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Co-production and enterprise culture: negotiating local urban

development culture in Santo Domingo's *'barrios populares'*

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Co-production and enterprise culture: negotiating local urban development culture in Santo Domingo's *'barrios populares'*

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Abstract

Co-production and enterprise culture: negotiating local urban development culture in Santo Domingo's '*barrios populares*'

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Responsibilities for securing urban citizenship rights and providing basic urban services have decentralized to such a degree across much of the global south that identifying who the various relevant players might be in any given urban development context and what role they might play is increasingly difficult. Moreover, informal, non-codified, and ad hoc decision-making have emerged as fundamental planning and urban governance idioms in much of the global south, and as a result the "rules of the game" that affect the allocation of urban development resources are increasingly illegible in many areas. With more actors and few clearly delineated policies, the work of cataloguing local urban development cultures and the applicable "rules of the game" that govern resource allocation is increasingly important. This work attempts to catalogue such local urban development culture and explore its operationalization in Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic. More specifically, the study is concerned with how key actors in urban development space—local government officials, civil society

representatives, and neighborhood development activists—understand and articulate the values and principles that affect urban development practice in their local context. The goal of my work is to develop a composite set of "rules of the game" for urban development practice in Santo Domingo regarding how, when, and for what purpose material resources are brought to bear on neighborhood level urban development projects in informal settlements and other economically or environmentally distressed neighborhoods. My results show that in the context of Santo Domingo, it is a community's ability to demonstrate an entrepreneurial capacity for self-management, proactive organizing, and project financial sustainability that are the predominant determinative factors affecting whether a community will likely win the favor and eventual material support of local government entities, communicating a message that citizens are expected to be full partners in service provision rather than mere beneficiaries.

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

Chapter 1: Introduction

Frameworks of western and northern planning practice do not translate particularly well to urban areas of the global south (Robinson, 2016; Roy, 2009; Simone, 2013; Watson, 2009; 2012). Among other concerns, statutorily enforceable planning and public policy mechanisms do not always exist to predictably, transparently, and fairly administer public funds for the purposes of urban development and urban service provision in many, if not most, urban areas of the global south. My comments on this matter are not meant as a pejorative assessment of urban management competencies in the global south. Nor are they meant to deny that in many such urban areas the effort to establish publicly accountable and predictably enforceable planning regimes is an active work in progress. However, they are meant as a realistic assessment of how I understand urban management to currently work in many areas of the global south; that is, according to informal, unwritten, ad hoc, and de facto rules regarding when, where, and for whose benefit public resources will be deployed (Anand, 2011; Fox-Rogers & Murphy, 2014; Hossain, 2011; Roy, 2009). The non-codified nature of the "rules of the game" (Helmke & Levitsky, 2004: 725) that informally govern resource allocation in these urban management regimes make them particularly illegible to actors trying to navigate and successfully lobby for services and resources within those systems. While there is a significant body of work critiquing existing planning regimes in the global south, I believe a responsible pro-poor urban development practitioner is also obligated to realistically consider how to best work within the system we have in addition to posturing about the system we wish we had.

At its core, this work is concerned with two fundamental concerns: 1) that universalized theoretical paradigms regarding planning regimes (particularly those

emerging from the west and north) are insufficient mechanisms for understanding how local urban management systems work in many areas of the global south given the deeply informal and ad hoc nature of such planning regimes; and 2) that understanding the rules of the game regarding how local urban management systems work in a given place, taking into account local idiosyncrasies, is an important part of positioning local pro-poor civil society representatives and neighborhood development activists to succeed in terms of their ability to navigate and lobby for resources within the confines of their local urban management regime.

To address these concerns, I seek to contribute to the larger project of "working within the system we have" by attempting to map the "rules of the game" that govern urban development practice in a particular time and place-specific urban development context. I believe it is important to catalogue these unwritten and informal "rules of the game" in the general interest of transparency and in the specific interest of making the "game" of securing resources for pro-poor development projects more legible to allied civil society and neighborhood urban development actors.

The results of this study show that local development culture in Santo Domingo is thematically concerned predominantly with issues of environmental contamination, economic opportunity/income generation, and neighborhood infrastructure upgrading. Operationally, local development culture in Santo Domingo is principally concerned with planning practices that emphasize integrated project design, participation, community self-management/proactive organizing, and project financial sustainability. In particular, a community's ability to demonstrate an entrepreneurial and enterprising ability for self-management, proactive organizing, and financial sustainability seem to carry outsized weight regarding whether a particular project or initiative is likely to win the favor and eventual material support of local government actors.

2

The work of documenting local development culture takes on heightened importance because the number of relevant actors implicated in securing urban citizenship rights and the provisioning of basic urban services has significantly expanded in the age of neoliberal urban governance regimes. With so many diverse actors involved in securing rights and providing services, and with each city exhibiting its own unique division of labor among these actors, there is significant variation in who the relevant urban development actors are and how they operate in any given place. Starting from the assumption that the configuration of actors and their expressed development values will not necessarily look the same from place to place, I am advocating for the wide-ranging study of locally specific urban management and planning regimes across the global south, embodied in the concept of local urban development cultures, as a way to understand how relevant urban development actors operate and make decisions regarding resource allocation. It is my view that local development cultures between urban areas can and should be studied comparatively. This study, however, is concerned with documenting and analyzing the local development culture of a single research site: Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic.

In looking at the values and principles that make up local urban development culture, I am particularly concerned with how such local development culture shapes urban development processes in poor and informal settlements. In Santo Domingo, such areas are often referred to as *barrios populares*. As a general note, I don't seek to offer judgment regarding the wisdom, ethics, or morality of a particular planning regime. Instead, my goal is to catalogue, map, and outline, "the way things are" and the "rules of the game" in a particular local development context. More pointedly, this work is concerned with understanding how the urban governance systems and management regimes of a particular place work in an effort to make them more legible and navigable.

I was first introduced to Los Platanitos, the informal settlement in Santo Domingo that has become the study settlement for this thesis project, in 2014 while working with a team of graduate students and a local women's cooperative to conduct a participatory outcome evaluation of a community-composing project. This work was part of a larger practicum course offered by the Graduate Program in Community and Regional Planning at the University of Texas School of Architecture, which has had an ongoing relationship with Los Platanitos since 2008. The relationship began with University of Texas graduate students assessing social and environmental vulnerability in the community (Sletto ed., 2008). Since that first study, additional work has been done to quantify the nature of the solid waste management problems facing the community (Sletto ed., 2010), to experiment with technical solutions and community organizing as vehicles for tackling those challenges (Sletto ed., 2012), and to explore the possibilities of green infrastructure as a community resource (Sletto ed., 2014). As the collaboration has evolved, a variety of actors beyond the University of Texas have become involved in various parts of the organizing and project processes including: local government officials, representatives of the Dominican Republic's national planning agency, a local university, multiple civil society organizations, a neighborhood foundation, a local women's cooperative, and an area residents association (see Table 1.1). In 2014, several project partners initiated an effort to more intentionally coordinate among the various actors and organizations present in Los Platanitos with the specific goal of supporting discrete project efforts to address the solid waste management challenges facing the community. The discrete project efforts included the development of a pilot composting project that converted household organic waste into natural fertilizer and the development of plans for a possible community-based trash collection and recycling service to be managed by the neighborhood foundation and women's cooperative. This study inserts itself into the

ongoing organizing and project processes of Los Platanitos and asks how local development culture in Santo Domingo affects (if at all) how projects are designed, spoken about, and implemented at the neighborhood level.

Urban Development Actors Active in Los Platanitos

Community	Government	Civil Society	Academic
Fundación Los Platanitos- *Neighborhood Foundation* Mujeres Unidas- *Women's Cooperative* Junta de Vecinos Los Trinitarios- *Area Residents Association*	Ayuntamiento del Santo Domingo Norte- *Local Government Entity* Dirección General del Ordenamiento y Desarrollo Territorial- *National Planning Agency* Dirección General de Programas Especiales de la Presidencia- *National Special Projects Agency*	Centro de Investigación y Apoyo a Mujeres y Familias (CIAMF)- *Local NGO* Comité para la Defensa de los Derechos Barriales- (COPADEBA)- *Local NGO*	University of Texas School of Architecture- *International Academic Partner* Universidad Nacional Pedro Henríquez Ureña- *Local Academic Partner*

Table 1.1

Los Platanitos is a largely self-built settlement located in a ravine with a channel of runoff and wastewater charting a course directly through its lowest points. The settlement itself is surrounded on all sides by ridges of formal and consolidated middle-class development. Residents colloquially use the term *arriba* (above) to refer to the elevated neighborhoods surrounding the settlement and the term *abajo* (below) to refer to the community situated on the sides and floor of the ravine. Steep and narrow staircases are the principal ways of accessing the community. Throughout my first trip to the Dominican Republic, I felt like I was constantly climbing up and down those stairs. For me, ascending and descending began to mean that I was leaving one world and entering

another, exchanging the formal and consolidated urban environment of the surrounding neighborhoods and larger city for the informal and makeshift world of Los Platanitos and vice versa.

As I traveled between these two worlds, it became clear that there was a real power differential between government and civil society actors and poor residents who occupied neighborhood and community spaces. In particular, it seemed that government actors were generally capable of setting local development agendas and priorities at whim. Civil society representatives were adept at deciphering those agendas and to a certain extent were involved in developing them, as they were often represented at citywide coordination roundtables. However, even civil society representatives seemed to be operating with a certain degree of blindness regarding the priorities of local government entities, which had the authority to allocate material and resource support for neighborhood-level projects. Residents constituted the actor group that seemed least prepared to read, interpret, and decipher the priorities and values that guided the types and forms of projects that urban development actors with access to more resources would be most likely to support. This project, then, was born out of a frustration with the illegibility of the "rules of the game" in this type of non-codified system and out of a desire to start to make those rules of the game—which can otherwise be thought of as priorities, norms, principles or values—more legible. In an urban governance climate that is swirling with different actors, such as Santo Domingo, it is particularly important to catalogue the values and principles that inform urban development practice in order to outline the applicable "rules of the game."

To build an understanding of local urban development culture in Santo Domingo, I will review the larger urban development arena of Santo Domingo and present findings from a single case example of a local urban development project and organizing process

in Los Platanitos. I employ a single instrumental case study approach, using the Santo Domingo urban development arena as a confined unit in which to explore the dual phenomena of 1) the expressed composite values and principles of urban development actors in Santo Domingo, focusing on local government actors and civil society representatives; and 2) the real-word operationalization of those expressed values and principles in the context of a neighborhood-level urban development project. If the first goal of this research is to chart what urban development actors *say* constitutes local urban development culture in Santo Domingo, the second goal of the research is to consider how and in what ways local development culture is operationalized at the neighborhood level. My working assumption is that urban development actors in a given area will attempt to design and pursue projects that generally conform to the values and principles that define local development culture in an effort to maximize the chance a particular project will be funded, receive material support from public entities, etc.

Santo Domingo is a particularly appropriate site for this type of research because it constitutes a neoliberal urban governance climate typical of the global south. Under such governance regimes, once-traditional roles and responsibilities of the state have been divided and "re-assigned" to various additional actor groups, including civil society organizations, neighborhood activist groups, and individual citizens. I argue that in this type of fragmented and decentralized urban governance arena, in which the roles and responsibilities of different actors may or may not be clear, work that attempts to map out the place-specific idiosyncrasies of how local actors conceive of and share such responsibilities is preeminently important. In this way, the realities of a contemporary neoliberal governance climate, which are by no means unique to Santo Domingo, heighten the urgency and value of this work given the way that such climates emphasize the decentralization of responsibility regarding securing rights and providing services.

This research builds on my existing relationships with municipal planning departments in and around Santo Domingo, various civil society organizations, small-scale neighborhood organizations, and individual community development activists. Semi-structured interviews and direct field observation were the principal data collection methods employed in this study. My hope is that the methodology employed in this project could potentially be refined and deployed elsewhere to document both the expression and operationalization of place-specific local urban development culture in other urban development arenas in the global south. The replication of this type of study would ideally contribute to a body of comparative research concerned with developing more place-specific understandings of the urban management systems and planning regimes that govern urban areas across the global south. This work is important to emergent planning concerns in the global south in that it is designed to fit into larger conversations about the ways in which municipal authorities and vulnerable constituent groups can more effectively work with one another as a function of legibility and transparency.

My connection to and interest in this research cannot be described as entirely value neutral. I have worked with many of the subjects of this study for several years. In addition to being representative ambassadors of local development culture, some of the subjects of this study are also my professional colleagues and friends. Additionally, I have worked in both paid and unpaid capacities as a research assistant and technical advisor to support the community development efforts that provide the grounded case example detailed later in this thesis. My work has included researching potential funding opportunities for local neighborhood organizations, drafting grant proposals, supporting capacity building initiatives, conducting technical program assessments, and developing briefing materials to educate wider audiences about the community development efforts

of the neighborhood organizations. In short, it would be incorrect to say that the research I have conducted represents entirely objective and removed ethnography.

Rather than seeing my personal and professional involvement with neighborhood-level urban development projects in Santo Domingo as a limitation, however, I see this level of engagement as an advantageous starting point. My work on these projects, facilitated through the University of Texas School of Architecture's ongoing collaboration with community residents and project partners, has provided me with a privileged position from which to view the process of how local development culture is expressed and operationalized. That said, the findings presented in this research, particularly with respect to the grounded example of the *consorcio*, represent simply one perspective among many. Specifically, I was able to sit in on the internal meetings of, and in some cases offer technical assistance to, the neighborhood level development activists and civil society organizations that formed part of the project. I did not have the same level of personal access to, or relationship with, municipal planning officials. The reader should use these comments on the position of the author to critically assess the findings and analysis presented later in this thesis.

