THE DIFFERENT MEANINGS OF HOME FOR RESIDENTS AND PROFESSIONALS IN THE PLANNING AND DESIGN OF SOCIAL HOUSING IN COLOMBIA

By

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Abstract

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This dissertation compares and contrasts the perspectives of residents and housing related professionals involved in a social housing program in Bogotá, Colombia to offer an in-depth understanding of how different meanings of 'home' influence the production and consumption of housing. It is based on the crucial need for architects, planners, and housing policy-makers to better understand the experiences of residents in the housing that they help to create. This study focuses on two of Metrovivienda's master-planned communities and illustrates the multiple perspectives of residents and housing related professionals through the rubric of an "emerging housing practice" (Ferguson & Navarrete, 2003). This practice encompasses four dimensions of what it means to create and live in these new communities: the meanings of homeownership, experiences in formal urbanizing spaces, misunderstandings and problems that arise from living under a 'new' horizontal property scheme, and strained attempts at ameliorating housing complex *convivencia* (mutual co-existence) issues via housing governance.

This exploration of people's meanings also reveals an underlying story of how these dimensions function as both city-building and citizenship-building projects of the state. The dissertation concludes with the argument that social housing is designed by the state to contribute to its citizenship goals of fostering convivencia. It does this through the horizontal property law and systems of local governance that are new and unexpected by the residents.

The study builds on interdisciplinary literature from environmental psychology and the social sciences, together with architecture and urban planning theory. It adopts a narrative inquiry approach in order to provide a complementary perspective to the largely quantitative field of housing studies. Specifically, data are comprised of 24 in-depth narrative interviews of residents and professionals, additional informal interviews with professionals, participant-observation field notes, a discussion group, and document research. Fieldwork was conducted in 2010 and 2011. The findings have direct implications in Colombia, as this model of social housing is currently being expanded by national and local governmental initiatives.

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This intellectual journey began with a curiosity that began during my undergraduate years at Barnard College when my mother and I almost lost our apartment. As an architecture major, I was propelled to think about space through the specific lens of housing and how we as residents are not given any opportunities to voice our experiences with what all too often are struggles to make ends meet. This research is the result of combining my own experience with that of always wanting to learn about the lives of people in other societies.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

This dissertation compares and contrasts the perspectives of residents and housing related professionals involved in a social housing program in Bogotá, Colombia to offer an in-depth understanding of how different meanings of 'home' influence the production and consumption of housing. It is based on the crucial need for architects, planners, and housing policy-makers to better understand the experiences of residents in the housing that they help to create. This study focuses on two of Metrovivienda's master-planned communities, *El Recreo* and *El Porvenir*, and illustrates the multiple perspectives of residents and housing related professionals through the rubric of an "emerging housing practice" (Ferguson & Navarrete, 2003). Ferguson & Navarrete (2003) use this term to generally describe the formalization of housing production and financing in Latin America but do not expand upon it. I find it captures the phenomena in my research and I have thus borrowed it in order to characterize the process of adaptation in this formal housing case study. This practice encompasses four dimensions of what it means to create and live in these new communities: the meanings of homeownership, experiences in formal urbanizing spaces, misunderstandings and problems that arise from living under a 'new' horizontal property scheme, and strained attempts at ameliorating housing complex *convivencia* (mutual co-existence) issues via housing governance.

The *ciudadelas* (cities within cities), organized by Metrovivienda, one of several housing programs of the capital district of Bogotá, are new communities that represent a moment in time when Colombia is engaging in a project of city building. City officials claim this kind of low-income housing development can curtail the informal growth of the city by building these ciudadelas (Gilbert, 2009). Moreover, that it will improve the material quality of life of more

than 100,000 residents, according to agency estimates (Metrovivienda, 2009).[1] The residents of these communities, the majority with the help of housing subsidies, become first-time homeowners and are able to enjoy a higher quality urban infrastructure and public services that surrounding neighbors once claimed are only "for the wealthy" (as told to participant RB). Aiming to decrease the deficit of affordable housing, however, has not proven to be sufficient to improve overall quality of life, especially when the target population of this housing suffers from high proportions of poverty, crime, conflict, and a lack of formal education.

The project of city building has numerous social ramifications especially when residents contend with 'new' or different sets of behavioral expectations in this 'new' kind of space. By their very nature, these new communities are populated with people from different parts of the city and country who have very little social ties with one another. As a result, they are still in the process of learning how to live with one another. Metrovivienda also happens to be in the process of completing one of the ciudadelas in this case study. Communities of new residents and newly constructed urban areas with different urban features make for fraught situations where both residents as well as housing related professionals are in the process of learning how to adapt to their material and social circumstances.

While much of this dissertation study features an in-depth exploration into what it means to be associated with the ciudadelas on an individual level, this exploration also reveals an underlying story of how the dimensions of an "emerging housing practice" (Ferguson & Navarrete, 2003) function as both city-building and citizenship-building projects of the state. The work concludes with the argument that social housing is designed by the state to contribute to its citizenship goals of fostering convivencia by regulating the daily behavior of its residents.

[1] This figure only encompasses the two communities featured in this study. Metrovivienda had one other small ciudadela in the Usme locality of Bogotá and plans (explained in Chapter 3) for several others that had not been approved by the District Planning Department for more than seven years in the locality of Bosa.

It does this through the horizontal property law and systems of local governance. Furthermore, the social and political context of the unresolved armed conflict renders this desired behavioral change of Colombia's citizenry that much more relevant. The complicated landscape of the armed conflict, that involves left and right-wing armed groups and the government, has caused immeasurable repercussions, including massive displacement and high levels of violence in everyday life.

In sum, in coming to an in-depth understanding of relevant actors' meanings of home and housing, these meanings are in essence about the process of how they experience formal urbanization, which thus revealed an undercurrent of the process of citizenship building. This argument emerged as a direct result of the theoretical literature that guided my research questions and the qualitative methodological approach I undertook, both of which enabled a flexible approach to data analysis.

Review of relevant literature

The study utilizes the meaning of home literature as a theoretical standpoint from which to attempt to understand the meanings that influence the housing landscape in Bogotá, the nation's capital.[2] As in an increasing number of qualitative dissertations (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000), literature that became relevant after fieldwork and analysis is woven into several chapters but is primarily included in the Discussion of the study, Chapter 9.

The values and politics that currently dominate the production of housing and its policies are positivist, evidence-based, and uncritical of how problems are defined and solutions are formulated. This situation, or system of structures, creates and maintains housing environments

[2] To clarify, this study does not attempt to argue or recommend how each actor should change their values in order to find points of agreement.

that still do not meet the needs for much of the population both in much of the developed and developing world. Barriers to achieving a shared understanding of the meaning of home, which is fundamentally based on people's material, social and emotional needs and their satisfaction, date back to power relations and practices that arose in the Renaissance and became exacerbated in the 20th century. Processes, such as disciplinarization, the universalization of human need, the emergence of the importance of imagery, and the financing of private and public housing based on individual responsibility colluded to create the way we currently build and understand the environment (Alexander, 2004a; Dovey, 1985 & 2002; Ward, 1996). As a result, much of the research that informs housing policy is fundamentally technocratic because it is based on finding out "what works best" (Marston, 2008, p.178). Our fast-paced world seems to necessitate such a methodology.

Utilizing a vocabulary from the disciplines of environmental psychology, anthropology, sociology, geography, architecture, planning, and philosophy, I am attempting to understand the assumptions of the different actors in the production and consumption of housing. I am concerned with the values around these concepts that have interested many researchers from the abovementioned disciplines and why the concepts are not credible in the policy and practice professions. Practices that conceptualize the person as an end user of housing as a commodity fail to recognize that the sense of home is a process that the person generates over time (Saegert, 1985). If the end user is conceived as a participant of a process, their experience of dwelling will be enhanced (Alexander 2004b; Ward, 1996) and quality of life would be evaluated as positive. If a future goal is to challenge dominant value systems about home and the building process, it is necessary to try to first understand what people take for granted in order to change practices and policies (Grauman, 2002; Dovey, 2002).

'Home', as it is used in English and Spanish, is a concept that deeply involves our ontology. Understanding how we experience this concept of home is important if we are to use it to improve the quality of daily life in what we label 'housing', the kind of space that is predominantly responsible for our ontological security (Bachelard, 1994/ 1958). Ontological security is defined as feeling at-home in the world (Dovey, 1985; Grauman, 1989; Porteous, 1976).

One of the communication problems between the different actors involved in housing surfaces in the use of basic terms. In English, the words 'dwelling', 'house', and 'home' are used interchangeably or deconstructed for particular ends in both academic and vernacular parlance. In Spanish, there is a clearer distinction between meanings. *Vivienda* is used for the nouns 'dwelling' and 'housing'. *Hogar*, the word for 'home', is similar to the English use of the word that connotes place, warmth and safety with the added dimension of family.[3]

The other term I involved in this study is 'habitat'. In the development or human settlements fields, habitat is the unifying concept that describes the interrelationship between the social, economic and cultural processes and the physical and spatial outcomes at different geographical scales (Habitat International Coalition Latin America, n.d.). Habitat, as a unit of analysis, encompasses all components, that is, the spatial organization and ensuing human activity. Interestingly, Metrovivienda, the site for this case study, is housed under Bogotá's new housing related agency called *Secretaría Distrital de Hábitat* (District Secretariat of Habitat). Immediately apparent is the inclusion of multiple factors in Bogotá's housing policy. However,

[3] This is how I defined home prior to beginning this study. As will be explained in a section before Chapter 5, *hogar* is defined as a social structure to raise a family and is very much less spatially implicated than its meaning in the English-speaking world.

the concept of habitat is highly understudied in the United States or in other English-speaking countries.

Heidegger's (1971) question – 'what does it mean to dwell?' – is the best starting point to better understand the meanings of habitat and home.[4] Heidegger was the first philosopher to propose that the nature of existence is integrally related to the environment (1962, in Blake 2004), a theorem upon which environmental social science is built, whether implicitly or explicitly. The physicality of space, which is defined by objects, is part of consciousness. 'Building', which is etymologically part of the word 'dwelling' in German, encompasses the notions of preserving, caring, and safeguarding. We exist by virtue of our active, integral and meaningful connection with the environment. Hence, building architectural structures is how we manifest our selves in the world; it is the physical proof that we exist (Norberg-Schulz, 1985; Pallasmaa, 1992).[5] We build, therefore we live. All actors involved in housing, all humans indeed, dwell in the world and thus have knowledge about how they live in the world.

Home is a concept that is intricately tied to the phenomenological sense of dwelling. In these terms, home is the taken-for-granted meaning of the relationship between people and the specific environment of the residence (Dovey, 1985). In a related but more practical definition, home is a place that is "simultaneously and indivisibly a spatial and social unit of interaction" (Saunders & Williams, 1988, p. 82). The meaning of home is created at any given time in the present from the confluence of the following: one's physical/ spatial context, one's social relationships, emerging emotions, one's culture(s), one's ideal sense of home, the remembered

[4] It is important to acknowledge Merleau-Ponty's contribution to the nature of dwelling by highlighting the point that we experience the world through our bodies. Norberg-Schulz (1985) expands the study of dwelling by deconstructing it into two components: identification and orientation. For him, the environment holds properties that attract us to act upon it (recalling Gibson's [1979] affordances).

[5] Cooper (1974) and Cooper Marcus (1995) builds her work on this idea but from a Jungian psychoanalytic framework.

past and the expected future. There are many dimensions of home that include home as an expression of: self-identity, security, control, privacy, reflections of one's ideas and values, appropriation, permanence and continuity, being-at-home in the world, journeying or as center of activities, relations with family and friends, refuge from the outside world or haven, material structure, personal status, ownership, an ideal, gendered space, and migration experience (Deprés, 1991; Mallett, 2004; Perkins, Thorns, Winstanley & Newton, 2002). In order to illustrate how value systems influence people's meanings of home, I will briefly discuss two of these dimensions that define home.

Norberg-Schulz (1985) contextualizes the notion of the need for security in the **private** realm of the residence in historical terms by analyzing built forms throughout northern and southern Europe, where social spaces are culturally different. The privacy that the residence provides is important for the former, whereas it is the sociability that public spaces afford that are key in the latter. Blake (2004) grounds her study of home in the overarching characteristic of sedentarianism that has informed our ontology and therefore how we have come to interpret home and the needs we associate with it. It created what privacy means and how we assess property, ownership and legitimacy[6]. Private dwelling, defined as a withdrawal from the world, is necessary for identity formation and maintenance in our culture (Dovey, 1985; Korosec-Serfaty, 1985; Norberg-Schulz, 1985).

Another important dimension of home that is typically not well understood by the policy and practice professions is that people appropriate space by our intimate interaction with it (Korosec-Serfaty, 1985). **Appropriation** is characterized by a continuous acting upon and modification of one's dwelling with creativity and care (Bachelard 1994; Blake, 2004; Grauman, 1989; Young, 1997). Appropriation and its inherent qualities of autonomy and control are

[6] The historical development of privacy with regard to labor patterns was omitted in this review.

necessary for ontological security. Frank Lloyd Wright incorporated refuge in the house through the design of the open plan and interpreted it as a space of freedom that one can control, although he did not advocate for direct user changes. The house is a space that is fixed in one place and becomes safe and free, yet remains private and haven-like (Norberg-Schulz, 1985). Control of space is carried out by personalization (Altman, 1975), which is a kind of caring and preserving act as Heidegger defines dwelling. Hertzberger (2006) designs his structures so that its dwellers can modify them according to their needs, thus recognizing people's desire to more actively appropriate a space. I highlight these two complex aspects of home because they illustrate the underlying notion that home is partially influenced by culture.

An expanded application of the meaning of home literature. The cultural dimension of home is also highly complex. Explications of this dimension exist in the literature (e.g. Attfield, 1999; Gauvain, Altman, & Fahim, 1983; Haumont, 1986; Kellett, 2005; Osmont, 1986; Rapoport, 2001; Walsh, 2008). However, a fruitful discussion must adhere to Rapoport's (2001) assertion that culture is too large of a variable to research housing. Culture is comprised of values, norms, lifestyles, and activities that intersect with the variables of kinship, family structure, gender roles, social networks, status, identity and institutions, which both create and reify social practices (cf. Bourdieu, 2002; Giddens, 1984). The built environment is a manifestation of people's values, ideals, images and meanings of a given society. Echoing Heidegger, meaning and function are united in activity and create housing and settlements as they are. I therefore argue that meanings of dwelling and home, in particular, must be incorporated into the dialogue between the different actors involved in the production of homes and between these actors and residents.

Although the literature on the meaning of home has deeply benefited from phenomenological and material cultural analyses (e.g., Csikszentmihalyi & Rochberg-Halton, 1981), such theoretizations lack a socio-economic and political focus that influence meaning-making. For example, Sanín Santamaría (2008) wrote on the meaning of home of residents that were recently relocated to a state-run housing project in Medellín, Colombia utilizing a material cultural analytical lens. He concludes that residents' former informally-built homes "survive" in their modern ones by how they occupy space and their use of objects and materials as ways to subvert both modern architectural residential conventions and the state's goal for social, cultural, and legal normalization of the population and its territory (p. 59). This kind of analysis misses crucial influences on decisions and meanings. At the individual level, for example, space constraints and lack of disposable income to purchase new or more modern consumer items or to finish "grey" construction[7] are valid reasons for the use of mismatched objects and found or cheap materials. Nor does Sanín Santamaría address the larger structural forces that allow the sale of tiny unfinished units in the first place. His research does not include the fact that meaning is not entirely based on a strict material analysis of cultural customs.

Finally, it is reasonable that the meaning of home literature is replete with studies that focus on the meanings of residents (e.g. Cooper, 1974 and Cooper Marcus, 1995). One well-known study that veers from this path is Cooper Marcus' (1992) research on environmental autobiographies with architectural design students. She explored how their past influenced their present meanings of home and thus, their current design practices.

[7] *Obra gris* is the term for construction that is structurally sound and inhabitable but left unfinished. For example, walls are left exposed and cabinetry and doors are not provided, save for the door to the exterior of the dwelling. This practice is cited by developers as a necessary concession in the face of the cost, and hence, profit constraints. Chapters 3 and 6 will deal with the evolution of such market-based practices and the two participant groups' reaction to them respectively. Although public housing in the US was always built as a finished product, cost-cutting measures, such as no closet doors, were also implemented but perhaps had an underlying reason based on the idea that the poor did not really need or deserve such 'extras' (see Popkin, 2000). While I did not observe such a sentiment in Bogotá, it could exist.

Housing, architecture, and planning research. Many authors who write under the rubric of social and cultural perspectives in housing, architecture, planning, and environmental social science critique the dominant conceptions and processes of architecture and planning (e.g.: Ahrentzen, 2003; Alexander, 2004a & 2004b; Attfield, 1999; Clapham, 2005; Churchmann, 2002, Friedmann, 2002; Gauvain, Altman, & Fahim, 1983; Gurney & Means, 1993; Haumont, 1986; Manzo & Perkins, 2006; Osmont, 1986; Rapoport, 2001; Sandercock, 2003, 2005; Walsh, 2008). They call for perspectives and methods of practice that defy image-oriented and top-down technocratic rationally-based practices. Top-down rationally-oriented planning, based on cost-benefit analysis and quantifiable and objective criteria, form evidence-based policy and thus cannot capture how people are impacted; nor can policy be designed that applies to people's needs (Clapham, 2005). Furthermore, "households help constitute the outcomes of policy through their behavior" (p. 247). Policy that is based on the end of that equation, i.e. research on behavior and not meaning behind behavior, will inevitably only capture part of the picture. This study widens the lens to incorporate how design and planning practices also impact and reproduce housing practices. In this literature review that guided my research questions, I call for an expanded application of the meaning of home literature, much like Dayaratne and Kellett (2008) did with their study of home-making practices in two informally settled communities in Colombia and Sri Lanka, and discuss the different perceptions of actors in housing.

Significance of the research

As with other social phenomena, the housing industry is specific to its location within a local geography, time, social, political, and economic context and its relation to global forces. The Latin American low-income housing landscape, as those of other developing and developed capitalist economies, is populated with multiple actors and social, political, and economic forces

that directly impact many people who should benefit from appropriate housing policy. In Colombia specifically, there are two concurrent methods of producing housing for people with low resources—state-sponsored formally planned housing that is labeled 'social housing' and housing and neighborhood upgrading initiatives that occur in the informally planned context. There are two agencies in Bogotá that help produce social housing, Metrovivienda and Caja de Vivienda Popular (The Fund for Low-income Housing). The Caja de Vivienda Popular also oversees a housing and neighborhood upgrading program, the Mejoramiento Integral de Barrios, in neighborhoods that have developed with little to no state regulation. This informal housing, as it is called locally, is largely responsible for increasing the size of the capital primarily in the 20th century. By utilizing urban planning mechanisms to create master-planned communities, Metrovivienda's practices represent the most formal approach to creating low-income housing, representing a small percentage of all low-income housing in the city of Bogotá. Studying this ultimate formal context is important because they are relatively new in the diverse housing landscape. Exploring the ramifications on people's daily lives of this policy is thus necessary.

Furthermore, Metrovivienda's formally planned low-income housing[8] was the most appropriate context to explore both residents', as well as professionals', meanings of home and housing. Understanding how these key actors differently experience and speak about these phenomena can yield valuable information on the perspectives and constraints of professional planners and designers compared to those of residents. Such analyses have the potential to offer valuable insights for the process of planning and design of formal housing. The following review of literature supports the rationale for wanting to understand both kinds of actors' experiences.

[8] Anything that refers to housing for people with low-resources from a vantage point in the US, and therefore before data collection, is referred to as 'low-income housing'. I switch to 'social housing' thereafter to reflect local and international usage.

Various actors. In this case study, there were two cultural groups identified: residents and professional actors involved in the social housing landscape in Bosa, Bogotá. Each group relates to one another according to their role, whether as a resident or professional. We must unpack what makes up their 'cultures' in order to assess how choices are made in the production and reproduction of their housing practices. Different groups evaluate environmental quality differently according to specific sets of values (Rapoport, 2001). As with other social phenomena, the evaluation of housing quality is socially constructed (Clapham, 2005). Clapham's basic argument is founded upon the need for research that utilizes the sociological agency-structural theoretical approach to "focus on the relationship between the attitudes and behavior of the actors on the one hand and the constraints and opportunities they face on the other" (p. 11).

I expected that these actors would hold different and possibly conflicting viewpoints about project goals based on their conflicting values about home and habitat. Developers, designers, and municipal entities are more concerned with function, costs, and superficial aesthetic properties of the project (Sinha, 1991). Whereas, residents might be more concerned, for example, over the control of the decision-making process and control of space in and near their housing. Residents' well-being is based on the notion of a 'supportive environment'. (Rapoport, 1991). Physical and social needs arise and are defined by the intersection of physical housing properties with social circumstance and sense of community. Moreover, residents' input or participation may be incorporated as a formality and not integral to the shaping of the housing project. As a result, a supportive environment may not be fulfilled to its highest potential. The meanings of the concepts of 'home' and 'habitat' undergird this notion of a supportive environment.

While the final goal of social housing is to improve living conditions for the poor, the various voices sharing this goal have yet to be deconstructed in the housing, planning or policy literatures in either the United States or Latin America. No direct research exists to describe adequately the fundamental basis upon which actors in housing make decisions to influence the built environment and associated social phenomena. Additionally, research on low-income housing in Latin America has predominantly originated from research centers in architectural and urban design departments. Such research does not illuminate the exchange between people's experiences and physical and social situational nuances that the interdisciplinary field of environmental social science (a.k.a. environmental psychology) inherently captures. Churchmann (2002) argues that incorporating both environmental psychology and planning perspectives in research can be beneficial because each discipline's opposite vantage point (micro-level and macro-level respectively) can fill gaps in planning interventions. Due to its context as a global south/ developing continent, "this situation offers an excellent opportunity for promoting a scientific, quality and problem-oriented environmental psychology serving both the interest of Latin Americans and those of other regions of the world" (Corral-Verdugo & Pinheiro, 2009, p. 366). I attempt to provide a shared and interdisciplinary research space for the multiple voices not usually heard together in this study. Ganapati and Ganapati's (2009) research on understanding multiple actors and the participation of the public in the rebuilding of a city in Turkey after a devastating earthquake is similar, yet it originated from a public management perspective with different conceptual and intervention priorities. To my knowledge, a study that incorporates multiple actors' meanings and how they influence their roles in the housing context does not exist. I hope that my study addresses this paucity.

Research questions

The overarching research question of this study is:

What are the meanings of 'home' and 'habitat' of the key actors[9] involved in the production and consumption of state-sanctioned low-income housing in Bogotá, Colombia and how do these meanings influence housing, neighborhood and community building practices?

The question was intentionally broad in order to allow for unexpected meanings from the lives of the participants to emerge. The study is designed to complement the normally large-scaled analysis of the urban development process by focusing on low-income housing at the scale of individuals. The goal is to identify the influence of the personal, social, and physical understandings of home by the key actors involved in the production of housing, while also referencing the structural forces on the housing, neighborhood and community building practices of a state low-income housing provider.

On entering the field context, it became evident that the residents of the new communities were referencing their lived experiences in the ciudadelas as 'homeowners.' As a result an additional question was added:

What does homeownership mean to residents and housing related professionals in the production and consumption of state-sanctioned low-income housing in Bogotá?

Another realization that emerged after entering the field was that the concepts of 'home' and 'habitat' were different than what I had expected. The concept of home was not very clear for some participants. The meaning of home (*hogar*) in Colombia is very different and is not spatially implicated as it is in the Anglo-American meaning of home literature. Habitat was an important term guiding the practice of professionals but seemed to be never utilized by the residents in their daily activities. Nevertheless, designing a broad question that involved these

[9] Actors - e.g. residents, municipal agency staff, planners, and architect-developers, etc.

two concepts still allowed for rich and much more interesting experiences to come to the surface as I tried to make meaning of participants' meanings of the spaces of the home, housing, and community. The following sub-questions were therefore added to the inquiry:

How do different types of actors foster or hinder 'habitat'?

This question was aimed at understanding how the concept of habitat was operationalized by participants since it is a very popular term in professional and academic circles in Latin America but understudied in the United States or other English speaking countries.

How do the different meanings of home and habitat influence the kind of community (i.e. social relations between residents) envisioned and produced, and the project's future community building potential?

The added element of 'community' encompasses the social relationships that are integral to a lived space and were critical for me to examine given that it was entire communities that were being created. The argument is based on the idea that how people relate to a dwelling space will impact how they then relate to others closest to that dwelling space.

Is there a relationship between home, habitat and community building?

This question asks whether there is a socio-spatial relationship among the scales that are relevant to one's home because these different scales are implicated when new communities are built.

What policy and practical lessons about the meanings and qualities of 'habitat' of different types of stakeholders can be drawn for utilization in the human settlements and housing fields?

The purpose of this question was meant to anchor the investigation of an applied social problem into the practical realm in order to suggest improvements of current housing policy and practice that the participants of this study and my analysis might offer.

Overview of the chapters

What follows is a brief map of the remaining chapters of the dissertation:

Chapter 2 explains the design of the study, its methodological rationale, two analytical strategies, and reflexive notes on my position as a researcher in my ancestral homeland of Colombia. **Chapter 3** is a historical portrait of the social housing landscape in Colombia and specifically in Bogotá, where fieldwork took place. It also includes field notes of the two major sites of data collection – ciudadelas El Recreo and El Porvenir. **Chapter 4** features the life sketches of three of the study's participants whose interviews were very influential in my understanding of Bogotá's social housing. The meticulous analytical strategy I undertook with Camila's, Liliana's, and Álvaro's interviews, informed by Chase's (2003) approach to narrative inquiry, shaped the general categories with which I analyzed the remaining data corpus, and provided a glimpse into the broader macro-level analysis of Colombian social housing that is featured in Chapter 9. Thereafter, I include a brief section that introduces the reader to a clarification of terms used throughout the work. **Chapters 5** through **8** detail the four different dimensions of the abovementioned "emerging housing practice" (Ferguson & Navarrete, 2003): the meanings of homeownership, the experiences in formal urbanizing spaces, the misunderstandings and problems that arise living in a 'new' horizontal property scheme, and the strained attempts at ameliorating housing complex convivencia issues via housing governance. **Chapter 9** is an overall discussion of the study that features two levels of relevance to the findings. I provide a summary of the findings by re-iterating the similarities and differences of

each participant group (residents and housing related professionals) and feature literature about previous research and policy efforts in Colombia that illustrate and support the argument that emerged upon analysis of the data. The socio-spatial practice of citizenship is at the heart of this argument. Finally, **Chapter 10** culminates the study and includes sections on its limitations, brief recommendations to designers, planners, and policymakers, future research, and a post-script that describes national and city-wide housing policy changes after data were collected.

CHAPTER 2: RESEARCH DESIGN & METHODS

Utilizing the interdisciplinary perspective of environmental psychology culled from the social sciences, architecture and urban planning literatures, this is an ethnographic case study of one of Bogotá's state-organized social housing initiatives – Metrovivienda.[10] This research is about understanding residents' and housing related professionals' meanings of the psychological-spatial concepts of home and habitat. It is an in-depth exploration of these multiple voices so that urban and housing policy research and practice can be better informed in the future. The qualitative approach I utilized to explore residents' and professionals' meanings offers a different and complementary insight into the predominantly quantitative field of housing studies. It attempts to illustrate the multi-faceted stories of each kind of key actor that highlight the influence of their personal, social and physical understandings of home while referencing structural forces on the housing, neighborhood and community building practices of Metrovivienda's low-income housing development process. I blend personal, social and physical dimensions to humanize the analysis of the normally large-scaled urban development phenomenon of low-income housing. This study contributes to the understanding of the urban development process at the scale of the individual.

In order to address this concern, I look at Colombia, where the state is involved in creating low-income housing. Conducting research in another country was critical because I wanted to acquire international experience. Colombia was a perfect fit because my family is originally from there and I retained an emotional connection to that country.

Methodology

[10] Funding was provided by the NSF/ CUNY AGEP (Alliance for Graduate Education and the Professoriate) SBES grant #0753623.

Narrative theory. As is the case with much qualitative work, I designed a kind of inquiry that allowed flexibility in my fieldwork and reading of theory to provide constant feedback and reassessment of research goals (Josselson and Lieblich, 2003). I chose the qualitative approach to research, specifically, narrative inquiry, to guide this ethnographic case study. The nature of my research questions necessitated a framework for exploration and search for meaning. The phenomena in question play out through people's narratives. Narrative theory offers a way to explore situated phenomena and is rooted in the belief that people are dialogical selves who make sense of the world through the intersubjective construction of stories (Bruner, 1986; Chase, 2008; Day and Tappan, 1996) that convey truth as verisimilitude and intentionality (Bruner, 1986). Narrative is also "retrospective meaning-making – the shaping or ordering of past experience" in relation to one's self and others and is influenced by local and more removed social, cultural, and historical contexts (Chase, 2008, p.64-68). Narrative researchers view the interviewee as a narrator of his/ her life and thus attempt to not only solicit information but also view the person as an agent with his or her own voice. This person-centered approach is then highlighted by looking at the stories within a life (or group), rather than across narratives to search for themes as the thrust of the analysis (see the biographical analysis section below). Finally, it is important to be clear that I take an "authoritative researcher voice" (p.74), wherein I intermingle my interpretations and excerpts from participants' narratives in order to highlight explicit and implicit personal meanings enabled or constrained by structural forces.

