martika (Interview 2009) the projects are sometimes more or less only based on the will and need of the population, but most common it is a mix of the will of the population and other necessities.

Therefore there is an aim to find a balance between the social needs, the will of the people and the economic aspects. Martika (Interview 2009) also points out that strong citizen participation is not always possible as the projects have to priorities economical and social needs. However this far, she means, that it has worked out well and the people are satisfied as they see the development and understand that it is necessary to gain resources to be able to continue the process.

Data gathered from other, to the Office, independent researchers tend to show slightly less appreciation among the citizens about the possibilities to truly participate in the planning processes. The results from the surveys of Colantonio & Potter (2006) are an example. One of the statements in the survey that the responded in Old Havana had to answer to was “*Local residents are always audited directly or via delegates about tourist development plans*”. The statistics of the responses in Old Havana is presented in the table below

Strongly Agree	13%
Agree	18%
Neutral	18%
Disagree	28%
Strongly Disagree	23%

Table 13. Answers among Old Havana residents to the statement “*Local residents are always audited directly or via delegates about tourist development plans*”. (Colantonio & Potter. 2006, p. 185)

As Old Havana has a strong focus on the tourism in its development the statement here is of high relevance. The statistics show that 31% agree or strongly agree with the fact that the residents are informed and asked about their opinions on the plans of development. How the respondents interpreted the word “audited” might differ among them, but it clearly shows that a large part of the respondents more or less feel that they in some way are taken into account in the planning process.

Looking at the surveys I carried out during the field study, that are not appropriate for statistical analysis, indicate that the residents do not feel that they are contribute to the planning processes carried out in Old Havana. For instance the results among the respondents that had been directly affected by the restoration work as their dwellings or neighborhoods had been improved show that, according to the respondents, none of them felt that they had the possibility to participate in the planning process. In some cases their opinions were even forced down by the project-runners. Furthermore about 80% had been informed about the planned work when the planning process was already started; the remaining respondents got to know about the upcoming work before the planning process was started. However, all the affected respondents had in common that they got to know about the project through official announcements.

Despite the feeling among the respondents of difficulties to participate in the planning process, each one of them expressed a will to be able to participate in the planning of the work. This attitude is similar to the one presented in the investigations on the residents perceptions made in 1995 and 1999. On the question "Are you willing to participate in the solution to the problems of the historical center?" the percentage of affirmative answers was as follows.

1995	1999
84,70%	90,50%

Table 14. *Affirmative answers among Old Havana residents on the question "Are you willing to participate in the solution to the problems of the historical center?". (UNESCO, 2006, p. 112)*

In the surveys I carried out during my field study it was common that the residents wanted to be part of the designing of the final product when it comes to aesthetic details. There were also interests in involvement in the planning of the structural matters as well, even though it was more common among the more technically educated respondents.

Informal interviews with residents during the field study showed the same tendencies of constrained possibilities of involvement in the planning processes. An impression that was given from these meetings was that there was a belief among the people of greater possibilities in the future, but malfunctioning participative planning processes at the moment. A man I met in Belen (a district of Old Havana) became a symbol of this as he in his discontent with an ongoing international cooperation of restoring the building that he and his family lived said "*they [the Office] know how to talk, but not really how to walk yet*".

Satisfaction

The satisfaction of the people in Old Havana when it comes to the work of the Office in general was covered by the investigations made in 1995 and 1999. The following questions were asked in both surveys with the following answers.

- Q1. *Do you find the development in Old Havana attractive?*
- Q2. *Do you believe that the changes produced in the historical centre are mainly positive?*
- Q3. *Do you consider you have been benefited with those changes in the historical center?*

	1995	1999
Q1.	80,70%	90,00%
Q2.	85,00%	95,00%
Q3.	44,00%	58,40%

Table 15. *Affirmative answers among Old Havana residents to the three questions above. (UNESCO, 2006, p. 112)*

The results show that the work of the Office is very popular among the residents. When it comes to the attractiveness of Old Havana it has even grown during the years between the surveys, which should be seen as growing appreciation of the work of the Office. Furthermore the general view on the development in Old Havana is positive and has grown during the years, which means that they are seeing a positive development in the development itself. The third question on the other hand

could be seen as a less successful result as one of the main goals of the restoration project is to meet the social needs of the residents. However, it could as well be seen as successful since the restoration work is an ongoing process and has not even reached a third of the planned restoration. This means that not even a third of the work is done, but about the half of the residents has still been benefited from the work.