I begin in Chapter 2 by introducing the bodies of literature that inform and constitute the theoretical lens for my work. This chapter will specifically outline the ways in which I see the literature regarding decentralized and neoliberal urban governance regimes, enterprise culture, informal governance power, and state-society interactions via co-production converging to frame the questions that are central to this research. In Chapter 3, I provide a review of the methods employed in this study and a more detailed discussion of my orientation towards this research. Chapter 4 will present research findings regarding key thematic and operational principles governing local development culture in Santo Domingo as expressed by urban development actors, particularly local

government officials and civil society representatives. Specifically, the results show that local development culture in Santo Domingo is thematically concerned with issues of environmental contamination, economic opportunity/income generation, and neighborhood infrastructure upgrading. Operationally, local development culture in Santo Domingo is principally concerned with planning practices that emphasize integrated project design, participation, community self-management/proactive organizing, and project financial sustainability. Chapter 5 will present research findings that detail the operationalization of Santo Domingo-wide local development culture in the context of a particular neighborhood-level case example, showing that a community's capacity to demonstrate self-management and proactive organizing in addition to project financial sustainability carry outsized weight over other factors in winning the favor of local government actors. Chapter 6 will present a brief discussion of the implications of a local development culture that is particularly concerned with entrepreneurial and enterprising demonstrations of community self-management, proactive organizing, and financial sustainability in which citizens are expected to be full partners in service provision.

Chapter 2: Theory

Santo Domingo is subject to a fragmented and networked governance arrangement typical of neoliberal cities. In this fragmented context, multiple state and non-state actors are engaged in securing rights, providing basic services, and generally engaging in the processes of urban governance. Within this larger landscape of state and non-state actors, I posit that there are such things as discernable and relatively unified groupings of actors, and that these actor groups interact with one another in the broader field of urban development practice to reach negotiated, collaborative working agreements. In this study, the actor groups in question include neighborhood activists, civil society organizations, and government officials. The *field* in which they are working and interacting with one another is the field of urban development, while the *arena* in which all of this is taking place is Santo Domingo. Furthermore, I suggest that these various actor groups interact and negotiate with one another in ways that simultaneously produce and operate in accordance to, a set of unwritten and informal "rules of the game." I argue that these constantly evolving "rules of the game" are actually the outcome of state-society working agreements and service provision schemes, and that they constitute a type of de facto development policy that exerts a determinant effect on the type of development practice that takes shape in a particular arena. Finally, I posit that understanding the urban development principles and values of actor groups is an important and necessary step in trying to interpret those state-society interactions in order to decipher the de facto policy and "rules of the game" that result from these interactions.

Neoliberal Governance

A key premise of this study is that development paradigms and so-called "rules of the game" regarding urban development practice are context-dependent. A key economic

and governance variable characterizing the Santo Domingo urban context is neoliberalism. I use this word to characterize Santo Domingo in a very specific way: the city is neoliberal because of the fragmented and networked governance arrangements of diverse actors that now fulfill roles that might have previously been ascribed to the state. The landscape of diversified actors including individual neighborhood activists, resident associations, and civil society organizations has expanded because developmental-era assumptions about the roles and responsibilities of the state with respect to basic service provision no longer hold fast. Instead they have been supplanted by the "encroachment of a neoliberal logic" (Bayat & Biekart, 2009) in which the state is "more regulator than service provider" and in which both the individual citizen and larger civil society are expected to assume governance and welfare responsibilities (Roberts, 1995; Swyngedouw, 2005; Nielsen, 2011; Peck, 2012; Campbell et al., 2014).

This encroaching neoliberal logic is founded, in part, on an ideology of governance that privileges the ideas of responsibility and autonomous choice being exercised either by individuals or tightly circumscribed communities. Individual and community responsibility can be thought of as existing in contrast to previous notions of socialized risk of the developmental era, often embodied by state intervention and welfare provision (Rose, 1996). In this way, by emphasizing the individual or community's responsibility to self-govern, neoliberal governance arrangements are "rearticulated" so that the "state has to intervene less" on behalf of individuals and communities (Fridman, 2016: 12). In this way, neoliberalism as a governance model does not necessarily represent a total withdrawal of the state but more a rearticulation of

governance responsibilities, establishing new distances between the state and individuals, with new actors, both individual and collective, assuming much of these newly dispersed governance responsibilities (Rose, 1996; Lea & Stenson, 2007; Colvins et al., 2010). These particular interpretations of neoliberal governance logics are critical to understanding two key aspects of the Santo Domingo urban landscape. First, the total number of actors who have been charged with assuming governance responsibilities has increased (Chantada, 2014; Mendoza, 2014; Sletto & Nygren, 2016). In practical terms this means that there are increasingly diverse actors, engaging in both individual and collective action, to meet a variety of urban governance needs. Second, but related, is the way in which the proliferation of "responsibilized" actors has intersected with structural fiscal austerity constraints and on-going cultural debates about the role of the state in providing public goods. This intersection has created conditions under which competitive entrepreneurial and self-enterprising dispositions towards life in general, and urban governance in particular, assume a celebrated and almost moral quality (McFarlane, 2012; Roy, 2011; Shamir, 2008; Sletto, 2014). The increased number of actors and the fact that these actors are put into competition with one another are the two most important elements of Santo Domingo's neoliberal urban governance context that inform this study.

In turning to the first dynamic in more detail, the proliferation of urban development actors under a neoliberal urban governance framework has important consequences for this study. There are now more actors and actor groups that can lay legitimate claim to being interested parties in the urban development and neighborhood

improvement initiatives taking shape across the city (Chantada, 2014; Mendoza, 2014; Sivaramakrishnan & Agrawal, 2003). As more actors are involved in, have a say regarding, and are able to exert influence over urban development processes, there is a greater plurality of voices and interpretations of development to be negotiated amongst. In this wider milieu of actors and actor groups characteristic of fragmented neoliberal urban governance regimes, understanding the various perspectives and agendas of those actors and actor groups is crucial for assessing the nature of their interactions and the working agreements and compromises they are likely to negotiate. Even individual projects will be sites of contest and negotiation among differently situated actors (Cornwall & Brock, 2005; Crehan & Van Oppen, 1988).

In turning to the second dynamic regarding competition and contest between actors, this dynamic is borne out of three intersecting factors: 1) the increased relevance of individual enterprise culture and entrepreneurship as a way of organizing life in general and urban governance in particular, 2) the legitimately debatable role of the state and the nature of public goods, and 3) municipal fiscal austerity.

As individuals and communities are increasingly responsibilized under the enterprising logics neoliberal self-governance, an inherent emphasis on competition emerges. In this type of urban governance landscape, some will win and some will lose, depending on their ability to compete. In this environment, traditional citizenship converts or mutates into a form of "market-citizenship" as a function of "market constitutionalism" in which individuals and communities must compete for and earn access to resources, services, and, one could argue, even prosperity by effecting certain

14

market-oriented subjectivities (Sassen and Jayasuria quoted in Shamir, 2008: 14). Competition and contest are built into this scenario as the "stakes of citizenship are raised" by way of increasingly competitive "self-governance norms" that individuals are expected to live up to and demonstrate prior to effectively earning citizenship status (Ong, 2006). Referencing James Tully, Nikolas Rose (2000: 97) invokes the idea of "citizenship games" to explain the process of navigating the "implicit and explicit rules" of what it takes to earn the status of citizenship in any given context, thus accessing the rights associated with citizenship in that context. This explicit invocation of citizenship as a game is a metaphor that cannot help but connote attendant considerations of competition and contest, winning and losing.

For the purposes of this study, it is important to understand the concepts of competition, enterprise and entrepreneurialism as more than simple economic concepts. Instead, they are traits that can be ascribed to both individual and collective action that have assumed qualities of broad social desirability extending to realms far beyond the confines of economic activity. Paul du Gay (2000: 165) traces "enterprise culture" to the Thatcher and Regan eras of British and American politics respectively and qualifies the project not simply as an economic project but one of "moral renewal." He speaks of enterprise ethics in cultural terms that are premised on a "widespread skepticism concerning the powers of political government to plan and steer from the center," describing enterprise culture in terms closely aligned with descriptions of neoliberal governing logics:

> The state is no longer to be required to answer all of society's need for health, security, order, or productivity. Individuals, firms, organizations, communities, schools, parents, and housing estates must themselves take on--as partners--a greater proportion of the responsibility for resolving these issues. (165).

In this way, enterprise culture represents the governance logics of neoliberalism as assumed and acted out by individual people or community entities. Enterprise culture can almost be thought of as a personal or individual enactment of neoliberal logics. These logics have driven a "reformulation of social governance" that has created a "particular ethic of personhood" or "ethic of self" that "stresses autonomy, responsibility, and the freedom/obligation of individuals to actively make choices for themselves" (du Gay, 2000: 166). This type of analysis makes it clear that enterprise culture represents an embodiment of neoliberal governing logics at the level of an individual person or entity that goes beyond simply an economic project. With respect to enterprise culture's breadth of influence du Gay (2004: 38) imbues it not simply with economic power, but also as marker of "political, social, and personal vitality" that might be applied with equal vigor to influence the conduct of non-commercial organizations, government entities, and individuals alike. All of this is to suggest that, as du Gay (2004: 40) puts it, "the economic politics of enterprise appear to know no boundaries" regarding the type of actor to which it might be applied. Colin McFarlane's (2012) analysis of entrepreneurial slums confirms the breadth of influence that such logics wield, arguing that the success of enterprise strategies stem from the ability to "capture not just economic trajectories but highly selective interpretations of the active social" (2797). He goes on to write:

16

> Urban entrepreneurialism, as we have come to know it, is a far-reaching ideology for urban management…[.] It is the attempted production of a particular kind of city and urban poor that conform to a risk-taking, self-managed and non-oppositional practice and that work towards market inclusion and financial discipline. (2811)

In practical terms, this type of entrepreneurial logic manifests itself in projects that concern themselves with addressing the community development needs of slum settlements while at the same time "making money and reinvesting it" (McFarlane, 2012: 2802).

In addition to being affected by the competitive logics of individualization, responsibilization, and enterprise culture, the urban governance stage is set to encourage contestation because the role of the state in providing public goods remains debated. Classic market theory holds that there are some goods and services that the state or public sector is uniquely positioned to provide, i.e. there are some services, infrastructures, or needs that the individual, collectives, or the market cannot reasonably be expected to provide. These so-called public goods are generally the cornerstones of public service provision and state-sponsored infrastructure upgrading (Haglund, 2009; Deneulin & Townsend, 2007). But there is disagreement about when and where the market has failed to provide these goods and services, and regarding when and where the state is the actor best positioned to provide a particular service or resource. This is to say that there is little consensus about where the category of "pure" or indisputable public goods ends and where more fuzzy categories of "impure public goods" begin (Kaul et al., 1999). The intense and on-going debates about water as both a possible right and a public good in contrast to certain understandings of water as a private commodity are indicative of the

level of controversy that can surround ideological issues of service provision, the role of the state, and the sheer range of actors that could be legitimately charged with the task of ensuring widespread access to basic services (Bakker, 2003; 2007).

Additionally, because of resource constraints characteristic of the austere fiscal climates commonly associated with neoliberal urban governance regimes of the global south, securing public resources for a particular project or service provision scheme is not simply a matter of winning an ideological argument about the legitimate role of the state. Even when the role of the state is generally agreed upon, the lack of local government resources can create conditions in which not all ideologically agreed-upon projects can be carried out. For example, if public maintenance and infrastructure upgrading of sewage systems has been established as a legitimate role of the state in a given local context, in a constrained fiscal environment, contentious decisions still need to be made about how to prioritize where public sewage infrastructure might be upgraded. In this way, lobbying for state resources is a challenge on two fronts. An implicit agreement needs to be reached regarding *whether* a particular urban development project even falls within the legitimate purview of the state, and a second implicit agreement needs to be reached regarding *where* (among individuals and communities competing for finite resources) state funds ought to be deployed to carry out this particular urban development activity.

It is in this context of contest and competition, set in motion by neoliberal governing logics, that understanding the dynamics of interaction and negotiation of working agreements between urban development actors becomes crucial. With an increased number of actors and voices, there is a heightened need for understanding the

norms and principles that govern the urban development agendas of those various actor groups as they are interacting, competing, and negotiating with and among one another.

ACTOR GROUPS, STATE-SOCIETY INTERACTIONS, AND CO-PRODUCTION

This work posits that there are discernable and relatively unified actor groups that operate together in a larger field and arena of unifying urban development practice. In the case of Santo Domingo, the most relevant and influential actor groups include neighborhood activists, civil society organizations, and government officials. These actor groups are, to a certain extent, artificially discrete. A government official could just as easily occupy the role of neighborhood activist in his or her own community, just as that same government official could also be a volunteer for a local non-governmental organization, thereby also meeting the criteria of civil society representative. That said, the idea that government, civil society, and organized groups of citizens all constitute legitimate and active stakeholders in urban governance and development processes is not new. Multiple authors working on diverse topics from urban regime theory to development studies have argued that multiple actor groups and stakeholders, often broken down along lines that distinguish between state, civil society and neighborhood actors, are relevant and interested parties when it comes to processes of urban governance, planning, and development (Painter, 1997; Wacker et al., 1999).

My use of the term "actor group" draws on the concepts of epistemic communities and communities of practice. Peter Haas (1992: 3) uses the term epistemic community to describe groups of professional or expert actors with a shared set of "normative and principled beliefs" that coincide with a shared understanding of both causality and validity put to use in pursuit of a "common policy enterprise." Haas' original use of the term was in reference to communities of like-minded professional

policy experts attempting to tackle shared international policy concerns. My borrowing of the term involves a certain bastardization of the concept by jettisoning some of Haas' original criteria for strictly "professional expertise." For my purposes however, the idea of a community of actors that share certain principled beliefs, see problems from a shared perspective, and are working towards a common goal starts to approximate what I mean when using the term actor group.

Community of practice is a term that denotes the ways in which knowledge acquisition and reproduction occurs in highly contextualized and situated environments, significantly influenced by social interactions with others in that same space (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Kerno, 2008). Beyond simply sharing common beliefs, interests or goals, this literature suggests that shared practice, methods, and activities constitute the boundaries of an actor group (Gonzalez et al., 2011). In their most nuanced conception, authors in this field argue that "knowing in action" is a highly-situated phenomenon in which different groups will know in different ways by engaging in different actions (Amin & Roberts, 2008). For the purposes of this study, the concept of communities of practice underscores that shared context-specific practices, social interactions, and ways of engagement among group members are an important differentiating factor between actor groups beyond simply sharing common beliefs, interests, or goals.