Due to this methodological and interdisciplinary approach, the place of theory in my work exists at 'the boundary' (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, p.41) between a formalistic epistemology that structures the production of knowledge in, for example psychology, because it must recognize disciplinary structures, while highlighting the qualities inherent in narrative

inquiry, that of the experiential and storied nature of lived experience. Clandinin & Connelly indicate that they have seen in doctoral students' work, this theoretical "tension often appears as a tension between literature reviewed as a structuring framework and literature reviewed as a kind of conversation between theory and life or, at least, between theory and the stories of life contained in the inquiry" (p.41). Similarly, the literature review for this study was a critical analysis of the literature framed as an argument for the need to conduct my study; the theory I exposited and the research questions I designed were not used to structure fieldwork and analysis but rather as a platform from which to launch my investigation. Narrative inquiry lends itself to this flexibility precisely because it does not take a formalistic approach that frames, searches for, and finds phenomena according to specific and pre-established sets of structures (p. 39).

Narrative methodology in planning research. The urban planning literature is relevant in this study because the phenomena that was studied involved a large-scale urban intervention. Having been influenced by post-modernist epistemological practices in the social sciences, planning theory and housing research have embraced this 'narrative turn.' The planning field began experiencing a shift in the 1970's with the concept of "transactive planning" (Friedmann, 1973 in Sandercock & Attili, 2010). This kind of practice focused on the transaction of knowledge between professionals and the people that were to be affected by plans. The field has begun accepting "experiential, intuitive and somatic knowledges; local knowledges; knowledges based on the practices of talking and listening, seeing, contemplating and sharing…" (Sandercock & Attili, 2010, p. 25; Sandercock, 2003). These changes paved the way for what the authors call the 'story turn' in planning, whereby the practice of planning is understood through the use of stories and rhetoric. Furthermore, Thompson (1993) recognizes the need for planning to incorporate the multi-dimensional meanings of home garnered from qualitative

methods. Specifically, the use of oral testimony approximates people's lived experiences and can "lead to a clearer delineation of needs and priorities and to the creation of more sustainable [illegible in original text] and improvement strategies" in a planning context (Kellett, 2000, p. 202).[11]

An ethnographic orientation. Conducting ethnography requires researchers to learn what is familiar to the place or society under study (LeCompte & Schensul, 2010). Using the different methods of observation, recording, interpretation, and reflection, an ethnographer steps out of his or her "*own* communities, institutional settings, and familiar behavioral and cognitive patterns to enter into another social world" and undertakes a process of enculturation (p. 74).

Ethnographies are increasingly used to study home and housing processes throughout the world (Blokland, Maginn & Thompson, 2008; Ganapati, 2008; Kellett, 2000; Kellett, 2005; Klaufus, 2000; Perkins, Thorns, & Winstanley, 2008). For example, Kellett (2000) originally intended to study the process of informal settlement in the Caribbean city of Santa Marta, Colombia by quantitative means. After realizing that he would not be able to express the intricacies of the context, he changed the study to create an ethnography about the residents' meanings of their self-built houses as they constructed their informally planned housing and village. Levi-Strauss said that ethnography, a multi-layered approach to collecting data qualitatively, can "enlarge a specific experience to the dimensions of a more general one" (cited in Blockland et al., 2008).

Perkins, Thorns, & Winstanley's (2008) ethnographic approach to research the meaning of house and home in Christchurch, New Zealand included not only participant observations and in-depth interviews, but residential video tours, analysis of the local planning framework and

[11] For examples of the use of this practice in planning, sometimes called participatory planning, see e.g., Manzo & Perkins (2006) and Sandercock's (2005) work with First Nations in Canada.

discourse analysis of advertising media of the decoration and housing industries as well. It was an extensive project conducted over the course of several years by a research team with ample funding from the New Zealand Foundation for Research Science and Technology. Many different kinds of actors were included in their research but their focus in the end was the relationship between national housing policy and the meaning of home of its residents. Nevertheless, it is worthwhile adapting their strategies to the research goals, context and constraints of my own project.

While I was not able to stay in the field for the typical one to two years ethnographers usually spend, this study is an approximation to *an* ethnography (the end-product of conducting ethnography); describing this work as an ethnographic case study is more appropriate.

Fieldwork

I designed this research specifically to take me out of the United States and into Colombia initially for improved career prospects to work in an international context upon graduation. Prior to beginning the research, Colombian culture was very familiar to me because I am the child of first-generation Colombian immigrants. I visited Bogotá, my mother and siblings' birthplace, both as child and as an adult. I was a tourist on my first visit as an adult and in November 2009, I conducted research site reconnaissance. Despite my identification as bi-cultural, American and Colombian, once I began data collection, I was in largely unfamiliar territory. Similar to a typical anthropologist, I had to learn the social and professional culture in which I immersed myself. Although I was armed with the language skills and significant cultural knowledge, I had not planned on needing to learn the historical context of Bogotá's urban planning and its city administrative intricacies. This seems like an obvious oversight now because state-sanctioned housing development, by its very nature, takes place within this broader

institutional environment. Leaving one's "own community, institutional setting, familiar behavior and cognitive patterns… The first step in learning is establishing the relationships through which this learning process can take place" (LeCompte & Schensul, 2010, p. 70) is the ethnographic learning curve that made my time in the field that much more perplexing. Meeting the right people and having to learn another country's housing and planning context takes time, time I did not have because I could only be in the field for four months. However, just as I was leaving Bogotá after my third month, I was much more knowledgeable, comfortable, and knew better questions to ask of my participants, as well as other relevant actors. I was just becoming "oriented" to the field but I had to leave (LeCompte & Schensul, 2010, p.96). Luckily, I was able to pick up from where I left off when I returned for my second trip.

Reflexivity

> G, the groundskeeper at the Metrovivienda field office insists that he take me to an interview in the neighboring ciudadela of *El Porvenir* on his motorcycle. I dislike riding them, especially in a country where its drivers ruthlessly cut into each other's way, but I accept because there is no direct public transportation and waiting for a taxi was prohibitively long. He is surprised that as a *gringa*, I do not like riding them. He asks me to hold on to his waist as we prepare to drive off. I insist that he drive as slow as possible and pull on his safety vest a bit too tightly. He says, "Let me breathe woman! As a gringa you shouldn't be scared." I reply, "That's because I'm only half gringa!" We both laugh and shortly thereafter, he drops me off safe and sound at my destination.

This is but one of the many situations that I encountered where I navigated my bi-cultural identities during fieldwork. Sometimes they were funny, other times they were enlightening, and occasionally they were a bit frustrating.

> Back in New York City, sitting at the computer to code data, analyze them and write the dissertation, I move back and forth between Spanish and English. 'Which keyboard layout am I using now?' If I'm in the Spanish layout, I hit the accent key when I mean to type an apostrophe, and the "at" sign is never to be found. 'Why is everything I write in English accompanied by red squiggly lines on my screen? Oh, I forgot to switch the revision language in Microsoft Word.'

For many months, I immersed myself in my Spanish data while my thinking and writing occurred in English. I would message friends in Colombia to help me interpret things and the online translation site Wordreference.com became my best friend. I would also ask my office neighbors to help me with words or phrases in English. Such daily occurrences are emblematic of the cultural and language code switching in which I always engage. I consider myself lucky to have cultural, social and economic hybrid identities to have rendered a sensitive understanding during fieldwork, analysis, and writing of this work.

As I anticipated, I confronted few barriers to access the research site and my participants. My physical appearance, and Colombian Spanish accent and fluency are present enough to label me Colombian but my lack of knowledge of some words revealed my foreign origin. I was often asked for my *cédula,* or national identity card, when I paid with a credit card or conducted some other kind of transaction, and just as often, I was met with puzzled looks because it is illegal for a Colombian citizen to not have one. Once I explained my background, everyone seemed to be impressed with my command of the language despite me not having grown up there. Several people were pleased that I "returned to my roots" socially and professionally. I confess that I am happy to have done so as well. Nevertheless, as the opening vignette indicates, I was perceived as a *gringa*, in general terms, and specifically, as a gringa researcher upon first introductions. As

with other slang monikers, the connotation of the term gringa/o varies depending on tone and context. It can be used affectionately to identify US origin or pejoratively to connote US imperialism. Thankfully, I have yet to experience the negative kind. I think G held me to a Hollywood super-heroine standard. Some people were impressed and called me "doctora" immediately. This salutation is commonly assigned to professionals regardless if a person has attained a corresponding degree; I was uncomfortable with it. Others remembered that I was a student. I certainly did not look the part of a professional; my young appearance, backpack, and Converse sneakers all helped to support the notion that I was possibly conducting research for a Master's. Nevertheless, many liked the fact that I took an interest in an important problem that they acknowledged was plaguing their nation.

I walked a very strange line there. I am not only Colombian, yet not only American; I am not wealthy by any standard, yet far from poor by developing country standards. While I recognize that as a researcher, especially from the US, the power relations scale was usually tipped to my side, I approached everyone, particularly the residents, with utmost humility; it was the most honest way I could communicate that their participation was voluntary and for them to feel as comfortable as possible. Asking them to sign a consent form was awkward for me because all participants perceived it as somewhat odd. Although this practice is meant to protect research participants from potential harm or exploitation, I realized just how different and bureaucratic is the culture from which I hail. I also told them I would also be paying them for their participation. I determined the amount by calculating the daily minimum wage. I now know that this is an exceptional amount of money for most of my participants, and that such a practice is unheard of in Colombia. I was initially worried that I was exerting my power by dangling this nice amount of cash (about $9 USD a person) as a carrot, but I later learned just

how necessary this money was to some families. Three of my participants told me during their interviews how they sometimes could not afford to buy groceries. I chalked up my heartbreak and their small gain to the inevitability of my presence in this research context.

I accessed relatively wealthy, middle class, poorer, and bureaucratic spaces very easily. My native New York attitude gave me the confidence to move around the city, but was often perplexing when I visited the poorer spaces of my field sites by myself. While I always took precautions to be safe, such as only visiting during the day and never "*dando papaya*", that is, never showing off expensive equipment, flashy jewelry, or expensive clothing, I was very often accompanied to my house visits where my interviews took place with the residents. As a woman who was alone, I was perceived as particularly vulnerable and therefore to be cared for. I was generally received with literal open arms, *tinto* (a small black coffee), and everyone seemed to like participating in my formal and informal interviews. I generally felt safe and believe I had supportive *angelitos* (little angels), both human and spiritual, guiding me to make the right decisions.

There were, however, two incidences that marked me, which do not often get discussed in the literature. The first was during an interview with a male staff member about my age who agreed that I interview him. Despite many gains for women's rights, Colombian culture is still very male-dominant. It is tolerated that men flirt with women out in the open and in a professional environment. As a Latina, I am very familiar with this but I was not prepared for the level of what would be considered sexual harassment in the workplace in the US but was accepted there by men as harmless flirtation and women as something with which to maneuver. I arrived onto "the field" during the soccer World Cup 2010 finals. Many Metrovivienda staff members, who were mostly men, pooled their money and rented a cable box to watch the

matches during working hours. I was a new woman entering this highly macho space and had to endure stares, comments, and flirtations. As many other women before me, I put on a pretty smiling face, otherwise I knew I would alienate them and would possibly make my time in their office more difficult. I continued this attitude with one particular person when I began to interview him. Unfortunately, his talk increasingly made me feel very uncomfortable and I was forced to stop recording multiple times. I was later very angry with myself for enduring such behavior, all for the sake of obtaining an interview. As I was preparing to return to New York almost three months later, he apologized to me for conducting himself in such an unprofessional manner. I was very surprised because such an apology is rare.

The second incident involved a male resident. Metrovivienda's social team leader introduced me to him. He is a talented woodworker artisan and she thought he would be an exemplary person to interview. I visited his home, as I had done with most of the other residents, and the interview began uneventfully. But as time elapsed, he used the interview as an opportunity to tell me his life history, which involved drug abuse and violence. I was not able to steer the conversation back to my topic and I became overwhelmed but simultaneously paralyzed because he seemed to switch back and forth in Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde-like fashion as he became lost in his memories. I did not realize at the time that given his violent history, my safety could have been in peril, so I concluded the interview and left extremely upset. I excluded his interview from my data corpus.

These two situations are examples of when power relations and safety between the researcher and the researched are not quite so clearly black and white. It was not a coincidence that both involved men taking advantage of a woman. Such situations should be discussed and illuminated to novice researchers no matter their gender or sexual orientation. My lack of

experience in the field paralyzed me in both situations; I lacked the confidence to acknowledge during the unfolding of events that something was not right and to leave.

Methods

I was able to gain access to Metrovivienda, a state-run company that urbanizes and commercializes land for the development of low-income housing, during a research reconnaissance trip I conducted in November 2009.[12] After obtaining clearance from The Graduate Center's Institutional Review Board[13], I conducted four months of fieldwork during two different tips, June through August 2010 and January 2011. Affiliating with this agency's social team and other staff provided me with gate-keeping support to access the housing developments and participants to interview. The social team is comprised of a small group of workers who are mostly stationed in the agency's field offices in Bosa and Usme, two localities of the city of Bogotá, where they are managing large-scale urban development projects. Halfway into field work, I realized that the ciudadelas in Bosa would be the most appropriate site for me to continue collecting data. Other data was collected in Usme. However, the agency's relatively new intervention in Usme was not appropriate for my research goals. The social team's leader was actively involved in my participant search and in my progress of the study. She designated her field staff to support me in any way I needed. All staff members in the central office and two field offices were extremely helpful to this endeavor. The central office became my home base and I would visit the Bosa field office several times a week.

[12] I wish to thank my advisor's Colombian colleague, Fadua Kattah of The International Center for Education and Human Development (CINDE), for networking on my behalf.

[13] The Office for Human Research Protections under the US Dept. of Health and Human Services helps regulate US research in foreign countries and only requires IRB approval from the local institution(s) if that local institution also requires approval. I did not conduct my research through a local academic institution nor through one that required such a practice (i.e. Metrovivienda); thus I did not require further clearance.

I included multiple methods in this study initially to triangulate the data. However, I experienced a tension about this simple statement about an epistemological decision precisely because this was an interdisciplinary study. According to Professor S. Low (personal communication, September 29, 2010), this stance is acceptable in psychology because triangulation is used to better support the phenomenon being studied, but that it is important to acknowledge that this is still a somewhat positivistic perspective. It assumes that one method is insufficient to lay claim to 'the truth' and would potentially leave too much room for the researcher's subjectivity. Low continues that in anthropology and geography the use of triangulation is perceived differently – one kind of data is informed by the other and provides different information that can engender a kind of conversation. I could have designed an adequate study using at least one method for data collection, particularly with the in-depth analytical techniques I engaged, because this kind of approach to qualitative research can *only* be subjective; I am the interpretive tool; my lived experience is the lens through which I interpret the data (see Chase, 2008). Josselson's (1996a) claim that a researcher's set of interpretations are just one of many possible ones is salient in this case; it is important to remain reflexive throughout the entire process of research (Josselson, 1996a; Clandinin & Connelly, 2000).

The following is a description of each data collection method I utilized and its purpose.

In-depth narrative interviews. Utilizing two semi-structured narrative interview guides, I interviewed a total of 23 people for this study; 12 were residents and 11 were housing related professionals. The characteristics of all participants can be found in Table 1. The residents' subgroup is comprised of homeowner occupiers of social housing in the two Metrovivienda ciudadelas. Despite the fact that they all live in the same kind of housing, they represent different life situations and ethnicities. Metrovivienda social team staff helped identify potential

participants but I also used the “snowball” sampling method to identify others. One resident was coincidentally a friend’s housekeeper. Two of the interviews were actually conducted with two people present at the time of interviewing (Elena & Mariana and Milay & Jaime). I had asked to only interview one person but it was clear that the other person wanted to participate so I allowed them to do so after I collected the extra consent form. I treated them their talk as one interview because each person’s talk built on what the other was saying. The professionals’ subgroup was comprised of current Metrovivienda staff (six), a former Metrovivienda staff member (one), developers (three), some of who are also architects, and an urban designer (one). I identified these professional participant roles as representative of the actors involved in the housing development process during fieldwork. Metrovivienda staff assisted me with arranging introductions. Residents’ pseudonyms were either chosen by the participants themselves or by me, and professionals’ identifiers were created by me using their initials. I only assigned pseudonyms to the residents in order to highlight their voices in this research, as I mention at the beginning of Chapter 4.

Pseudonym	Camila	Liliana	Álvaro	Dalia	Elena & Mariana	Gloria	Jaime & Milay	Luz Elena (teenaged son present & mostly quiet	Maria Luisa	Marta	Paul	Sandra Linda
Ciudadela	El Recreo	El Recreo	El Recreo	El Recreo	El Porvenir	El Recreo	El Proyenir	El Porvenir	El Porvenir	El Recreo	El Recreo	
Gender	F	F	M	F	F & F	Female	M & F	F	F	F	M	F
Age	25-34	25-34	45-54	35-44	55 & 25-34	52	25-34; 45-54	45	41	45-54	45	45-54
children	5	2	0	2	3 ; 0	3	0; at least 2	1	2	2	6	3
Household status	"mother head of household" (partnered)	"Woman head of household" (single)	married	married	widowed; single	separated; domestic partner	not mentioned	widowed	married	separated	married	married
Employment status	unemployed domestic worker	unemployed social worker & grassroots community organizer, (women & armed conflict)	freelance worker	small business owner of telephone internet cabins	homemaker; nurse's asst.	works as admin of 2 complexes	Admin of complex; Workers' fund administrator (disabled)	was employed as a cleaning woman in a cleaning company	retired/ unemployed (unofficially disabled)	employed as housekeeper	informal vendor	unemployed (unofficially disabled)
Race/ ethnicity	Mestiza & indigenous (Wayuu)	identifies as Afro-descendent even though she is not black'	White, "For the record, I'm not racist"	Colombian	white; mestiza	mestiza	mestizo; white	Colombian	mestiza	Colombian	black/ mestizo	Colombian
Displaced?	Yes	Yes	No	Not mentioned	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	not mentioned	Yes	No
Place of birth	Monteria, Cordoba	Barrancabermeja, Santander	Bogota	Tolima	Bogota	Villavicencio	Bucaramanga	Valencia, Cordoba (rural)	Barranquilla	Prado, Tolima	Aipe, Huila	Zipaquirá
Length of time in Bogota	16 yrs with a few away, unclear	8 yrs	native	19 yrs (includes Soacha)	lifetime	32 years	12 years	more than 17 years	n/a	23	N/A	at 10 yrs moved to Bog
Purchase price	31 million COP					N/A	$27 million COP ($15.1K USD); 45.5 sm		$23 million COP ($13.2 K USD)	paid $19 M COP ($10.8K USD); currently valued at $25M COP ($14.2K USD)	N/A	N/A
Length of time living in own housing	8 months	5 years	7 years	10 years	2 years	3.5 years	3 months	less than 1 month	2.5 years	3 years	2.5 years	4 years
Total people living there	10	4	2	4	2	3	2	2	4	7	8	5

Table 1. Demographic information of resident participants.

With whom	self, 5 children, partner, partner's grandmother, sister and her daughter	self, 2 daughters & elderly mother	wife	self, husband, son, daughter	both	self, partner, & middle son	both	son	husband and two children	daughter, son, his wife, their baby, 2 nephews	wife & 6 children	husband & 3 adult sons
Subsidy - national	yes	yes	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes	no	yes	no
Subsidy - city	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Additional financial assistance	NGO grant	personal loan	none mentioned	mortgage	none	no	mortgage	no	mortgage	mortgage & personal loan	yes, unclear if grant or personal loan	mortgage
Type of housing	house	house	house	house	apartment	house	apartment	apartment	house	apartment	house	house
Complex type	not gated	not gated	not gated	not gated	gated	gated	gated	gated	gated	gated	not gated	gated
Stories	2?	3	3	3	6	2?	6	6	3	6	3	3
Condition when purchased	used	new	new	new	new	new	new	new	new	new	new	new
finished or unfinished	first floor finished (prior to purchase)	First 2 floors finished	First & second (?) floor finished	First (-patio) & second floors finished, third unfinished	finished	N/A	floors are the only thing finished & kitchen bar installed	finished	finished after moving in	finished	unfinished	finished
Number of places they lived in Bogota before purchase	5	N/A	3	3 (includes Soacha)	N/A; 2	N/A	2	3 places after widowhood	3	6		N/A
Number of places they lived total	7	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	3	>8 (>3 live-in domestic)	>5	at least 8		N/A
Types of prior housing	tenement room, apartment	apartment	detached house, apartment	tenement room, apartment	detached house	N/A	apartment	tenement, apartment	house, apartment, tenement	apartment	tenement	tenement, apartment
Organizer role	none	community organizer; former complex council member	community organizer; former complex council member	none	former complex council member	Complex administrator	Complex administrator	none	former council president; husband currently has position; community leader	none	founded small non-profit for displaced people's rights	former complex council member

Table 1. Demographic information of resident participants, continued.

The residents' interviews ranged from 45 minutes to one hour and a half in duration. The professionals' interviews ranged from 25 minutes to just under two hours. In order to confirm that my translations were correct and to maximize cultural appropriateness of the interview guides, I consulted with Pablo Páramo, an alumnus of The Graduate Center's Environmental Psychology program, resident, and professor living in Bogotá. The residents' interview guide included questions on their current and past residences. The questions were designed to elicit storied answers about their lives (see Appendix).[14] All of these interviews were audio recorded. In all but one case, a video camera was used to record the relevant spaces of participants' homes. This data was not analyzed visually but was utilized as part of the interview talk only. The professionals' interview guide was less narrative-inducing than that of the residents because they focused on technical and historical aspects related to their work. However, this did not prevent some participants from providing intricate details about their experience with social housing (see Appendix). All of these interviews were audio recorded and later transcribed by a local assistant; I double-checked them for accuracy. These data formed the primary basis of analysis.

Participant observations. I conducted both observation of the field setting from a distance, and participant observation, which is defined as "learning through exposure to or involvement in the day-to-day or routine activities of the participants in the research setting" (LeCompte & Schensul, 2010, p.91). The level of participation varies; sometimes it can involve accompanying others to activities and asking questions or it can be more active at other times (ibid, p.94). I was allowed to spend time with Metrovivienda field staff in all of the agency's spaces, but most of my participation tended to be in the less active continuum of this definition. Perhaps if I had stayed in the field for a longer period of time or had taken on some kind of

[14] I could not ask this demographic question while I was interviewing any participant, "Would you identify as a woman, man, or other?" I felt it would be received as extremely odd.

responsibility I would have experienced a more active participant observational role. This method primarily served to contextualize and support claims made by some participants in the interview data.

Unstructured ethnographic informal interviews. This data collection technique can be considered part of the participant observations described above. They were instrumental situations in the field where my interlocutor and I took part in a spoken interaction in informal settings but the interlocutor knew I was asking questions to obtain details or to know more about particular phenomena. Much of my understanding of the housing context was aided by these kinds of interviews. Several of my gatekeepers provided information in this manner and not in the formal interview process. A rough estimate of at least 11 people provided such information throughout the course of the four months I was in Bogotá, in addition to my initial visit for research reconnaissance.

Document research. I collected relevant documents that were associated with Metrovivienda's housing development initiatives. They were the text of the horizontal property law, a Habitat Secretariat newsletter, a developer's newsletter, meeting notes from a residential community meeting, and a Metrovivienda staff member's intervention program proposal. This material assisted me to further contextualize other forms of data.

Discussion group. After preliminary analysis of the data, I conducted a discussion group with five of the previously interviewed residents in January 2011. One additional member could not attend so he sent his wife and another member was a local resident invited by one of the original participants. The discussion group began in a community room of one participant's residential complex, but we decided to move it to her office in the same complex because the

original room's acoustics hindered a clear audio recording. My local assistant provided recording, interpretive, and transcription assistance.

This technique served a dual purpose. Firstly, it is a way to triangulate the data I gathered in order to address issues of authenticity, trustworthiness, and credibility (cf. Ganapati, 2005; Josselson & Lieblich, 2003). Secondly, it was an inclusive way to share the data with at least some of the research participants. More traditionally oriented social science would describe this approach as supporting the study's external validity. There is, however, a rather recent movement in the social sciences that recognizes the impact researchers have on the settings and people they study. As evidenced by many presenters at the Fifth International Congress of Qualitative Inquiry in 2009, qualitative researchers have increasingly become concerned with issues of respect, participation, and the voices of those studied. Organizing a discussion group with the residents in this study provided a communal space in which to air thoughts on how I was interpreting the data, as well as a chance for them to add new ideas. It was my desire to reinforce their voices so I only organized a discussion group with the residents' subgroup. At the end, a few participants exchanged contact information to keep themselves informed of the issues they had just discussed.

Analysis

My analytical strategy evolved after data collection. It was largely an inductive process that yielded two kinds of analyses--biographical and thematic—to uncover people's meanings of phenomena. I utilized Chase's (2003) narrative analysis approach to analyze three participants' lives to create biographical sketches; her in-depth approach to memo-writing helps to generate a very rich picture of people's lives in context. Braun and Clarke's (2006) guide to conduct thematic analysis was very useful because they thoroughly explain several epistemological

positionings a researcher can take, as well as detailing a step-by-step thematic analysis. What follows is a detailed description of all of the steps taken to organize, interpret, and analyze the data.

To re-familiarize myself with the interviews, I wrote paragraphs about each resident (12 total) while listening to their corresponding audio files. I checked each transcription for accuracy as I coded each interview.

Biographical analysis. I began a biographical analysis of three residents' interviews, based on Chase's (2003) narrative method, which later lead me to a thematic analysis, based on Braun & Clarke (2006), of the remaining data corpus. The former analytical strategy led me to generate an in-depth holistic analysis of each person's life in relationship to my main research question.

Using Atlas.ti and taking an inductive approach, I open-coded the entire interview text. Each code corresponded to summaries of snippets of text. I often coded "in vivo" using participants' own words. See the green colored coding at the right of the interview text below in Figure 1.

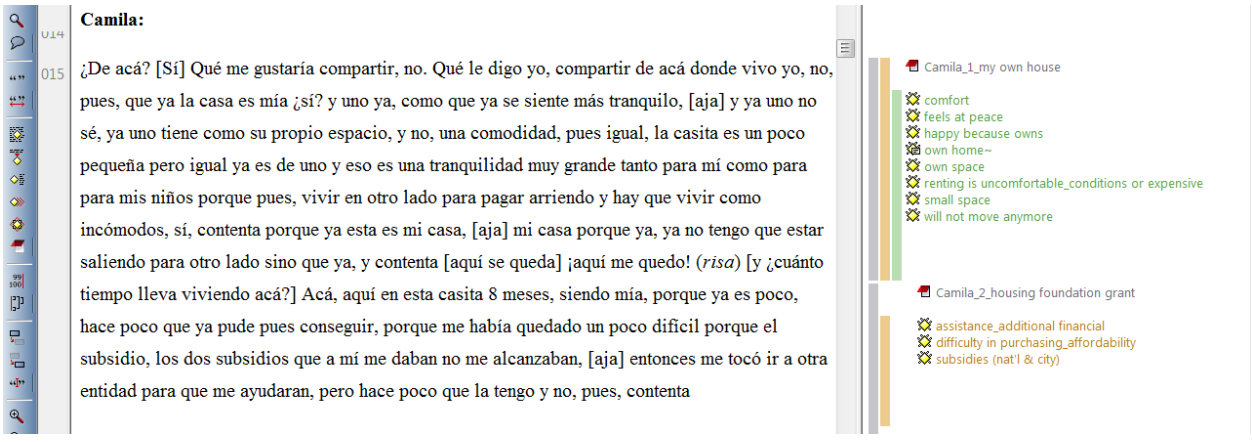


Figure 1. Open coding.

Once I completed the coding, I used Atlas.ti's memo function to answer Chase's four interpretive questions at each "natural stopping point" in the person's narrative (p.92). The questions address what the person is saying or doing (including what they may not be saying), if our interaction facilitated or hindered her story, what I find interesting, and the social factors that could be involved in her narrative. I attached each memo to a quote to encompass the person's particular 'story'. See the memo pad symbol at the right of the interview text above in Figure 1, and an example of a memo below in Figure 2.