According to Diaz (Interview 2009), Martika (Interview 2009) and Pena (Interview 2009) the citizens are in general positive to the work of the Office and that the tourists are coming to the area. This is because they see the results of the work and see that many investments are made in the community's social sector. The tourism is welcome because of the economical opportunities it brings. There are though some parts of the residents, a small minority, that do not like the development and tourism focus too much. The big majority seems to be in favor of the ongoing development. (Interview Martika 2009)

Regarding, what Pena (Interview 2009) calls the commercial gentrification; it is not seen as a problem either. Martika (Interview 2009) means that it is more seen as a pure necessity. It is even seen as a good thing as it generates more money to the Office that in turn can continue to restore and develop the city district. Not only the office is benefiting from this, but also the residents themselves as many shops and commercial activities are in charge of the residents in their own houses, for instance souvenir shops and smaller restaurants.

These statements are backed by different surveys made by researchers such as Colantonio & Potter (2006). The survey, mentioned earlier in the text, carried out by the authors got the following result on the statement “*local residents welcome the presence of tourists in this area*”

Strongly Agree	33%
Agree	36%
Neutral	22%
Disagree	6%
Strongly Disagree	3%

Table 16. Answers among Old Havana residents to the statement “*Local residents welcome the presence of tourists in this area*”. (Colantonio & Potter, 2006, p. 183)

Even though the results of this survey are not statistically derived it gives a hint of that the statements of the professionals are in accordance with the perceptions of the residents. Another result from the same survey that supports the positive view on the current development towards tourism attraction in Old Havana is the result of the answers to the statement “*The impact of tourism in Old Havana*”

Positive	74%
Negative	5%
Little	18%
None	3%

Table 17. Answers among Old Havana residents to the statement “*The impact of tourism in Old Havana*”. (Colantonio & Potter, 2006, p. 177)

These figures show that, just as the representatives of the Office say, there does not seem to be a strong resistance against a development with the tourism industry in focus. Furthermore, the residents are even willing to see more tourism in Old Havana, as 92% of the respondents stand

behind this statement. (Colantonio & Potter 2006). This is said by the residents despite the fact that 84% of the respondents have at least one place that they used to go to that have converted into tourist infrastructure. (Colantonio & Potter 2006).

Other results from the surveys of Colantonio & Potter (2006) shows that the clear majority of the respondents think that the provision water, gas or electricity since the influx of tourists to the area has even worsened. On the other hand a clear majority of the respondents instead say that the tourism infrastructure have prompted the physical development of Old Havana.

Adding my own observations through informal talks with residents during my field study in Old Havana the statements above is supported. My impression was that people living in Old Havana were proud of being from this city district and proud of the development of the area. Even if problems occurred, they were happy that things are happening with the aim for the better. If their neighborhoods were not restored at the moment that I met them they knew that their time would come, just as soon as the Office had the possibility. The attitude was somehow trustful towards the Office and hopeful towards the future. This despite that an impression of existing communication problems in between the authorities and the residents was given, which in turn gave signals of malfunctioning citizen participation in the planning process.

Final Discussion

The result of the field study shows that the Office of the City Historian expresses a strong will to reach satisfaction among the residents by using methods with citizen participation in the planning processes. This might be difficult as one of the goals is to decrease the population density in the overcrowded city district of Old Havana. As a consequence of this the Office has made approximately 200 resettlements according to Sarpaci (2000), a Cuban exile and an outspoken criticiser of the Cuban regime. The number can though be considered as low in relation to the total population of 63000 in Old Havana. Furthermore the resettled inhabitants, who had been classified as squatters by the Office, had according to UNESCO been able to participate actively in the resettlement process when moved to Alamar, a city district in the outskirts of Havana. The gentrification is avoided by the Office, partly due to the Cuban Socialism system, but another type of gentrification that on the other hand has been more obvious is what Pena (Interview 2009) calls the 'commercial gentrification'. Due to the focus on tourism the majority of the commercial activity in Old Havana is targeting the tourists and are therefore not within reach for the purchasing power of the Cuban consumers.

Participation

Looking at community participation the restoration project in Old Havana run by the Office can be seen as a laboratory for methods of citizen participation. A reason for this is that the Office as well as the residents questioned expresses a will to derive from a participative planning process. There have been several methods for citizen participation used, such as the ones presented in the results of this report, and several more will most probably be used in the continuing work of the restoration. Hand in hand with the participative methods different enabling tools have been used as well, in order to simplify for the residents to involve.