By drawing jointly on the ideas of epistemic communities and communities of practice to create a composite definition of what I mean by using the term actor group, I hope to convey the image of a group delimited by shared normative beliefs, shared perspectives on causality and validity, shared goals, and shared practices. Perfect unity and coherence among members of a given actor group is not a precondition for this type of actor analysis to be useful. There simply needs to be reasonable enough evidence to

suggest that members of each actor group exhibit shared characteristics regarding the urban development norms, principles, and values to which they subscribe.

In this way, the government, civil society, and neighborhood activist actor groups should each exhibit enough variation along these criteria so as to appear qualitatively different in their approach to urban development. That each of these actor groups operates in differently situated circumstances and with different understandings of validity and causality are arguably the two features that most distinguish them from one another. Because of their differently situated positions and points of entry into the field of urban development, the assumption is that different actor groups will exhibit substantively different principles and normative beliefs about urban development practice from one another.

However, understanding the nature of individual actor groups tells us little about how these actor groups interact with one another. For this, understanding urban politics according to Pierre Bourdieu's conceptualization of "fields" and "subfields" is particularly useful. In introducing his translation of Bourdieu's *The Field of Cultural Production* (1993), Randal Johnson discusses agents occupying "diverse available positions" or "creating new positions" within a field, in turn competing for influence and the control of resources within that field. The concept of agents competing for influence and resources within a field reflects how actor groups—and the various agents of those actor groups—interact, negotiate, and ultimately reach compromise with one another regarding issues of urban development:

> To enter a field (the philosophical field, the scientific field, etc.) to play the game, one must possess the habits which predisposes one to enter the field, that game and not another. One must also possess at least the minimum amount of knowledge, or skill, or talent to be accepted as a legitimate player. Entering the game, furthermore, means attempting to use that knowledge, or skill, or talent, in the most advantageous way

21

possible. It means, in short, investing one's (academic, cultural, symbolic) capital in such a way as to derive maximum benefit or profit from participation. Under normal circumstance, no one enters a game to lose. (8)

Other authors have more explicitly utilized Bourdieu's work on fields to discuss and model the ways in which "different actor groups" operate and interact with one another in "the field of urban governance" from differently situated positions of power, each with its own access to distinct logics and forms of knowledge. Joe Painter (1997) writes:

> Centrally important in habitus formation is the role played by knowledge, information, and political socialization. Different regime participants do not just have different amounts of knowledge about the conditions under which they are acting, they also know in different ways, and these different ways of knowing bear heavily on decisions about whether or not to participate in any particular governing arrangement. (137)

In a similar vein, Yongjun Shin (2012) argues:

> [ ] …urban politics is a highly complicated organizing process in which various participants from diverse organizations participate with different stakes, positions, and operating logics. In a nutshell, urban politics is a conflictual, multidimensional urban social organization in which people and organizational entities interplay with one another to dominate certain urban issues through conflict, struggle, collaboration, and/or negotiation. (274)

All of this reflects a particular way of understanding the idea of a field or arena in which state-society interactions unfold as actor groups interact with one another in an effort to mobilize, influence, and/or control resources. Painter and Shin's observations about differentiated positions, operating logics, and ways of knowing resonate particularly strongly with my earlier conceptualization of differentiated actor groups. Authors in more recent building studies and property development disciplines refer to the idea of "local development contexts" (Moore, 2015: 391) or "local development milieus" (Henneberry & Parris, 2013: 235) to understand how the interactions of different actors

with specific norms, principles, and values, congeal into a place-specific local development culture. I find borrowing from these concepts useful as the principal concern of this study is documenting the composite norms and values that seem to influence and govern urban development practice in a particular time and place that is occupied by a particular set of actors.

In planning theory, authors have articulated a variety of conceptualizations regarding how to best understand interactions and negotiations among differently situated actor groups. At one end of the spectrum, communicative planning scholars emphasize the somewhat genteel and optimistic role of planning interactions and negotiations as a way for diverse communities and actors to search for "achievable levels of mutual understanding for the purposes in hand, while retaining awareness of that which is not understood…" (Healy, 1992: 154). At the other end of the spectrum, planning interactions and negotiations are characterized as inherently more conflictual and tense (Hillier, 2003; Watson, 2009) with competing interests wielding power and influence as they vie for control (Flyvbjerg, 1991; Pløger, 2004).

Both ends of the spectrum—communicative and conflictual—offer useful insight into what society-state interactions via planning negotiation can look like. But communicative planning seems to altogether neglect the elements of conflict, power, and manipulation that are likely to be part of any negotiation process while the other end of the spectrum seems to over-emphasize conflict and power struggle at the expense of entertaining any possibility of compromise and mutual understanding. In this sense, both models are somewhat lacking. It is my view that development-planning negotiations are neither as rosy as communicative planning might suggest nor as contentious and intractably limited by power as scholars at the other end of the spectrum would suggest.

There is also the question of how well these Western-oriented planning paradigms developed in the global north translate to contexts in the global south (Watson, 2008). To address this concern of what planning realities and state-society interactions actually look like in the global south, Watson (2009: 2270) proposes the idea of an "interface zone" in which "state efforts at urban development" are "met or confronted by their target populations" in ways that "shape the nature of interventions." This idea of interface, one that is overlain by a somewhat constant tension and conflict between the competing rationalities of relevant actor groups, is a useful analytical mechanism for understanding state-society interactions in the global south.

Complementary to the idea of interface, particularly with respect to basic service provision in the global south, is the idea of co-production. Watson (2014) writes:

> Co-Production is a process through which inputs from individuals who are not in the same organization are transformed into goods and services. The focus in this literature is on the provision of public services (e.g. sanitation systems, schools) where the involvement of the state with communities can create synergies that through parties contributing in different but complementary ways: communities (she suggests) have local information, time, skills for example, and the state has resources and technical expertise. (Watson, 2014: 64).

As much as co-production is an overt and collaborative service provision strategy, it also constitutes a political strategy. Co-production involves "the joint production of public services between citizen and the state" in a way that allows the organized urban poor to "augment their capacity to negotiate successfully with the state" and "to strengthen their political position as well as address their more immediate development needs" (Mitlin, 2008: 340). Co-production efforts as political activity are incremental and generally less confrontational than overt lobbying or protest, but nonetheless are means of "politically consolidating" and "extracting gains from the state" for the urban poor (Watson, 2014:

66). In this way, co-production is a state-society interaction framework that recognizes and takes for granted built-in political strategizing, power imbalances, and the material effects of structural inequalities, but nonetheless seeks common ground where the state and the urban poor can share a certain degree of complementary synergy, whether or not their interests are the same.

The framework for co-production as a model for state-society interactions is also a useful concept for understanding how communities can be expected to demonstrate a commitment to enterprise culture. The emphasis here is that rather than simply demanding service provision, communities engage in practical action and collaboration with state actors to advance service provision themselves. While co-production already exhibits tendencies of neoliberal governing logics in that it begins to shift and rearticulate responsibilities for service provision away from the state, the co-production framework in Santo Domingo takes on an even more enterprise-oriented tone in that local government officials seem most interested in partnering with communities and organizations that have already demonstrated a capacity for self-organizing. Arjun Appadurai (2001) refers to the process of exhibiting proactive community development capacity as "precedent setting." He writes:

> A final key term that recurs in the writing and speech of the leaders of the Alliance is "precedent-setting", the ramifications of which strategic locution I am still exploring. What I have learned so far is that underlying the bland, quasi-legal tone is a more radical idea, whereby the poor need to claim, refine and define certain ways of doing things in spaces they already control, and then use these practices to show donors, city officials and other activists that their "precedents" are good ones, and encourage such actors to invest further in them. This is a politics of show-and tell but it is also a philosophy of "do first, talk later." (33)

Appadurai speaks of precedent setting behavior as a potentially pro-poor and somewhat subversive strategy in that the urban poor engage in community problem solving and

organize in ways that show they are functional and beneficial, thereby encouraging retroactive political and legal support. Others have referred to such activities as citizen entrepreneurialism whereby individuals or a community refuses "to wait for the state but instead takes matters –the most fundamental of matters—into its own management" (McFarlane, 2012: 2802). However, ideas of precedent setting and citizen entrepreneurialism could also be read as endorsements of enterprise culture in that they require explicit displays of initiative and pro-active organizing on behalf of poor communities before they can "earn" services or material support from local government entities.

In terms of accessing what co-production negotiations actually look like in real practice, this study focuses on understanding how such interactions take shape in "everyday" and often informal ways. This is in contrast to a perspective that tries to understand these interactions by looking at official policy directives or operating protocols that might dictate how such interactions *should* occur. This emphasis on how things *really* happen in development and planning practice is informed by early theorizing on the "everyday state" or "street-level bureaucracy," which emphasizes the determinant influence of local and daily interactions as they actually occur in contrast to the effects of formal directives (Gupta, 1995; Lipsky, 1989). As a complement to this type of "everyday" study of state-society interactions, there is an emerging body of literature that seeks to understand the role of informality not just in terms of markets or built infrastructure, but also with respect to how power is wielded as a function of actual governance and policy implementation (Anand, 2011; Fox-Rogers & Murphy, 2014; Helmke & Levitsky, 2004; Hossain, 2011; Lehmann & Gulson, 2014; Roy, 2009). All of this is to say that there is an increasing interest in the ways in which informal and non-codified decisions made by formal authorities or any other actor in a particular

governance space can take on the determinative weight of formal policy, influencing daily practice and material outcomes in the arenas of urban development. AbdouMaliq Simone (2008) refers to the cumulative network of individuals—especially non-formal governance actors such as residents—who exert power and wield influence over urban politics even in very small ways through their particular capacities and positions as the "governing composite" (24). I contend that these everyday decisions become the effective or de facto policies that guide the operations and material practice of urban development in a given arena.

DEVELOPMENT DISCOURSE

Thus far I have made a case for understanding Santo Domingo as being governed by a particular type of urban governance arrangement (neoliberalism) which creates the conditions under which an increasing number of actors now share the responsibilities associated with urban governance, urban development included. Drawing on the theoretical frameworks of interface and co-production, I have also suggested that differentiated actor groups—government officials, civil society representatives, and neighborhood activists—interact, negotiate, and ultimately collaborate while still jockeying for influence and control of limited resources in the field of urban development. At the beginning of this chapter, I made the argument that these negotiations and interactions both result in, and are governed by, a set of continually evolving "rules of the game." To understand these rules of the game and to make sense of these negotiations, one has to pay attention to the local-level urban development principles and values of the actor groups involved in the interactions and negotiations. I argue that the principles and values expressed by the various Santo Domingo actor

groups exert instrumental effects on the type of material urban development practice that takes place in Santo Domingo.

In establishing the theoretical premise of this study, I do not reject the idea of there being a hegemonic discourse of "development" that operates at a macro-social level. However, I also subscribe to a view of development practice in which there exist regional, national, and even city-specific development paradigms and development cultures that exhibit unique traits and idiosyncrasies that make them functionally different from place to place. These place-specific discourses may well be shaped and constrained, to a certain extent, by a macro-level discourse of "Development" but it is my belief that the individual character of any such place-specific discourse exerts real impact on how and in what ways urban development is practiced in a particular context. This place-specific and localized understanding of development discourse is the type of discourse—represented by the expressed values, priorities, and norms of urban development actors—that this study seeks to illuminate and better understand.

The body of literature that outlines the instrumental effects of development discourse at a macro-social level argues that positivist and Western understandings of modernity have profoundly shaped the concept of development at its most basic level. These arguments suggest that this notion of development has been so powerful because it has been able to structure the conceptual frameworks of development almost exclusively along lines of instrumental reason and western rationality in a way that functionally disallows alternative rationalities (Grosfoguel, 2000; Quijano, 1989). In turn, modern "development speak"—and the subsequent development practice that such "speak" informs—reflects a privileging of Western positivism and instrumental reason. Authors like Arturo Escobar (1995) and Anthony Bebbington (2002) powerfully argue that the notion of development discourse as a thought-structuring framework disallows alternative

understandings of development and regulates what constitutes legitimate and illegitimate development practice. James Ferguson (1990) also suggests that development discourse is capable of instrumentally constructing development objects. The idea that there is a Western and positivist development discourse that operates at a macro-social level limiting and regulating what constitutes legitimate development thought and practice is one that I tend to agree with more than I disagree with it. However, even if the overall concept of what constitutes development is limited by the above-mentioned hegemonic discourse, I believe there is room for local difference and particularity.

More specifically, I give credence to the critique that even in the face of a hegemonic development discourse there can still exist local-level instrumental effects and manifestations of that global development discourse that vary across time and space. Sivaramakrishnan and Agrawal (2003: 24) use the notion of "regional modernities" to explore the difference that exists within time and place-specific conceptions of development as they write, "the experience of development across nation-states indicates that far from entering a post development era, we seem to be in a period when development has become an object of distributed and decentralized production." This idea of decentralized understandings and productions of development is crucial to the argument that development discourses and agendas vary from place to place. In taking on Arturo Escobar's articulation of a homogenous "development gaze" more pointedly, Gardner and Lewis (2000) write:

> […] there are a range of definitions of what development entails and who the subjects of development might be. These definitions may vary not only between societies but also between different groups and institutions within the aid industry as well as within these institutions themselves. An important task for the anthropology of development is therefore to show the ways in which these definitions and meanings are contested and negotiated, as well as how they change over time. (18)

This variation in understanding and production of development across different geographies and between different groups of actors is a key theoretical underpinning of this study. Because development discourse can vary from place to place and from actor to actor, the way in which actors with differing development perspectives and priorities negotiate and come to working compromises with one another is an important part of how place-specific development paradigms and local development cultures—along with their associated "rules of the game"—take shape. More broadly, because the actor group interaction and negotiation process is a situated one, the paradigms and "rules of the game" that such a process results in will also be differently situated from one place to the next. In this way, the urban development paradigms and "rules of the game" that are dominant in Santo Domingo likely differ from those in Port Au Prince, or Caracas, or Bogotá, or Recife etc. Because of this variation and these idiosyncrasies, this same type of study could (and arguably should) be carried out in any number of urban development arenas worldwide to generate unique data on place-specific development paradigms and local development cultures so as to illuminate their particular "rules of the game." Returning to Sivaramakrishnan and Agrawal (2003), they write:

> [ ] ...the multiplication of relevant actors in development (state officials, NGOs, grassroots development agency, villagers, politicians), the differences even within these cursorily identified groups, and the divergences in the processes of development that their goals and strategies introduce forcefully remind us of the impossibility of looking at development through a singularizing lens. For our purposes this means that even where development has become linked to the international discourse of conservation, human rights, public health, and economic stabilization, projects and attempts to develop remain a temporally and spatially bounded theater in which whole episodes of development may be played out as a revelatory crisis. We use the idiom of performance wittingly, to serve as a reminder that development is most fruitfully studied at the several loci of its practice, and in the multiple genres of its enactment. (42)

Simone (2008) writes similarly about the heterogeneity and messiness of actor

negotiations and discourses that characterize urban management processes even within

the same locality:

> Increasingly, the protocols worked out in some kind of partnership arrangements among agencies providing technical assistance, municipal government, and a thickened and more complicated tapestry of local associations for managing the political relations in communities like Yeumbeul find difficulty both encompassing the shifting alliances, but also in getting actors to "speak the same language." While different associational actors pursuing affiliations and opportunities in wider networks of action may still share a basic sense about the position of "their locality" within a larger municipal, regional, or global arena, the heterogeneity of these pursuits also makes it more difficult for them to formally concur on issues increasingly understood and mediated through multiple discourses. (20)

Henceforth, any reference to discourse in this study should be read as a reference to these

place-specific and non-monolithic understandings of development discourses as

expressions of local development culture that are very likely multiple and contested,

rather than as a reference to global development discourse operating at a macro-social

level.