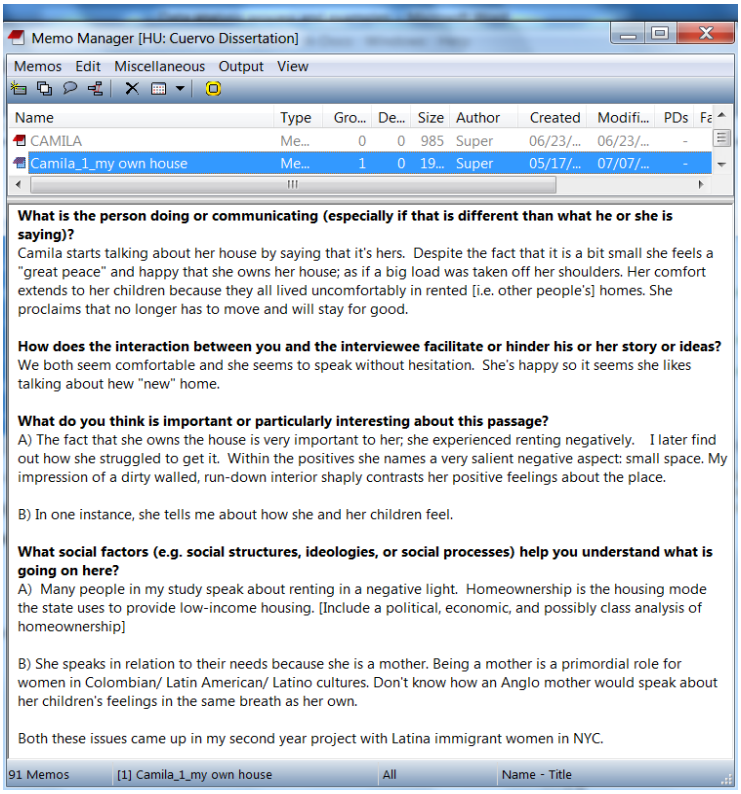


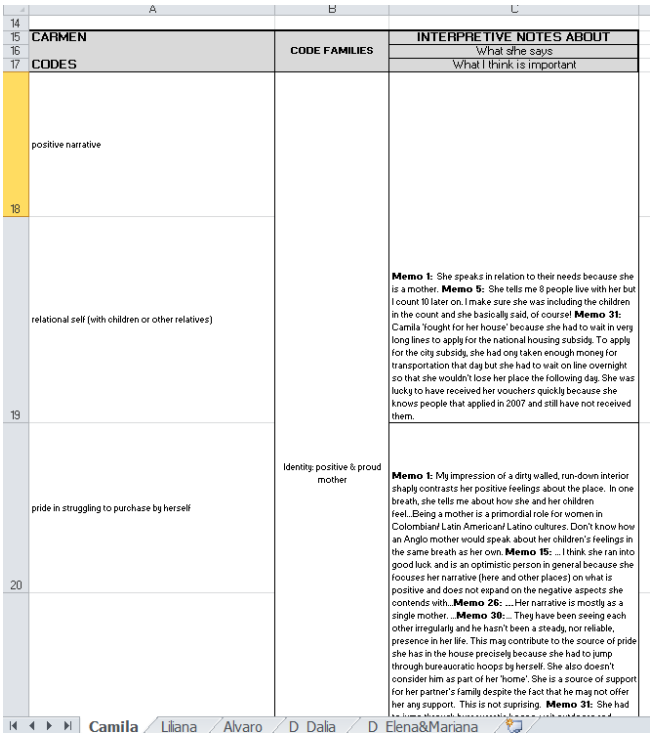
Figure 2. Memo.

Once I completed memoing each passage in the entire interview, I returned to the codes to hierarchically cluster them. I copied and pasted them onto an Excel file and grouped them into clusters based on similarities. I then named these clusters to reflect what they were about in a column I labeled code families. I preferred working in Excel because I could see the list of

codes (or any other text) in a large window and manipulate their order very easily. See Figure 3 below.

Figure 3. Clustered codes.

I then copied and pasted each of the memos to the clusters of corresponding code families. See Figure 4 below.

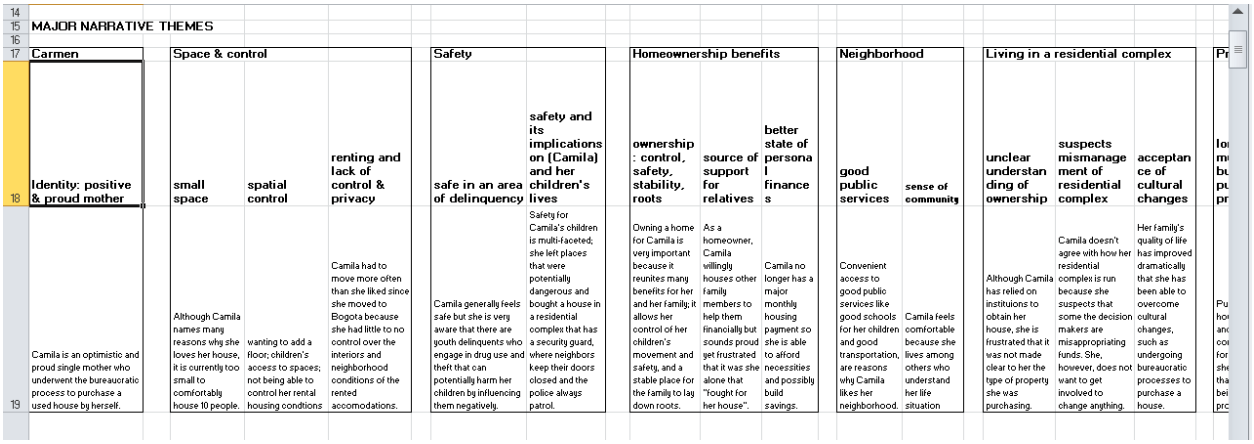


CARMEN	CODE FAMILIES	INTERPRETIVE NOTES ABOUT
		What s/he says
CODES		What I think is important
positive narrative		
relational self (with children or other relatives)		**Memo 1:** She speaks in relation to their needs because she is a mother. **Memo 5:** She tells me 8 people live with her but I count 10 later on. I make sure she was including the children in the count and she basically said, of course! **Memo 31:** Camila 'fought for her house' because she had to wait in very long lines to apply for the national housing subsidy. To apply for the city subsidy, she had ong taken enough money for transportation that day but she had to wait on line overnight so that she wouldn't lose her place the following day. She was lucky to have received her vouchers quickly because she knows people that applied in 2007 and still have not received them.
pride in struggling to purchase by herself	Identity: positive & proud mother	**Memo 1:** My impression of a dirty walled, run-down interior shaply contrasts her positive feelings about the place. In one breath, she tells me about how she and her children feel...Being a mother is a primordial role for women in Colombian/ Latin American/ Latino cultures. Don't know how an Anglo mother would speak about her children's feelings in the same breath as her own. **Memo 15:** ...I think she ran into good luck and is an optimistic person in general because she focuses her narrative (here and other places) on what is positive and does not expand on the negative aspects she contends with...**Memo 26:** ...Her narrative is mostly as a single mother. ...**Memo 30:** ... They have been seeing each other irregularly and he hasn't been a steady, nor reliable, presence in her life. This may contribute to the source of pride she has in the house precisely because she had to jump through bureaucratic hoops by herself. She also doesn't consider him as part of her 'home'. She is a source of support for her partner's family despite the fact that he may not offer her any support. This is not suprising. **Memo 31:** She had

Camila | Liliana | Alvaro | D Dalia | D Elena&Mariana

Figure 4. Clustered codes with memos.

I wrote one sentence about each code family in order to capture the essence of the corresponding memos. I then clustered the code families once again to find any commonalities and named these. For example, see "space and control" in Figure 5 below.



MAJOR NARRATIVE THEMES

Carmen	Space & control			Safety		Homeownership benefits			Neighborhood		Living in a residential complex			Pr
Identity: positive & proud mother	small space	spatial control	renting and lack of control & privacy	safe in an area of delinquency	safety and its implications on (Camila) and her children's lives	ownership : control, safety, stability, roots	source of support for relatives	better state of personal finances	good public services	sense of community	unclear understanding of ownership	suspects mismanagement of residential complex	acceptance of cultural changes	lo m bu pu pr
Camila is an optimistic and proud single mother who underwent the bureaucratic process to purchase a used house by herself.	Although Camila names many reasons why she loves her house, it is currently too small to comfortably house 10 people.	wanting to add a floor; children's access to spaces; not being able to control her rental housing conditions	Camila had to move more often than she liked since she moved to Bogota because she had little to no control over the interiors and neighborhood conditions of the rented accomodations.	Camila generally feels safe but she is very aware that there are youth delinquents who engage in drug use and theft that can potentially harm her children by influencing them negatively.	Safety for Camila's children is multi-faceted; she left places that were potentially dangerous and bought a house in a residential complex that has a security guard, where neighbors keep their doors olosed and the police always patrol.	Owning a home for Camila is very important because it reunites many benefits for her and her family; it allows her control of her children's movement and safety, and a stable place for the family to lay down roots.	As a homeowner, Camila willingly houses other family members to help them financially but sounds proud get frustrated that it was she alone that "fought for her house".	Camila no longer has a major monthly housing payment so she is able to afford necessities and possibly build savings.	Convenient access to good public services like good schools for her children and good transportation, are reasons why Camila likes her neighborhood.	Camila feels comfortable because she lives among others who understand her life situation	Although Camila has relied on instituions to obtain her house, she is frustrated that it was not made clear to her the type of property she was purchasing.	Camila doesn't agree with how her residential complex is run because she suspects that some the decision makers are misappropriating funds. She, however, does not want to get involved to change anything.	Her family's quality of life has improved dramatically that she has been able to overcome cultural changes, such as undergoing bureaucratic processes to purchase a house.	Pu ho an co for sh tha bei pr

Figure 5. Clustered codes with summary sentence.

The sets of the major narrative themes that I generated formed the basis of the biographical sketches. I understood these interviews as being useful to highlight their lives in my research. Additionally, this strategy solidified the four elements for which I searched in the remaining data corpus – home, housing, neighborhood, and community, and generated a few themes that I kept in the back of my head as I conducted the next kind of analysis.

Thematic analysis. I coded the remaining data corpus (remaining 20 interviews, field notes, discussion group, and documents) using the same inductive coding strategy as above with the exception of memo writing. Once again, I utilized an Excel spreadsheet and I clustered these codes into code families (Figure 6). The same few themes were repeated in this portion but all were not selected to answer the research questions.

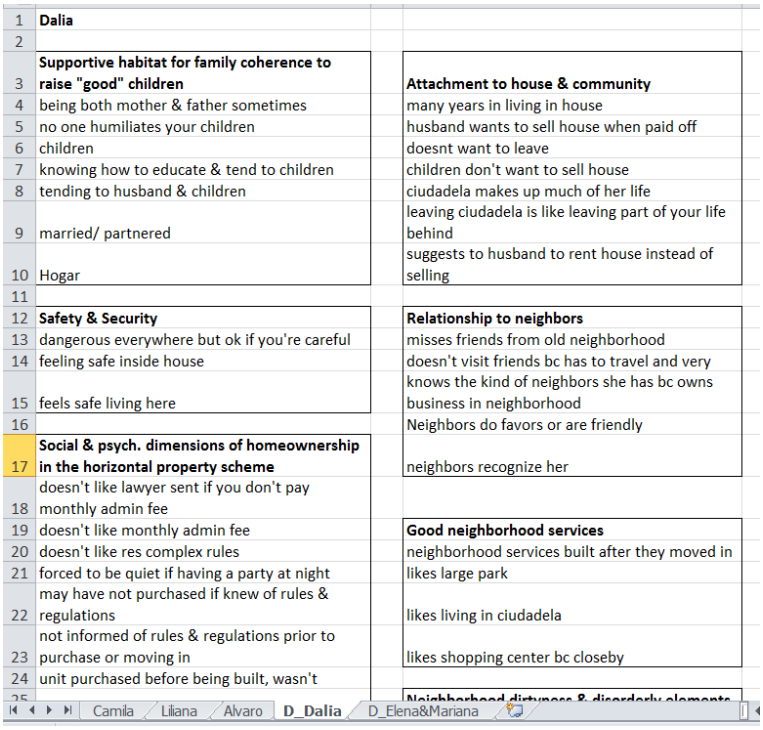


Figure 6. Clustered codes.

Once this step of analysis was completed, I read through each subgroup's clusters separately and began to refine them. Although this process ultimately generated two major

themes, I chose ‘an emerging housing practice’ as the subject of this dissertation because it demonstrates an inordinately rich portrait of daily life that, most importantly, best answered my research questions. I then read across the two subgroups and outlined each of their experiences relative to the four categories that correspond to each of the four findings chapters, Chapters 5-8.

CHAPTER 3: A HISTORICAL PORTRAIT OF BOGOTÁ'S SOCIAL HOUSING

Stepping off the Transmilenio's feeder bus, Bogotá's world-famous bus-rapid transit system, I am overwhelmed by the expansive and physically ordered landscape on one side of the street, while on the other, the landscape is tighter, multi-scaled, and more populated. On my right, wide, recently paved streets appear even more expansive because most of the buildings, of which the majority are low-scaled housing complexes, are set back from the street a considerable distance. The terrain is flat and everything looks the same as far as the horizon. The sun shines brighter here on the plains than in the center of Bogotá, which pushes up against the *cerros*, or hills, of the Andes at the other extreme border of the city. The sidewalks are light grey and the streets have become dark grey with use from the many cars, trucks, and buses that travel on them. The buildings are a leather tan color and every now and then, rectangular blue, green, and yellow panels dot the sides of the buildings. 'Rectilinear' and 'orthogonal' are the two words that run through my mind as I take in this edge of Metrovivienda's *ciudadela El Recreo*. The rational quality of the landscape makes me realize how modernist the urban design is. I ask myself, "Can the designers still be stuck in the 20th century?" I am to learn how this is not very far from the truth.

Colombia's reputation as a violent society filled with narco-trafficking drug lords and warring political factions is partly based on a bloody political history and dire social statistics. Notwithstanding, such grimness manages to co-exist with beautifully diverse people, geography, music, food, flora, fauna, and urban innovations. In an area equivalent to almost twice the size of Texas (CIA World Factbook, 2010) just north of the equator, Colombia's territory encompasses part of the Andes Mountains, plains and coastal regions along the Caribbean Sea

and the Pacific Ocean. According to the latest population census conducted in 2005, Mestizo, European, Afro-descendant, indigenous, and a tiny percentage of Gypsy populations call Colombia home. Urban innovations, such as the Transmilenio, the bus rapid transit system that opened in 2000 in Bogotá, and the Ciclovía, car-free zones for cycling and other recreation, are renowned models of city planning (e.g., Bassett & Marpillero-Colomina, 2013; Montezuma, 2005).

The capital district of Bogotá sits at about 8,600 feet above sea-level. Its climate is denominated as sub-tropical highland and daily temperatures can range from the high 40's to mid-70s degrees Fahrenheit year-round. Bogotanos call their rainy season winter and it usually occurs between April and November. Average monthly precipitation during this period can range from under 1.5 to 5.5 inches. Virtually no housing in the city is built with any kind of heating system and building insulation is non-existent. It is about twice the size of New York City in geographic area but is about five times less dense.

According to the Human Development Index (UNDP, 2013), Colombia ranks 91, indicating a "high" level of social and economic development[15] and is labeled a lower middle-income country by the World Bank (2010). In 2008, about 45% of the population lived under the poverty line despite a dramatic decline from 60% in 1995. Despite controversy surrounding why the economy has dramatically improved since the early 2000s, it has done so due to political support for pro-market policies that facilitate export diversification and direct foreign investment (CIA World Fact Book, 2010). Colombia signed a free trade agreement with the United States in 2007 but it took effect till May 2012 (BBC, 2012). Colombia's former presidential administration also increased the presence of the country's security forces, reducing

[15] The United Nations Development Program's Human Development Index is a composite statistic comprised of four different indicators of health, education, and living standards (http://hdr.undp.org/en/statistics/hdi/, 12.3.12).

guerrilla and paramilitary warfare largely with the help of the United States government through Plan Colombia in the 2000s (e.g. Isacson & Poe, 2009).

Returning to the state of Colombia's urban condition, 75% of its populace lives in cities (DANE, in Torres Tovar & Vargas Moreno, 2009). Similarly, about 75% of its 45 million residents earn no more than two times the local minimum wage, and of these, 75% live in informal self-built housing (UNHABITAT, 2005). Sixteen percent of those living in self-built housing were deemed to be living in "precarious" conditions due to seismic, landslide, and health-related risks. However, over 30% of urban households still need formal housing or quality and/ or service improvements (Ministerio de Ambiente, Vivienda, y Desarrollo Terrirtorial, 2010). The following three sections describe key elements of national and local social housing and urban history and policies.

National housing policy

During two separate field visits, I met two academic-practitioners who were instrumental in explaining the history of their country and city's housing policy. C. Torres Tovar is an architect and professor at a prestigious public university and participant DE is a Metrovivienda staff member, architect, and coincidentally, a lecturer at the same university. Both men lean left on the political spectrum and as a result, are highly critical of status quo land and housing practices. Unsurprisingly, they colored my inquiry into the state of the housing and planning field in Colombia. Additionally, an overwhelming sense of critique of the status quo surfaced from my participants, especially the residents. As such, everyone's critical perspectives influenced how I chose to present and interpret this history and data.

There has been a historical struggle over land in Colombia. State intervention on land use, which would largely transition from rural to urban, became very polemical and violent

because politicians were also land owners (participant DE, personal communication, July 12, 2010). While this research cannot encompass a full history of land reform and ensuing violence that began in the 19th century that is largely responsible for the current armed conflict; see for example, Palacios (2006) for an extensive historical analysis, and Mendieta (2011) for a specific look at the development of Bogotá and Medellín in light of this violence. The remaining historical sections of this chapter are a compilation of relevant facts taken from several discussions with the academics and participant and the published literature.

State intervention in housing specifically began in the 1930s and 1940s, as the desire to modernize urban and rural life began to take hold (Fique Pinto, 2005). The Institute for Territorial Credit (*Instituto de Crédito Territorial* [ICT]) was created in 1939 and was responsible for building all social housing (directly or subcontracted) and financing credit for its purchase until 1991 (Chiappe de Villa, 1999). In addition to these major services, it oversaw urban development, infrastructure improvement, community service provision, housing improvement, and disaster management, all of which would be broken up or consolidated into different state agencies after the reformation of the national constitution in 1991. The project to modernize Colombia would remain a constant underlying thread of economic development and housing construction throughout the 20th century. This falls in line with one of Angotti's (1987) analyses of urban theory and its influence on development in Latin America in the 1930s. The classical functionalist model, led by the Chicago School, explained urban development as a dichotomization of urban-rural phenomena, whose characteristics of each place were essentially different than from one another. This theory was super-imposed onto the Latin American landscape and the rural was conceived as opposing progress. Furthermore, lack of urban development was thought to cause urban problems. There was a perceived need for

modernization, where cities were to be created and work to counteract the backwardness of the rural. This created the evolutionary ideal that cities should slowly evolve to the North American standard of urbanization. This contributed to the rise of the perspective in the 1950s that housing is a social problem and not an individual one (Fique Pinto, 2005). In the 1960s, the government took on the role of the "regulator of social contradictions" (Fique Pinto, 2005, n.p.). In other words, the lack of housing for all people was becoming more prevalent and thus appeared as a social contradiction between those whose necessity was fulfilled and those who lacked it.

Interestingly, according to participant DE, the Inter-American Development Bank was founded in 1959 by the Organization of American States to foment an anti-communist influence in Latin America (personal communication, July 12, 2010). He also mentions a great influence that the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean, part of the United Nations, and the International Monetary Fund had at this time as well. Lauchlin Currie, Canadian professor and economic advisor to F. D. Roosevelt during the New Deal, helped to define Colombia's economic development policy and housing industry in the 1960s (Garrido Lopera, n.d.). His primary vision was for Colombia to transition from an agricultural society into a modern economy whereby the construction industry, in particular of housing, was to generate jobs; private sector savings would foment investment for this industry. In 1971, his plan was further developed and Savings and Housing Corporations (savings and loan associations or building societies) were created to fund housing construction through citizens' savings. The 1970s thus defined the state as the generator of economic development (Fique Pinto, 2005). Furthermore, city planning policies began being "neglected", whereby territorial planning and socio-economic planning were divorced and therefore could not resolve the exponential growth of Colombia's urban centers (e.g. Bogotá, Cali, and Medellín) at any measureable scale

(Ministerio de Ambiente, Vivienda, y Desarrollo Territorial, Escuela Superior de Administración Pública, Federación Nacional de Organizaciones de Vivienda Popular, Fedevivienda, Metrovivienda, Programa de las Naciones Unidas para los Asentamientos Humanos – Colombia, Programa de las Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo, 2005, p.31). As a result, the state's role as developer began to decrease, while reliance on the private sector began to increase. Such market based policies increased land speculation and caused land prices to become more expensive, along with the price of the materials the construction industry required (Aprile, 1992, in Fique Pinto, 2005). This thus impacted the location and quality of social housing, making it further away from the city center and lowering its quality.

Massive country-to-city migration began to change the character of cities in Colombia during the 1960s and 1970s, particularly in Bogotá. Angotti's (1987) Marxist analysis of Latin American urbanization partially explains this phenomenon at this time. Marxism explains urbanization as the idea that cities are manifestations of the accumulation of capital. Industrialization, in essence, capitalism, causes urban problems such as slums that grow incessantly and are overcrowded. Because people seek employment that begins to take shape as industrial jobs in cities, the proletariat is thus defined and is 'pulled' into urban living settlements (p. 146). They inevitably move from the countryside to the cities and importantly, enable industrial export farming. The fast pace at which cities accumulated capital and the exploitative nature of human labor that industrialization created, resulted in the slumification of cities. Additionally, the industrialization capacity in Latin America could not accommodate employing everyone and thus created an informal sector of labor that is waiting to be formally employed. Latin American cities are therefore epitomes of accumulation of capital. Furthermore, Latin America's colonial history contributed to the rapid expansion of its cities at much higher rates

than their counterparts in the US. Imperial powers, e.g. Spain, originally created administrative centers for the sole purpose of exporting resources and to become "parasites on the national body" (p. 139) – the entire country was taxed for the benefit of the major cities. The massive influx of people to cities contributed to the lack of controlled expansion and the creation of mega-cities. Although Bogotá is not a typical mega-city (Gilbert, 1996) according to this definition, it does retain some of these characteristics as a capital city.

The 1980s saw a continuation of previous housing policies; very little housing was built by the state and as a consequence much informal, or self-built, housing proliferated the country (Gilbert, 1997). Nevertheless, with the influence of the United States Agency for International Development, the World Bank, and the Inter-American Development Bank, pro-market poverty alleviation strategies began to take hold in Colombian economic and housing policies (Gilbert, 1997; Niño Ruiz, 2006). In 1991, major changes in political, economic, and social policies took place with the reformation of the national constitution under President Gaviria. These changes incorporated mechanisms of decentralization and market driven policies. Although a human rights perspective was woven into many of these foundational laws, the housing and land related laws took on a neoliberal economic character (DE, personal communication, July 12, 2010; Jaramillo, 1994, cited in Ballén Zamora, 2009; Torres Tovar, 2009). The state defines property as having a "social and ecological function" (National Constitution, Article 58, 1991), which means that it now has the right to decide if land meets either function. If not, it can expropriate it for development by a public or private entity (Ministerio de Medioambiente, Vivienda, y Desarrollo Territorial, et al., 2005). Thus, two kinds of land rights are simultaneously supported by the constitution – the public right to decide the potential benefit to society of land, and the right to private property, which can be exercised by developing land or building upon it. It limits

the right to private property but simultaneously supports development. Law 3 was the most influential law that was designed in accordance with the national constitution. It disbanded the ICT also in 1991 and created the National Institute for Social Housing and Urban Reform (INURBE) who would then implement a market-based housing subsidy system known as "subsidies on demand" (*subsidios a la demanda*). The Colombian government implemented this system with the help of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) (Chiappe de Villa, 1999) and lessons learned from the Chilean model (Gilbert, 2004). In line with "international tendencies" of the time, this transferred the government's responsibility of housing creation to the subsidization of housing to the end user, now conceived as a consumer (Chiappe de Villa, 1999, p.8).[16] The INURBE funds part of the subsidies to consumers who meet certain requirements and most other subsidies are financed by individual worker contributions and managed by private organizations called Funds for Family Compensation (*Cajas de Compensación Familiar*). The National Savings Fund (*Fondo Nacional de Ahorro*) handles subsidies directly to the displaced population if they are not affiliated with a Fund for Family Compensation (Fondo Nacional de Ahorro, n.d.). While this was envisioned as a positive housing solution, there was and continues to be a deficit in the amount of housing available for all of the households that qualify for these subsidies (participant DE, personal communication, July 12, 2010). According to Alejandro Florian, Executive Director of housing policy think tank Fedevivienda, the conception of housing as a commodity that is created by the private sector makes social housing too costly for its target population to be able to afford (personal communication, August 11, 2010). About $150 million USD per year since 1992 has been disbursed in subsidies.

[16] For a detailed overview of Colombia's housing policy in the 1990s, and the subsidy system in particular, see Chiappe de Villa, 1999.

Throughout the 1990s, the construction industry experienced a boom but collapsed in 1999 due to a multi-factor economic crisis, ushering in a ten-year recession (Torres Tovar, personal communication, November 25, 2009). Many large housing developers turned to the building of social housing to sustain their businesses (participant ACP, personal communication, January 13, 2011). Although profit margins are low, there is always a high demand for this kind of housing due to a large shortage; profitability is maintained by the ability to sell more units (participant ACP, personal communication, January 13, 2011; participant JR, personal communication, January 25, 2011) and the ability to leave units unfinished (ACP, personal communication, January 13, 2011).

According to Ballén Zamora (2009), housing and land use policy from 1999 to the present is characterized by the adoption of policies that support the private banking sector, as well as the administration of land use. Beginning with Law 388, formulated in 1997 (directly influenced by Article 58 of the National Constitution), this directed municipalities to create their own regional development plans (*Plan de Ordenamiento Territorial* [POT]) to manage land use and restructured the mechanism to create social housing by adding a land tax to finance the private sector's involvement (Ballén Zamora, 2009; participant FA, personal communication, January 20, 2011; participant DE, July 12, 2010; Torres Tovar, 2009).[17] Municipal governments were now assigned more control to create and apply local mandates directly out of this national law. Specifically, it supports development to benefit society at large, e.g, to build social housing, by the expropriation and taxation of land that can be urbanized, by capturing its added value. Possibly influenced by neighboring nations' housing practices, Article 182 of Brazil's 1988 constitution crafts land use mechanisms similarly (Caldeira & Holston, 2008). Significantly,

[17] Law 9 of 1989 and Law 2 of 1991 were antecedents to aspects that were encompassed and reformed with Law 388 of 1997.

Law 388 also reformed the concept of the municipal land bank and was instrumental for the founding of the Bogotá's land bank, Metrovivienda (see Metrovivienda section below).

The Colombian government's National Savings Fund currently describes its social housing policy as having three objectives: "to improve the quality of life for the most poor groups; to reactivate the economy; and to generate employment".[18] The state may be beginning to conceive social housing provision in conjunction with other related services (see Metrovivienda section below), in other words, housing as part of human habitat, because there is a recognition that there are other necessary factors related to the provision of housing. But Torres Tovar (personal communication, November 25, 2009) believes that mechanisms that define housing as a consumer product are overwhelmingly entrenched, despite the fact that Colombia ratified the United Nation's proclamation for adequate housing provision with Agenda 21.

Urban and architectural design of Colombia's social housing

While the previous section centered on major historical national housing and land use policies, the following section briefly describes the concurrent evolution of the design and morphology of multi-dwelling residential complexes (Cubillos González, 2006), aspects of which are still found in social housing today. From the 1930s to through the 1970s, the garden city movement dominated much of the housing landscape. Like its originators in Britain and the US, it was largely founded upon hygienic improvements to city living. Projects had their own street plan and were not integrated into the existing city framework. In the 1940s and 1950s, designs were joined to the rest of the city by the use of hierarchical street arrangements that had their own internal organization but whose exterior streets were integrated with the neighboring

[18] Retrieved on 1.13.11 from https://www.fna.gov.co/internas/cvivienda/CviviendaVIS2.htm but no longer retrievable.

city street logic. Communal spaces within the projects were also added and some developments incorporated high-rise buildings. The Centro Urbano Antonio Nariño (CUAN) was the first of this kind that was to also incorporate the first iteration of the horizontal property law that regulates sole and common ownership (Montoya Pino, 2007; see Horizontal Property Policy section below). Beginning in the late 1950s through the present, housing planning began to be consolidated and as a result, became more efficient (Cubillos, 2006). Land lots were grouped together in a checkerboard pattern and designated with different uses. Garden city and modernist design principles were combined and the concepts of 'self-built' and 'progressive development' became part of the architectural jargon. This kind of urban and architectural design was institutionalized and named "alternating networks" in the 1970s and can be still seen today, exemplified in Metrovivienda's planning scheme. In the 1960s, projects begin to integrate public utilities, green spaces, and other community services, and their internal streets match the surrounding street logic. In the 1980s, the closed complex, otherwise known as the gated community in the US, is introduced and "distorts" the continuity of the surrounding city plan (p.130).