One method that has proven to be used as the base of the planning process in old Havana is the Map of Risks and Resources (MRR). The outcome of this method visually describes the situation in Old Havana and shows where the most urgent actions are needed. The difficulty in the case of Old Havana has been that the risks, such as the deteriorated buildings, outnumber the resources, which makes it necessary to prioritise what restoration measures to realise. Therefore the map has still been very useful as it has been used in the decision-making of where the restorations are going to be made and in some cases what further methods for participative planning could be used.

Different methods for participative planning...

In some cases, such as the one in San Isidro, well known methods to involve the citizens in the planning process have been carried out. Here Community Action Planning (CAP) was used and is also presented in the theory chapter.

In Old Havana there also do exist methods that are rare in the theoretical world as they according to Martika (Interview 2009) is one of the inventions of the Office. An example of this is called Lookouts of the World Heritage. It is however, not taken into practice yet but is according to Martika (Interview 2009) on the way. Another example is the Workshop for Neighbourhood Transformation, which is a permanent workshop, based on drop-in participation and supposed to be a stable part of the planning process. These so called rare methods for citizen participation are not fully unknown in the theoretical world as they still are built up by a combination of the existing communication channels and methods for citizen participation. In the case of the Lookouts of the

World Heritage it can be seen as a combination of interviews and surveys spiced with the possibility to express the view of the neighbours. In the case of the Workshop it is based on the principle of traditional Workshops, but turned into permanent.

Furthermore, there exist informal methods of participation in the planning process of restoring Old Havana as well. The anecdote brought up in the results had great efficiency and seemed to be deeply rooted in the community of Old Havana. Problematic risks of informal methods for citizen participation are, according to DUV (Interview 2011), the influence of strong leaders that might mislead the people in order to follow the interests of the leaders. Another one is bad documentation, which also is the reason why the case of Old Havana is based on a told anecdote.

Looking at the different methods used for citizen participation in Old Havana it can be considered that they make up a supply of different channels that, according to Martika (Interview 2009) as a representative of the Office, aims to suite the different demands that the people have when it comes to citizen participation. Due to the obstacles of daily life, people necessarily do not have the possibility to participate in the planning processes as much as they would have wished to do, and therefore it is of great value that drop-in participation is a part of the different communication channels offered in Old Havana.

...introduced at different stages of the planning process...

The results of the field study shows that the aim of the Office seems to be to introduce the methods early in the planning processes. According to the result of this study the majority of the cases the introduction occurs in the initial stage, but might vary when it comes to the informative participation methods. In some cases they seem to be used in the initial phase to inform the residents of what project is going to be carried out and gives the residents a chance to affect the planning process. Then in other cases the informative participation methods are used to inform what has been done and thus introduced during the implementation stage, or even after the whole planning process when the restoration is accomplished. The gathered information during the field study also gives the impression that these informative participation methods are used continuously throughout the whole planning process in order to keep the people informed about what is going on in their neighbourhoods. In the case of San Isidro where CAP was used it was such a complete method for participation that it was introduced in the initial stage, but covered the whole planning process for that specific restoration project of San Isidro.

...give different levels of participation.

All the different ways of involving the people in the work of the Office does not only differ in methodology, but also in to what level the citizens are welcomed to participate at. In some cases, such as when meetings and media are used to inform, it is on an informative level. However, it would be unfair to say that it is only informative as it is, as presented in the results, a part of a larger system of participative methods on other levels.

When using other methods, such as the Workshop for Neighbourhood Transformation, the level of participation varies depending on what the project-runners are both able and willing to do with the gathered data from the participants. The resources and the self-interest of the administrators play a vital role here and it can therefore land on the informative level of the participation ladder, and on partnership or even the level of community control in the best scenario depending on the feasibility of the proposal. However, when CAP is used as in the case of San Isidro the level of participation can be defined as community control. The community are using the professionals as resources in their work and to large extent control the planning process.

Satisfaction

When it comes to the satisfaction of the people it can be divided into two different ways. The first one is the question of the satisfaction of the participation possibilities for the residents in the planning process. The second one is the satisfaction of the people regarding the work that the Office is doing in the restoration project of Old Havana.

Looking at the participation possibilities the Office (Martika Interview 2009; UNESCO 2006) expresses that there are several methods for participation and that the people have several possibilities to be involved in the planning process. Furthermore they mean that they have experienced a high attendance of residents in the different forums for participation in the planning. At the same time the Office expresses that more still has to be done to increase the participation and reach out to all segments of the society. A weak signal of that the participation work is not on a fully satisfying level is the different and new methods obtained for developing the participation work.

On the other hand the gathered data from the surveys I and other researchers, such as Colantonio & Potter (2006), have carried out combined with the general impression of my own observations is that the people of Old Havana does not agree on the success of the participative planning processes. On the other hand they see themselves neglected and not taken into account during the planning processes that have affected them. This despite the fact that the same people are wishing to have more influence and possibilities to take part in the planning processes.