But just knowing that discourses and local development culture can vary from

place to place is not enough. Why should we care what development-speak looks like in a

particular context? We care because understanding the way in which different actor

groups and individuals construct a particular development discourse and agenda offers

insight into the development practice that such actors might actually carry out in material

terms. The ways in which development practitioners talk about development in a

particular place serves to regulate development practice in that local development

context. To understand the "organizational principles that hold sway in a given context"

one needs to undertake a discursive analysis of "the relative power of social groups and

their ability to advocate for framings that correspond to their conception of 'the good'" (Haglund, 2009; 53). By virtue of identifying and framing development concerns in particular terms, the development discourse of a particular actor or actor-group can predetermine the range of solutions that the actor or actor group is even willing to entertain (Cornwall & Brock, 2005). Maarten Hajer (1993: 45) suggests that how a public policy matter is spoken about "has repercussions for politically essential questions such as who is responsible? What can be done? What should be done?" While he is addressing macro-social and international-level development discourse, James Ferguson (1990) outlines the instrumental effects that discourse can have on shaping actual practice:

> [ ] …discourse is a practice, it is structured, and it has real effects...the thoughts and actions of development bureaucrats are powerfully shaped by the world of acceptable statements and utterances within which they live; and what they do and do not do is a product not only of interests of various nations, classes, or international agencies, but also, and at the same time, of a working out of this complex structure of knowledge. (18)

In my own interpretation of Ferguson's analysis, I expand the term bureaucrat to include all actors in the urban development space, and I make the analytical assumption that just as international discourses of development can play a key role in shaping practice, so too can local and place-specific development discourses. In this way, the place specific idiosyncrasies of how actors speak about development and what they identify as their top priorities, principles, values, or norms matters for material practice in that arena.

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS ON THEORY

The theoretical premises outlined in this section make a case for why the study of urban development actor group negotiations and interactions is both necessary and

important for understanding contemporary urban development practice in a given local development context. Neoliberal governance logics have led to a proliferation of relevant actors involved in the urban governance process and have created conditions under which those actor groups are often put into competition with one another. Knowing that various actor groups exist and are operating in a given arena or local development context, forces one to consider the question of how they interact and compete with one another, towards what end, and with what result. I have formulated an understanding of state-society interaction and negotiation that is premised on the idea of shared co-production which acknowledges that conflict, tension and power struggles are inherent to the negotiations that take place between and among actor groups, but which nonetheless recognizes that practical compromise through working agreements is a key goal of such interactions. The result of these working agreements constitutes what I argue is a form of determinant but informal "street-level" development policy, equivalent to context-specific rules of the game that informally govern material development practice. Finally, I posit that understanding the content of any such unofficial development policy requires us to look at the discourses and expressed values/principles of the actor groups whose interactions with one another are at once governed by, and are responsible for reproducing, these constantly evolving "rules of the game." In this way, I argue that the articulated values and principles of various actor groups constitutes a local development culture that exerts influence on the way that material urban development practice takes shape at the neighborhood level.

Chapter 3: Methods, Position, and Limitations

METHODS

This study is concerned with understanding local development culture and making visible the "rules of the game" regarding urban development projects in Santo Domingo. In other words, this study seeks to present data that reveals the de facto street-level development policy and other determinant factors that affect whether a specific project or initiative is likely to receive material support for implementation. Two principal areas of data are relevant for this project: 1) interview responses capturing the expressed composite values and principles of urban development actor groups; and 2) field observations and interviews regarding the real-world operationalization of those values and principles.

This research employs a single instrumental case study approach (Baxter & Jack, 2008; Grandy, 2009; Stake, 1995) using the Santo Domingo urban development arena as a confined unit in which to explore the general phenomenon of de facto, street-level development policy creation in the context of marginalized neighborhoods and informal settlements in the global south. Within Santo Domingo as the larger unit of analysis, this research will also focus on the particular case of the neighborhood improvement processes being pursued in a single informal settlement on the outskirts of Santo Domingo. This settlement, Los Platanitos, is engaged in efforts to lobby city officials for increased infrastructure services and community resources. The two scales of data collection are designed to present the reader with data that speaks to general trends in the larger Santo Domingo development context and the way in which those trends play out in real project collaboration and negotiation between actor groups at the neighborhood level.

I have been conducting field research in Santo Domingo intermittently since January 2014. I began working in this arena first as part of practicum course series run by

the Graduate Program in Community and Regional Planning at the University of Texas School of Architecture. Apart from the three weeks I spent in Santo Domingo as part of the practicum course working with a team of other graduate student researchers, I made two subsequent research trips in the summer of 2014 and the summer of 2015. In all, I spent nine weeks conducting field research. While not working directly in Santo Domingo, I also stayed engaged with project partners and residents from afar, working remotely in Austin to support various elements of the ongoing community organizing and project efforts being pursued in the neighborhood. My entry point into the urban development arena of Santo Domingo and my longest running point of contact has been with the residents, civil society partners, and local government partners that are affiliated with the initiative that makes up the grounded case example being explored later in this study. From that entry point, I expanded my research interests to include documenting local development culture in the larger Santo Domingo development context more broadly among a wider range of urban development actors.

Data for the larger Santo Domingo urban development arena were collected by means of semi-structured interviews with relevant urban development actors that fall into three broad categories: 1) government officials, 2) civil society representatives, and 3) community development activists. Interview subjects were selected by means of purposive sampling (Singleton & Straits, 1993) whereby I worked to develop a slate of interviews that put me in conversation with a diverse field of representatives who met the criteria of having worked in the field of urban development in the larger Santo Domingo metropolitan area. Colleagues in Santo Domingo were able to help me identify and secure interviews with the diverse collection of actor group representatives that I was seeking to interview. The data from these interviews do not provide a statistically representative sample of all urban development actors in Santo Domingo. Instead, they provide an

impression of the current trends and patterns regarding expressed urban development priorities and values that currently characterize the Santo Domingo urban development arena and its local development culture.

Data for the larger Santo Domingo context was also collected via direct observation of urban development actors that I was able to shadow as they went about their day-to-day business. This included sitting in on coordinating meetings between government officials and civil society organizations and accompanying government officials as they made site visits to communities in various parts of Santo Domingo.

The grounded case example of a neighborhood-level urban development project in Los Platanitos was analyzed based on semi-structured interviews and direct observation. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with actors from the three main actor groups (government official, civil society representatives, community development activists) that are involved in the project. I was able to identify these relevant actors as a result of having been engaged in the project myself since January 2014. My connection to the project allowed me privileged access to observe community meetings, civil society strategy planning and grant-writing sessions, and encounters between community residents and government officials. My involvement in and accompaniment of these processes over the past two years forms the basis for my ability to collect data relying heavily on direct observation.

As an additional note about methodology, this project called for research to be conducted, at least in part, in sensitive research areas: informal and working class settlements characterized by concentrations of urban poverty and environmental vulnerability. Because of this, the project as a whole is grounded in considerations of appropriate research methodologies that seek to inject a sense of caution and responsibility into the work, given that undertaking research in contexts where urban

poverty and structural power asymmetries are present requires that special attention be paid to ensuring that inadvertent violence is not being done to the communities at the center of this research. I have engaged with the work of authors that makes clear the risks of doing harm to such communities as a result of this type of research so that I could take appropriate precautions to mitigate those risks (Smith, 2012; Zetter & Souza, 2010). Of particular concern was the fact that this research could be interpreted as "making visible" the ways in which vulnerable communities strategize with respect to how they collaborate with state and civil society actors. One could make the argument that increasing the legibility and visibility of particular strategic choices made by poor communities puts them at a disadvantage in the lead up to any confrontation or negotiation with more powerful institutional state actors. The disadvantage identified in this argument would stem from the community having the "texts" of their "hidden transcripts" exposed in a way that they were not meant to be exposed (Scott, 1990). My response to this argument regarding my own work is that this research is more concerned with making visible the determinant factors that affect the decision-making processes of powerful institutional and state actors regarding whether to deploy material resources in support of a particular community or initiative. In other words, the purposes of this study is to make visible the particular idiosyncrasies of local urban development culture Santo Domingo, in part, so that less powerful groups and organizations might be able to take advantage of and incorporate this type of information in their strategy decisions regarding how they choose to lobby more powerful state and institutional actors.

POSITION

This project does not rise to the level of activist research (Hale, 2001; 2006), but it represents more than an objective ethnographic study. I am not a close enough party to

the daily struggle for change in the urban development arena of Santo Domingo to be able to claim the label of activist. Nor does my research specifically emanate from a community request for data or information that responds directly to the needs of the residents, activists, civil society organizations, or planning officials with whom I work in Santo Domingo. Instead, I consider myself an ally to the larger struggle of advancing pro-poor urban management techniques. This means that I am specifically dedicated to supporting the residents and activists with whom I worked in Santo Domingo through a combination of applied and engaged research. It is applied in the sense that it is grounded in the concerns and realities of real urban development practitioners and beneficiaries. It is engaged in the sense that as a researcher I am not "standing outside the object of enquiry" but rather am at last partially implicated in the process I seek to study as I try to make my experience, connections, and skills as an academic/practitioner available to the partners with whom I work (Mathers & Novelli, 2007).

The research project speaks broadly to concerns about how to better understand the dynamics of negotiation between state, civil society, and community actors with a particular emphasis on how they work together to jointly implement or co-produce material projects or service provision schemes. The goal is that this work will contribute to the efficacy of such interactions in Santo Domingo by making the "rules of the game" more readily legible such that civil society representatives and neighborhood level development activists in particular are better positioned as they negotiate with and lobby for services in front of local government actors. In this way, the larger arc of my work and interests as a researcher does have a specific agenda.

That a key element of my research methodology has been to actively support and accompany the neighborhood-level lobbying efforts of a particular community further emphasizes the engaged and non-neutral orientation of this work. As an example, I have

worked with community activists and civil society representatives to write grants that strategically seek to conform to the agendas, discourses, priorities, and norms of large development institutions. I am interested in understanding urban development negotiation processes in their own right, but I would also like nothing more than to help the community and activists that I have been working with to "win" concessions from local government actors or larger development institutions in the form of material resources for neighborhood development.

As this study focuses on making the determinant "rules" of an existing system more visible, it should be clear that this work does not contribute to any subversive project that seeks to upend dominant development paradigms. This study operates with an obvious "built-in system bias" whereby it "it takes the present as a given" and does not work to explicitly subvert any existing system but instead is concerned with how those systems can be made to work more effectively for the benefit of others (Mathers & Novelli, 2007: 232). This is not to say that I am not sympathetic to calls for the emergence of alternative development paradigms that reflect Arturo Escobar's (2010) understandings of a post-development world that privileges alternative notions of modernity and decolonization projects. Rather, this project is focused on exploring pragmatic stopgap solutions instead of an alternative development paradigm. One could argue that undertaking a study about how to better work within a dominant system only creates an enabling framework to perpetuate that system, prolonging the time it will take to replace that system. However, theoretical debates about the virtues of alternative development paradigms can diverge quickly from the material reality and infrastructure deficits that residents of informal settlements have to live with on a daily basis. There are those who will continue to work on the ideological project of advancing alternative development paradigms. I believe this to be important and necessary work. I also believe

that work seeking to advance immediate material gains at the neighborhood level, in the meantime, is important and necessary. This project happens to be more concerned with the latter than the former.

LIMITATIONS

The single case study design of this research limits the ability to generalize the results of this project. The results identify trends in the urban development arena of Santo Domingo alone and focuses on one specific development project and organizing process in Los Platanitos. I do not claim that the results of this research are generalizable for other Caribbean or Latin American cities. Also, the full value of the project might not be fully realized until comparison data is available from additional case studies cataloguing local development culture and observing its operationalization in other urban development contexts (i.e. other cities). However, this particular limitation presents an opportunity in that it opens the door for similar studies to refine and replicate this methodology in other major urban development arenas of Latin America and the global south.

To mitigate (while not completely eliminating) some of the concerns regarding limitations, this project relies on data triangulation (Singleton & Straits, 1993) to more accurately identify discourse and priority trends according to actor group. The semi-structured interview protocols call for asking interview subjects to enumerate their discourse and agenda priorities both in general terms *and* with respect to specific, identifiable projects in the Santo Domingo metropolitan area. Asking respondents to discuss urban development values and principles in both specific and concrete terms allowed for cross-referencing between the two types of responses to check for consistency. Additionally, I relied on direct observation to capture not only the way

respondents answer questions during an interview setting but also to capture how they operationalize their expressions of urban development principles and values in real-life practice.

These procedures for data triangulation help to create greater confidence in the findings reported in this study, but they do not guarantee complete accuracy given the slipperiness of qualitative data solicited through semi-structured interviews. I am fully aware that the way people speak about and self-represent their principles and values is simply one factor among many that might affect how, why, and where they will support the deployment of material resources for urban development initiatives and projects. I hope that the reader will find data on Santo Domingo's local development culture useful as a vehicle for understanding *some* of the processes at play when such decisions are made, but I in no way intend to claim that other factors and contextual circumstances are not relevant and should not be considered.