Informal development

> Driving to one of Metrovivienda's field office in the southern extreme of Bogotá in the locality of Bosa, I am able to see areas of informal development from the main road. In the distance, the tightly packed, rough-hewn structures appear carpet-like, rolling along the hillsides. At closer distance, I can see many multi-colored stuccoed brick buildings that do not usually go past three stories. As is the case with progressive development, the quality and size of each structure changes with time and individual owners' affordability (Figure 7).

Figure 7. Informally developed area in southern Bogotá.
Source: I. Cuervo.

Many cities all over the world have grown by being settled in informal ways, particularly by invasion. However, Bogotá, for the most part, grew differently by being subdivided illegitimately (Skinner, 2004, p.74); oftentimes, titles do not transfer despite the fact that monetary transactions occur. [19] Furthermore, "patron-client relations between national and city-level politicians and illegal land developers have contributed to their continued growth" (Skinner, 2004). As a consequence of massive migration in the 1960s and 1970s, this self-built housing was supported by the state and perceived as social housing (participant DE, personal communication, July 12, 2010).

Many settlements are precarious and are often located on hillsides, on land that is designated "high-risk", either of landslides and/ or earthquakes, where it is prohibitively expensive to provide aqueduct and sewage services, according to Metrovivienda (Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá, 2002). Once known as "pirate" developers, "illegal" or "informal" developers

[19] For a comprehensive history and critical analysis of Colombian informal settlements, see Torres Tovar (2009).

facilitate the occupation of land (whether by illegitimate subdivision or invasion) with minimal or no infrastructure. The state designates this kind of land as "less commercialized" (Torres Tovar, personal communication, November 25, 2009), implying that it has not been adequately equipped with urban infrastructure for it to be sold to the private sector. Prospective residents purchase land and/ or housing directly from these organized groups. The slow and organic process of development includes slum areas where the structural and material conditions are their lowest, such as dwellings built with found materials and with no plumbing, but it also includes stronger structures of more improved quality and somewhat better urban infrastructure; construction is largely for single-family or single use occupancy. 'Community ties become strong' (Torres Tovar, personal communication, November 25, 2009) in this model of development because people organize for themselves. Utility companies were once prohibited to install their services in this land but neighborhood legalization and company privatization has enabled them to provide their services in some of these areas.

Additionally, much of the displaced population has and continues to settle in these areas of cities. As an example, Ciudad Bolivar, one of Bogotá's 21 localities, grew entirely by illegitimate subdivision and was officially recognized in 1983 with administrative and budgetary association with the rest of the city in 1992 (Secretaría Distrital de Planeación, 2009). It was not until the 1991 constitution, specifically with Law 3, that the foundation was laid to design planning instruments to control growth (Ambrosi Filardi, 2008). The culture of informal development in Colombia has been entrenched for about 50 years and it is not a coincidence that it follows the parallel trajectory of a capitalist and neoliberal development agenda (Torres Tovar, 2009). As Alsayyad (2004) argues, it is not that urban informality, manifested in for example, labor or housing practices, is new in history but that, "what may be new now is the re-emergence

and re-entrenchment of urban informality as a way of life at this moment of globalization and liberalization" (cited in Niño Ruiz, 2006). Providing a basic picture of the processes of informal development is important because Metrovivienda was created to counteract these processes that are perceived as encroaching upon the city. In actuality, there are two kinds of urban development of low-income housing that co-exist, the one typified by the aforementioned unregulated processes outside of the existing city planning framework and the one typified by Metrovivienda (Niño Ruiz, 2006).

Bogotá housing policy

As a capital city, Bogotá does not play a dominant role like its counterparts in Latin America (Gilbert, 1996). It was founded in 1538 by Spanish colonists perched east of one of the Andes mountain ranges at over 8,000 feet above sea level. It was once a wetland that became urbanized over time. Colombia's independence movement succeeded breaking from the Spanish crown in 1810. Geographical barriers principally formed by the three ranges of the Andes prevented absolute control over present-day national territory (Gilbert, 1996). As a result, Colombia has several relatively large and influential urban centers such as Cali, Medellín, and Baranquilla, in addition to Bogotá. Notwithstanding, the capital remained the largest city growing to accommodate about 300,000 inhabitants in 1938. Rural out-migration from all over the country, but mainly from its surrounding departments (equivalent to the US state), increased Bogotá's size by over 5% annually in the 1940s and 1950s due to the combined reasons of economic growth, "falling death rates and increasing levels of rural violence, superimposed on an inequitable distribution of land" (Gilbert, 1996, p.242). The pace rose to almost 7% during the 1960s and 1970s but dropped somewhat in the 1980s. The women's rate of migration outpaced that of men in 1951 most likely as a result of a widespread violent period known as La

Violencia (e.g. Palacios, 2006). Bogotá absorbed six neighboring municipalities to the north, west, and south, including Bosa and Usme where Metrovivienda has major urban projects, in 1954 to improve administrative management but it is still growing into other municipalities to this day. Contributing to its increase in size, private car ownership rates increased dramatically in the 1970s.

According to the latest population census, Bogotá has over 6.8 million inhabitants[20] and 1.9 million households (Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística, 2005) and currently spans 686 square miles. For comparative purposes, New York had over 8.1 million inhabitants living on only 322 square miles.[21] These households are divided into six socioeconomic strata[22] for financial, planning and management purposes (Skinner, 2004, p. 77) according to the block in which they reside (Secretaría Distrital de Planeación, n.d.). Three-quarters of the population fall in the poorest strata, 1-3 (Secretaría Distrital de Planeación, n.d.). Figure 8 highlights typical housing arrangements in each stratum. It is clearly visible that as strata change, the quality of building materials improves and streets take on a more ordered appearance. Figure 9 shows a color-coded map of the geographic stratification of the city. One

[20] Although recent reports say there are 7,642,419 inhabitants (Secretaría de Planeación, http://www.sdp.gov.co/portal/page/portal/PortalSDP/Informaci%F3nTomaDecisiones/Estadisticas/RelojDePoblacion, retrieved on 3.31.13.

[21] NYC Department of Planning, http://www.nyc.gov/html/dcp/html/census/demo_tables_2010.shtml, retrieved on 3.31.13.

[22] This socio-economic system of stratification had its origins in the 1980s in Bogotá as a result of The National Board of Tariffs' request of public service companies to stratify costs to the consumer according to the location of their service delivery. In effect, it became a way to organize government subsidies for the poor. In 1994, the city government adopted this practice and other large cities quickly followed suit. Bogotá's stratification methodology differs from that of other Colombian cities (Uribe Mallarino, 2008).

of the many effects this state-imposed stratification system has had is the institutionalization of spatial segregation.[23]

Figure 8. Examples of housing stratification in Bogotá. Source: Secretaría Distrital de Planeación.

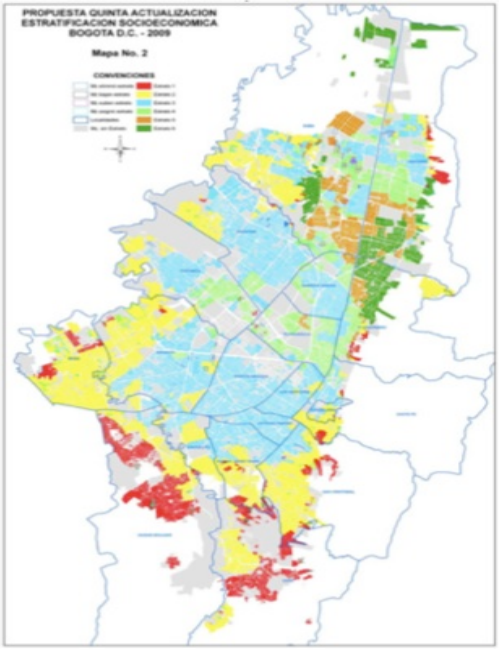


Figure 9. Stratification map of Bogotá, 2009. Source: Secretaría Distrital de Planeación.

Bogotá's social housing continued to evolve as it did in the rest of the country. In the 1990s, the new subsidy system would enable about 100,000 social housing units built per year around the country. However, simultaneously in Bogotá, hundreds of illegally settled neighborhoods would be legalized in Bogotá (Gilbert, 1997, cited in Niño Ruiz, 2006). Although a lot of "good" housing provides accommodation for a significant middle class (Gilbert, 1996, p. 251), many city residents have much fewer resources and live in informally developed land (see above). It is estimated that 23.7% of Bogotá has been urbanized illegally (District Administrative Department of Planning, cited in Niño Ruiz, 2006).

[23] It must be acknowledged that stratification has indeed allowed for an overwhelming majority of Bogotá's residents to afford services such as potable water, sewerage, gas, and telephone. The top three strata subsidize the lower three strata (Uribe Mallarino, 2008).

The 1991 Constitution would also name Bogotá as a Capital District, which granted it, among several other rights, more budgetary control (Gilbert, 1996). It was administratively organized in 20 localities (local administrative divisions) which would each have a mayor appointed by the mayor of the entire city (Niño Ruiz, 2006). Subsequent tax and urban reforms, as well as "non-corrupt" administrations allowed for the city's budget to grow (Niño Ruiz, 2006, p.185). Bogotá adopted a consolidated zoning plan until 2000, after 1997's national Law 388 described above mandated that all municipalities create their own city plans commonly referred to as POTs (Plan de Ordenamiento Territorial). This regional development plan is the main technical instrument for land use planning that regulates land use. It also laid out the development plans for the next ten years and was later reformed in 2003 to accommodate for growth (Ambrosi Filardi, 2008). Prior zoning laws only regulated industrial land use and not housing land use. The District Planning Secretariat (*Secretaría Distrital de Planeación*) utilizes the POT to guide entities', like Metrovivienda, development plans. One such mechanism derived from the POT is the Partial Plan (*Plan Parcial*) that essentially regulates urban growth. It slates a particular area of non-urbanized land for development (i.e. rural or semi-rural). Importantly, it is implemented by official decree, and therefore remains law, regardless of the possible change in mayoral administration. A staff member of the planning department believes that planning functions this way in order to prevent corruption due to land speculation (C. Orjuela, personal communication, June 9, 2010). Participant DE likens the creation of laws on top of laws as akin to Kafka's castle of bureaucracy (personal communication, July 12, 2010).

Bogotá's POT centers on urban renewal, the built environment, sustainable development, and low-income housing development (Ambrosi Filardi, 2008). It also did not designate areas of the city specifically for social housing development, resulting in market-driven decision-making

about its location as it had since the 1930s (Ballén Zamora, 2009). In the 1990s, much of the housing was built in the northwestern periphery of the city where land with infrastructure was less costly. Metrovivienda, would change the social housing landscape upon its founding in 1998. The UNDP worked with the agency to develop the subsidy system in Bogotá (district subsidies), as it was the only entity at the time organizing the building of social housing for purchase during 2004 through 2007 (participant DE, personal communication, July 12, 2010; participant FA, June 3, 2010). The agency was designated the sole administrator of the subsidies for the entire city despite the fact that this was not part of its mission. From 2005 to 2008, the *Padrinos* (godparents) were Metrovivienda's social work staff that provided subsidy grantees with technical assistance during the application and purchase process of any new social housing. The city's administrative organization was overhauled in 2008 and the recently created Habitat Secretariat (*Secretaría de Hábitat*) took over this function. Fedevivienda assisted Mockus' administration during his first and second terms (1995-1997 and 2001-2003) with the design of the Secretariat but city agencies were not actually reorganized until Garzón's term (2004-2007; A. Florian, personal communication, August 10, 2011). The idea was to unify all services related to housing because it was recognized that housing provision is not only about building housing. Created in 2006, it is the organizing body for several public service agencies including the Fund for Popular Housing (*Caja de Vivienda Popular*), the Special Administrative Unit for Public Utilities (*Unidad Administrativa Especial de Servicios Públicos*), the Urban Renovation Company (*Empresa de Renovación Urbana*), the Aqueduct and Sewer System Company of Bogotá (*Empresa de Acueducto y Alcantarillado de Bogotá*), the Telecommunications Company of Bogotá (*Empresa de Telecomunicaciones de Bogotá*), the Energy Company of Bogotá (*Empresa de Energía de Bogotá*), and Metrovivienda.

According to Torres Tovar (personal communication, November, 25, 2009), Garzón's administration was a "total fiasco" for many reasons but one is that the right to housing concept that was promoted by his leftist political party implemented district level subsidies, which is a right-wing policy. Similarly, participant DE explains that his administration lacked sufficient funding for urbanization projects and thus concentrated on social or community development programming. Currently, developers argue that instead of low-income residents being beneficiaries of these subsidies, they should be the direct recipients of the subsidies in order to increase their own capital and decrease their lines of credit so that their costs will be reduced. This would result in faster built housing (and possibly increase production rates). Bogotá is currently piloting this model. First, the developer secures a certain number of residents for a particular development; second, the developer receives a percentage of their corresponding subsides in order to prevent fraud; finally, they receive the remaining subsidy percentage upon completion of construction (personal communication, January 12, 2011).

Metrovivienda

Jumping off of the national government's urban land reform Law 388 of 1997, Metrovivienda was established in 1998 by the Peñalosa mayoral administration (1998-2001) of Bogotá as a revenue-seeking enterprise of the state.[24] Its mission is to function as a public-private partnership that purchases land as a land bank[25], provide urban infrastructure and coordinate the development of low-cost strata 1 and 2 housing in order to minimize the much

[24] Reports in 2006 (Contraloría, cited in Niño Ruiz, 2006), 2009 (Gilbert, 2009) and in 2012 (El Espectador, 2012) by Bogotá's comptroller's and obudsperson's offices have certified that it has consistently not met its development goals in addition to losing revenue for the city.

[25] Originally, the agency purchased land from landowners through direct sale but it has evolved to include two other kinds of transactions, expropriation citing eminent domain, and association with current landowners. According to Gilbert (2009), Metrovivienda no longer operates as a traditional land bank but the agency's General Manger explained the former to me personally. For an extensive history and analysis of this agency, see Gilbert (2009).

higher cost it cites to provide infrastructure post-settlement (Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá).[26] The successful middle-income community of Ciudad Salitre, completed in the mid-1990s, was used as a basis for the development model (Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá). Once Metrovivienda completes infrastructure, whether with their own labor force or a subcontracted one, it administers a public bidding process for the sale of super blocks to private for-profit or non-profit developers. These latter ones are known as *Organizaciones de Vivienda Popular* (Popular Housing Organizations), which emerged in the 1970s during a once strong grassroots housing movement (Gilbert, 1996; Niño Ruiz, 2006, Torres Tovar, 2009). However, they have recently lost much of their footing in the Bogotá development landscape. The same few large private, for-profit developers usually win the complex and competitive bids, as they are able to offer a higher purchase price for land and provide more livable square meters, all within the pre-determined per unit sale price to the consumer that is set by the national government.

Metrovivienda oversees the construction of *ciudadelas*, master planned residential communities that offer housing, educational and commercial facilities and are connected to the Transmilenio. This aspect of the agency's mission follows the city's current policy of reducing socio-economic segregation that it defines as a manifestation of "inequalities in the access to urban, public, local [goods], residential services, and [other] services", such as schools, shopping, religious institutions, etc. (Política Integral del Habitat 2007-2017, p. 13, Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá). Nevertheless, these new residential communities are not mixed income nor do they encourage major economic development. Metrovivienda attempts to allay unequal housing and service provision in contraposition to the city's informal development. Currie's high-density and decentralized urban form concept of "cities within a city" (*ciudadela*) he exposited in the 1970s

[26] See post-script for changes to the agency's mission since I terminated data collection.

was to influence Metrovivienda's development model as the solution for the many housing problems he then saw, such as a lack of housing units, urban design and regulation of laws, in order to increase the city's "competiveness in the face of the first signs of globalized commerce, economy, and culture" (Ballén Zamora, 2009, n.p.).

The agency completed one ciudadela, *El Recreo* (Figure 10) that is now 10 years old, and is in the process of completing another called *El Porvenir* (Figure 11), into which residents began moving in 2005[27] in the locality of Bosa. El Recreo's urban designer, and former member of Le Corbusier's studio, German Samper Gnecco, writes that it is also a place where, "Families can obtain, in addition to housing, where they can realize their private dreams, a piece of the city to exercise citizenship, establish meeting spaces and spaces of *convivencia*" (Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá , p.66, my emphasis). Social housing is classified in two ways – VIS (*vivienda de interés social*) and VIP (*vivienda de interés prioritario*). Housing prices for both kinds are determined by the national government; VIS is set at 100 or 135 times the legal minimum monthly salary and VIP is set at 50, or between 50 and 70 times that same number. The legal salary usually changes annually to account for inflation; a lowest priced VIP unit was $13,666 USD ($24,845,000 COP) in 2009 (Metrovivienda, 2013b).[28] Metrovivienda requires that developers build both kinds but disproportionately favors VIP at the policy level, resulting in a majority of the housing stock. Most of the Colombian literature refers to social housing as VIS and does not take into consideration the differences in price, size, and other amenities.

[27] Much of Metrovivienda's resources are currently devoted to the larger low-income housing master plan of Usme Ciudad Futuro in the locality of Usme and recent approvals of three more ciudadelas and partial plans, *Campo Verde*, *El Eden* and *La Palestina*, in Bosa. Research was limited to the older ciudadelas in Bosa because both residents and the agency have spent a number of years living in or working with its residents.
[28] According to the exchange rate on 3.31.13.

Figure 10. Plan of El Recreo.
Source: Metrovivienda

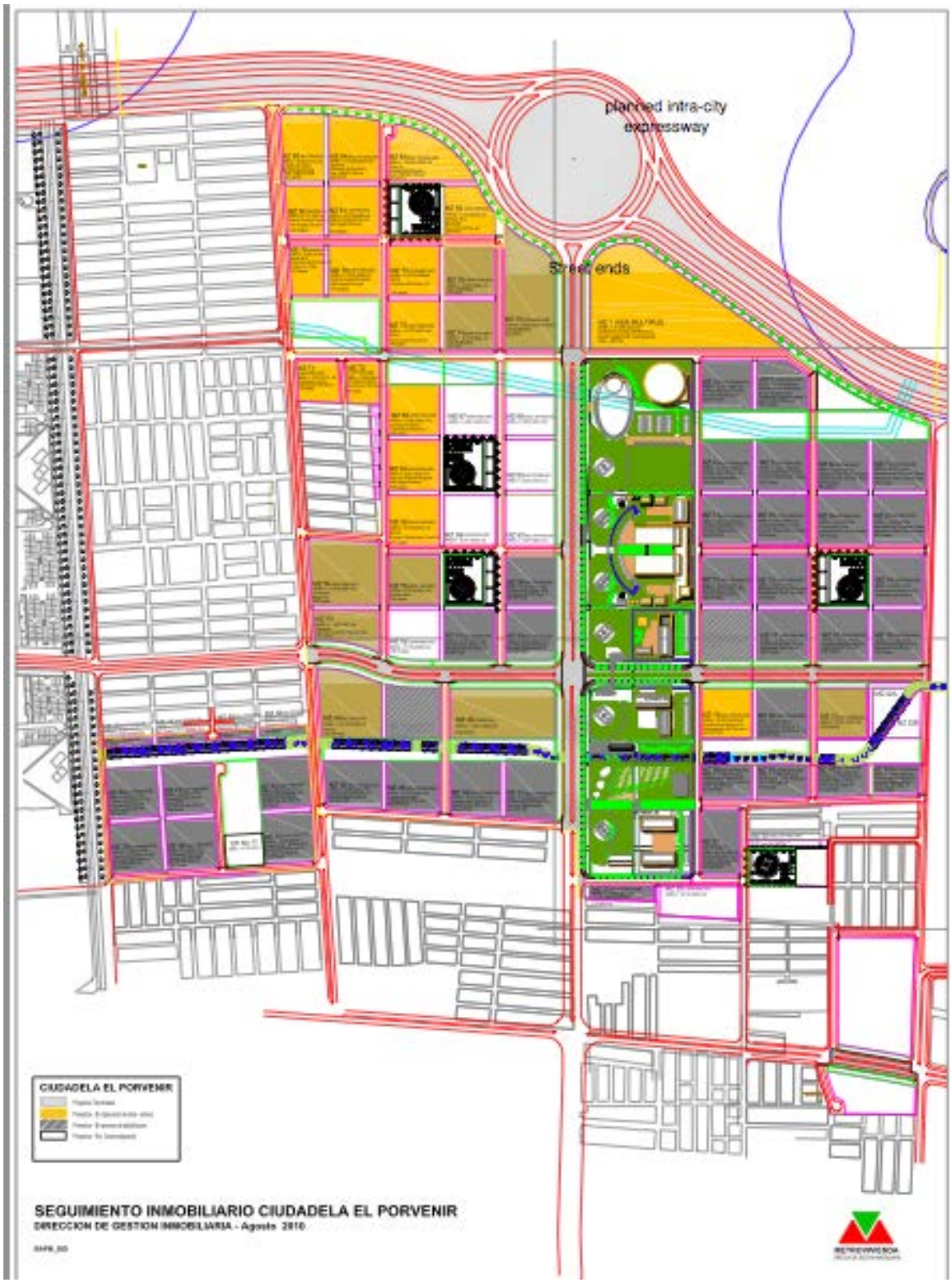


Figure 11. Plan of El Porvenir.
Source: Metrovivienda

The nature of Metrovivienda's work has evolved over the years despite it being a young enterprise. Much of this is largely due to differing visions of subsequent mayoral administrations and the agency's executive directors that the mayors appoint. As was previously described, during 2005-2008, it administered all of the district subsidies for qualifying prospective social housing residents even though it was not part of the agency's mission. It was concordant with Mayor Garzón's focus on social and community development endeavors. Although this responsibility was transferred to the Habitat Secretariat, this set the stage for Metrovivienda to implement a social division to attend to the needs of the residents in the purview of the land they helped to develop. In 2008, a new executive director took the reins of the agency, under Samuel Moreno's administration (2008-2011), and hired a community worker who had experience leading initiatives in the locality of Kennedy. She was to head a team of mostly social workers who would oversee the post-occupancy needs of the ciudadelas' residents in Bosa and to work with the existing residents in the catchment area of new development, especially in Usme. Comprised of a team of contract workers fluctuating between six and nine members in total, the two social workers assigned to the Bosa field office act as liaisons between community members and district institutions. A couple of top-level staff members admittedly did not know how necessary their work would become when the team was placed under the real estate division, which is in charge of the bidding and contracting process for the sale of superblocks. By the time I left Bogotá, steps were being taken to create a separate division to incorporate this community-level work into a revised agency mission.

A new urban space

The *ciudadelas*, cities within cities, of *El Recreo* and the *El Porvenir* lie in sharp contrast to the smaller, crowded and denser streets and buildings in the multiple

neighborhoods that surround them.[29] In fact, most of Bogotá's *barrios*, or 'regular' neighborhoods, appear this way. The ciudadelas are vast, open, and lie on the southwestern plains of Bogotá near the river of the same name. Superblocks are subdivided according to use, e.g., residential, mixed commercial-residential, exclusively commercial, educational, and recreational, but housing dominates the landscape. El Recreo spans 286.15 acres (115.8 hectares) and has 11,949 housing units (Metrovivienda, 2009). El Porvenir spans 326.06 acres (131.95 hectares) and is projected to have 21,195 housing units; the latter was begun in 2001 but its completion has been delayed. The estimated population these new communities will serve is over 100,000 residents. When El Recreo was first built (1998-2000), the original minimum lot size was 775 square feet (SF; 72 square meters [SM]; 6 meters [M] wide x 12M long), but was later reduced to 387.5 SF (36 SM; 3M wide x 12M long). Developers were still encouraged to increase lot size as a result of Bogotá's decree 2060 from 2004 that regulates social housing, including its size, but is not enforced (N. Valencia, personal communication, June 25, 2010). Lots then ranged up to 473.61 SF (44 SM; Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá, 2002). Current minimum lot size is 495.14 SF (46 SM) for the lowest cost social housing (VIP) and 548.96 (51 SM) for the higher cost social housing (VIS). The average unit size is now 473.61 SF[30] (44 SM) and is intended for a household size of three or four people.

On my very first research reconnaissance visit to Metrovivienda's central office in the Habitat Secretariat's 15-story building, the tallest building in this part of Chapinero, a

[29] The Fund for Low-income Housing (Caja de Vivienda Popular) also has coordinated the construction of numerous housing complexes that border parts of the *ciudadelas* but are not cohesively planned or as large scale as Metrovivienda's communities. The same developers that have built Metrovivienda housing have built housing for the Fund. At first glance at street level, it appears that the *ciudadelas* are actually bigger than they really are; so much so, that locals refer to that area of Bosa as simply Metrovivienda. This is aided by the fact that the route of the Transmilenio feeder bus for that area is called by the same name.

[30] To help put this into perspective, an average sized studio in Manhattan is 550 square feet. http://www.cnn.com/2012/07/10/us/new-york-microunits/index.html, retrieved 3.31.13.

central, commercial, and highly trafficked neighborhood, a tall, pretty, Afro-Colombian woman staff member is informed by her boss to lead me on a site visit to one of the ciudadelas they developed. The very next day, during our one and a half hour commute on the Transmilenio on a one-minute cloudy and next-minute sunny day, she gave me a thorough history of the two ciudadelas' development in Bosa. I could tell that YR was very well versed in their histories. A civil engineer by training, she became accustomed to taking visitors, Colombian nationals as well as foreigners alike, on such visits. YR was my first "gatekeeper". She escorts me to the Habitat Secretariat's field office (*Centro Habitat*), a low-scaled white metal, flat-roofed building at another bordering edge of El Recreo. Metrovivienda's field office is located inside. She introduces me to AD and AP, AD is a social worker and AP is the field office administrator, both are women. All three women were to become friends with whom I still keep in touch, and AD has become a dear friend.

AP takes me on a tour of the field office grounds. Behind the main space, there is a large fenced-in outdoor area. Several small buildings, one different than the other, are on these grounds. They all appear like little houses despite the fact that some were apartment units in addition to row houses. The developers who are selling units in stands in the large indoor common room build these model homes. Prospective residential customers come here to look at the different developers' offerings. They purchase based on plans and three-dimensional renderings, and if they are lucky, they get to visit the model homes; only when there is a substantial offering do developers build them. At the time of this visit, there are two model units per development. One is completely unfinished, or in grey construction, as it is commonly referred to, and only has basic

necessities like a toilet, bathroom, and kitchen and washing sinks. The walls are built with light reddish-brown cinderblocks and the floors are cemented; this is how all housing is sold. The other unit is outfitted with nice quality finishes and décor to illustrate the unit's potential, all of which are the homeowner's responsibility to provide. Samper Gnecco described purchasing unfinished housing as, "participation of the lower classes in completing their housing and their transformation into productive housing" (Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá, prologue, n.p.).

YR and AD then take me on a short tour of El Recreo. Not only am I exhausted due to the city's altitude of about 8,600 feet above sea level but also due to the information overload. It would take me just about four months of fieldwork to begin to understand this research context. Residential complexes comprised of apartment and row-house blocks are not interwoven with the pre-existing circulatory patterns of the surrounding neighborhoods, but rather exist as separate forms and are arranged according to an orthogonal plan. Each superblock contains one residential complex that is usually gated.[31] Building forms appear box-like and uniform. There are wide streets for vehicular traffic, landscaped pedestrian pathways, and bicycle paths. As a researcher familiar with planning history, it is difficult to ignore the 20th century modernist rationalism of this urban design. Although current US planning theory and design methods should not be considered gold standards either, newer strategies have integrated design principles that, for example, include mixed-use development at small scales. However, what I may consider to be a Jacobsonian (1961) lively, diverse street with many pedestrians with different social and commercial transactions taking place in

[31] Early in the development of *ciudadela El Recreo*, developers did not erect fences, or gates, around their complexes. However, they began doing so after growing demand post-occupancy.

Bogotá's low-income barrios, is perceived by most of my informants, both residents and professionals, as crowded, dirty, noisy and sites of petty crime that include assault and robbery. Both residents and Metrovivienda staff largely agree that the ciudadelas are more orderly, efficient, and contribute to a better quality of life for its residents when compared to the informally developed or old lower income neighborhoods. However, there is research that supports positive aspects of informal barrios such as, household control over size of housing units,more mixed development, and a sense of pride and belonging on the part of the residents (Torres Tovar, 2009).

…

WM, a Metrovivienda architect, takes me on a site tour of El Porvenir on my second field trip during dry season. A few weeks into my stay, I am still having a difficult time walking and talking without gasping for breath. It is a wonderfully sunny day; the three months I lived in Bogotá during my first field visit had been during the rainy season with low-lying heavy grey rainclouds dominating the sky. Many of the housing developments are still under construction; WM points out the corresponding firm for each project. We walk past a large empty lot and he explains that it is the site of a Colsubsidio, a supermarket owned by a multi-service corporation. Most of the projects in El Porvenir are apartment blocks rather than row houses because they can have more units per square meter in the apartment design (explained below). One project appears less organized and with a lesser quality workmanship than the rest. When I ask WM why this is so, he explains that this particular development is headed by the public agency Fund for Popular Housing (*Caja de Vivienda Popular*), who is acting as a developer and has won a Metrovivienda bid; the others are private sector developers. The Fund hires

subcontractors to build the project and as a result has less quality control. It is very probable that no social housing consumer is aware of any of these processes of development that eventually impacts their quality of life post-occupancy. As we continue walking, I am perplexed as to why the gas utility company has an outdoor stand on the corner. WM tells me that they are selling gas stoves to prospective social housing clients because developers do not provide any appliances to the consumer; the housing price is capped by law and as a result, no "extras" are provided.