Based on the results of the field study both the Office and the residents seem to agree upon regarding the participation is that the information work around the restoration projects is working fine. This can on the other hand not be seen as participation as it is a question of one-way communication.

When it comes to the satisfaction of the work that the Office is carrying out and the development in the area both the Office and the residents stated that they are satisfied. This is despite the fact that there is an obvious gap between the perception on the participation possibilities of the Office and the citizens. Why this is the case is that the people are able to see a difference of the development and participation possibilities in the planning processes. Another reason for this would be seen as the people tend to focus on physical and life quality improvements in the first place, rather than participation possibilities. Moreover the people as well the Office have a strong tradition of placing the responsibility of the development on the authorities' shoulders due to the socialist system that is running the country and therefore a tradition of participative planning do not exist.

General

Looking at the development in Old Havana in a Cuban context it has come a long way in many aspects, not at least when it comes to citizen participation. On the other hand there is still a long way to go to reach a level of participation in the planning processes that satisfies both the people and the Office.

As presented in the result the general impression given of the field study is that there exists lack of communication in the restoration project of Old Havana. A clear sign of this would be the different perceptions of the people and the Office when it comes to the possibilities to participate in the

planning process. This since the Office expresses great opportunities for the residents, while the citizens seem to express the opposite. They both do desire a great level of participation. Furthermore the use of the informal communication channel exists in Old Havana when the people want to make themselves heard. This indicates that the existing methods for participation are not enough. This absence of fully functioning participation methods is further confirmed by the continuous creation of new ones by the Office.

Why this gap exists due to lack of communication is difficult to say, but there could of course be several reasons for it. One reason that affects the situation is the planning system with a strictly authoritarian, central and traditional structure that dominates the country. This structure has cemented a thought, both among authorities and the citizens, that the responsibility to deliver improvements rest on the shoulders of the authorities. The Office has, however, made a step towards decentralisation in planning combined with a strong aim of involving the citizens and make place for them in the planning process. This paradigm shift takes time and therefore creates difficulties to implement the participative planning methods in the planning process.

What both the Office and the people seem to agree upon on the other hand is that the informative level is reached. Why the Office has only succeeded with the information delivery can be discussed. A critical speculation would be that the Office is only capable or willing to have this level of participation. Another speculation is linked to politics meaning that the Office is putting a lot of effort on the information in order to gain popularity and maintain their position.

No matter what and even though information is not considered as participation, it can be seen as a first step towards participation. Furthermore it is combined with projects of a high level of participation, such as the one in San Isidro, that despite all do exist in Old Havana. Considering the goal of not resettling the current residents and focusing on tourism on a sustainable level together with the seriously limited resources the work in Old Havana can be seen of great value and good quality.

Conclusion

The restoration project in Old Havana is covering a long-term project with the aim to fulfil the need of restoring thousands of buildings and thereby affecting over 60000 inhabitants. Adding to this that one of the goals is to avoid resettlement of the inhabitants. Moreover the resources are seriously restricted which will prolong the process even more.

Due to the large scale of the project it is possible to divide it into smaller part projects. As the expressed aim of the Office is to involve the citizens in the planning process, different methods can be used throughout the different part-projects. This has also been done and the Office present several methods that they are using in order to involve the residents in the planning process. The methods used for citizen participation in Old Havana derive from existing theories of the subject, such as Community Action Planning.

The methods for involving the residents of Old Havana in the planning process differ not only in their shapes, but also when it comes to what level they reach on the participation ladder. Some methods, such as the information meetings are on the informative level while the Micro Planning in the neighbourhood of San Isidro end-up on the level of Community control.

Regarding what the people think about the participation possibilities in the restoration projects of Old Havana the impression is that they do not agree with the Office. This is since the residents express that they are being neglected and not taken into account in the planning processes. What on the other hand seems to work according to both the Office and the citizens is the procedure of informing the citizens of what is going on in the neighbourhoods of Old Havana.

Despite these signals of a lack of communication between the authorities and the people when it comes to the possibilities to be more than only informed and thus involved in the planning of the restoration, the expressed ambition and related actions of the Office are clear signs of that the process of introducing participative planning in Old Havana is on the move. It takes time to get loose from the traditional centralised planning system that have existed for decades, and the fact that the resources are strictly limited do not make the process easier either. Steps have been taken, but many more still has to be taken in order to reach the goal of a participative planning process.



Image 8. *Restored buildings in Old Havana.* (Sail World, 2011)

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