Chapter 4: Local Development Culture in Santo Domingo

To understand the development principles and values articulated by the various actor groups in Santo Domingo and to begin to understand the development paradigms to which they subscribe, I undertook a series of semi-structured interviews with representatives from government and civil society actor groups. In each interview, I asked the actor group representatives to respond to a series of standard questions:

1. How long have you been working in the general field of urban development and in what capacity?

2. Currently, what are popular priorities in the general field of urban development?

3. How have agendas and priorities changed during your time working in the general field of urban development?

4. What is an example of a real-life project or initiative that you are familiar with that best represents your vision of how urban development should take place?

5. Do you think there is agreement between different actors in Santo Domingo with respect to what the key priorities of urban development practice should be?

These questions were designed to allow representatives of different actor groups to discuss and describe their own experiences in the field of urban development while also articulating their ideal understanding of urban development practice. The questions also attempt to elicit responses from the interview subjects regarding how development priorities in Santo Domingo have changed over time, and the degree to which the respondents believe there exists a shared understanding about urban development priorities among actor groups.

This chapter will present general findings from the above-mentioned interviews regarding how different development actors speak about and envision urban development practice both as it *is* and as it *should be*. The findings presented in this chapter are not meant to paint an exhaustive and/or statistically representative picture of how different development actor groups understand urban development priorities and local urban development culture in Santo Domingo, rather it is meant to provide a glimpse of those priorities, helping to build greater knowledge about local development culture in Santo Domingo.

As a general note, this chapter focuses principally on data gathered from government and civil society representatives. It was difficult to have conversations about general urban development practice at large in Santo Domingo with neighborhood development activists as their experience in the urban development field is inherently localized. The perspectives of neighborhood development activists will be addressed in greater detail in the following chapter during a discussion of the grounded case example in Los Platanitos.

The original hypothesis underlying this study was a concern for trying to illuminate the differences in how different actor groups understand urban development priorities in different ways. In reality, representatives from civil society and government actor groups appeared to share broad agreements about the general priorities of urban development culture in Santo Domingo. In this light, what follows is less an illustration of differences between civil society and government actor groups and more the beginning of an outline for understanding trends that inform local urban development culture in Santo Domingo across actor groups.

KEY FINDINGS FROM DEVELOPMENT DISCOURSE INTERVIEWS

During the course of interviewing government and civil society representatives, it became clear that their collective discussion of urban development practice and priorities in the Santo Domingo area fell into two broad categories: 1) operating principles of urban development practice and 2) thematic areas of urban development intervention. This is to say that actors spent significant time discussing not only what was practiced (thematic areas of intervention) but also how it was practiced (operating principles) that seemed consistent and applicable regardless of the thematic area of a given intervention.

Three key thematic practice areas emerged as dominant in the Santo Domingo context: environmental contamination, economic opportunity/poverty alleviation, and neighborhood infrastructure upgrading. Key operating principles that emerged included emphases on integrated development, participation and capacity building, community self-management, and financial self-sustainability. These four operating principles appeared to guide and orient practice regardless of the thematic area of a given intervention. The following section will provide a more detailed discussion of these findings.

However, before continuing, I think it is worth noting that by and large, the respective discussions of urban development practice offered by representatives of each actor group were substantively very similar. There appeared to be broad agreement between these differently situated actor groups regarding the dominant themes and practices that characterized the local urban development culture of Santo Domingo, indicating a certain level of consensus regarding priorities. This will be an important point to keep in mind for the analysis chapter that follows.

That being said, my interview findings do present two trends that seem to differentiate how representatives from government and civil society actor groups speak

about and articulate the priorities and norms that govern urban development practice in Santo Domingo. I will present those two trends here before moving to a more detailed discussion of the key thematic areas and operating principles.

First, representatives of government at both local and national levels appeared particularly concerned about a lack of statutory plans that dictate territorial decision making in Santo Domingo and across the country. This is a factor that civil society actors (and, later on, neighborhood activists) rarely mentioned as a key concern or priority regarding how they understood and spoke about urban development practice. It was only government officials who expressed explicit concern for the lack of planning statutes and strategic development statutes as a key dynamic affecting how urban development practice takes shape in Santo Domingo. One national government official expressed his concerns in this way:

> [Urban development] has been practiced over a base of individual and particular projects that do not have any relation with one another. This has created a dynamic in which the evolution of the Dominican city has been a type of collage, a super-imposition of urban projects of different scales, different natures, and different relations that do not have any relation to each other. […] and this is due precisely to the absence of development plans for the city that could orient the investments of both the central and local government in the development of our city.
>
> *Lo han hecho sobre un base de proyectos individuales, particulares, que no tiene relación uno con otro. Eso ha hecho que la evolución de la ciudad dominicana es especia de collage, una superposición de proyectos urbanos de diferente escalas, de diferentes naturalezas, de diferentes relaciones, que no guarda relación uno con otro. […] y eso se debe precisamente a la ausencia de planes de desarrollo de la ciudad que oriente la inversión tanto del gobierno nacional como el gobierno local en el desarrollo de nuestra ciudad.*

A local government representative put the problem in these terms:

> We still do not have a comprehensive land use plan that was precise enough to allow us to say, well, this is the type of municipality that we want in ten years. We have not yet defined this part.

> *No existe todavía este plan de ordenamiento territorial que abarca todo y que organiza todo, era mas ya precisa, y que puede decir a nosotros, bueno este es el tipo de municipio que queremos en 10 anos. No hemos definido todavía esa parte.*

This frustration with a lack of official planning documents was top of mind for most of the government representatives I interviewed. I believe it is important to highlight this dynamic because it heightens the importance of efforts to decipher who or what is governing local urban development practice in Santo Domingo. In the absence of statutory plans and strategic development documents, understanding the informal rules of the game that govern urban development becomes all the more the important.

The second differentiating factor was the degree to which civil society actors tended to foreground socio-political rights discourse stressing citizenship consciousness and capacity building. One civil society actor described his organization's work as using movements to secure basic services in a given neighborhood as a point of departure for forming a "process that builds the capacity [of residents] to think, argue and analyze." He went on to emphasize the "socio-political" dynamic of his organization's work in which they focus on themes of "rights, citizenship, and responsibilities." This is just one example of how civil society actors foregrounded discussions of socio-political rights and citizenship consciousness raising, but it was striking to notice how consistently civil society actors used these types of rights and citizenship based discourses to outline the core nature of their work, whereas government officials generally included such issues as a third or fourth order afterthought in their articulation of urban development priorities. This understanding of urban development practice among civil society actors through the

lens of a particularly socio-political and rights based discourse will be important to keep in mind when reading the analysis chapter that follows.

A final general dynamic to introduce prior to discussing the findings regarding operating principles and thematic intervention areas is the shared professional formation of many current civil society and government representatives. Many current government officials, both municipal and national, were previously part of the activist civil society community working on these same issues, in turn, facilitating consensus building and mutual understanding. One civil society representatives discussed the dynamic in this way:

> At this point in history we share some of the same vision, because some of the government officials who are now working in various places, for a moment, we were [working] in the same space. Twenty years ago they were not public officials. They were involved in other things. This has its advantages, because we can have a dialogue and understand each other and know what each other are talking about. Some of the public officials that are working in the municipality have been involved in our same fights so we can engage in dialogue with each other and reach agreements.

> *En el momento histórico en que nos esta tocando vivir, compartimos algunas visiones, porque algunos de los funcionarios que están en otro lugar, por un momento estamos en el mismo espacio. 20 anos atrás hoy, no eran funcionarios públicos. Estaban en otra. Eso tiene su ventaja. Porque podemos dialogar y entendernos. Y saber de que estamos hablando. Los funcionarios públicos, algunos, que están en el ayuntamiento, hemos tenidos las mismas luchas, podemos dialogar y ponernos de acuerdo.*

The fact that many government officials worked for the same or similarly oriented civil society organizations that their civil society counterparts do now, and the fact that many of them were trained as urbanists together in the same academic programs, lays the groundwork for informal consensus and shared norms among the actors of the Santo Domingo urban development arena.

Representatives of both government and civil society actor groups articulated several key operating principles that guide urban development practice in Santo Domingo regardless of the thematic intervention area of a given effort. These key operating principles include explicit focuses on integrated development projects, participation and capacity building, financial sustainability, and community self-management. This is to say that regardless of the thematic area of intervention, these operating principles for how an intervention should take shape were key concerns among the government and civil society actors I interviewed.

Integrated Development

The first operating principle that appeared to be a key urban development priority across both government and civil society actor groups was the concept of integrated development, or rather the idea that a given intervention should address multiple concerns at once. An example of this would be a single project that addresses income generation needs and concerns of organizational strengthening for community groups simultaneously rather than as two discrete projects that address these concerns separately. More broadly, the idea of integrated development projects as articulated by civil society and government representatives seemed to call for a holistic and wider-angle lens regarding local urban development processes, placing equal focus on physical and technical interventions as on social and organizational interventions, implying that neither is likely to succeed without the other.

One civil society representative described what she saw as a need for comprehensive development approaches that focus on both social and physical development factors in these terms:

…all projects need an element of comprehensive or integrated development, such that development happens not just for the physical community but also for the people that live in that community, not focusing just on physical aspects of the community or city. It has happened before; neighborhood improvement processes that do not include a social engagement process gradually deteriorate because there is no one to take care of it.

…todo tiene que contar con el elemento de la integralidad, que vaya el desarrollo de la comunidad con el desarrollo de las personas que viven dentro de la comunidad. No solo con los aspectos físicos de la ciudad, o sea de la comunidad. Porque ha pasado en el proceso del mejoramiento barrial, que no se hace un proceso social con la gente, y el deterioro es gradual de las obras físicas que se hacen, porque no hay ningún cuidado.

A local government representative discussed his own interpretation of integrated development processes in these terms:

It is not just about proportioning economic resources, but rather about offering accompaniment on technical and administrative matters, helping an organization strengthen as it develops.

O sea no es solamente proporcionarles los recursos económicos sino darle la acompañamiento técnico, administrativo, el fortalecimiento también a través de convertirlo en una organización.

Both of these perspectives on integrated development in Santo Domingo indicate a nuanced concern for holistic development processes that emphasize both physical and social sustainability. This ethos of an integrated and holistic understanding of urban development processes was common across nearly all the actor group representatives I interviewed.

Participation/Capacity Building

Somewhat related to the issues of more holistic understandings of integrated development, but addressed explicitly on its own terms by almost every civil society or government actor I spoke to, was the issue of participation and capacity building. My interview results show that, at least among the actors I spoke with, participation was an

uncontested urban development operating principle. In terms of how they spoke about urban development priorities, representatives from both actor groups were emphatic about the need to address participation and capacity building no matter the thematic area of intervention.

A civil society representative described his organization's focus on participation as nearly all encompassing, influencing everything they do:

> From our south pole to our north pole, our focus is working with the people, trying to get the people to assume a commitment and contribute to a better country. We have to be part of this, getting the people to understand that we have the right to participate in making decisions so this country can advance.
>
> *Desde nuestro sur hasta nuestro norte es trabajar con la gente. Que la gente asuma un compromiso y para contribuir a un mejor país, tenemos que estar parte de esto. Que la gente entienda que nosotros tenemos derechos de participar en la toma de decisiones para que este país avanza.*

In this urban development actor's description it becomes clear that he sees participation as a separate and valuable end in itself, not simply as a means to better implementing a given thematic area intervention. In his conception, the work of reinforcing participatory norms in urban development practice constitutes important nation building work.

A local government representative made an equally forceful argument for needing to focus on issues of participation, but more from the perspective of participation as a means to ensure better intervention outcomes:

> …there is no way to spur real development if the process is not linked to the community. If communities are not part of the development that they want, there is no way to achieve this development. The municipal and national institutions that play administrative and management roles [in development processes] are transitory; it is the community that is really permanent. […] If there is no commitment or participation on behalf of the community, whatever actions are taken will be palliative. They will be

50

momentary interventions, but they will not generate development or enhance the welfare of the community.

…no hay forma de construir el desarrollo si no viene vinculado a la comunidad. Si las comunidades no son parte del desarrollo que quiere, no hay formar de lograr el desarrollo o sea. Porque las instituciones, gestione de forma administrativa del ayuntamiento y nacionales, son transitorios, lo que si permanece el tiempo es la comunidad. Como la permanencia de la comunidad sea sostenible en cualquier proyecto, la comunidad tiene que estar involucrado. Si no hay un compromiso o participación de la comunidad las acciones van a ser muy paliativa. Van a ser una intervención en un momento, pero no haya genera desarrollo ni el bienestar de la comunidad.

This same local government representative emphasized the need to use participation as a tool for strengthening community organizations, as a means of capacity building. He understood a strong base of capable community organizations as an important element of any effective urban development process:

If strong organizations do not exist within a community, organizations that have the capacity to make demands and follow up, to mobilize the community, if you don't have these organizations, development is impossible.

Si no existen organizaciones fuertes, organizaciones de la comunidad fuerte que tengan la capacidad de demandar y seguir, de movilizar para comunidad, si no tenga esas organizaciones el desarrollo tampoco es posible.

It was a national government representative who outlined in stark terms the reason why citizen participation is crucial for urban development outcomes, which, in his words, has to do with compensating for weak government capacity:

Urban improvement facilitates social participation processes, or rather the participation of citizens in the activities of urban development. And this seems to be one of the reasons that in a country like ours, where the State cannot guarantee a system for permanently maintaining infrastructure, you need to rely on residents so that they can be part of this system of protection, maintenance, and appropriate use of urban spaces.

El mejoramiento urbano facilita los procesos de participación social, o de participación ciudadana en el desarrollo urbano. Y eso me parece como otra de las razones, por la cual en países como nuestro donde el estado no se puede garantizar un sistema del mantenimiento de la infraestructura, de manera permanente tu necesitas contar con los habitantes, para que ellos sean parte de esa sistema de protección, de mantenimiento, de buen uso, de los espacios urbanos.

What became clear during the interviews was that urban development actors in both government and civil society positions have come to understand participation as a clear priority and operating principle that ought to guide urban development practice in Santo Domingo.