The urban design of this ciudadela is very different than El Recreo. In its plan, it appears as cobbled-together squares largely due to the fact that Metrovivienda purchased this land from 570 different landowners than El Recreo, which was purchased from only 18 people. Prior to development, the land upon which El Recreo was built was used for small-scale farming and cattle grazing. Tenant farmers and cattle owners rented subsistence plots as well. However, the land upon which El Porvenir was (and is) being built was informally settled. Hundreds of families illegally purchased the right to build their housing from "informal" developers. Metrovivienda assisted many of these plot owners to obtain legal title so that they could then purchase the plots under the legal right of eminent domain. The expropriation and purchase process were very different for the two developments due to the use of National Law 388 in El Porvenir. This law enables the zoning of land for its potential financial capacity and defines the *plusvalía*, added value – specifically, socially created land values or increased value of land based on social action – the land will accrue once it becomes urbanized. This thus limits the purchase price so that local government can benefit from its sale to be developed. Prior

to this law, urbanizable land was not profitable.[32] The land for El Recreo was purchased at a high market value, in contrast to the lower price Metrovivienda has been willing to pay for land in El Porvenir. Consequently, there has been much more pushback from many landowners.[33] There were eight phases of development in this case and there have also been several illegal land invasions preventing Metrovivienda from planning further development because current law protects squatters. Its resulting site plan is "imperfect" in contrast to El Recreo's neat quadrangle.

Although the process of development has been different for these two ciudadelas, their housing appears almost exactly the same. Many of the winning firms are large developers, some of whom are part of corporate conglomerates, and have multiple projects in both places. Additionally, virtually all projects utilize the same leather colored brown cinder-block brick that is still artisan-made in Colombia (Torres Tovar, personal communication, November 25, 2009). It is more costly but it employs more people and thus helps drive the economy. Prefabricated materials, other new technology, and the process of industrialization is prohibitively expensive to implement. As a result, all buildings appear to have the same aesthetic. Row house blocks are two to three stories high. Most in El Recreo were built with two stories but engineered to withstand progressive development of a third floor if the homeowner chooses to build one at a later time. Occasionally, I could spot a few units with four floors. This, as a participant has

[32] For more information on current economic land policy, go to: http://www.lincolninst.edu/pubs/406_The-Recovery-of--Socially-Created--Land-Values-in-Colombia. Metrovivienda's General Manager corroborated the influence of this think tank's influence.

[33] This is also the same problem Metrovivienda is currently experiencing with its larger scaled development plan for Usme. However, this land is owned by fewer people but with a strong tradition and multi-generational history of farming and cattle ranching. They are very organized and trying to fight back development that they feel is unjust – in price and displacement. As a result, Metrovivienda has made a concession to retain a very large parcel of land for farming, but not all current farmers will be able to move to this parcel of land.

pointed out, is not allowed and is unsafe. Apartment blocks usually have six stories. All buildings, save for a few community buildings such as an architect-designed school in El Porvenir, are box-like. The only design feature that may change is the color of the exterior block, with either paint or siding.

…

On any given day that I travel to the ciudadelas, I see differently dressed people, possibly indicating their different kinds of employment or life situations. At the Transmilenio bus terminal I see commuting office workers, students, and other lower level service sector employees taking buses into the center of the city. Bogotá is an incredibly geographically segregated city. No one in this area appears obviously wealthy. Housing in this area is predominantly stratum one or two, on the lowest end of the city classification system. Arriving at 9 AM at the terminal is already late in the workday; rush hour in Bogotá begins at 7 AM; some workers such as beauty salon employees and office cleaners typically arrive at their workplace by 7 AM. On the feeder bus to the field office I see many women, most are mothers with their children; some of these mothers are still adolescents. Women are differently clothed: some wear t-shirts, shorts and thong sandals; I often wonder how some women could be so lightly dressed because Bogotá mornings and nights are cold and damp. Others wear jeans, sweaters and jackets similar to how the usual man is dressed. I spot a dirty-looking man walking barefoot and wearing shorts and a windbreaker. He might very well be one of the many *basuco* users living in the area. Basuco is an inexpensive derivative of cocaine that is a commonly abused substance. With respect to phenotype, I look just like everyone else. Virtually

everyone is dark haired and has olive skin undertones but occasionally I see light eyed and light haired people. Skin tone ranges from very light to very dark.

It is incredibly comforting to hear my mother tongue coming from everyone's mouths despite my love for the multiple languages I hear on an average day in New York. Everywhere I go I am greeted with *tinto*, small lightly brewed black coffee. I no longer politely accept them from the cleaning ladies at both the main and field office; they are crucial after the daily heavy lunches of stewed beef or chicken, rice, potatoes, and plantains. Cleaning personnel work during the day in all spaces of the city. As a culture, Colombians are very concerned with *aseo*, cleanliness, orderliness, and hygiene. At the field office, I catch up with the staff about professional as well as personal affairs. People who are looking to apply to Bogotá's housing subsidy usually interrupt us: "No madam, it's not here, keep walking to the following office on your right", I tell them, as I become more comfortable in the office. AP, the field office administrator, shares the office with two social workers, AD and MH. AD's contract was not renewed after my first field visit and the Bosa field office was left with one social worker to provide technical assistance in several areas including youth, security (safety), and horizontal property. Short-term contract workers who have no benefits staff most of the agency's personnel, as is typical of all Colombian government agencies.[34]

At Metrovivienda's main office, I work on the seventh floor, one of three semi-open-plan floors that they occupy in the Housing Secretariat's building. I am told I could sit in the social team's area but the field office staff increasingly needed the computer space. I found a corner desk space where I could connect my laptop and look out through one of the many large windows that surround the office. I face west so I watch the sun

[34] It is customary for most of this staff to change when there is a new mayoral administration.

set as it breaks through the clouds and watch the commercial and residential landscape change colors. Although the air in this area of the city always smells like car exhaust, due to numerous cars and buses, I would crack the window open to let some cooler air inside. When I become bored writing field notes, I stare off into the horizon or spot my favorite dessert place, "Sweet Jesus of Mine", that may arguably have the best rice pudding on the planet. After a day's worth of work, I say good-bye to my office mates and give them a kiss good-bye if I am friendlier with them, and sign out my own laptop out at the lobby's security desk; I am told this is for security reasons. I walk half a block to the local Éxito, a store that is similar to Target in the US, and purchase groceries that include tropical fruits nowhere to be found in the US, and walk five blocks home. I think I was made for this kind of fieldwork.

Horizontal property policy

All multi-family housing in Colombia is regulated by a mixed individual and co-property regime, known as horizontal property (*propiedad horizontal)*, similar to the condominium property scheme in the US.[35] All VIS and VIP housing is multi-dwelling, therefore all social housing is subject to this property scheme. Individual ownership is limited to the unit that is purchased and all homeowners share ownership of common areas. This scheme was enacted into law by the Colombian national government originally in 1958 and implemented in Bogotá's first multi-family housing development, the Centro Urbano Antonio Nariño (CUAN; Montoya Pino, 2007). It was most recently revised in 2006 with Law 675.

The CUAN was the first modernist "international style" housing project built for the middle class as a ciudadela (6,000+ residents). It was begun in 1951 and taken over by the ICT

[35] Some US states also use this same terminology, for example, Indiana.

public housing agency to complete it in 1958. The 'tower-in-the-air' design was meant to create a new kind of modern community, and the horizontal property scheme supported this ideology. The ICT, however, did not sell the units to prospective inhabitants but rather engaged in a thorough process of screening to carefully select "the most homogenous group of people to ensure the success of the proposed model" (p. 134) who would rent to own. The idea of a new kind of community with public and private rights and responsibilities was conceived as a "pedagogical object" for its inhabitants. They, however, did not welcome this teaching act due to its scale and lack of prior history of communal living.[36] This project established the beginning of hi-rise and multi-family horizontal property living in Colombia.

Aside from delineating the rights and duties of proprietors and the organizational structure of a property's governance, the horizontal property law is explicit about the goal to generate peaceful community in the 2006 iteration:

> Article 1: Objective. The present law regulates the special form of domain, called horizontal property, in which there are concurrent rights over exclusive private property and co-property over land and other common facilities, with the purpose of guaranteeing security and peaceful coexistence in the estate subject to it, as well as the social function of property.
>
> Furthermore, one of the law's guiding principles reads:
>
> Horizontal property regulations should be prone to the establishment of the peaceful relations of cooperation and social solidarity among the co-proprietors or possessors (Congress of Colombia, 2001).

This clause has implications not only for a property's governance but also for the day-to-day co-existence of people living in such places. Governance in the residential complexes is organized by a mandatory, but volunteer, council that is elected and a hires a paid administrator to manage the property. This housing policy decision has repercussions that can be witnessed through people's experiences with *convivencia*, loosely translated, social co-existence. The

[36] Montoya Pino (2007) claims that this teaching act failed but did not elaborate further.

property scheme in essence organizes how people live day-to-day, how they manage needs and activities and how, for example, Metrovivienda interacts with many of the residents, as council members and/ or administrators serve as de facto community leaders. At the scale of the residential environment, it influences how actors make meaning of the housing environment and is a main focus of this study's findings.

CHAPTER 4: BIOGRAPHICAL PORTRAITS: DWELLING LIFE SKETCHES

This chapter features the life sketches of three resident participants interviewed for this study. As explained in the Research Design & Methods chapter, three of the residents' interviews served to inform my initial in-depth analysis of key actors' meanings of home and habitat. I privileged the residents' point of view based on the argument that the housing situation I was addressing in the study was created to improve their quality of life. Learning their experiences and juxtaposing other actors' discourse against theirs was key in order to support the vision of improving the lives of Metrovivienda's target population. Camila, Liliana, and Álvaro were those first interviews into which I dove. Their narratives influenced how I approached the remaining data corpus and the main findings chapter features all participants' experiences. The descriptive life sketches below offer a glimpse into their lives and provide other aspects that enhance the theme of an 'emerging housing practice' (Ferguson & Navarrete, 2003) explored in this study.

Camila

Figure 12. Exterior view of Camila's house.
Source: I. Cuervo

Figure 13. Living area of Camila's house.
Source: I. Cuervo

Camila (pronounced Camille-a) greets me at her white metal door dressed in denim from head to toe with a splash of pink in the tank top she sported underneath a vest. She has a tan complexion and her almost-black, wavy shoulder-length hair that she wears in a low ponytail caps her petite frame. She immediately strikes me as being a mild-mannered person but I realize that this should not surprise me, as Colombians are considered to be notoriously polite and well mannered. Notwithstanding, many residents' narratives in Chapter 7 contest this characteristic. Two children are in the living area and I can hear others upstairs as they call down to their mother every once in a while. She also calls to whom I assume to be her oldest daughter to keep an eye on the pot of rice that she is cooking while I am interviewing her. It is a partly cloudy day with no threat of rain.

Camila is in her late twenties or early thirties and a mother to five children, and is currently an unemployed housekeeper. They live in the previously owned two-story attached

row house she purchased eight months ago in *ciudadela El Recreo*. In the 10 years that El Recreo has existed, most residents are owner-occupiers of new units but they are allowed to rent or sell their units once the five-year occupancy restriction is complete. Camila is an optimistic and proud single mother who underwent the bureaucratic process to purchase a used house by herself.[37] She takes great pride in the fact that she "fought" for her house on her own. Her happiness shone itself throughout the interview when she would laughingly proclaim every now and again that she 'will remain in ciudadela El Recreo!' This happiness seemed to me to be in direct contrast to the house's run-down interior. As I walk into her tiny house, I am immediately struck by how dirty the plastered walls appear, only revealing their once white color near the ceiling. She tells me that she is planning to save money to add a third floor because her monthly budget had dramatically improved due to virtually no housing payment. I was perplexed by that decision instead of upgrading the first floor. Camila's priority only revealed itself to me after thinking about what her house means to her.

Owning her own home has brought her happiness because it reunites many benefits for her and her family. It has dramatically improved her financial situation. As with most low-income homeowners, Camila received a housing subsidy from the city government to help cover the cost of the down payment for a house sold for $31 million COP (~$16,993 USD).[38] As an official displaced person[39], the national government also granted her another housing subsidy.

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[37] All of the other participants purchased new housing, as many claimed this to be an easier process.

[38] According to the exchange rate on 3.31.13.

[39] In order to receive displacement benefits from the state, an individual must follow certain steps to register as a displaced person. Law 387 defines a displaced person as one who must leave their place of residence or livelihood, whether by force or own volition, due to a threat or actual harm because of the following reasons: the internal armed conflict, interior (national) disturbances or tensions, generalized violence, massive violations of human rights, infractions of the International Humanitarian Law, or other associated acts that would disturb public order (Congreso de Colombia, 1997, http://www.secretariasenado.gov.co/senado/basedoc/ley/1997/ley_0387_1997.html

At the encouragement of a female friend, she also applied for and received a housing grant from a private Catholic organization that for over 50 years has developed housing, neighborhoods, schools and other community services for poor and working class families all over Colombia. As a recipient of these three grants, her house has been fully paid, a condition that is rare in this low-income community.

Camila found happiness and will "stay put" because her 'new' home and neighborhood provide the maximum number of benefits for her and her family. Firstly, it allows her to feel safe and control her children's movement around the home in order to safeguard them. The reduced, potentially negative influences on her children play a major role in her loving it. As a person who typifies a relational self (Mason, 2004) in her narrative, the decisions about where to live and purchase a home have revolved around the safety and opportunities that the place provide for her five young children. There were several situations in her previous dwellings that she felt were not appropriate to raise her children. Camila is originally from Montería, the provincial capital of the department of Córdoba near the Caribbean Sea but she had been living as a renter in and out of Bogotá for 16 years. In Bogotá, she disliked one previous neighborhood because many delinquents and rude people lived there. At one point during the 16 years, she moved to Maicao, in the department of La Guajira on the northernmost peninsula in the South American continent, where her father lives. He bought her a house there but she did not stay because she felt it was unsafe for her children to be near a road where the police constantly chase after contraband-filled vehicles in and out of Venezuela. She could have returned to Montería where her mother still lives but she believed that Bogotá offered better life chances, such as offering a higher quality education for her children, so she left the support of her parents behind.

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retrieved 12.18.12). The term 'displaced' throughout this dissertation refers to any person who self-identifies or is identified by others as such.

Another concern of hers was that in the “coast”, her children were able to roam in and out of houses at their will because it is a common practice for people to leave their doors open. Camila is not fond of this because there is a higher chance that her children can get into trouble more easily. Although she complains that her current home is too small, she is not nostalgic over having lived in larger, more easy-going places because they do not provide what she wants for herself and for children. She jumped through many hoops to buy her house for this reason, which is why she is adamant about staying.

Secondly, a sense of stability grew out of Camila’s willingness to stay. Having a house affords her the ability for her family to lay down roots. Camila had to move more often than she liked since she moved to Bogotá because she had little to no control over what happened inside and outside some of her previous rented accommodations. She feels a "great peace" and happy that she owns her house, as if a big load was taken off her shoulders. Her sense of comfort also comes from the fact that she and her children lived uncomfortably in these rented homes. Once at the mercy of others, no one else will no longer tell her what she can and cannot do. She is relieved that if her children draw on the walls, no one will complain, she is the only one who has to deal with it. They lived in *inquilinatos* (tenement rooms), and a shared apartment with a shared entrance. Anyone living on the second floor had to partially walk through her first floor apartment. This last residence was in the same locality of Bosa but in the informally developed area. After that, she moved into a rental in the same residential complex where she now lives. It was then that she knew that that is where she wanted to buy her house. Camila mostly experienced renting negatively. It was very likely that she worried about her children’s behavior and ever-increasing monthly costs, which may have caused her to move more than she liked. Her parents may have contributed as the ‘other people that told her what to do’ because she said

that this is the only place that she feels is hers. She can deal with the small space because she is in control of her children and what happens inside the house. This comfort, sense of control and stability generates peace and happiness. Camila also comments on the fact that the previous landlord in her last rental in the same complex respected her personal space and time. This respect allowed a certain amount of control over her home, which contributed to her positive experience and to the decision to purchase a unit in the same place. The houses in the ciudadela provided the most benefits, including affordable privacy.

A third aspect of being a homeowner that is important to Camila is that she now embodies material wealth despite the fact that her income is still very low. She has recently taken in her sister and her toddler as well as her on-again-off-again partner and his grandmother. There are eight people[40] currently living in the house. Although the typical social housing unit is designed for a family of about five members, she is in a position of power to help her family because she can control what happens in her own home. Camila knows this because she is quick to point out that only she is reciprocating her "mother-in-law's" previous help by taking care of her ailing mother. Camila stood on long lines—including one overnight with no extra money to feed herself—and endured the lengthy and bureaucratic process of almost two years. As she recounts this process, her young niece slowly slides down the stairs because there is no banister to help support herself. I question what kind of authority would accept an open stairway such as this one in a house full of children and found all over the homes in the ciudadela. I later learned that there is no building code that obligates developers to provide amenities such as a banister, wall finishes, and kitchen cabinetry; these are extra expenses a homeowner must incur.

Liliana

[40] She indicated eight people but I counted 10 from her narrative.

Figure 14. Main entrance alley in front of Liliana's house.
Source: I. Cuervo

Figure 15. Liliana's stacked plastic chairs for her organizing meetings.
Source: I. Cuervo

My first few interactions with Liliana over our cellular phones struck me as odd because she would not tell me her address or where else to meet. It was only until about an hour before we would actually meet that she provided me with an address in ciudadela El Recreo. She never once indicated that it was her house. G, the Metrovivienda field office groundskeeper, drives me on his motorcycle to the meeting place. Reminding me of my mother, a short and pudgy older woman answers the door with a distrustful look and says that Liliana is not available and no longer lives there. I realize that we may have appeared to be intimidating strangers. As a five-foot-five woman with long curly brown hair dressed in jeans, a light wool jacket, and sneakers, I do not consider myself intimidating, but I was a stranger. G, however, is an imposing figure; as a tall Afro-Colombian man still wearing his helmet, motorcycle jacket, and a bright colored mesh safety vest, he may have looked so; we walked away from the doorstep. I call Liliana once again and we wait for her to arrive for a few minutes in the narrow row house walkway. G greets her because they knew one another but then returns to the field office. Heavy, white clouds begins

to obscure the sun; they would turn dark grey with rain by the time I leave her house about two hours later.

Liliana is between 25 and 34 years old, voluptuous, honey-skinned, and she was dressed casually in tight jeans and a tight-fitting red shirt. Once I sat down with her, she explained with a very calm demeanor that her life had been threatened because of her organizing efforts to support women like her affected by the internal conflict. As a committed community organizer and advocate for the rights of displaced women, she occasionally receives threats from people who do not agree with her work, and as she speculates, possibly from people linked to the state– she left it unclear.

I was flattered that she trusted me enough to meet her at what I later learned to be her own house. AD, a social worker from Metrovivienda, set up the initial contact. Liliana had been volunteering with her for about a year with some of the agency's community building efforts. Her two daughters and elderly mother live there as well. Liliana does feel safe in her five-year-old house and cares for it "as another daughter", but she is thinking of 'abandoning' it if the threats continue.[41] She sees no other recourse but to leave, which signals that there is still not enough social support to combat these kinds of threats. Liliana, as all other residents in this study, feels enormously grateful because they are owners of their own homes but her narrative conveys the sense that working for displaced women's rights trumps the fact that as a head-of-household she has achieved stability and improved the life conditions for her family and herself. She leads a community group that is currently working on a specific action plan for the city government to enact a policy to benefit those that have been displaced. Chuckling, she reflects on the duality of the organizing in which she engages – it is hard to leave that kind of work

[41] I was not able to confirm whether she moved during my second field trip but I did chat with her briefly and she said that she was doing well.

because she is very committed and it is hard work because it makes her visible within the community and thus vulnerable.

On the tour of her house, she shows me over 30 white plastic armless chairs that are stacked up against a wall for the numerous community meetings she hosts in her tiny living room. Due to these meetings, Liliana tells me that some neighbors think she is a militia member; others could be envious of her, as her mother interjects. She has run a few social programs out of her home, as when she distributed groceries to over 600 women. Her neighbors do not welcome her visitors and act out against them by, for instance, throwing hot water on them so that they would not wait in front of the house. Her mother corroborates this story and adds, "It's tough here." Liliana surmises that her neighbors are greedy—other homeowners, perhaps those that have acquired a certain level of financial security do not want to "share" their wealth. She has put active organizing on hold for the moment but she still desires for people to also participate in improving the community. She dreams, because it “does not cost anything” to do so, that everyone participates because that is how violence and socio-economic problems are alleviated. She believes that if she can use the existing structures that the city has implemented for community participation, so can others.

When she is not organizing, she enjoys blasting music from the very large stereo that sits in the living room, subject of controversy in others’ narratives due to the paper-thin walls of the house. Liliana mentions that the transition has been difficult for her mother because they came from a different region of the country with its own customs and ways of relating to one's neighbors. Curiously, she focuses on her mother initially but then includes herself in her narrative. They could yell out loud, jump, listen to music and socialize outdoors with neighbors. Food was also much cheaper and the houses were much larger than in Bogotá. Liliana is

forthcoming about how she does not agree with the horizontal property scheme's rules and its expected behaviors. Laughing, she confesses that she is loud because she is from the interior of the country. In a more somber moment, she briefly mentions that her brother "was disappeared" and that the family was forced to leave their hometown because of the armed conflict. Not only has she had difficulty adjusting to a new home and neighborhood space but she admits that it is not easy living in a city whose people have not suffered that kind of violence. Although she resolved the small space problem by adding a third floor she, however, has not yet resolved what she terms "interlocution" with bogotanos. She says, "The people who live in the city, I don't see them has having solidarity among themselves; they are always on the defensive and are not interested in others around them."

Not surprisingly, Liliana was once a member of the residential complex council as its controller for one year. She recounts that the council tried to accomplish many things but half of the residents liked the initiatives and the other half did not (we both laugh). Those that were unsatisfied did not like the woman administrator. Inevitably analyzing past events through a gender perspective, Liliana tells me that there were three women among a total of seven members of the council but that men have now "appropriated" all of the positions. The previous council used to hold more social functions but now there seems to be less communication and more disagreement among them. She does not intend to flatter women but she believes that when it comes to managing and searching for resources, women are more creative. Her mother, quiet for almost the entire time, chimes in to say that there is no difference; Liliana does not acknowledge her comment.

I reflected on how I would be hysterical in her position as someone who may have to flee at a moment's notice but her demeanor indicated that she has assumed this as part of the

community organizing territory, even her identity. Taussig (2003) describes the range of actions that people experience as being or feeling threatened by subversive people or groups: "anonymous phone calls, maybe a letter or your name on a photocopied list stuck to a wall. It could come from relatives fighting over property, could be the local rotary club--hacienda--cattlemen types, could be an organized death squad, guerrilla, who knows. But it is enough to get most people packing" (p. 93). While Taussig was writing about the threats he heard while conducting anthropological research in a small town outside of Cali (one of Colombia's main cities) during the late 1990s, such actions are still described by people to this day. Paul, another participant in this study, and friend and neighbor of Liliana, also mentioned that he was and continues to be threatened because of his organizing. Due to the fact that I did not focus on the repercussions of the almost 50-year armed conflict in this study[42], it remains unclear as to why these two displaced organizers have been threatened.

Álvaro

Figure 16. Main entrance alley in front of Álvaro's house showing the misplaced and dangerous electrical pole.
Source: I. Cuervo

Figure 17. Álvaro's gym area on the third floor.
Source: I. Cuervo

[42] For more information, please see, e.g. Rojas and Meltzer (2005).

I met Álvaro at one of the Transmilenio feeder bus stops in ciudadela El Recreo after a long 10-minute wait. Dressed in jeans and a short-sleeve polo shirt, he approached me on a 10-speed bicycle, which I thought a bit odd for a man in his late forties or early fifties to be using. He is about my height, has a slim build, is light skinned, and has light brown, cropped hair. Smiling apologetically, he explained he was late because he could not 'get away' from his volunteer soccer coaching; this softened my annoyance at waiting for him after speaking with him several times over our cellular phones moments before. This was my second attempt to interview Álvaro; he had to cancel the previously scheduled one due to an unexpected conflict with a community meeting he needed to attend. Knowing that I wanted to talk about his experience living in the ciudadela, he eagerly jumped right into the subject during the 10 minutes it took to reach his house. Luckily it was warm and sunny that day. He mentioned he lobbied for a private bus company to extend its route to reach his complex, otherwise residents would have to walk to the feeder bus stop or walk further away to reach other private bus routes. Our first couple of interactions should have signaled how dedicated he is to his community.

Álvaro works out of his home as a freelance technician for an electrical parts manufacturer and lives with his wife, who is a nurse, in the *Casa Grande* residential complex that is located on the perimeter of the ciudadela next to undeveloped, rural land. It is named such because the houses are relatively large and spacious. At 15 feet wide, it is almost five feet larger than the average row house unit. His jovial personality shone throughout the entire interview, even when he was recounting his frustrations related to the developer and management of the complex. The salsa music from the stereo that he kept turned on during our long interview may have helped lighten the mood. He is proud of having bought this house and was the only one of the 12 resident participants who used my video camera to record it himself. As he records his

home, he explains that he and his wife “finished” the living area and kitchen located on the first floor prior to moving in and they are still saving for the rest of the house. The walls are plastered and painted white; the kitchen is tiled and has nice cabinetry; there is a dark cherry-colored dining table with matching chairs, a large matching television cabinet decorated with framed photographs and other knick-knacks, and a sofa set in the living area. I laugh when he points out a "welcome" mat lying on the second floor that he pronounces in English with an impish grin. Excusing himself about the third floor being messy, he then brings me to the gym that he had happily mentioned was his favorite aspect of the house at the beginning of the interview. The open-plan third floor also houses his workspace. He not only has a universal weight machine, but sports equipment and a desk with multiple piles of paperwork as well. All of these items represent how he dedicates his time to his volunteer causes—the leader of a youth soccer team, founding member of a youth foundation, and a former residential complex council president. Álvaro is showing me he is a community leader.

Álvaro dedicates himself to helping his community thrive primarily by supporting two causes—youth development and community development. Álvaro reflects sadly on the state of youth in Colombia. He witnesses a faulty educational system, rampant drug use, and teenaged mothers. With such a foundation he says, “believe me, they won’t be good leaders because they’re not being trained well… they won’t take the country down a good path, there will only be violence.” So he tries his best to do his part to help young people around him. He originally intended for the youth soccer team to be for the children of his complex but neighboring children got wind of it and he could not refuse them. He also leads a youth folk dance troupe whose members struggle to raise its funds, and also helps to organize *chiquitecas*, a vernacular contraction for dance parties for young people from the Spanish words for *chiquita*, meaning

small, and *discoteca*, meaning discotheque. Álvaro recently completed a physical education certificate at the local SENA, the national vocational training institute, and aspires to apply his love of sports with his love of helping improve children's lives as a high school physical education teacher.

Álvaro's community development work is multi-faceted as well as fraught. He was his complex's governing council president for two years but did not continue the post due to a disagreement over a misappropriation of funds that led to a lawsuit with the administrator of the complex. She spent a substantial portion of the complex's budget to build a security kiosk without approval from the council and was eventually fired during a general assembly of residents, but she is suing him for libel.

He has taken it upon himself to be as informed as he can about the horizontal property's law's rules and regulations and community resources so that he in turn can equip his neighbors with the necessary knowledge to enjoy better qualities of life. Despite the fact that he is no longer the council's president, he continues to be an advocate for his homeowner neighbors' rights and insists that everyone be informed about them. There is a utility pole shared by the cable and electric company that is on the complex's property that has numerous, potentially dangerous exposed wires. First, he explains that the pole should be on public property but because it is not, the companies should pay rent to the complex. According to Álvaro, if the utilities made a deal to provide the service and are "benefitting" from the agreement, why shouldn't the complex benefit as well? Second, neither of the companies wants to take responsibility to fix it. Similarly, the internet provider has been using a room on their property for their installation and is now paying the complex an annual fee for this service. They missed

three years' worth of funds because prior administrators and council members did not know about them, but thankfully, he assisted in the "benefitting" of his complex.

Álvaro is also a member of the ciudadela's *convivencia* committee, a community group made up of residents and city agency representatives that organize to help solve problems that involve neighborhood improvement issues. However, he is frustrated that Metrovivienda, who is also represented in this committee, does not coordinate better with other city agencies to fulfill the needs of people who are "practically stratum 0."[43] For example, while Álvaro was president of the council, he helped to feed five families living in his complex through private food bank donations. The local church also does the same with the help of parishioner donations. He argues that if he and other small organizations, including his dance troupe, can organize to raise a relatively small amount of funds, Metrovivienda, who has access to many city resources, should be able do the same if not better.

Álvaro's has a 28 year-old son whom he rarely sees due to strained relations with his ex-wife. He would like to have another child and as he re-tells his younger wife's stance on the issue, she asks, 'if you're so committed to helping other children, will you do the same if we have a child?' He responds, "Of course! In fact, great, because I'll take him to class and then I'll take him training." They are waiting to start planning, however, because she is recuperating from surgery prompted by a recent discovery of cervical cancer. I later ask Álvaro how he defines *hogar* (home). He responds, "Where there is love, there is hogar, which is defined by a couple and then come… the children." He was admittedly frustrated that he could not have an hogar with his first wife. Although he does not say that he is currently frustrated with his current wife's health problems, it is clear that he wants a child to complete his vision of hogar.

[43] I remind the reader that Bogotá's housing is classified from 1 to 6, where 1 is the lowest quality and 6 is the highest, in order to determine public utility costs the customer. Although a zero stratum does not exist, it is commonly used to describe people who live in high poverty conditions.

CLARIFICATION OF TERMS

This brief section is an explanation of key terms that are relevant to this study. It is necessary not only to clarify certain terms due to their different usages in English and Spanish, but it is particularly helpful to understand why I use them the way I do given that what I expected to find prior to undertaking the research differed with what I actually found after data collection and analysis. Moreover, this field experience proved to show me how language is very much alive and shaped by cultural norms.[44]

***Ciudadela*.** As previously explained, ciudadela is translated as 'city within a city' in Colombian housing context and I retain the Spanish word throughout the work for the sake of flow. Its original and still common English translation is 'citadel', a fortified enclosure. I am unaware of any connection to this meaning.

Community. The word for community, *comunidad*, is not very common throughout anyone's narratives. As previously explained, convivencia was a much more popular word that was used to describe the quality of life living with others in close proximity. A group of Metrovivienda's staff engage in community building and development interventions but they label themselves 'the social team.' I utilize these terms in my narrative wherever I think they are suitable to describe what occurs. However, Colombians do not readily utilize *desarrollo comunitario* (community development) as this phenomenon is translated by US Latinos, nor is *construcción de comunidad* (community building) common. Instead, the social team leader refers generally to her team's work as 'social integration' (*integración social*). Helping people to become members of the society means that they would no longer be marginalized and they

[44] US Spanish-speaking Latinos tend to translate English dominant phenomena directly.

learn to follow socially accepted norms, as when state provides assistance to demobilized paramilitaries or families who beg for money on the street.

Convivencia. This word became very important very early on during data collection. I heard it everywhere, even when I was not actively collecting data. Convivencia is a difficult word to translate into English because it is more dynamic than 'co-existence'. It nicely captures in Spanish that we humans are social and do indeed live together on a social level, even if we live alone. It literally means, 'the state of how people get along with one another', and there is a subtle connotation that there should always be a move towards positive ways of relating. However, this translation is very awkward to use in English. I utilize the Spanish word much throughout the dissertation for this reason. However, I do use co-existence when it makes sense; 'mutual living' is also an option. 'Conviviality', as Peattie (1998) argues its usage as relevant for planners, can also be a translation, particularly because it is not exclusively meant to be utilized to describe a setting of good company and feasting. Building on Illich's (1980 in Peattie, 1998) definition, conviviality means "autonomous and creative intercourse among persons, and the intercourse of persons with their environment; and this in contrast with the conditioned response of persons based on the demands made upon them by others, and by a manmade environment" (p. 11). While this explanation can make sense, convivencia as it is used by all of my participants is a simpler sentiment than this definition despite the dynamism it conveys in Spanish. Esther Wiesenfeld, community psychology professor and researcher at the Universidad Central de Venezuela, suggested the term be translated as 'residential civility,', or 'residential co-civility' (personal communication, June 28, 2012). Her suggestions are highly relevant given the conclusion of this study. However, coming to a final translation in the context of housing theory

and empirical research was beyond the scope of this research, but it is certainly one that can be undertaken in future research.

Habitat. The concept of habitat, with regard to human settlements, is a severely understudied term in the English speaking world but it is highly studied in Latin America, and widely used among housing academics and practitioners, including the namesake agency of the United Nations that works to improve impoverished human settlements, UN Habitat. Habitat can be defined in numerous ways. It can encompass physical-spatial and social dimensions such as Habitat International Coalition Latin America's definition that summarizes it as "the organization of space for human activities as well as the activities of humans in space" (n.d.), or more broadly defined as "the conditions for sustainability of human life over time" (Torres Tovar, 2008, p. 133), or as the patterns that emerge among the dynamic interrelationship between physical and material structures and social structures (Fique Pinto, 2008). This term, however, proved to be an ineffectual concept to explore or theorize in the present research because it has little relevance to the experience of residents. The purpose of the present research is to understand relevant meanings about residents' experiences in their housing; the housing related professionals' understandings of that same phenomenon is contrasted with that of the residents'. It is true that habitat does indeed encompass many of the issues presented by the participants and supported by other data sources because it is a term that describes the physical and social milieu of the housing environment. Tognoli's (1987) 'residential environment', defined as "a neutral term to represent both home and housing, neighborhood and community" could theoretically be swapped. However, I argue that further analyzing this concept does not capture the essence of what emerged in this research – the wonder and struggles of learning how to live with one

another in a new kind of urban space.[45] The 'supportive environment' (Rapoport, 1991) that residents desire is associated with *convivencia* and is thus more appropriate in understanding the meanings that influence social housing production and consumption.

Home. Álvaro's definition of home in the previous page is indicative of how Colombians, and other Spanish speakers, use the term. As I mention in various places of this dissertation, this was an unexpected finding, given the fact that I am a fluent Spanish speaker. I was raised in the US and utilized the academic literature as a theoretical standpoint from which to begin this study. The direct translation of home in Spanish is hogar and it is not so much about the dwelling space's affective qualities it can generate, such as security, warmth, privacy, or freedom, rather it is about the social space in which to build a family. As you will see, participants do experience the aforementioned affective qualities but it is never discussed as hogar. Using this word in Spanish in my interview protocol was even at times perceived as a bit odd because we were mainly discussing issues related to housing.

House. Although it was not a theoretically relevant term, it may be useful for the reader to know that *casa*, house's counterpart in Spanish, is used similarly by Colombians. Many still use it even if they live in apartments.

Housing. The word for housing, *vivienda*, was readily used by everyone in this research and is very common throughout the Spanish-speaking world. This was the most common way of describing any residential environment in Colombia. *Vivienda de interés social*, as social housing is referred to in Colombia, was not just utilized by professionals but by its residents as well as the way to describe low-income housing. I utilize 'social housing' and not low-income housing to remain close to local usage.

[45] See Yory & García (2008) for examples of how habitat has been theorized and applied in Colombia.

CHAPTER 5: MEANINGS OF HOMEOWNERSHIP

The following four chapters feature an in-depth illustration and analysis of how each kind of actor—residents and associated professionals and related discourse—envisions their experiences as a consequence of their social roles. Recall that the professionals' narratives and relevant policy discourse were organized and placed in contraposition to the residents' narratives, which were primary, during analysis. In each of these findings chapters, I position and illustrate residents' narratives first and then present professionals' narratives and related discourse second.

My overarching research question asked, "What are the meanings of 'home' and 'habitat' for residents and housing related professionals' involved in the consumption and production of state-sanctioned low-income housing in Bogotá, Colombia and how do these meanings influence housing, neighborhood and community building practices? Once I entered into the field, it became evident that the residents of the new communities of *El Recreo* and *El Porvenir* in the southern periphery of Bogotá are homeowners.[46] This became a finding and prompted me to ask the following question: what does homeownership mean to the residents and housing related professionals ("professionals") living in and associated with *ciudadelas* El Recreo and El Porvenir? This first section will feature a description of residents' meanings and experiences of homeownership and associated professionals' and relevant policy discourse. Understanding the meaning of homeownership is necessary to preface the major problems[47] encountered as people live and work towards the kind of housing model that is subject to a co-property scheme, known as 'horizontal property' in Colombia. Knowing how residents and professionals understand

[46] There are a few renters in these communities, as evidenced by Carmen who lived as a renter in El Recreo before she was able to purchase a unit. The process of purchasing a unit was explained in the housing context chapter.

[47] I did not begin this research with the intention to specifically search for problems with housing. As I was in the field, they emerged in everyone's narratives and in my field notes.

homeownership is a basis for the remaining findings chapters: understanding how participants experience a new kind of urban space, learning why there is a dissonance between expected individual property ownership and the new co-property ownership that requires dual individual and common ownership, and participants' efforts in local housing governance. This chapter features discourse that is generally positive about homeownership with a few notable exceptions.

Residents

Meanings of homeownership.

Happy to own. Regardless of the housing type with which they wound up, all 12 resident participants describe owning a home as one of the best things that has ever happened to them. Whether as a life-long dream that was realized or as a permanent solution to their displaced status, they are happy, feel an overwhelming sense of peace and tranquility, and are (mostly) thankful to God for a roof over their heads that they can call their own. In similar fashion to the other resident participants, Sandra Linda, a wife and mother of three adult sons, encapsulates the spirit of what it feels like to be a homeowner:

> I'm very happy with my house [Isabel: I'm delighted for you], yes, because apart from [the fact] that in my childhood I never had—while living with my mother and father, rent was always paid—with my little brothers and sisters we never had anything, and today I give thanks to God for what we [her own family] have because it's a step forward, something I never had in my life and with effort, work, dedication, I achieved it… it's not perfect but as a good poor person I have everything (she laughs), as a rich person I'm missing everything, but as a poor person I live humbly and to anyone that comes to my house I always say to them "welcome," whether unfinished or however it looks, they're always welcomed in my house, it's a blessing from God and I am very thankful to Him.

As a former colony of Spain, Colombia remains a predominantly Catholic country, although other Christian sects have gained popularity. It is a common cultural practice among all social classes for people to invoke God, even if they are not highly devout. However, the participants in this study belong to a lower class base that tends to be more religious than its upper class

counterparts (Pachón, 2006). Just as the other participants, Sandra Linda's faith sustains her through her struggles, one of which was securing her own home. While she recognizes she is not materially rich, she can express the richness of her happiness in her desire to welcome any and all into her home. Sandra Linda is very thankful to have worked hard to save and follow all the steps it takes to purchase housing with a government subsidy, in and of itself a confusing and sometimes onerous process that makes the process of becoming a homeowner a 'fight', and homeownership that much more significant. Similarly, Camila recounts:

> … My house, I fought for it by myself. I had to [wait in] really long lines, you had to withstand sun and water, whatever you had to, the lines were very enormous to receive the national subsidy… and if you didn't get to go in [to the office] that day, you had to stay on that line to sleep, there in that line, so that the next day you would be one of the first ones that they'd see… I left around noon and I came back, very tired, but with the satisfaction that I had applied for the [housing] voucher and I went about a month later I went [to apply] and I got the district [housing voucher] … I went there too.

She withstood some inconveniences, such as waiting outdoors with little preparation for the overnight stay on a line, and is happy with the outcome of jumping through bureaucratic hoops. Purchasing a home is not easy because it takes tenacity to go through the oftentimes frustrating process. In the end, however, it empowered her. Her grand payoff is that she no longer feels an overwhelming insecurity of tenure. Camila feels,

> More peaceful here… you have like your own space, and no, well, the comfort… it's a peace so great for me as well as for my children because well, to live in another place and pay rent… I'm happy because this is now my house… because now, I don't have to be leaving [a place], now I just, yes, happy [I: you're staying here], *I'm staying here!* (laughs)

Ambivalent sense of ownership. Despite the fact that all the residents were happy to have become homeowners, Álvaro, Elena & Mariana, and Dalia have mixed feelings about the fact that they live in residential complexes that are subject to the mixed property scheme legally and commonly referred to as the 'horizontal property law.' Tense neighbor relations, a lack of

knowledge of the law, and living among poorer folk are some reasons that contribute to the wish that their housing be magically located elsewhere. Álvaro explains that he was disillusioned by so many problems but his wife is much more concerned:

> It's a pity because this is a very good [housing] project and I always talk to and tell people [about it]. Even my wife, there are times when she says that she'd like to take her little house and take it somewhere else… but then, we're even thinking of selling—we haven't even been here half of the 15 years it takes to pay off the house.

Chapter 7 will feature an in-depth explication of these reasons because they are crucial illuminations into the oftentimes severe problems of *convivencia* (co-existence) many residents experience.

Featured in the previous chapter, Liliana's organizing for her displaced[48] community has brought her some trouble. She has put great care into her house by finishing the living area and kitchen on the first floor and adding a third floor, which is the maximum number allowed. Although she smiles when she explains that she feels that her "house is like another daughter," she must detach from this sentimental emotion in order to be able to leave her house at a moment's notice if it means avoiding a threat on her life. She is a committed organizer but it seems that she upset a member of this community who then threatened to kill her. She accepts her current plight, almost as if it comes with the organizing territory, and adds, "It doesn't matter, I must still look after it, take care of it." Just as she cares for her two daughters and her house, she simultaneously cares for her community's well-being and "will continue to fight." That latter focus of her life will supersede her home if it becomes necessary.

[48] As a reminder to the reader, the term 'displaced' throughout this dissertation refers to any person who self-identifies or is identified by others as such due to acts of violence as defined by Colombia's national law 387 (see footnote 39 in Chapter 4).

Paul also lives in a row house and is from the department of Huila[49], and is also formerly displaced due to Colombia's internal conflict. He is a friend, Liliana's neighbor, a fellow displaced persons' advocate, and is also conflicted about his home. He is more grateful that he has a stable place to live than he is happy to be a homeowner. Similar to other residents, he too commented on his 'fight' to purchase his house and recognizes that owning a home "is a blessing" because he does not have to worry about where to live anymore. Yet he feels powerless because he was not able to choose where to live when he describes that the government just "placed him here"; he would have preferred to live in a barrio house.[50] Although this is a permanent housing situation, Paul does not feel security of tenure because he does not have the title and will not have it until after five years of occupancy.[51] He thus feels that the house was "lent" to him. This sense of powerlessness is reinforced in his current living situation, given his history of having been forced to abandon his home in Huila. Paul explains that he became unattached to material possessions after being harassed and threatened in his hometown by people he refers to as "outlaws":

> Well, look, with everything that has happened, nothing is yours, at any moment you abandon things and—at this moment, I'm at peace here because no one knows where I am, right? But if they were to know, well this (referring to his current home) gets abandoned once again because first is my life, right? In other words, I'm not attached to material [things], yes? It's as simple as that, as I left what was mine over there, this for me is nothing, nothing… first [is] life and the protection of my family.[52]

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[49] I did not include his home city as I did with other participants to further protect his safety.

[50] The national and district vouchers can be utilized to purchase used housing but the process of approval is lengthy and not very well advertised. More often than not, barrio houses do not meet building code requirements in order for a subsidy to be utilized for this kind of house.

[51] I did not find any literature or comment that explained this timeline as official procedure.

[52] The issue of insecurity is very complex and looms large in participants' narratives because, as ciudadela residents who live in poverty, there are multiple kinds of problems that they face on a daily basis. Petty crime, drugs, and death threats are a few examples of problems that create an environment of insecurity, as well as the armed conflict that still resonates in the countryside. This issue has been excluded from the major findings of this research but the discussion chapter will make reference to insecurity, it is related to the main argument of the dissertation.

After the official interview was over, he walked me to the bus stop because night had fallen. On our way there, he told me that he was given his house just a few days after he received notice that the Canadian government had granted him and his family refugee status. It was a difficult decision to make but he chose his *casita* (little house) in Colombia instead and fight the good fight. He, like Liliana is very committed to advancing social and material conditions for his compatriots who have been displaced due to the armed conflict. At that point, Paul had been living in his new home for two and a half years. I, regrettably, did not ask him if it was worth staying in Colombia. There have been improvements in his life since he moved into his house. He obtained two certificate degrees from the national vocational college (SENA) in computer information systems and graphic design, with only a fifth grade education. Although he cannot find employment and currently peddles wall-mounted television stands on the street, he founded a small non-profit organization to support his organizing efforts and used his graphic design skills to design a logo and build a blog.

Household budget changes. Many participants told me how relieved they were that they no longer had to pay a high rent for a tenement room or apartment. Monthly housing costs, that include bank or personal loan re-payments, and utilities, are dramatically lower. Not only were many participants relieved and 'at peace' that they could have more income at their disposal but an anti-renting sentiment is prevalent in several narratives. For example, Álvaro says,

> I was paying rent—imagine almost $400 or $500,000 pesos with utilities and everything and in an apartment—here we are paying almost half, $200,000 pesos, [I: with the utilities?] The utilities are cheap… the gas comes to almost nothing, it comes to $1,600 pesos, while in the other place we had to pay about $100--$150,000 pesos for utilities and here we pay about $70,000 pesos, see?... We benefit, here it's now *owned* … I paid rent to a woman for almost 10 years—we calculated almost $12 million pesos in just rent…that's why we expedited [our decision] to buy a house, and we liked the ones here in the area of El Recreo.

Álvaro communicates two important elements that contribute to a negative perception of renting housing. As a homeowner, his living costs have decreased, but more importantly, he has seen how much more money he has, in essence, wasted over the years and placed in the pocket of his former landlord. It is almost as if he and his wife are replacing that 'extra' money back into *their* pockets.

Even though social housing is built within a market environment, new units have fixed below-market prices because they are capped by the national government. One way in which developers keep costs down is by leaving the interiors unfinished (*obra gris* – grey construction; Figure 19). Residents' living costs have indeed decreased but they are now forced to be financially responsible for any "additional" improvement to their interiors. Liliana, Álvaro, Dalia, Elena & Mariana, Luz Elena, Maria Luisa, Marta and Sandra Linda mentioned how they have finished their floors, walls, kitchen, or even added a third floor to their attached row house. Most of them, however, have done it incrementally as they were able to afford it. While costs have decreased, in some cases there is no 'extra' income; budgetary circumstances have just become a little less tight. Elena & Mariana and Luz Elena were exceptions because they finished their entire apartments prior to moving in (Figure 18); both received pension and insurance pay-outs from their deceased husbands or father. In contrast, Maria Luisa and Marta have taken out bank loans in order to finish their homes. Marta is about to finish paying the loan she used to install a gas connection and stove into her kitchen. She decided to pay more for an automatic stove that lights up a burner when a knob is turned, as in an upper-class apartment that she cleans to supplement her steady full-time job as a family's housekeeper. Maria Luisa's financial obligation is much more strained because her husband is the only one that works; she cannot find work due to a recent accident that affects her mobility and aggravated a formerly unknown

scoliosis condition. She explains sadly, “little by little I told you we made—the bank, the loan, we’ve sacrificed a lot, in many ways, in order to live in a dignified way.” Maria Luisa’s brightly painted walls and wooden paneled ceilings still shine as if they were installed a few months ago. She adds, “The problem that I see of displaced families is that they become used to living like indigents, they, you don’t, don’t, don’t see, at least I don’t—it’s a rare family that I’ve seen that has a desire to improve themselves.” As a formerly displaced woman from the coastal city of Baranquilla, Atlántico, she feels it is very important to invest in her home space because it helps to ground her to one place and differentiate herself from a possible life of indigence like her displaced counterparts. Very often, she does not have enough for necessities but she and her husband have elected to take out home improvement loans. Paul lives the kind of situation that Maria Luisa tries very hard to avoid. He ekes out a meager living peddling wall-mount stands for televisions while his wife stays at home to care for their six young children. He laments that at times he goes hungry, cannot afford his monthly bills, much less any home finishing expense. Although Luz Elena, a formerly displaced widow from Valencia, in the department of Córdoba, and mother to a teenaged son, plans to save money to continue to “dress up” her bright and pastel-colored apartment, she is currently unemployed and is also struggling to put food on the table. Sandra Linda, also unemployed due to a possible neurological disorder observes,

> People over here think that because we’re property owners and that we have a roof [of our own] that we are full of money, no, here—as my mother, blessed soul, would say, “eating and roasting, roasting and eating is the thing”… we survive on a daily basis.

Liliana and Álvaro also mentioned they know neighbors who go hungry as well. There is a diversity of poverty in these ciudadelas. Although the housing units are classified as stratum 2 (on a scale from 1 to 6 where stratum 1 is the lowest), residents come from a variety of

backgrounds and employment situations. Homeownership is an undisputed improvement in quality of life but it is lived in diverse and imperfect ways.

Figure 18. Elena & Mariana's finished apartment – kitchen view.
Source: I. Cuervo

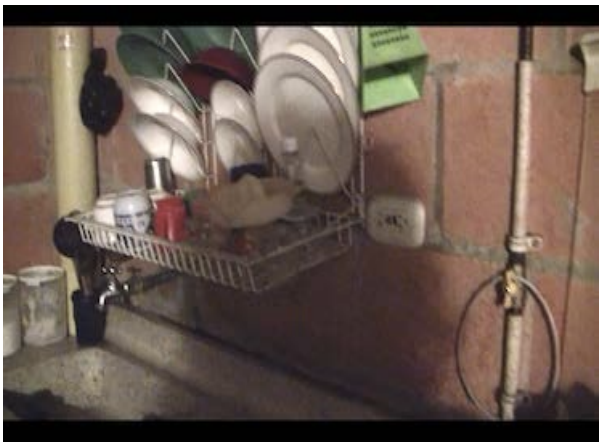

Figure 19. Paul's unfinished house – kitchen view.

Source: I. Cuervo

Negative rental experiences – too costly. Eight of 12 resident participants recounted stories of negative experiences while renting. Liliana, Luz Elena, Maria Luisa, Marta, and Paul faced situations that color how they talk of their current, owned homes. Half of the residents reported that they lived in *inquilinatos* or *piezas*, tenement buildings or rooms in such structures, respectively. This is a common housing option for poor people in large cities in Colombia. Costly rents and utility bills form a large part of this thematic thread, as illustrated in Álvaro's calculations above, but there are other dimensions to renting that are described in the following section.

Negative rental experiences – spatial and behavioral control inside the units. Luz Elena lived in a hillside barrio in an informally developed area of the city where streets were not paved. Walking down the steep hills was dangerous when it rained heavily. Liliana is a head of household and was solely responsible for her parents (now, only her mother) and two young

daughters since she moved from a provincial town to Bogotá. As a family of five, it was difficult to find both an affordable and large enough apartment that would accept her "large" family.

Luz Elena commented that now, in her owned apartment, she is able to use the bathroom at any time. Prior to her move into El Porvenir, she had to step outside her bathroom-less third floor apartment to use the one on the fourth floor. In a similar restriction of the use of space, Paul recounts how his former landlord 'humiliated' him by instilling a curfew and constantly telling him what to do:

> I shed that karma that I would return to that tenement room where … we lived on top of one another in a room, and those humiliations, 'no, no, lock the door, no, turn off the light', I don't know what, it is so difficult here… 'look, the water can't be wasted'—they would lock me out at 7 or 8 at night, I couldn't go out, I couldn't—no because there was a mistrust that I was a displaced person, so they would think that I was a thief or that I would pilfer something…

Paul complains here and in other instances about how he has been and is still perceived badly for having been a displaced person. Negative perceptions of the 'other' will be explored later, nevertheless, it is important to note two points he brings up. First, when he uses the word *here*, Paul is referring to Bogotá, and second, he was forced to endure prejudiced practices. This powerlessness that he experienced makes him very thankful for a space he can call his own.

Interestingly but not surprisingly, Camila, Dalia, Elena & Mariana, Sandra Linda, as well as Paul, mentioned how they appreciate the control they are able to exercise over their home spaces as it is related to their children's behavior. These interviewees explicitly stated that their children were mistreated and, again, in some cases "humiliated." These negative experiences illuminate life in poverty for families with young children. Sharing a space with other adults who are often not related and do not have children of their own may create tense environments

because these others may be displeased with how children play or simply behave.[53] This resonates with a situation in Gans' (1982) study on suburban life where families would socialize with other neighboring families based on like-minded child rearing practices. Despite the fact that Elena, Mariana's mother, no longer has young children, she mentions how her deceased husband never wanted to live, "in a tenement or little room with more family, no, he always liked everything independent so that they wouldn't bother the kids." Dalia was one of the first residents in El Recreo and has been living there for the better part of 10 years. She lives in a three-story row house with her husband and two children. The first two floors are finished, and she and her husband recently added the third floor and terrace to use as a laundering area (*patio*). They added a tiny guest bathroom under the stairs on the first floor that I estimated from the exterior to be 18 inches wide. When asked what her meaning of the word 'house' is, she answered both, "where no one humiliates your children" and "no one tells you anything." This signals that after at least 10 years, she remembers significant conflicts she may have endured with others in housing that she did not consider her own. Children's behavior, naturally erratic at times, was unwelcomed by neighbors in common living spaces, whether in a shared tenement or in other common areas.

It is clear that for residents, owning their own homes often creates a psychological peace and sense of accomplishment. Saying, 'this is mine', was common but what is interestingly absent from their discourse were the words for homeowner, owner, or property owner (*dueño*/ *propietario* alone or, *~ de casa o ~ de vivienda* respectively). Consequently, homeownership as a signifier, is also absent. Instead, their owned housing was simply referred to as housing (*vivienda*) or specifically as social housing (*vivienda de interés social*). When I asked the

[53] Cuervo (2008), unpublished manuscript.

participants of the discussion group what they thought the word 'habitat' meant to them, I heard varied answers but generally, they spoke about elements of the surrounding physical as well as social environments of their home spaces. An interesting association to owning a home was brought up by Sandra Linda was that Colombia, and Bogotá specifically, created,

> … Social housing for people with low resources, in order to have a better quality of life… in order to *avoid paying rent* [emphasis added] and paying for many other things, they take [advantage of] social housing initiatives to see improvements in their environment, in their personality, in many things, because that really is guaranteed … I say it from personal experience, it was like that [for me].

Renting is perceived negatively because it is more expensive, and as was illustrated above, can be harmful psychologically if a sense of human dignity is decreased. The financial and psychological implications are two dimensions that can be considered fundamental to 'decent' or 'just housing'.

Conclusion

As we saw, being homeowners was one, if not, the best experience in these residents lives. The idea that they own their own dwelling makes psychological as well as financial room for improvement. Nevertheless, despite a decrease in overall housing costs, budgetary constraints do not erase hardships. Importantly, their meanings of homeownership do not capture the shared co-property scheme in which they live. This is very telling and the communitarian implications will be featured in Chapter 7.

Professionals

Support 'decent' housing. Residents' narratives began with how happy they were to own their own homes. In contrast, professionals' and housing policy discourse does not center heavily on ownership per se, but rather on the notion that those in poverty have a right to live in 'decent' housing. There is institutional support to provide decent housing, however, it is only

available for purchase; there are no formal institutional channels for renting social housing. Therefore, people understand that social housing is only available for purchase. This discourse may set an opaque stage upon which it is not easy to see the struggles that low-income people endure as "homeowners" because the state and the private sector concern themselves with fulfilling the affordable housing gap by trying to 'provide decent housing' and not necessarily maintaining a livable lifestyle once they become proprietors. This section focuses on how professionals and housing policy discourse envision their provision of housing.

The evolution of Metrovivienda's social housing context was outlined in Chapter 3. As a reminder to help contextualize professionals' discourse, a brief review follows. Individual homeownership came to be valued in Colombia due to its Spanish colonialist influence (Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá). The Colombian constitution upholds this value by stating that all individuals have a right to property. Several of its articles are explicit about the right to property and the rights of property owners. Jumping from this legal standpoint, the horizontal property law (*Ley 675 de Propiedad Horizontal*) evolved to include this notion and was applied to organize all multi-family housing; all social housing is multi-family housing. This law encourages self-sustaining communities of property owners in order to improve the society at large. Furthermore, Jaime, Milay's son mentioned that another way the state encourages low-income homeownership is by paying the interest of a mortgage (usually of 15 years) during the first seven years of its term.

Metrovivienda staff member FH related that Metrovivienda's initiatives enable residents to attain the right to housing. As an agency, it believes in the asset building potential homeownership can generate: "for low-income families who do not have social security mechanisms like health insurance, unemployment insurance, or retirement funds, the house

becomes a kind of social and financial asset because they can own it forever" (Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá , p. 66). FH agrees with the asset-building potential – undertaking the purchase process makes many residents that much happier to become homeowners:

> I meet people that are happy to have been able to get housing, despite all of their difficulties, despite that they may not be able to eat three times a day, but there's a happiness, there's an opening in the mind and heart… that there's something to fight for, that there are some rights that have been acquired, that there are some duties that have been acquired.