Community Self-Management /Co-production

A third operating principle that at least some urban development actors articulated as constituting a priority in the urban development arena of Santo Domingo was the issue of community self-management and co-production, or the active involvement of communities in the provision of basic services. This perspective was articulated by fewer than half of the overall actor group representatives, while the previous two principles were nearly unanimously expressed. Despite this fact, I think it is important to understand how even a limited number of actor group representatives discussed community self-management and co-production on a general scale outside the context of the grounded project example, in which self-management and coproduction play important roles.

Speaking generally about urban development priorities in Santo Domingo, one local government described the issue of community self-management in these terms:

Disagreements can happen. Ourselves included, we have worked with communities that needed to learn how to self-manage. When a community comes to ask for a public streetlight, for example, I believe that the community should calculate how many lampposts they could buy at a low-cost just among the people that live there. If, for example a pothole emerges in a community, the people are learning that they should get together to buy cement to repair the pothole because it affects the

52

community, and not only to show up at the municipal or national government telling them to go and take care of the problem. This is also something we have brought to the communities we work with, what we call self-management.

Desacuerdos puedan pasar. Porque nosotros incluso hemos llevado también algunos comunidades que tiene que aprender el auto gestión, es que cuando venir una comunidad aquí para pedir una lámpara, por ejemplo, yo creo que la comunidad se reúna cuantas lámparas pueda comprar a bajo costo solo con las personas que viven allí. Si por ejemplo se produce una olla en una comunidad que no se puede cruzar, la gente están aprendiendo que deben reunirse para comprar cemento para reparar esta olla por afecta a la comunidad, y no solo venir al gobierno municipal o al gobierno central para que váyase resolver esa problema. Eso es lo que también hemos llevado a la comunidad, lo que se llama auto-gestión.

In his discussion of self-management dynamics this local government representative is describing a re-articulation of governance and service provision dynamics as an actual official perspective, rather than the default outcome of community actors attempting to fill a void of state power. In this instance, the local government representative is actively suggesting that inculcating a culture of community self-management is part of the municipality's role in helping communities access services and meet basic needs.

A civil society representative discussed her own interpretation of community self-management dynamics as a function of communities becoming more action-oriented and involved partners in urban service provision:

And the social actors as well, their dynamic is different because before they simply made demands, and now, we still make demands but we propose solutions at the same time, we help the process [of meeting our demands] get off the ground.

También los actores sociales, su dinámica de demandar es diferente porque antes lo que hacia era demandábamos, y ahora demandamos pero proponemos a la vez. Ayudamos al proceso salga.

53

Again, this urban development actor is a articulating action-oriented, rather than demand-oriented, engagement with the state and community self-management as a purposeful strategy for accessing services and meeting basic needs.

Financial Sustainability

A fourth principle that seemed to be guiding priorities of urban development practice in Santo Domingo was the notion of financial self-sustainability via income generation for local development projects and organizing activities. To a certain extent this operating principle is an offshoot of the community self-management principle in which communities assume new levels of responsibility in the urban development process. In discussing neighborhood level urban development initiatives, both government and civil society representatives prioritized the ability of such initiatives to generate income and to be financially self-sustaining. In this way, questions of enterprise and self-financing became key concerns affecting urban development efforts regardless of their thematic area of intervention.

A local government representative described the focus on financial self-sustainability of interventions in terms of sustainability:

> So there is this cooperative system that has helped the cooperative become sustainable because they have achieved a degree of self-financing by generating their own resources. To have a cooperative system is to have a process in place for economic feedback, which is what permits [the organization] to be sustainable. This is what interests us the most. If we are going to replicate a [community cooperative] model, it has to be a model that is sustainable, that is integrated, creating economic improvement as well as social and cultural gains, that establishes a culture of strong community organizing.
>
> *Entonces está este sistema de cooperativo, lo que le ha permitido a ellos ser sostenible porque ellos mismos han logrado auto-financiarse, sus recursos. O sea al tener el sistema de cooperativa, ya es un proceso de retroalimentación económica que es lo que le ha dado sustentabilidad. Y*

es lo que más o sea nosotros nos interesa. Si vamos a replicar un modelo, tiene que ser un modelo que sea sostenible. O sea que tenga la integralidad de que sea económico, que mejore económicamente, social hasta culturalmente. O sea que se establezca una cultura de fortalecimiento de las organizaciones de base comunitaria, principalmente.

This articulation of self-financing as an operating principle guiding project development and community organizing efforts constitutes something of an expansion of traditional project frameworks for sustainability and integrated development.

A civil society representative discussed the degree to which this emphasis on financial self-sustainability has permeated the way they operate and they way they address urban development programming:

> We still lack streets and electricity hook-ups, but at this moment these issues are not the priority. The current priority is the economic question, the generation of resources. This is why we [name of civil society institution redacted] have incorporated this perspective, the economic element, which is something we did not focus on before.
>
> *Todavía hay falta de calles, de tendido eléctrico, pero no es, en este momento, como una prioridad. La prioridad en este momento es la parte económica, la generación de recursos. Por eso, [nombre de institución redactada] ha incorporada esa perspectiva, ese elemento de la parte económica, cosas que no hicimos antes.*

It should be noted that an express articulation of self-financing and the ability of projects to generate income was not offered unanimously among the government and civil society representatives I spoke with. In this way, the prevalence of financial self-sustainability as a key operating principle was only partially represented among the actors I spoke with, similar to the level of representation of the community self-management principle in terms of the total number of respondents directly articulated this dynamic. However, I will argue in the following chapter that concerns of financial sustainability and income generation are a principal factor guiding and influencing local development

culture in Santo Domingo, even if it is not explicitly expressed as a key priority of all actors in the Santo Domingo urban development arena. Because we will return to this issue in the coming chapter, I think it is important for the reader to understand how urban development actors, limited in number they may be, speak about this theme outside the context of the grounded project example where concerns of project financial sustainability would emerge as a particularly important concern.

THEMATIC AREAS OF INTERVENTION

The principal thematic areas of intervention that emerged almost unanimously across the urban development actors I spoke with included: 1) environmental contamination, 2) economic opportunity and poverty alleviation, and 3) neighborhood infrastructure upgrading.

One local government representative discussed the joint economic and environmental vulnerability concerns affecting many of Santo Domingo's poorest neighborhoods in these terms:

> One of the factors that creates additional vulnerability is the lack of employment that the people who live in this community have access to. The absence of jobs is what makes people more vulnerable because they have to live in conditions that are not only environmentally vulnerable but also socially vulnerable because they do not have the resources to sustain themselves.
>
> *Uno de los factores que da más vulnerabilidad o sea que genera más vulnerabilidad es la poca empleo que tiene las personas que viven en estas comunidades. O sea la ausencia de empleo, es lo que lo hace más vulnerable porque tienen que vivir en condiciones no solamente vulnerable al medio ambiente sino que son vulnerables socialmente, o sea porque no tienen los recursos para sostenerse.*

This understanding of economic and environmental vulnerability as being intimately related was a common sentiment among the urban development actors I interviewed.

Translated into real world concerns, this joint economic and environmental vulnerability most immediately affects poor communities and informal settlements in Santo Domingo built on the hillsides of steep slopes, near garbage dumps, or along the banks of rivers. In these instances, the precarious environmental conditions of the built environment are compounded by widespread poverty as lack of resources contributes to the increased prevalence of poorly constructed buildings and dwellings, thereby increasing overall vulnerability.

The third thematic area of intervention common to the development discourses of all the civil society and government representatives I spoke with was neighborhood infrastructure upgrading. A civil society representative directly addressed this thematic area of intervention in a way that was representative of most actors' responses:

> …major drainage and ravine improvements, interventions that improve the access routes of the community, and repairs to dilapidated housing are the themes that are currently fashionable

> *…de moda son los proyectos de mejoramiento de la cañada, las intervenciones para mejorar acceso, vías de acceso a la comunidad, el mejoramiento de la vivienda. Son los temas que hay.*

All three of these thematic areas of intervention are concerns that are in no way unique to the context of Santo Domingo. To anyone familiar with urban development concerns in the global south, these concerns affect most areas where urbanization pressures have outstripped the capacity of the state to provide basic urban services and economic opportunity. That said, just because these core concerns may not be unique does not mean it is not important to catalogue and outline them as the thematic areas of intervention that currently dominate the urban development discourse of civil society and government representatives in Santo Domingo.

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS ON LOCAL DEVELOPMENT CULTURE FINDINGS

In this chapter I have attempted to present findings and interview data that begin to paint a picture of local urban development culture in Santo Domingo. I have done this by specifically looking at the discourses of civil society and government representatives working in Santo Domingo's urban development arena. The findings suggest that there are key thematic areas of intervention and key operating principles (regardless of thematic area of intervention) that guide and influence urban development priorities in Santo Domingo. These key thematic areas and operating principles, as articulated by civil society and government representatives, offer a foundation for beginning to understand the factors, dynamics, and priorities that make up local urban development culture in Santo Domingo. The following chapter will explore a grounded example of an actual neighborhood level urban development initiative in Los Platanitos. This exploration of a grounded example will expand this study in two ways that this chapter was unable to do. First, the exploration of a grounded example will allow us to cross-reference how urban development actors speak about urban development priorities and practices with how those priorities and practices take shape in the context of a real-life, neighborhood-level urban development initiative. Second, the exploration of a grounded example will allow for a greater understanding regarding how urban development actors negotiate and interact with one another as they attempt to reach consensus and working agreements about priorities and practice in the context of a specific neighborhood development process.

Chapter 5: Operationalizing Local Development Culture

In the previous chapter, I catalogued how urban development actors officially speak about development practice and priorities in the Santo Domingo context. That analysis got us closer to an understanding of local development culture in Santo Domingo as officially stated. But what does actual development practice look like in this context? If the findings presented in the previous chapter, based on how actors officially talk about development, lead us to believe that there are both thematic and operational trends that generally characterize local development culture and practice in Santo Domingo, do those trends hold true in the context of a real-life urban development process? Additionally, what are the elements of that local development culture and practice that appear to be the most determinative of whether material resources will be brought to bear to support a particular project? These are the questions this chapter will attempt to answer by exploring a particular urban development effort in Los Platanitos.

CASE STUDY EXAMPLE

The grounded case study at the heart of this chapter involves a neighborhood-level urban development process in which residents of Los Platanitos are working with civil society representatives to lobby government actors for better access to services. Of particular concern to the residents is the issue of solid waste management; a two-fold concern involving 1) demands for infrastructure upgrades to a large polluted drainage channel that brings waste and runoff through the ravine that the community is situated in and 2) demands for the regular provision of trash collection services in the community.

The settlement was founded in the late 1980s in a ravine previously used as an informal trash-dumping site. A majority of the original settlers migrated to Santo Domingo from more rural parts of the country. Today, the community is home to more

than two thousand residents. Housing in the community exhibits significant variation in structural consolidation. Some homes are multi-level, constructed using concrete blocks. Others are more impermanent, constructed using tin sheeting and scrap wood. Some houses hug the steep slopes of the ravine, while others sit on relatively flat ground at the floor of the ravine. Houses close to the waste and runoff channel on the floor of the ravine are subject to flooding, and residents believe that contamination from the channel is the cause of the many gastrointestinal and respiratory illnesses that commonly afflict residents of the settlement. The streets are narrow and irregular. Four steep staircases spread throughout the settlement make up the principal access routes to the community. Residents predominantly work in temporary, informal jobs. In the larger Santo Domingo metropolitan area, communities such as this are known as *barrios populares*. The conditions of economic and environmental vulnerability that characterize daily life in the study settlement are not unique. There are an estimated 30 similarly situated informal settlements in the study settlement's municipality alone (Pusch 2010).

Residents of Los Platanitos have been collaborating with teams of student researchers from the Graduate Program in Community and Regional Planning at the University of Texas School of Architecture since 2008. I was first introduced to the community in 2014 as a member of one such research team. The community has been utilizing the technical expertise offered by the graduate student research teams to support their ongoing community organizing and demand-making efforts in front of public officials. It was through participation in this research collaboration as part of a student research team that I first gained access to the organizing and decision-making spaces of various constituent groups within the study settlement. Since my first introduction to the study settlement in 2014, I have returned on five occasions to conduct individual fieldwork and to participate in additional team-based research. From Austin, I maintained
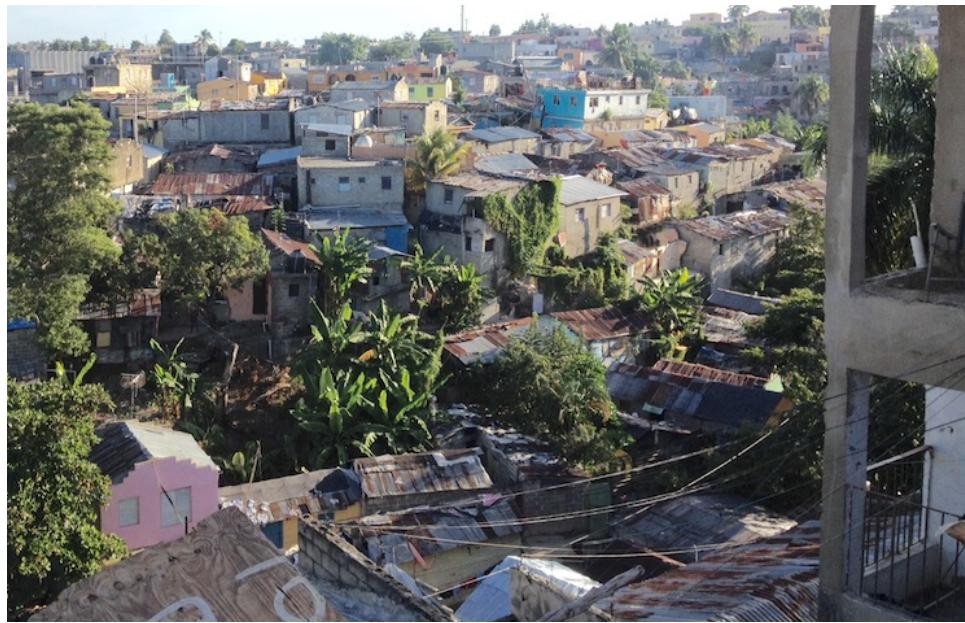
Figure 1- Ridge top view, Los Platanitos, January 2016, Author Photo