FH begins to point out three elements of what it means to move into the ciudadelas as homeowners in the horizontal property scheme–emotional ease, a sense of accomplishment from struggling for something, and a mixture of community level rights and responsibilities. FH's statement acknowledges that residents have trouble with their finances once they become homeowners but he prioritizes homeownership's emotional benefits rather than its potential financial burden. Homeownership is touted as beneficial to society but there is still little to no institutional support for homeowners post-occupancy.

Formal savings for subsidies. It is very interesting that only one professional, including any related discourse, noted the large financial changes that households experience as they transition into homeownership. Articulating the fact that subsidy applicants, unless they are displaced, are required to have a minimum amount of savings, former Metrovivienda staff member, RB, also supports the asset-building potential social housing provides. During his tenure in Metrovivienda, RB "fell in love with those families" and became very close to a few prospective buyers over the seven years he was employed by the agency. Although most ciudadela residents can access social housing because they earn steady, albeit small, wages, he recounts how he convinced a shoe-shiner, an informally employed man, to begin saving so that he too could one day afford his own house:

> ‘Mr. RB, how do I purchase [housing]?’
>
> And I told him, ‘well, let’s see, the two of us. How many shoe shines do you do in a day? X amount. Put them into an account.’
>
> ‘What would I open an account for?’
>
> ‘Open an account because for you to show, to lend to you, you have to have [something] maestro, and not put it away in a house underneath a mattress, you have to prove it… open a little account, deposit the $60,000 pesos of the day, take out the $20,000 pesos you need [for expenses] and you keep depositing, then when you realize it, you moved more than $2 million pesos, and with those $2 million pesos they can lend you X amount of money, do it for three months, do it and we’ll keep talking, every two weeks we’ll sit and chat’, and he bought his house.
>
> He said, ‘Mr. RB, without you,’
>
> Obviously he invited me over for a barbeque…
>
> He said, ‘Mr. RB, thanks to you,’
>
> ‘No, you were the one that did it, I gave you an idea, you did it.’

My analysis did not focus on discursive uses of language but it is interesting to note RB’s use of the pronoun[54] to refer to the client population when he says, “fell in love with *those* families [emphasis added].” While he grew a sense of affection with the community he was serving, the use of that pronoun signifies that he is not a member of their group but his commitment to his work helped to narrow the social distance that exists between them. One could also interpret the use of that pronoun as a strategy to social distance himself from being poor and ignorant of this process. Viewing his story from a broader perspective, it highlights the much longer process that some of the participants had to endure prior to the subsidy and housing application processes. For many, the change from living in other housing arrangements to the new formally planned communities began with a change in other informal life practices, such as saving money in a bank account and not in cash under a mattress, as RB indicated. RB was able

[54] The Spanish and English translations are equivalent.

to communicate this idea to the shoe-shiner and similarly assisted a baker and a street recycler. Despite the fact that such subtle modern lifestyle changes in daily life are closely associated with how people experience changes in the city of Bogotá as it becomes more formally urbanized, surprisingly, only two professionals, FH and developer staff member ACP, mentioned it. The change from living in tenements or rural areas to moving into formally planned communities changes daily practices at the level of the family unit, i.e., how they live out their lives. This underlying discourse will be further illustrated in Chapter 9, as this points to the crux of Bogotá's project of civic and city building.

Housing and displacement. This underlying discourse is particularly poignant as it refers to a re-building of a social fabric at all levels of society due to an armed conflict that the nation has endured for almost 50 years. Moreover, a longer historical struggle with violent political fall-out had been brewing since before the conflict. Nevertheless, the relationship between homeownership and displacement is virtually never discussed by professionals or related social housing discourse (see post script). As detailed in Chapter 3, the national government instituted a housing subsidy program for the internally displaced population in 1991; Bogotá's subsidy program became available to all people who meet other requirements in 2005. The discussion related to displacement is limited to the national subsidy. However, after some time in the field, I did hear it discussed, albeit tentatively and informally. On the eve of my departure back to New York, several of the Metrovivienda staff and I left the main office for a farewell celebration to a café-bar across the street. After one or two beers, the day's events slowly started to ebb away but it was my final opportunity to ask them about the nature of their work. It was only at this time that one staff member, and several agreed, that the country's housing policy does not 'really' acknowledge the armed conflict; nothing will change if it never

does. Unfortunately, the topic stalled here but it is telling that at least one top staff member in the group personally agreed with this view.

Conclusion

Some professionals do mention the fact that purchasing a home is very meaningful but their narratives and related discourse centers on the process and stops there. Given that most do not provide any kind of service after people purchase housing, they do not discuss how residents' lives are impacted. If they do work with ciudadela residents, as in the case with the agency's social team, their work is completely unrelated to post-purchase services. This is an important finding because it is clear that the state is completely absent, leaving residents to fend for themselves in a market-based economy.

CHAPTER 6: EXPERIENCES IN FORMAL URBANIZING SPACES

The owned units–attached row house or apartment–form part of a rational and uncharacteristic urban design and infrastructure that is different from most of Bogotá. There have been other master planned communities in Bogotá's urban history but these are the newest and are specifically geared to a segment of population with low resources. These communities are new in two ways, *El Recreo*, the oldest, is 10 years old and construction of *El Porvenir* was begun in 2005 and has yet to be completed. Therefore, residents are still learning how to live in them. I call them *formal urbanizing spaces*. The gerund indicates people's current accommodation to them, and the word 'formal' is relevant because the city of Bogotá was not designed or formally planned but grew—and still grows—informally, i.e. without the use of official regulating bodies and regulations that oversee land development. The design and associated urban infrastructure of these new spaces have made a large impact in residents' daily lives.

The previous chapter explained how housing policy determined the trajectory of decisions that were made to create the *ciudadelas*. This second findings chapter features the discourse of the residents and the housing professionals on the design of the ciudadelas and the housing complexes. It paints a picture of the *form* of the new communities and certain social relationships implicated in the physical arrangements of the new kind of space. To clarify, form can be understood in two ways. First, it is a word that describes what things look like, for example, the colors, materials, and proportions of a specific space. Second, and subsequent to how people read a space, form involves what spaces do. The "social geometry" of a space (D. Chapin, personal communication, 12.2.12) is a concept that explains the relationships created out

of the arrangements of specific spaces designated for certain functions.[55] For example, it can be the dynamic created between two neighbors who share a party wall that transmits high amounts of noise, where one neighbor may use his space for sleeping during the day because he works at night and the other neighbor uses the corresponding space to carry out her daily needs as a mother of three children. Both elements that characterize form— material qualities and the physical arrangement of functional spaces—have implications on how people read a space and act in it.

Both participant groups of residents and housing related professionals raise similar issues but their focus varies due to their relationship to the ciudadelas as people who live there or as people who work there or work to build them. As expected, the residents speak from the perspective on the ground as they experience what housing policymakers and designers created, and the professionals speak from a bird's eye and process-oriented perspective. Both groups agree that these new planned spaces markedly improve residents' quality of life but, interestingly, both groups' narratives weave critiques of housing policy and practices in their praises. This chapter is organized by the design or planning of relevant housing scales – unit, residential complex, and ciudadela.

Residents

Housing Unit.

House vs. apartment. When 11 of the 12 resident participants decided to purchase housing, their preferred type was a row house rather than an apartment. To maximize the number of units per superblock, developers who choose to build single-family units build only attached row houses. For residents, the row house design is the closest to a regular barrio house that is common in urban centers. Residents, such as Marta who lives with her son, his wife, their

[55] For a similar concept, please see Hillier and Hanson (1984).

newborn child, two under-aged nephews, and her most beloved member of all, Aurelio the cat, prefer this option because the first floor is perceived as a space from which to "launch a business." The tiny first floor area is not designed for this adaptability, nor is it legally sanctioned as a commercial space; but it is quite common (Figure 20). Eight residents were able to find row houses, but three, including Marta, had to accept apartments because none were available for sale when they began the required steps to purchase housing (Figure 21). None of them, however, undertake such enterprises in their own homes; the idea is that they would theoretically see the option to do so.

Figure 20. Family restaurant on the first floor of a row house.
Source: I. Cuervo

Figure 21. Example of hi-rise apartment block.
Source: I. Cuervo

Design issues—Small spaces. Half of the residents experienced problems adapting to the small size of the units they purchased. More telling is that there was an animated agreement during the group discussion about the size of the house that makes them feel like they are living in "matchboxes":

> They say that we Colombians should have decent housing, right? And so, I think that this housing is too small, for example for my family that is large, and the rooms are too small, the living-dining area, even the kitchen is right there in the living-dining area, I don't

> think this is decent, in other words, something that is so small that cannot satisfy the needs of the home… I think that that should change, with regard to social housing.

Yasmín, Paul's wife, references the common rhetoric about social housing, especially from city officials and other policymakers by using the term "decent housing." Yet, as is very common, policy intentions oftentimes do not fit real needs. The house's size does not meet her requirements and thus becomes 'unjust'.[56] The average size of each unit is 42 square meters (~452 square feet[57]) and it was intended to house a nuclear family – a mother, father, and two or three children (Torres Tovar, personal communication, November 25, 2009). Like Yasmín, Camila's household size is also large. She is not only living with her five children but, now that she can make decisions about her own home space, she has brought her sister and her daughter to live with her. She also took in her "mother-in-law's" ailing and blind mother so that she can more easily care for her because she feels like she owes her mother-in-law, her on-and-off again partner's mother, who has helped her over the years. Just as Camila's house, Paul and Yasmín's house is crowded with furniture and other objects, making it impossible to open the main door fully. Although there is no official indication that these units are indicated for a certain number of people, e.g. for a household of 5 persons, each unit is intended by designers and policymakers to be occupied by a nuclear family comprised of a husband, wife and two or three children. This practice does not consider the fact that families could be numerous or that the extended family, and taking care of its members, is a culturally important element. Elena and Mariana have always lived in larger houses and are still becoming accustomed to living in a small two-

[56] Transforming the adjective "decent" into its antonym, "indecency" is inappropriate in the housing context and changes its meaning in the English translation. A more suitable word is "unjust" because policy is written from a human rights' perspective.

[57] This is two square feet larger than the minimum area required in New York City for an apartment with a kitchen and bathroom. To put this size into perspective, an average sized studio in Manhattan is 550 square feet. http://www.cnn.com/2012/07/10/us/new-york-microunits/index.html.

bedroom apartment. They are selling a large china cabinet that once stood in the dining room of their former house but now crowds the small living area of the apartment.

Group discussion participants were visibly and audibly upset over the fact that their housing units are too small for their needs. They mentioned a clear distrust of the government and the market driven development practices that created housing with such small units. Álvaro repeated during the group discussion something he said during his interview, that "El Recreo was the experiment for El Porvenir" because whatever mistakes occurred in the former, were then improved upon in the latter. One other participant, Juan, who is an administrator of a residential complex in El Recreo, was deeply critical of existing social housing policy because it was based on policies that benefit the financial sector, namely developers and the banking system, and not the people of Colombia. Citing the fact that the national constitution supports certain rights for its citizens, he illustrates the contradictory message of public policy and the so-called 'tight real estate market':

> …Colombia being such a large country, immensely large, full of land, of riches, no, the excuse is 'there is no space to build', we don't have enough land, so the houses have to be smaller, but at the same time, business, and maybe if you see it from another perspective, how it really is, is that behind all that is a business, and the more, the more efficient the use of land becomes there will be a larger amount of residential units to sell and there will be more customers who are the ones that will pay the banks, right? So, I want to leave that reflection [with you] because I think you have also thought this.

This insightful comment about the current processes of development illustrates the rhetoric that policymakers and practitioners, such as Metrovivienda, cite as their constraints for building social housing. Juan and a few others in the group do not understand why their country functions under the scheme of 'development for capital and not for people' (e.g. Harvey, 1993) when they believe that the country is rich enough in raw materials to divert some of it back to its citizens.

This is an example of how form, as the small proportions of the units, has an impact on people's perceptions of the interior of their home spaces.

Design issues—Not apt for disabled. Colombia's Law 361 from 1997 established wide parameters for the protection of people with disabilities. It includes a mandate that "at least 10% of social housing projects" be accessible for people with disabilities; these are to include elevators and/ or ramps. I did not learn of any residential complexes that met these criteria, and the stories below would indicate that no resident who is in need of accessible housing can find one. The small space of each unit barely allows for a small living area and kitchen, in the case of a row house, a narrow staircase and bedrooms on the second and/ or third floors. It is worthwhile to note that although not sought as a requirement for this study, three women have conditions that impair their mobility and two others care for their aging relatives who cannot easily walk up and down the stairs. The two in the first group mentioned their inability to find adequate work but did not raise issues specific to the design of their housing. It was a big issue, however, for Jaime & Milay, an adult son and mother who live together. It took them over a year to find a spacious unit in which Milay could move comfortably around. They could not seek a house because all houses designed for social housing are built with at least two floors and stairs. Camila's blind grandmother-in-law cannot move floors unless she is accompanied by someone and Liliana's mother crawls slowly as she uses the stairs. Banisters and railings are considered finishes and are not installed by developers. There is no consideration for any user who is not able-bodied.

Design issues—Noise between units. Residents also complain about the fact that the party walls between their units are terribly hollow and therefore transmit a high amount of noise. In Chapter 4, Liliana speaks about how she's from a part of the country where people enjoy both

speaking and listening to music loudly. Dalia would like to have get-togethers in the evening where she can play music for people to dance to; it is common practice to have parties that tend to run late into the night or early hours of the morning. As we will see in the following chapter, the material quality of the walls has created disagreements between neighbors. The noise generated from such activities that people may enjoy participating in their own homes must be modulated to consider others' needs. This element is possibly the last thing that many homeowners think of because they are not aware of both the material conditions as well as the "social geometry" (D. Chapin, personal communication, 12.20.12) of the units before they move into their new homes. Several people mention the fact that they can hear people's conversations, which is at times discomforting. Alvaro also mentions the quality of the walls as he tells me that he can hear his neighbor mistreat her son.

Residential complex.

Design issues. Once Metrovivienda completes infrastructure in the new communities, they sell plots of land to developers through a public, competitive bidding process. Most resident participants did not opine about the design of the complexes; most narratives featured talk at the scale first, of the units, and then at the scale of the ciudadelas, skipping the scale of the complexes. Nevertheless, two participants had strikingly opposing viewpoints about their complexes. It is not coincidental that one was designed and built by a large developer and the other one by a small one, whose chief executive officer enjoys working at the job site to ensure quality control.

Jaime & Milay live on the first floor of a gated apartment building complex that is described by some as 'the one with the holes' because of its holed exterior panels used as both dividers and design elements throughout the complex. The complex is designed as connected

buildings of six stories with interior courtyards and exterior walkways that connect all apartment units. It has been about two months since the first residents began moving in and some elements were still under construction—the intercom system has not been installed and the children's playground has yet to be completed. The complex sits on a still remote corner of ciudadela El Porvenir and is surrounded by empty lots or lots under construction. As Jaime explains, it does not look like the average housing complex. The most salient feature for him is its unique layout (Figure 22 &23):

> At first, the complex looked pretty because the structure is different, it's not a structure like the traditional one of all of the apartments, because if you take a look, [there are] passageways like that (references exterior ones)… I like art films here in Colombia, the Spanish ones, they're like the Spanish buildings… they're not like the towers here that are nearby, that's why I noticed them… the major benefit with regard to this unit is that you don't have a neighbor across nor next door, you understand? Totally different because in the units [I saw] before, on a floor there are four apartments, you have neighbors next door, across, and at all sides…

As I will elaborate further in the following chapter, neighbor relations figure very important in the narratives of all the residents' for an improved quality of life. Jaime is implying that he would have less of an opportunity for conflicts with neighbors in this complex than in others that he labels "traditional" because there are less neighbors with which to share the immediate space surrounding their apartment. "Traditional" apartment block designs usually feature about four six-story apartment buildings around one interior courtyard. Access to apartments is through an interior stairwell that leads to a small vestibule for access to four apartments on each floor. Jaime also likes his complex very much because its external passageways are different from all the other housing complexes he had seen, which also remind him of places he has seen in Spanish cinema.

Figure 22. Jaime & Milay's interior circulation courtyard. Their apartment is located to the extreme left of the background tower, not in view.
Source: I. Cuervo

Figure 23. View of external passageways from a passive courtyard.
Source: I. Cuervo

Contrary to Jaime & Milay's experience, Álvaro's is much more fraught. He considers himself lucky to live in one of the largest types of row houses in El Recreo because developers no longer build them as large. He explains that the units remain at a fixed price and if they build them larger, their profit margins would thus decrease. Álvaro is very critical of developers because he has had several bad experiences. He sued the developer of his complex because he was charged for several months of utilities and monthly common charges when he had not moved in yet. He reflects on the fact that they cut corners whenever possible and as a result, they have made many design and construction mistakes: they did not install gutters, planted inappropriate trees or in inappropriate places where the pavement stones are displaced by growing roots, installed inadequate electrical transformers and sewage pipes for the actual higher demand that exists, and allowed for public utility infrastructure, such as lighting posts and cable installations, to be installed within the grounds of the complex when they should be on the exterior on public land. This latter mistake is a potential safety hazard because the electrical lines were left exposed and at second or third floor window height, easily within someone's

reach (see Figure 16 in Chapter 4). Álvaro recounts when a neighbor's son died from an electrical shock from what may have been live exposed lines from an exterior electrical box. With the help from Metrovivienda and neighboring residential complex administrators, his complex is also in the process of suing the developer. Álvaro is committed to this community and is exasperated with the situation:

> I'm not even part of the administration and I continue working for the community, I have taken photos of what I just told you, of the posts, the gutters and all of that, I have complained to Metrovivienda so that they can help, and some officials from Metrovivienda came, Codensa [electrical company] came, they saw what was going on, but then, some of them—some of them, some tell us to go to Codensa, others to go to Telmex [cable company], others to go to the developer, to say, pardon the expression, each one washes their hands of the situation, one [sends us] over there, one over here, they make us bounce around, and in conclusion, nothing, so, you see?

Although Metrovivienda has helped facilitate the process, he does not feel like anything will be remedied. However, he and other local community leaders' are "waking up" as they learn their rights as property owners. This awakening mitigates his feelings of frustration and powerlessness against the developer.

Again, both Alvaro and Jaime's experiences with their residential complexes helps us understand two different kinds of impact that that the forms of physical housing spaces have on its residents. Part of the implication of Jaime's complex is aesthetic. The design of the structure makes him recall the European elements that he associates with arts and culture. The other part is the potential for reduced conflict due to the apartment design layout creating less shared walls; less shared walls may mean less arguments with neighbors, due to, for example, noise transmitted from one apartment to the other or maintenance of the common area just outside of their apartment doors. Although the "social geometric" (D. Chapin, personal communication, 12.20.12) dimension of Alvaro's complex is not associated with his relationship to his neighbors,

it is certainly impacting the functionality of the complex, in addition to his outlook on the developer's practices. The physical and mechanical problems he and his neighbors have with their living space make him critical of the system that produces low-quality housing.

Design & planning of ciudadelas.

Good amenities and services? Residents' narratives of the ciudadelas' services are multi-layered; they complicate what initially seem to be good public utilities and other community services by being critical of them. Four residents like living in their respective ciudadelas for their good housing options, public utilities, and community services yet their enjoyment is also peppered with critiques. Luz Elena really likes that she was able to obtain a place for her son in the local high school. Jaime & Milay appreciate the many housing options available in their ciudadela; Jaime provides an apt metaphor that describes the intentions of a large planned community:

> It's very important to have the option to find in one single place, let's call it, it's a very similar example, in a chain supermarket you can find everything, right? And you don't have to leave to go somewhere else, so that's the reference I make with regard to the project. Metrovivienda's or the Habitat [Secretariat's] project is similar to a supermarket, you go and look and if you like it, well, you buy it and if you don't like it, well, you don't buy it. On the other hand, it's very different than a neighborhood store, in a neighborhood store you won't find the same as you would in a hypermarket where you find everything.

Marta agrees, "We have everything!" She, as others, mentioned that she lives further from work than before, as the ciudadelas are located in the extreme southwest of the city. Despite the fact that her commute is significantly longer, she loves the transportation options that she has available to her now. As she relates the changes she has experienced after moving into El Recreo, she contrasts her daily commute from the past to her current one now:

> Marta: But the changes, in other words, for me the difficult thing was transportation, in other words, because I enjoy it more, I enjoy the transportation in this area more than where I used to live, because where I used to live it was a pain to take the bus to go to

> work. Look, I would get up at 4 o'clock in the morning and wouldn't be able to sleep thinking of how I would get there, what I would do get there, because the buses that would pass by that area at that hour were already, full, super full, one more passenger wouldn't be able to fit inside, and they wouldn't stop for you.
>
> Isabel: But even though you only lived 20 minutes away?
>
> Marta: Yes.

Even though her current commute is longer, she no longer experiences the daily worry that she once did commuting from her former barrio; she can literally rest easier now. She, however, does not complain about the fact that she cannot work near her home.

Dalia likes the large park and the shopping center that are close to her house (Figure 24 & 25). However, these neighborhood services were not built at the time she moved in. It took years for her and her neighbors to be able to enjoy them. She moved into El Recreo during the first phase of its construction. She relates how hard it was to be a pioneer, "[When] we came? *Tough! Hard, hard, hard*, because there was no transportation, firstly, secondly, there was no, it was very lonely, [there were] many mosquitoes, *oh! Too many mosquitoes*, because there were fields back here." Dalia experienced what residents like Jaime & Milay and Luz Elena are undergoing as newcomers to newer El Porvenir. These large master-planned communities on former farming and cattle grazing grounds are built in phases and can take many years to be completed. Unfortunately for the residents of El Porvenir, their ciudadela is taking longer to complete due to many legal impediments between landowners and Metrovivienda.

Figure 24. Large local park.
Source: I. Cuervo

Figure 25. Local shopping center.
Source: I. Cuervo

Although Álvaro lives in Metrovivienda's first community of El Recreo, he still feels that it does not have good enough community services. Despite the fact that he enjoys its parks and urban infrastructure, transportation, health, and police services are still lacking. After much petitioning, he was able have a local, private bus company expand its route to reach further into the ciudadela; the walk to the stops along the previous route was prohibitively long. The local hospital that has been planned for the last three to four years, according to his estimates, has been more difficult to obtain:

> … It's been approved by the Mayor's office and by the same government, but each year they keep telling us, 'this year we're going to build it, this year we're going to build it, this—' and nothing. We touched upon this topic about two weeks ago in the Social Action committee of ciudadela El Recreo.

This quote is informative in two ways. First, Álvaro is frustrated because he feels that the city has been promising a necessary service for a long time but nothing has been done about it. Second, it reveals the fact that he is not alone in his frustration and that there is an active dialogue between the community and local institutional communication channels. This last point foreshadows the contested positions that both community members and institutions take when

trying to improve community problems, which will be expanded upon in Chapter 8 precisely because many of the residents in this study engage in projects to help build community. Finally, another city service that Álvaro critiques is the police force:

> Álvaro: There are things that are needed, for example, the CAI [Centro de Atención Inmediata/ Center for Immediate Attention; neighborhood police kiosks], that CAI over there, that we have in ciudadela El Recreo is not enough for all this community that has come into the city… there are practically about six police officers more or less.
>
> Isabel: For the whole community?
>
> Álvaro: For a very large population… here in the south-west section of—ciudadela El Recreo, we're about 28 complexes and each complex has 230 houses, there are about 500,000 more or less—… there are about 20,000 [people] in this section.

Álvaro is a very active community organizer and is much more critical than, for example, Camila who is neither a community organizer nor active in her residential complex's council. As presented in her life sketch in Chapter 4, she has lived in areas of the city and country where she has not felt safe. The police on the beat she sees in El Recreo are a welcome, sufficient, and steady presence. It is interesting to see the various viewpoints on issues such as these because they are perceived differently based on residents' varying relationships to their neighborhood and city. Whatever the case may be, residents are very articulate and provide ample evidence to support their likes and dislikes about their new neighborhoods.

Aesthetic qualities of the urban design. As explained before, Bogotá mostly grew and is still growing informally, that is, for much of the city's history, there were no formal planning mechanisms in place to regulate where people could settle to live, work, and travel through the city. As a result, *barrios,* 'regular' neighborhoods, can have a haphazard aesthetic quality. In the areas of the city populated by lower social classes, there is very little public green space, utility infrastructure may have been installed after people settled the land, or some areas may lack these services entirely. Many streets are narrow and the roads are not necessarily

orthogonal or paved, making navigation by car or on foot a challenge. Just a few minutes away from the ciudadelas, the historic center of Bosa feels like a maze of narrow winding streets full of shops, people and cars. Because it was once its own municipality before Bogotá annexed it in 1954, it has a large plaza with a church, a local mayor's office, and a park with small streets feeding into the square as in a typical Spanish colonial town. It is common to get lost in this part of Bosa if one is not a resident of the area. Metrovivienda personnel related to me that they had a difficult time finding the main road back towards the center of Bogotá and circled the crowded streets for what seemed to them to be an eternity. While Jane Jacobs (1961) and her followers tout the liveliness of street life as good urban planning that improves the quality of life, many participants, both residents and professionals alike, very much enjoy the rationalistic and modernist separation of spaces that the ciudadelas' urban design provide, not only for the new sense of orderliness but also for the increased sense of safety that they feel (Figure 26). The street life of the ciudadelas is active but not overcrowded, as in the barrios. I saw people walking, cycling, and driving through their streets. The un-gated row house residential complexes whose units face directly onto main streets tend to have been converted into semi-commercial spaces with grocery stores, restaurants, Internet and telephone cafes, and clothing boutiques on the ground level (Figure 27). The gated row house complexes also have similar stores except their numbers are reduced and only service its residents. At times, informal street vendors sell fruit or prepared food like fruit salads, *arepas* (griddled corn cakes), and grilled beef.

Figure 26. Older barrio on the left, Metrovivienda housing complex on the right.
Source: I. Cuervo

Figure 27. Local street-facing shops.
Source: I. Cuervo

Eight residents spoke about how much better their physical environment feels when contrasted with their previous barrios. Only one participant, Maria Luisa, calls her new neighborhood a barrio, but this seems to be uncommon precisely because barrios and ciudadelas are characterized by different urban qualities. The word barrio is also used across social classes. It would be interesting to ask people what they call their general home area in another 10 years because, although the integrity of the urban design may not change dramatically, residents will possibly have lived there longer.

The general comment these participants have about their ciudadelas is that they are cleaner and less crowded than their previous neighborhoods. Luz Elena says,

> I like living here… it feels peaceful. It feels peaceful, you can't hear much noise, because over there in the central [area], because I came from Kennedy, and over there there's a lot of noise, car[s] and other things like that, you see? No, I like it here because in other words, it feels like [being] in the country, yes? You understand? Yes, [it's] great.

Not only does Luz Elena feel at peace because she has a place of her own but she also feels peaceful in her new and quieter environment of the "country"; she is not joking. Her residential complex is located on the extreme border of ciudadela El Porvenir where neighboring

farming and grazing lots can be seen (Figure 28). The Bogotá River, the city's western and natural geographical limit, is also close by. Marta, a resident of El Recreo, does not think her neighborhood is the cleanest but, "in comparison to other barrios, you see on the corner the garbage there, you go out by where my sister lives and on the corner you see garbage bags spilled over, here you practically don't see that." She adds that you could, "walk with children, with a child's tricycle without it being dangerous."

Figure 28. Neighboring farmland beyond El Porvenir's western border.

Urban design and social class identity. Liliana also enjoys the quiet and cleanliness of the ciudadela because it is far away from the din of the rest of the city, but she adds a spin about social class. She utilizes the word "popular" to describe the barrios of lower social classes:

Liliana: …in the other places it's been like, like in areas that are more popular.

Isabel: More than this one?

Liliana: Yes, more than this one, more popular.

Isabel: And, here and also in Barrancabermeja?

Liliana: Yes.

Isabel: And what are the differences—what are the characteristics?

> Liliana: … where I used to live before here it was more transitory (sic), more commercial, it's not commercial here… and when I was in Barranca well, the house, it was a barrio house, it was more, more populated, more—
>
> Isabel: Yes. So then, you wouldn't call this a barrio?
>
> Liliana: No, this is like, no barrio no (laughs a little), I would see this—a barrio is totally, well for me, right? Totally different, I'd call this [something] totally different, I'd call this like a, like ciudadela (we both laugh).

She has always lived in areas typical of people of her social standing and she perceives El Recreo to be different and not a place where the 'popular sectors' live and a possible step up in social standing. The Metrovivienda ciudadelas are predominantly comprised of housing with much fewer commercial spaces. They are characterized by wide streets, bicycle paths, large parks and schools, and regular garbage collection and street cleaning, most of which regular barrios do not have. The cleanliness of the area is a reflection of more adequate sanitation, sewer, and draining infrastructure. Additionally, the buildings' rationalistic and modernist designs also add an orderly aesthetic. In fact, the ciudadelas are often referred to by residents as simply "Metrovivienda" because they are strikingly different from the rest of the local area.