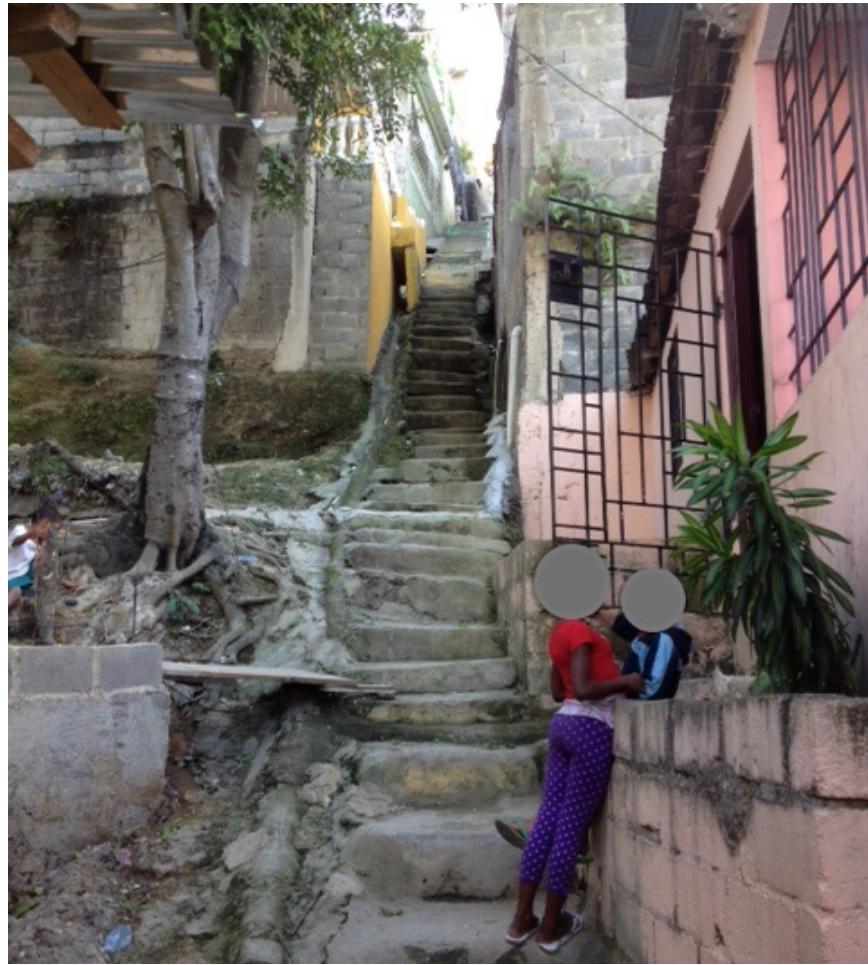*Figure 2- Drainage channel view, Los Platanitos, June 2015, Author Photo*

Figure 3- Staircase view, Los Platanitos, June 2015, Author Photo

regular contact with residents and civil society partners involved in the organizing and lobbying efforts taking place in the settlement.

In particular, residents and local civil society partners (with the support of University of Texas research teams) have been pursuing a small-scale social enterprise project that collects household organic waste and converts it into organic fertilizer through a worm-based composting process (Sletto ed., 2012). The project was launched as a pilot effort to experiment with community-based solid waste management and income generation strategies. The community has used this demonstration project as an

entry point for more direct engagement with municipal officials, lobbying not only for project-support but also for larger concerns of infrastructure upgrades and better service provision in general. Out of this opportunity for more direct engagement has grown an effort to bring together a variety of neighborhood, civil society, and local government actors to a community development coordinating process, referred to by local actors as a *mesa de concertación*, or cooperating table. The goal of the *mesa* has been to bring a variety of voices to the same "table" as a mechanism for strategizing and pursuing community development goals in the settlement in a coordinated way. This emergent coordinating process gave life to the idea of a neighborhood *consorcio*, or consortium, which could act as a legal non-profit entity made up of members from the neighborhood foundation and women's cooperative for the purposes of pursuing community development projects in coordination with local government, institutional, and civil society advisors. The general idea was that the consorcio would be a legal community administrative unit capable of managing resources and carrying out projects. The municipality, and other institutions, would support and advise the consorcio in their work. With a pilot composting project already started and with a keen interest in further addressing community solid waste management concerns in the community, these were the first two issues that the consorcio chose to focus on: expanding the composting community enterprise model and working towards establishing a community-wide system for trash collection. A key example of the type of material support that local government actors have expressed an openness to providing (but have not yet provided at the time of this writing) is a plot of city-owned terrain that could be utilized by the consorcio for its various project efforts.

Figure 4- Composting site view, Los Platanitos, August 2014, Author Photo

I will use this chapter to evaluate whether the urban development process, as experienced in the Los Platanitos consorcio project and organizing process, conforms to Santo Domingo-wide trends regarding urban development practice introduced in the previous chapter. I will then use the experience of the study settlement to make an argument for the trends that I have observed exerting determinative effects over the likelihood that a particular project receives significant material support from local government actors. In this way, I hope to use the experience of the study settlement to outline and illuminate the unwritten "rules of the game" (as determined by local

development culture) that influence the success of a given project. However, I think it is important to note that this chapter discusses the experience of one community, organizing around a particular set of issues. It does not provide any sort of proof that all projects in Santo Domingo are conducted or take shape in similar ways. A representative and citywide analysis of urban development project processes is expressly outside the purview of the work detailed in this chapter and this study. Instead, this chapter has been designed to offer a single example of how local development culture (detailed in the previous chapter) is operationalized in a real-life, neighborhood-level urban development process in Santo Domingo.

With respect to the two principal questions informing this chapter, I first argue that both the thematic area and operational principle trends of urban development practice in Santo Domingo hold true in the experience of the study settlement's neighborhood-level organizing and project efforts. This is to say that in broad strokes, the projects at the center of the consorcio organizing and project efforts conform to the trends of local urban development culture in Santo Domingo. In this sense, the study settlement experience is typical. Secondly, I argue that the operational principles of community self-management and project financial sustainability—and the ability of the study settlement's efforts to conform to these two particular trends—are the two most determinative factors affecting the likelihood that material resources will be allocated to support neighborhood-level projects in Los Platanitos.

THEMATIC INTERVENTION TRENDS AND NORMS

The experience of the study settlements' organizing and project processes conform closely to the local urban development trends discussed in the previous chapter. First, taking up the issue of thematic area trends regarding urban development

interventions, the organizing and project efforts of the study settlement directly address issues of environmental contamination, economic opportunity/income generation, and neighborhood infrastructure upgrading. Most directly, the pilot-composting project was conceived of as a response, albeit limited, to the problem of waste accumulation and environmental contamination in the community. More broadly, the consorcio's interest in working with local government partners to establish a community-wide system of trash collection also indicates clear alignment with a thematic focus on environmental contamination. Actors involved at multiple levels of the project regularly emphasized the environmental benefits of their ongoing and proposed efforts, speaking specifically about the capacity for their efforts to positively affect the environmental health of the community.

The consorcio's organizing and project efforts also closely align with thematic intervention areas related to economic opportunity and income generation. If a principal focus of the pilot composting project was to partially address waste accumulation and environmental contamination by removing organic products from the waste stream of the community, a secondary consideration was the opportunity to produce a usable and ultimately sellable organic fertilizer product through the composting process. As far as project design is concerned, the social enterprise orientation of the project represents a clear concern for economic opportunity and income generation. Additionally, in looking at the consorcio's interest in developing a larger waste collection model for the community, early discussions revolved around a possible sub-contracting mechanism with the municipality whereby the consorcio would be contracted to offer waste collection services in the study settlement in exchange for compensation from the city based on total tonnage of waste collected. Consorcio members discussed the model explicitly as both an economic engine to provide jobs and income in the community in

addition to its capacity for addressing pressing environmental contamination concerns. From a project design perspective, the waste collection model, although not operationalized at the time of this writing, was clearly spoken about in ways that aligned well with intervention models thematically concerned with economic opportunity and income generation.

Finally, and to a lesser degree, the consorico's organizing and project efforts indicated a clear thematic area interest in addressing neighborhood infrastructure upgrading. Both the pilot composting project and the larger community waste collection model were discussed in terms that leveraged their income generation capacity not just for individual economic opportunity but also as a potential source of revenue for self-funding small-scale community infrastructure upgrading. Upgrading possibilities mentioned by consorcio members included the repair of damaged and decrepit houses (*reparación de vivienda*), improving the physical "street" grid (*mejoramiento del red vial)*, and repairing access stairs (*reparaciones de escalones*). Disregarding the fact that neither the composting project nor the proposed community waste collection model have generated sufficient income at the time of this writing to carry out any such projects, the idea that the projects were conceived of and designed in such a way as to respond to community infrastructure needs indicates a certain level of alignment with intervention themes concerned with neighborhood infrastructure upgrading.

All of this is to suggest that the study settlement's organizing and project efforts broadly conform to the thematic intervention norms of local urban development culture in Santo Domingo. A possible conclusion to be drawn from these findings is that there is no basis to assume that any misalignment of interests regarding thematic intervention might be a reason that local government officials would not want to provide material support for the study settlement's organizing and project efforts. In short, thematic misalignment of

project priorities does not appear to be the reason material resources have not been brought to bear on this particular urban development effort. The community has clearly proposed projects that align with the generally agreed upon thematic intervention areas that make up local urban development culture in Santo Domingo.

OPERATING PRINCIPLE TRENDS AND NORMS

In addition to there being general thematic intervention areas that inform local urban development practice, the findings I presented in the previous chapter suggest that there are also operational principles that inform local development culture. These principles appear relevant and applicable regardless of the thematic area of a particular intervention and are concerned less with what urban development effort is executed, and more concerned with how. In looking at the organizing and project efforts of the study settlement, the operational principles identified in the previous chapter appear to hold true. The principles include emphases on integrated development, participation and capacity building, community self-management, and financial sustainability. While the organizing and project efforts of the study settlement may fall short of fully achieving a particular operational principle, there is clear evidence to suggest that the consorcio's organizing and project effort at least are attempting to operate according to all four principles. I argue that while all four operational principles seem to guide organizing and project efforts in the study settlement, two seem to be well operationalized—integrated development and participation—and two remain, as-of-yet, unrealized—community self management and financial sustainability.

Integrated Development

In turning to the first operational principle of integrated development—the idea that interventions should be designed to address multiple concerns simultaneously—it is

clear that program design of both the pilot composting project and the envisioned community waste collection model are concerned with multiple thematic intervention areas at once. Both projects explicitly consider the environmental impact, the job creation/income generation impact, and the possibility of reinvesting profits into neighborhood infrastructure upgrades. The three-pronged approach of the project designs is emblematic of how urban development actors discuss integrated development in Santo Domingo. As one local government actor involved in the consorcio organizing process put it, multiple themes have to be integrated into project design or the solution will be "palliative" and nothing more.

Participation/Capacity Building

For most of the actors I spoke with involved in the consorcio organizing and project process, the *mesa de concertación* was a coordinating mechanism that represented a new model for sustained community participation in local urban development processes in the municipality. The range of voices represented at the coordinating table was a novelty, as was the nature of the collaboration in that it was conceived of as a sustained coordinating body rather than a one off project advisory council. Two civil society representatives involved in the consorcio process went so far as to refer to the process as a "new methodology" for local participation that could be the basis for replication elsewhere in the municipality. In this way, the participatory value of the consorcio organizing and project process was explicitly recognized by virtually all of the consorcio process actors.

However, beyond a clear and intentional focus on experimenting with new participatory mechanisms, there was also a fairly explicit focus on behalf of many of the actors involved in the consorcio process that participation also serve a capacity building

function. At one level, this manifested itself as an interest among residents in how the process could help them acquire organizing and project management skills. At another level, particularly among civil society actors, this manifested as a concern that physical development also be accompanied by social development, with a particular emphasis on consciousness-raising. One civil society representative discussed the consorcio process in terms of its ability to "awaken" residents, creating "critical people" capable of debating and making demands. Local government actors also spoke about "organizational strengthening" in the neighborhood as a key goal of the consorcio process.

Self-management

The idea of community self-management (auto-gestión) and self-provision could be felt as a strong undercurrent to the entire consorcio process. In particular, local government actors were strong advocates for the notion that the study settlement should assume greater responsibility for management and provisioning within the context of neighborhood urban development efforts. Consorcio actors often spoke of "leadership" and "empowerment" as demonstrations of capacity for self-management. One local government actor indicated that, in his mind, community empowerment and leadership, as evidenced by successful collaboration and project execution, were important pre-requisites to municipal intervention. The same local government actor went on to frame the situation in relatively stark terms noting that other communities with more demonstrated "leadership and interest" are likely to be lobbying for support and resources. He posed the question: why would the city simply not want to work with them instead? Residents seemed to intuitively understand this point, continually emphasizing the need to coordinate better and show more unity within the organizing ranks of the community. One civil society representative discussed what he saw as a need to "show

initiative" and "to make something with what you already have." Otherwise, he said, "what is the municipality going to invest in if there is nothing there?" The difficulty the residents of the study settlement had in demonstrating a widespread capacity for unified self-management seemed to become an increasingly important factor in the eventual stalling of the consorcio process. Local government actors affiliated with the consorcio effort seemed to understand that community organizing processes can take significant time to consolidate and unify, especially in communities with no strong organizing history. However, while they were sympathetic to the entirely natural growing pains that organizations in Los Platanitos were encountering as they attempted to work together— including inter-personal differences, minor community in-fighting, and political divisions—the participating local government actors remained firm in their implicit position that the community would have to exhibit a capacity for unified self-management before advancing with any efforts to provide material support to the consorcio's project initiatives.

Financial sustainability

Limited resources were a key concern for all members of the consorcio process, as reflected by the near universal concern with both the composting project's and the proposed waste collection system's ability to generate income. Nearly every actor I spoke with involved in the consorcio effort described the projects in terms that at least partially emphasized their ability to generate income and to sustain themselves financially. In the earliest stages of the consorcio planning process, one key local government actor made it expressly clear that his hands were largely tied when it came to cash resources, stating that any project his office might try to incubate would have to be, eventually, financially self-sustaining given the lack of resources at his disposal and tight

71

municipal budget. In an interesting intersection with the above-mentioned concern for self-management, one resident spoke about how it would only be when the composting project was generating revenue that the city would be really interested in getting involved, presumably a comment both about demonstrating capacity for self-management *and* financial sustainability. While the different actors I spoke to had different understandings of what the ultimate benefits of the consorcio process could or would be, generally all of them understood a need for any project pursued as part of the consorcio process to eventually be financially self-sustaining as ongoing financial support from public resources, barring a major influx of external grant or institutional funds, simply would not be realistically sustainable.

WHAT ARE THE RULES?

Given that the ultimate goal of this study has been to catalogue the unwritten rules of Santo Domingo's local development context, what does this grounded example reveal? If one assumes that a particular misalignment with the trends identified in the previous chapter can help us understand why certain projects do not get off the ground, the analysis is relatively straightforward. The projects being proposed by residents of the study settlement were closely aligned with the thematic intervention area trends of urban development practice in larger Santo Domingo. It is not as is if the consorcio organizing process of Los Platanitos is dealing thematically with subjects that are out of step with the thematic priorities expressed as part of Santo Domingo's larger urban development culture. In looking at the operational principles that were identified in the previous chapter, again there is general alignment, at least in intent and project design, with the principles of integrated development, participation/capacity building, self-management, and financial sustainability. However, alignment in intent and project design do not

72

appear to have been enough in this instance to motivate local government actors to bring significant municipal resources to bear, at least at this point in time, on either the ongoing or proposed project. While project design and intent may count for something in terms of winning the favor of local government actors, failing to provide an adequate demonstration effect or fully operationalize the principles of self-management and financial sustainability appears to have significantly impeded the advancement of local urban development efforts in the study settlement, at least at the time of this writing.

Chapter 6: Discussion

As a footnote to the presentation of findings from the larger Santo Domingo context and the study settlement, which I think are important in and of themselves, it is also important to discuss the implications of what it means for local urban development culture when operational principles concerning entrepreneurial community self-management and financial sustainability take on determinative weight. These operational principles represent an intersection of co-production service provision frameworks and enterprise culture as discussed in Chapter 2. I argue that this emphasis on enterprise culture should be thought of as a direct extension of the competitive and contest-oriented nature of the neoliberal governance logics at play in the larger Santo Domingo urban development context, not out of any ideological commitment to neoliberal ideology necessarily, but as a function of constrained municipal budgets that do not permit authorities to allocate resources according to needs or rights-based paradigms.

With this closing discussion chapter, I want to make three key arguments about the current state of local urban development culture in Santo Domingo under the governing logics of neoliberalism. First, rights-based and need-based paradigms for claiming basic services are increasingly challenged. Second, enterprise culture, and a community's ability to embody enterprise culture has emerged as a stand-in mechanism for prioritizing who "earns" basic service provision rights, and who does not. Third, co-production has emerged as a useful mechanism for winning rights and services in this context.

The rise of enterprise culture in the local urban development culture of Santo Domingo appears to be changing the nature of citizenship in the city, such that enterprise culture is fast replacing past expectations of social contracts (regardless of whether those

contracts were ever fully realized) in which basic service provision and public goods were at least theoretically accessed by right, or in cases of limited resources, as a function of some prioritization mechanism based on an objective measurement of need. These two paradigms can be referred to as rights-based and needs-based, respectively. I argue that with the advent of new citizenship standards that emphasize demonstrating—either sincerely or by virtue of affect—entrepreneurial logics in line with the principles of enterprise culture such as self-management, pro-active organizing and financial sustainability, rights-based and need-based paradigms for providing public goods are being at least partially supplanted.

Rights-based paradigms for the provision of public goods theoretically advocate for "the right to live the life of a civilized being according to the standards prevailing in society" (Marshall quoted in Haglund, 2009: 32). But in looking at rights-based claims to the provision of basic services and public goods across the fiscally constrained urban governance climates of the global south, it is clear that rights-based approaches do not always result in the material provision of resources and services that would meaningfully fulfill claims to such rights:

> [ ]…there are real limitations to the uses of socio-economic rights as a language and framework for development. Does enshrining the right to housing, water, health, electricity, and other necessities, assume that the governments bound by these obligations will suddenly be able to fulfill them? Few would make such a self-evidently naïve case. Still, especially in the urban sector, the rights-based framework predominates. (Bradlow, 2010: 47)

These real limitations on rights-based paradigms are important to take into account because they speak to the climate of public service provision in which alternative paradigms and citizenship mutations have emerged.

In contrast to purely rights-based paradigms of public service provisioning, there are service provision paradigms that emphasize social need as the preferred metric for prioritizing the allocation of finite urban resources, what can be referred to as a needs-based paradigm (Hastings, 2009a). Such a needs-based paradigm presumably operates in contrast to paradigms that rely on other metrics and justifications for resource allocation decisions. Such metrics or justifications could include how well connected a certain community's constituents might be or how many electoral votes a particular community might be able to offer a particular candidate (Hastings, 2009b). All of this is to say that needs-based paradigms constitute just one category among many possible paradigms, including rights-based paradigms, for governing how and where public resources are deployed.

In my observations of negotiating strategies in the study settlement, the real-life lobbying of local government officials by settlement residents relied heavily on needs-based claims to dignity, hygiene, and a moral (not necessarily legal) obligation for the government to ensure basic living standards. Notably lacking from the discourses employed by neighborhood activists and civil society representatives was an explicit rights-based argument that suggested a specific legal right to basic services and living standards had gone unfulfilled and for which local officials could be held liable. More common was a combined moral-decency and needs-based approach that specifically relied on claims to dignity. Residents advanced these morality and decency centered claims by deploying a certain politics of grossness, or "politics of shit", to describe the direness of their situation (Appadurai, 2001). I say that the residents employed a politics of shit, because I repeatedly observed them invoking terminology about waste and filth often in formal and official circumstances as they presented public demands requesting trash collection services and drainage channel infrastructure upgrades. The idea of a

politics of shit as first proposed by Arjun Appadurai (2001) and later discussed by Ananya Roy (2005) relies on injecting polite political discourse with a celebration of informal ingenuity regarding how slum communities find inventive human waste management solutions. In part a politics of local expertise and situated knowledge, from my perspective, the politics of shit is also about penetrating sanitized political discourses with real and practical discussions about the "dirty" realities of underserviced slum communities. Making a politician engage in a conversation about shit, or trash accumulation, or any other form of tangible contamination has a certain democratizing quality as it forces members of the political elite and remote central bureaucrats to get their hands dirty, at least rhetorically. By deploying a politics of shit, residents are making a hybrid need and morality based argument that nobody "should have to live like this." In a sense, the residents are staking out ideological common ground, stating that a certain level of filth and contamination should be impermissible and objectionable to all parties involved as a function of decency. This process is facilitated by breaking with conventions of politeness and formality and engaging in frank conversation about conditions of filth and exposure to contamination and waste. A more indirect conversation about poverty conditions in informal settlements more generally may not have gotten the job done. When confronted with a direct and frank discussion about the level of filth, contamination, and waste a community is faced with (which should be read at least at some level as a need-based claim), most politicians will cede the point that such circumstances are, in theory, objectionable, even if they fail to mobilize resources to actually address the problem.

But winning the rhetorical battle to adequately and effectively communicate the level of need experienced in a community does not necessarily translate into a consequential realization of that need-based claim. While residents' deployment of the

politics of shit has garnered sympathy in the way it was intended to, it has not engendered action in the form of actual service provision or infrastructure upgrading in the study settlement. In this context, one is left with the suspicion that need-based or morality-based claims to basic standards of living are not the dominant paradigm affecting service provision decisions. Given this state of affairs, it is not hard to see how one might reasonably assume that some other logic (or logics) prevail in determining the allocation of services and the provision of public goods. The question remains: what are those logics?

It is here that the rise of enterprise culture, discussed earlier in Chapter 2, intersects with the discussion of paradigms that affect service provision decisions. I argue that in the Santo Domingo context, enterprise culture is the driving logic governing service provision. Those communities that can best operationalize principles of self-management and demonstrate financially sustainable projects are the most likely to receive material support for their local urban development efforts. In this context, the way that communities and local governments interact with one another is changing, giving rise to new forms of engagement that emphasize co-production, with direct practical actions being considered and undertaken jointly by both the state *and* community actors. The consorcio process emerges as one such example as the residents of the study settlement are actively considering and advancing projects—both the ongoing composting project and the proposed community-based trash collection system—to address service provision challenges that in another context might be understood as a pure public good, i.e. the responsibility of the state. In this way, the community is operationalizing a strategy of co-production and entrepreneurialism by not simply making demands for service provision but also actively engaging in "doing" something regarding self-provision of services.

The framework for co-production as a model for state-society interactions in the realm of urban service provision is a useful concept for understanding how communities can be expected to demonstrate a commitment to enterprise culture. The emphasis here is that rather than simply demanding service provision, communities engage in practical action and collaboration with state actors to actually *do* something. While co-production already exhibits tendencies of neoliberal governing logics in that it begins to shift and rearticulate responsibilities for service provision away from the state, the co-production framework in Santo Domingo takes on an even more enterprise-oriented tone in that local government officials seem most interested in partnering with communities and organizations that have already demonstrated a capacity for self-organizing. Arjun Appadurai (2001: 33) and Colin McFarlane (2012) refer to these processes of exhibiting proactive community development capacity as "precedent setting" and citizen entrepreneurialism" respectively, and generally read them in a positive light focusing on the political strategy benefits they offer communities in terms of giving them leverage with government officials. However, I propose that one could read precedent setting and citizen entrepreneurialism in an alternative light, one in which the pro-active organizing of the poor serves as a signaling effect to demonstrate a commitment to enterprise culture as a way of "earning" the favor, and eventual resources, of local city officials. This alternative reading of precedent-setting behavior suggests a form of citizenship mutation in which state intervention and resource provision is available only to individuals or communities that can demonstrate an entrepreneurial spirit by virtue to proactive organizing. There is arguably an entrepreneurial logic at play when a community has to "show initiative" or "generate results" before a state entity can reasonably be expected to act and/or provide basic services.

79

I think it is important to state that I do not believe the rise of enterprise culture among urban development actors in Santo Domingo to be an ideologically neoliberal stance against the State having a role to play in providing for its citizens. Based on my interactions with government officials, I believe that most would allocate the resources to meet all urgent need-based claims in the most vulnerable informal settlements if those resources were readily available. I understand enterprise culture as having emerged as an alternative to rights-based and needs-based paradigms for service provision as a coping mechanism for dealing with constrained municipal finances that do not permit local authorities to allocate resources according to those paradigms. Funds are so limited at the municipal level, that local governments simply do not have the financial means to meet all need-based claims for service provision and resources, let alone rights-based claims, simply because there are too many needs to be met. In this context, I suggest enterprise culture emerges as a default prioritization mechanism. When there are not enough resources to meet the needs of all similarly situated economically and environmentally vulnerable communities, enterprise culture and co-production service provision frameworks rely on a community's ability to compete and demonstrate entrepreneurial initiative as a way to thin the pool of legitimate claims for services and resources.

This phenomenon of having to rely on enterprise-oriented mechanisms out of practical necessity seems to be particularly true of municipal level governing dynamics. Warner and Clifton (2014) suggest that city representatives are more susceptible to the pressures of citizens as a function of their proximity to those citizens, in contrast to regional or national governments who are more removed. This proximity and susceptibility to pressure make it harder for city officials to adhere to purely ideological positions about service provision and the role of government when they have to answer more immediately for the material consequences of their urban development and service

provision decisions. In this light, city officials can be said to be "embracing an entrepreneurial stance and pursuing market strategies, but they are doing this to achieve both economic and social ends" (Warner & Clifton 2014: 56). I believe that local government actors in Los Platanitos are sincerely attempting to use enterprise culture and co-production strategies for social ends. I do not take a stance on the wisdom or efficacy of such an approach. However, I do suggest that this emphasis on entrepreneurial logics and enterprise culture on behalf of municipal officials is not born out of any neoliberal ideological purity, nor out of any intentional anti-poor malice, but rather out of a practical commitment to look for any and all solutions (even imperfect ones) anywhere they might be found in a municipal governance context experiencing significant funding and resource constraints.

Regardless of whether one agrees with the fairness or wisdom of the applicable "rules of the game" governing urban development practice in Santo Domingo, or any other place, I argue that pro-poor development actors are better positioned to lobby for resources and services when those rules are made legible. This thesis undertook the study of local development culture in one particular area, but similar studies could and should be carried out in other contexts. The refinement and deployment of this methodology in other urban areas of the global south would not only support rule legibility for pro-poor development actors in those contexts but also to generate comparison data about the local and regional specificities of development cultures, urban governance regimes, and planning paradigms. A body of comparison data of this sort would be a useful tool for pro-poor urban development actors as they search for best practices and innovative solutions ripe for translation between and among urban development contexts of the global south.

In February of 2016, amidst a hotly contested election season, the President of the Dominican Republic, Danilo Medina, made a surprise visit to the community of Los Platanitos. National planning authorities had selected the community for major infrastructure upgrading that would excavate and formally channelize the contaminated drainage canal running through the community. This project was a surprise as much to community residents as it was to the local municipal government. Neither had been consulted or given advanced notice. While this new development in many ways represents the realization of long-held dreams of residents that the drainage channel be addressed through major infrastructure upgrading, the project highlights the ad hoc way in which planning and urban development decisions are made regarding neighborhood level resource allocation. Los Platanitos is one of among almost 30 similarly situated settlements in the municipality of Santo Domingo Norte alone. What was it that made national planning authorities choose Los Platanitos for infrastructure investment? Was it because they had been working for years to demonstrate an entrepreneurial capacity through proactive organizing and community self-management? Was it because of electoral or public relations considerations? Was it because certain officials at the national planning agency were simply familiar with the case of Los Platanitos because of the attention its organizing efforts have garnered through eight years of collaboration with an international university? It would be difficult to trace the decision-making process that lead to this sudden demonstration of interest in Los Platanitos. What we can know is that local development cultures are not static, absolutely determinative, or immune from outside shock and disruption at the hands of higher-level bureaucratic and political decision-making. Local development culture is one consideration among many

to take into account when trying to better understand the local dynamics that govern

where, when, for whom, and by whom urban development resources are allocated.

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