Gloria, a resident and property administrator of her complex, likes the fact that the landscape is ordered, and that despite the houses being too small, the residential complexes have a "harmonious" design. She specifically relates the physical qualities of the landscape with the people that both design them and would be expected to live there:

> … The architects, the firms, that is a group of educated people that make it possible for those—for us with low resources to have access to decent housing and with the characteristics of those who have—the very powerful, because our housing doesn't [inaudible], are anti-seismic, look, the surroundings, it's very planned and organized.

Residents are still acclimating themselves to spaces that have never been "theirs." Gloria recognizes a clear division between social classes, between the historical 'haves' and 'have-

nots', but in her words, it is possible to glimpse into a world where everyone can access basic and decent living conditions. She is also clear that it is the educated that can provide necessary elements for improved material conditions.

The urban form of the ciudadelas is yet another example of how the material characteristics of a space and the social relations involved, whether real or perceived, can influence how people feel, act, and relate to a space. The form of the ciudadela is experienced very differently because its residents have not historically had access to places that were formally planned.

Conclusion

On the surface, residents all agree the ciudadelas are marked improvements from previous dwellings and neighborhoods. However, they have many criticisms of building and planning practices that point to ample room for improvement. The principal space, the housing unit, is experienced as terribly small, challenging the rhetoric that this social housing is decent. For at least one participant, most of the residential complexes seem uniform and lack details that hardly differentiate them from one another. Inferior construction practices also create safety hazards and challenge residential livelihood. While urban design characteristics, such as cleanliness and wide streets, are appreciated but different for them, the provision of some services is not adequate or too slow, causing frustration. Meaning-making is based on how people relate to the *form*-al quality of their surrounding spaces: complaints are based on unexpected compromises that residents have to make due to small or poorly built housing construction, comparisons to previous areas of residence, design elements are appreciated because they serve as a reminder of another artful place (Spain), or willful action to change or challenge planned, designed, or built buildings and services.

Professionals

Housing Unit.

House vs. apartment. A few professionals mentioned that a row house was the preferred option for the same reasons as the residents. A couple of them recognized that there is a very high demand for housing but not enough is being built to meet it. Illustrating how form impacts social relations, there is an interesting assumption that most residents will have a hard time adjusting to living in *altura*, that is, living in high-rise apartment buildings; they only reach six stories because they do not have elevators. RB's explains,

> You would think that those types of families do not like housing where there are a lot of people and that they don't feel their own land, on the second floor their land is in the air, 'that's not mine', they like to know that that land is *mine* (emphasis in original).

He is surprised that more people were increasingly interested in living in apartment buildings and that they tended to be younger couples who are both in the labor force. The observation was about the differences between the traditional 'poor' family with traditional worldviews and the modern family who would be more willing to live in a modern setting. In other words, RB was surprised that poor families, usually migrants, were accepting a move towards modernity despite their historically traditional land-based, rural backgrounds. Some research supports this notion: residents of an informally settled community in Santa Marta on the Caribbean coast were explicit about owning a piece of land (Dayaratne & Kellett, 2008). The acceptance of apartment units may be influenced by the many elevator hi-rises in much of Bogotá's wealthier neighborhoods. Large, old houses are being torn down and fancy modern apartment buildings are being built in their place.

One of the urban designers of El Porvenir, YO, specifically challenges the idea of the desire for unshared and individualized possession of land is a common preference of poor

people. As will be explained in the following chapter, this assumption does not consider the more important issues encountered by residents living in the horizontal property scheme of either apartment or row house complexes. She reflects on this commonly held perception that is not as static as some believe it to be. Firstly, many people have become used to living in more dense conditions and navigating daily existence within close proximity to others in the tenements that many have occupied prior to their move into the ciudadelas. Secondly, she recognizes that what had been usually offered in other social housing projects is the same row house design that is closest to a single family detached house. Utilizing a charming analogy, YO notes that something different must be offered in order to introduce behavior and preference changes:

> … [living in apartment buildings] is not a very accepted [behavioral] pattern… if there's nothing offered well I'm going to become accustomed to what you give me always, if I drink coffee with milk and a croissant every day and one day they come out with coffee with milk and guava paste, 'something's amiss here, I don't eat that, why are you bringing me that?', 'no, taste it, it's delicious, it's better for your health', 'no, no, no, I won't taste it'. If you don't offer people a different opportunity, well, people are going to become accustomed to—our pattern is repetitive, comfortable, it's comfortable to become accustomed to routines, so then of course, before something new, well…

YO explains the apartment offerings as a change towards modernization and social progress. The majority of my study's resident participants own houses (8 out of 12), and I would venture to say that it is because people do prefer the house design type over the apartment design for the cultural, historical, and practical reasons cited above. They are generally still learning to accept a different form, as a few participants have mentioned. However, in some cases, the spaces are ill-fitting to residents' needs, as such, they may never quite accept a new pattern the designer is offering.

Her idealistic vision is not quite how developers couch their designs though. There is an economic reality at play within Metrovivienda's bidding system to identify a winner of its bidding process. With every new mayoral administration, Metrovivienda and other city agencies

determine development goals for the term. According to FH, during Samuel Moreno's term (2008-2012), Metrovivienda was to complete the construction of El Porvenir with over 20,000 units, but at the time of data collection, only 11,000-12,000 had been built. Although they did not meet these development goals (Contraloría, cited in Niño Ruiz, 2006); El Espectador, 2012; Gilbert, 2009), one of the methods of attempting to meet them is by highly awarding those proposals that offered more units per square meter. The apartment complex thus yields more units than the attached row house. As Álvaro has previously stated, developers are more interested in designing such complexes because they are also more profitable; more units per square meter also means more money in their firm's coffers. FH acknowledges the capitalist framework that they work in, however, he relishes in the fact that, "we have attained [the ability] to put our hands in their pockets in order to obtain more things for people and for them to reduce their profits, they'll never stop profiting, right? But that seems to me a very important element." He strongly believes Metrovivienda has improved people's quality of life. He supports this claim by adding that over the years, the agency has managed to increase the size of each unit through changes in the classification system from a more basic one of 30-40 square meters (~323-431 square feet) to 40-50 square meters (~431-538 square feet) at the same sale price per unit. FA takes a much more supportive view of the agency's collaboration with the private sector. He is very clear that it is not possible to force developers to change their designs or require corporate social responsibility programs, as has been proposed by a staff member of Metrovivienda's social team, because,

> If I impose more conditions [to be met], where is [the developer] going to get the money from, in other words, the famous social responsibility is very important, social responsibility is the responsibility that a company enacts towards the society who provides its profits and [determines its] services through other things, correct? In other words, you cannot provide social responsibility [programs] if you're bankrupt.

He adds that if there was more land available and its price was lower, he might be able to facilitate the construction of "social housing projects that would more resemble the realities in which [the residents] were living in, individual lots, bigger houses, etc. etc., that that would undoubtedly reduce certain types of conflicts…" He accepts the restraints of current market conditions and counterbalances this restricted view by supporting admirable quality of life improvement programs, such as the agency's and a developer's social initiatives; but in his eyes, better provisions require more capital.

Additionally, from most important to least, Metrovivienda's classification system rewards the following selected features of each proposal: largest constructed area per unit, larger frontage size of lot, larger lot size, larger amount of households paying with subsidies as a percentage of all units, naming a higher price than the minimum size lot price.[58] These, of course, vary whether the project a developer is bidding on is an apartment building or row house type. For example, the second and third measures would not apply for apartment building projects.

Developer JR likens winning the request-for-proposal process to playing a game but admits that it does not always yield the best designs. He and his chief architect said that they would like to design more creatively but when they submitted such a design to Metrovivienda in the past, they lost because they could not offer as many housing units per square meter, one of the most highly valued characteristics of the agency's classification system:

> [If you offer a] very small amount of units, for example, well you can't pay very much for land, in other words, to be able to pay a lot for land, you have to have many units, if you want many units, you have to have smaller frontages, it's a game of— [Isabel: chess]—exactly, which is not usually what you do when you design a housing project.

[58] The lot price cannot exceed 49% of the established minimum price. This is the ranking as explained to me by the Metrovivienda staff member that helps administer the proposal review process but according to developer JR, the proposed land price has the most weight.

He must therefore provide a denser housing arrangement and less green space. He explains that when designing a multi-dwelling project, apartment building or row house, open outdoor space is reduced because it is conceived as common to the entire complex and not proportional to the amount of units. If an architect was designing a unit on one lot, s/he would have to provide a minimum amount of surrounding outdoor space required by the city's building code.

Housing complex.

On the other hand, architect-developer and CEO JDP works very hard within a very constrained construction environment, as he says, "to be as creative as possible;" he even has a material and design laboratory to test out ideas. His firm is the exception in the social housing development sphere of Bogotá. Wearing a red baseball cap, jeans, and operating a crane while I was interviewing him[59], he points out that what differentiates his firm's projects from those of others are its circulation patterns. Learning from his previous project in ciudadela El Recreo, he comments (see Figure 23 above):

> They're external corridors, what we have noticed… in the previous project is that for example that has generated a very important bond within the community, in these areas there is a very large security problem, so what we have seen is that there is oversight by people, inside the project, because there aren't closed zones within the project, the corridor is utilized very much, people go out from their apartments sometimes they go out to smoke, they go out to play, if children are playing too much in the stairwell… when there is some person, theft, or someone enters the complex through some of its zones then it's very easy to know what's going on… in the other [design] schemes, they go in through a little door into a central stairwell where you can [access] other apartments, you can't know what happens very well… [the external corridors] affect people's behaviors a little more, of community, it's interesting to see it after its been inhabited.

[59] I asked if he would rather stop operating the crane while we spoke because it could potentially be dangerous but he insisted it was fine. Later, he did bang some material into the side of the building and jokingly blamed it on me to his workers.

Crime and security issues are a major problem experienced by residents of both communities. Although JDP did not specifically intend to design circulation patterns for community bonding and an increased sense of security in his first project, he has learned and utilized it for the community's benefit in his second one in El Porvenir.

His small development firm can only work on one project at a time because he is not able to raise enough capital, in contrast to the larger firms who have it at their disposal. As someone who is passionately dedicated to building social housing, he uses this to his advantage and "pays 100% attention to it." As a consequence, he has only won two bids. Notwithstanding, the first project was published in an architectural journal.[60] Metrovivienda staff member FA, cited his project as one that is conducive to relationship building because of its exterior walkways and open, shared courtyards; they are reminiscent of Modernist European housing from as early as the 1920s. Yet FA still maintains that, "that is a design problem of a designer, I cannot force all developers to build this way. Am I being clear? The problem of housing construction is a problem at the level of the individual and not everyone has that problem." He is explaining that not everyone has the same concern for the best livability possible, and cannot be expected to, as JDP does.

Design – pricing restrictions. As FA's and the two developers experiences indicate, others feel that they are subject to too many restrictions. Developer staff member ACP finds it increasingly difficult to meet Metrovivienda's standards to build social housing. Interestingly, the company she works for is part of one of the largest corporate conglomerates in the country. The national government establishes the sale price to the consumer of a unit based on a minimum legal monthly salary; for example the lowest priced unit (*Vivienda de Interés Prioritario*) is set at

[60] In order to safeguard confidentiality, the reference is not included here.

50 times the minimum legal monthly salary and is about $20,668 USD (37,492,000 COP).[61] However, ACP considers this Metrovivienda's "straightjacket" because the price has not changed with yearly increases of the minimum wage but,

> Was a measure that came out along with the subsidy 10 years ago, but of course, housing costs have risen more than the minimum salary so each time the gap is bigger because the costs have risen more than the price can be increased, so our costs rise.

ACP's firm has been building social housing for the past eight years because despite the smaller gains, it continues to be profitable. As long as housing subsidies exist, they will remain in the business because, "... in Colombia, there will always be a housing shortage in those strata, strata one and two."[62]

One reason why the social housing business remains profitable is because prospective buyers are attracted to the residential complexes that are gated because living in them is perceived to be safer. With regard to design, however, ACP comments on the fact that gated complexes prevent the look of "substandard barrios," where people build what they want, when they want, and how they want. It is a design element that serves to demarcate the space of the complex and helps to unify it as an architectural element in the neighborhood. Although gating in and of itself does not prevent people from adding on to their row houses at their discretion, the horizontal property scheme does in theory. Recalling, other state-controlled (e.g. Cubillos, Gonzalez, 2006; Osmont, 1986; Sanín Santamaría, 2008) and private housing projects (ex. Boudon, 1972) that have particular design visions, people have nevertheless adapted their homes to fit their needs by adding more floors than structurally allowed, changed the façades of units,

[61] According to the exchange rate on 4.9.13.

[62] As explained in Chapter X, housing in Colombia is designated a stratum number whereby one is the lowest and six is the highest. Generally, poorer people live in the lower strata housing.

and other such things. As was explained, some residents appreciate the uniform and orderly look of the complexes and ciudadelas.

Design & planning of ciudadelas.

Urban design and social class identity. Two housing-related professionals also brought up the notion of class differences as they are manifested in spatial and physical differences; once again, this is an exemplary instance where form influences how people read a space and how they act and react to it and those around them. Just as Gloria and Liliana contrast the physical landscapes of poor neighborhoods in Bogotá, so does Metrovivienda staff member FS. She, however, recounts what she has heard neighboring residents say ciudadela El Recreo had just finished being built. Bosa barrio residents seemed to perceive the residents of the new community as wealthy because the ciudadelas have a certain designed aesthetic and community services that their neighborhoods lack:

> …there's a big issue about class difference… in the area of El Recreo and El Porvenir there are the rich people, and they're the rich of [housing] stratum five in Bosa, right? Because of the all of the community facilities, the issue of the nice complexes, right? So that is generating like, like those differences, so [in] the surrounding Santa Fe barrio, they say that [the residents of the ciudadelas] are the rich and leisurely, of all of Bosa.

Although FS cites the tension between ciudadela and non-ciudadela residents as a big issue to tackle, she only does it in reference to the community organizing efforts she and her team are currently attempting in the country's largest master planned social housing initiative called Usme Ciudad Futuro, also in southern Bogotá. As one of the rural areas along the periphery of Bogotá, the residents of Usme still maintain a farming lifestyle and are highly opposed to the city's creation of massive amounts of social housing there. Usme's residents don't generally perceive social housing recipients as "wealthy." On the contrary, many think they are delinquents and will bring crime. Moreover, they are concerned with their loss of farming land and eventual

displacement.[63] It is important to recall the histories of development of the land where the ciudadelas now sit. The process that Metrovivienda underwent to acquire land for El Recreo was relatively easy, as they had to purchase rural land from a handful of landowners; El Porvenir's land was entirely different. The agency purchased parcels from over 500 landowners and thus created a different dynamic between the people who had been living there and the agency. A detailed description of the ciudadela's development histories are described in Chapter 3.

The development in Bosa was perceived very differently. During the beginning stages of El Recreo's construction, former Metrovivienda staff member RB was told by neighboring Bosa residents that the "oligarchs" were going to move in. He recounts a moment where he made an effort to dialogue with them and he said that slowly, they were able to accept the new development and stop "attacking" Metrovivienda. RB did not make this affront clear, nor did I ask him to clarify it, but it may have been of a verbal nature. (I heard nothing of any "attacks" beyond verbal.) It is implied that the neighbors thought that the city was building housing for the wealthy and not for those who are in need:

> …Without wanting to, people started accepting that it was going to be that way, in the beginning they would attack us a lot because 'oh of course, the oligarchs', and I [would say], '*but what oligarchs, you're the ones that are coming here, what oligarchs*?'. Because they would see those nice houses, they in their muddy areas, they would walk out of their house and would not even have a sidewalk and [they had] a tiny street three meters wide, with mud up to their eyes, and they would get to [the ciudadelas] and find sidewalks three meters, four meters, streets seven meters [wide and] paved, well, 'the oligarchs', 'No, you are the same ones that will live here because you have rights and possibilities that the State permits you. Now, it's not only for those with subsidies, whomever doesn't have a subsidy and wants to buy can buy, that's their decision, if they have buying power. Sell that bad [place] you have there and come here if that's what you want'.

[63] The development initiative in Usme is surrounded by an enormous polemic that is not appropriate to this dissertation study. However, conclusions and recommendations from this research are made in light of the project given that most of Metrovivienda's resources are currently funneled to it and are projected to be for the next 20 years.

Gloria and Liliana are active organizers in their community and might be more actively engaged in understanding the systemic causes of poverty and class injustice. However, RB's re-telling of his interaction above serves to highlight the political and social awareness of the average, impoverished citizen. People are keenly aware of their social standing by virtue of the quality of their surrounding physical spaces. What is important to note in both examples is that the act of intervening upon the land, by literally laying cement and bricks to house the city's poor, has massive repercussions on citizens' perceptions of who belongs where.

Attempting to counter informal development. Metrovivienda's mission[64] is to provide planned city spaces for the building of affordable housing to limit and counteract illegal, informal development because the agency claims it is much more expensive to provide adequate urban infrastructure after land has been settled (Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá). This same notion is repeated in their staff's discourse. As illustrated above, many residents agreed that their material conditions improved. On the surface, it seems that Metrovivienda completed their mission.

Given RB's prior involvement with the construction of El Recreo, Metrovivienda is indeed providing a "good environment" because of the amenities most neighborhoods do not have. Interestingly, as a former city employee, RB credits the past few mayors of the city who created and sustained Metrovivienda while simultaneously critiquing their positions of power: "the mayors made that, mayors are not all bad, they have good things, they have many good things, not everything is bad." He, like others in this research acknowledges the corruption that exists among those in power. He is a very passionate and proud of his prior alignment with an initiative that benefits people who need it most.

[64] See post-script for agency changes after data collection.

Expanding the conception of who drives development, another staff member talks about how informal development actually happens. Even though he technically holds a very low charge in the agency as one of its chauffeurs, in many ways he is its eyes and ears. He was asked to drive staff, with whom I tagged along, to one of the several lots in ciudadela El Porvenir that had recently been "invaded" to photograph the construction. This lot had not been sufficiently secured off and in one night some months back, an illegal developer had built enough houses to consume it entirely. The ramshackle, light brown cinderblock one and two-story houses looked just like its barrio counterparts on surrounding lots (Figure 29). Its residents declared squatters' rights and it has been impossible for Metrovivienda to evict them. It is very common to hear of such occurrences. As mentioned in Chapter 3, one of the city's localities, Ciudad Bolivar, was officially annexed in 1994 and is notorious for being the city's largest slum. The creation of these "marginal barrios" are always blamed on "people," "them," or "pirate developers," the latter term being a derogatory one that is oftentimes used by prefacing that it is not politically correct. However, the chauffeur, on another occasion, reflected on this kind of development with regard to another nearby invasion saying, "people with money build [the housing], a poor person cannot build that fast." He is suggesting that the informal developer has financial resources and manpower at his/her disposal in order to build overnight. He explained that only the wealthy can have adequate capital at their disposal. This struck me because I had the impression that it is poor people in need of cheap housing who organize to build this way because the state is not meeting their needs (Dayaratne & Kellett 2008; Kellett, 2005). His statement indicates that the wealthy and more powerful may very well be implicated in the illegal development of the city. Moreover, it is paralleled by Skinner's (2004) assertion that politicians and illegal land developers have historically had ties to one another to contribute to the unmeasured expansion of

the city. This reflection is closely in line with a few residents' opinions about profit being the ultimate driver of development. This could be because the chauffeur is more than likely much closer in social position to them than Bogotá's policymakers, bankers, and developers. It also makes the state's formal discourse and land interventions that much more difficult to disentangle from one of alleviating poverty.

Figure 29. Illegal housing on Metrovivienda plot.

Metrovivienda hired a lawyer, IC, to work at the Usme field office to provide information and legal technical assistance related to the forthcoming land development. Although IC's interview centered mostly on the problems encountered in Usme, some of his narrative is about the illegal framework of development that is a massive issue in all of Colombia. It is obvious that due to his profession, IC favors legal practices but he couched a comment within talk about the relationship between practices of a legal nature and people's lifestyles. To him, illegal land practices are pervasive but they have permeated themselves into people's daily practices so much so that there is a "culture of illegality," a collective:

> Unconscious illegality… especially in the popular sectors and lower sectors [of society], because people are not aware of doing things correctly, they think they are doing it

> correctly but it turns out that they're not… it's a custom that is very common in our country.

He is explaining that the cycle of land sale and title transfer, for example, has been done incorrectly for so long that it has become the de facto correct way of making decisions of record. While this system seems to work for the average person looking to purchase a small plot on which they wish to build their house, the system cannot work for state agencies that function under legal parameters that require any sale of land to the state to be conducted through proper channels. Specifically, the state can only purchase land to develop housing from the legal holder of the title. IC explains that it is often the case that the legal holder may have passed away years ago but the title keeps being re-sold to new buyers over the years. One could argue that this is so because people in the lower classes have lower levels of education. I would add that he is correct in light of residents' practices in their new housing that will be discussed in the following chapter, but this cultural notion of breaking rules and laws can be extended to people all along the socioeconomic spectrum as evidenced by the driver's comment and Skinner (2004). Moreover, the historical inadequate rule of law and unequal resource distribution across all levels of society is a possible reason to shirk the system for one's own benefit (e.g. Taussig, 2003). This custom of illegality contributes to Bogotá's mayoral administrations and the country's desire to cultivate, that is, teach a new culture, to its populace (see Chapter 9).

Conflicting visions of ciudadela design and planning between all actors.

Similar to how both residents and housing related professionals agreed upon the improved quality of life after they moved into the ciudadelas, both groups view the urban design and planned land use to be a marked improvement from many of their previous neighborhoods in Bogotá or elsewhere in the country. As has been illustrated, there are nuanced differences between resident participants and their professional counterparts regarding their experiences and

perceptions of the new facilities, services, and designs of the ciudadelas. However, when deconstructing the two groups' narratives about planned urban space, complexities within each group begin to emerge about their fundamental values that have an impact on actual physical and material designs, plans, and lived experiences.

Recalling FA, Metrovivienda staff member RP acknowledges that they must work within a confined system to be able to provide housing and other facilities at affordable prices. RP, however, has a more limited vision of the agency's constraints because he only cites the budget that the city, specifically the Habitat Secretariat, allocates them. FA, on the other hand, explains that the agency essentially operates at a net loss because selling the urbanized plots of land does not cover all of its costs. RP states that among city officials, policymakers, and other interested parties, there are contradictory viewpoints about how Bogotá should be generating affordable housing; not everyone agrees with the agency's model of development as a land bank, urban infrastructure outfitter, and vendor to the private sector.[65] Nevertheless, he says the agency is doing a "more than respectable job" to facilitate the construction of social housing given their budget. According to FA, the market and city budget constrains the way Metrovivienda functions. As a result, it is not worthwhile to theorize about "ideal" designs and spaces. As stated prior, he cannot force designers to be creative.

Meanwhile, Colombian housing policy discourse, Metrovivienda staff, including FA, and the four developer representatives in this study all want to provide housing and related services that are "decent." Recalling Chapter 3, the origin of this kind of discourse is in the 1991 national Political Constitution's Article No. 52 that states, "All Colombians have the right to decent housing. The State will dictate the necessary conditions to make effective this right and will

[65] See post-script for agency changes after data collection.

promote plans for social housing…" (Ministerio de Ambiente, Vivienda, y Desarrollo Territorial, et al., 2005, p. 35). Housing is conceived as a right for all its citizens and thus housing for lower income citizens must be made available. Another article describes the state's formulation of public space, a space that is closely linked with formally planned housing: "It is the duty of the state to safeguard the integrity of Public Space." Agencies such as the Ministry of Environment, Housing, and Territorial Development[66], the national regulatory and executive body concerned with environmental, housing and planning policy, the Bogotá Planning Department, the regulatory body that determines land use, zoning, and other planning laws and projects, and the Bogotá Habitat Secretariat, the District's formulator and executor of housing and habitat policy, concretize discourse and implement housing access across all segments of the population based on these constitutional articles. The language of the different agencies support and have institutionalized the endeavor to provide "decent housing for all."

The thread continues with developers and designers who seem to want to achieve the same goals, as long as it remains contained within a profitable environment of production. I return to the discussion about common open areas of the residential complexes while speaking with developer JR and his chief architect after the official interview had concluded. Although common areas must be reduced in the design that is acceptable to all parties for a winning proposal, the architect explained that the common areas are still conceived as shared areas that compensate the necessarily small-sized units. These shared spaces are comprised of, for example, walkways, common green spaces, playgrounds, and parking areas. These facilities are couched in the rubric of public spaces, and importantly, this architect, as did developer JR, perceives that social housing complexes should have public areas for use and enjoyment of their

[66] Restructured since data collection as two separate entities, the Ministry of Housing, City, and Territory and the Ministry of Environment and Sustainable Development.

residents. In other words, public space is still integrated into the design because it is seen as a right. The horizontal property law, as a regulatory mechanism of the state, further supports this notion because it mandates that residents make collective decisions over this public common space to ensure "secure and cooperative co-existence" (Ley 675). Each proprietor is assigned a co-property coefficient, which is an index that determines his or her monthly administrative fee in addition to "1) The proportion of the rights that each of the private property owners has over the common property of the building or complex, 2) The percentage of participation in the general assembly of proprietors."

The target population of Metrovivienda's housing is not entirely in agreement with the great intentions of the state. With regard to homeownership, all residents think it is a positive experience. Notwithstanding, their positivity begins to breakdown when addressing the physical aspects of their new residences. At the scale of the housing unit, as mentioned before, everyone complains about the small size of their houses because they are not "decent."

At the scale of the residential complex, several more issues emerged as problematic. While many other resident participants agree that they are happy to be homeowners and that they like their residential complexes and the public spaces of the ciudadela, no one ever mentioned that they saw their improvements in material conditions and public amenities as compensation for the size of the units, as envisioned by designers and policymakers. In fact, during the group discussion, Álvaro brings up the design and construction problems he has experienced in his complex and tells us, "Social housing is too small. They're violating our rights because we're living in chicken coops, we're not animals…." It may be difficult to see the spaces beyond the unit when his small house makes him feel as though he and his community members are reduced to penned animals that do not have enough room to move around. Álvaro continues citing

reasons why his rights are being violated, all for the sake of owning a piece of property to call home:

> Álvaro: … As I told you in my interview [directed at Isabel] that a person from Germany came, by way of AD when she worked at the Habitat Center [one of Metrovivienda's field offices in Bosa], he saw the roof that these housing units have here in ciudadela El Recreo and he said, 'they use this [material] in Germany for pig farms and because of the heat, it causes cancer'.
>
> Isabel: The roof?
>
> Álvaro: This roof [pointing above our heads], it's bad for us, it's just that here they stick their fingers in our mouths and we, well because we want good housing, and this is not good housing, it's that the government here makes many mistakes and violates our rights and we don't know about it. For example… the developers here—
>
> Yasmín: —It's that us Colombians we let ourselves be taken a lot, in other words, we tolerate all those things.
>
> Álvaro: Yes—
>
> Sandra Linda: —Yes, it would be good to sue or to do something about that issue…
>
> Álvaro: We have a social committee here in ciudadela El Recreo, and we're working on that, the meeting that we had this morning, Mrs. Gloria was there, we're working on arranging meetings with the developers because many mistakes have been made here. For example, regarding the plumbing, what goes below the houses, the infrastructure here, they have violated our rights a lot, the developers have not met certain legal codes of the State…

Álvaro, Gloria and others are highly knowledgeable about the housing system and are mobilizing efforts to fight for the better treatment that they feel they deserve. These participants are thankful for what they have but they feel that it does not give people in power the right to cut corners and make poor decisions about the design and construction of their home and community

spaces; if the rhetoric supports dignity[67] through property ownership, then it should be carried through to the last brick laid on their homes.

Furthermore, most residential complexes are not designed with sociability of neighbors in mind. This recalls the designs of modernist architecture and planning typified in neighboring Brasilia, Brazil. Metrovivienda does not reward designs that create spaces of spontaneous community interaction. In many cases, the only interaction between neighbors is at the front gate or in the community room for a specific event. Many of the residents who live in the ciudadela are migrants from other regions of the country where socializing takes place right outside the house door. It is often left open and neighbors and children drift in and out. Camila, who is from the Caribbean coast, had to change her behavior. Although she admits that she is able to control her children's movements more easily to avoid possible threats to their safety, she describes the different use of home spaces in Bogotá and the coast, "the front door remains open… it's not like here that you close the door, the children in the house, you can control them more! Not there… they go out to play, come back, go to the neighbor's house…." In many row house complexes, there are cement benches for people to theoretically use but they are located at the end of each row of houses and they are disconnected from natural meeting points or circulation from the main entrance. As a result, they are hardly ever used. Some residents have petitioned their complex councils for them to be removed because they complain that the only people who use them are youth delinquents who hang out drinking or using drugs. While these examples are not explicit violations of the right to housing, they certainly highlight the different perspectives on the livability needs of residents. Leaving the door open or closed is not a design issue in and of itself but if many of the end users of the complexes enact neighboring practices in

[67] Transforming the adjective "decent" into the noun "decency" changes its meaning in the English translation. A more suitable word is "dignity" given that the original Spanish word used to describe the right to housing that is "digna."

exterior spaces, then it would make sense to design spaces that enable more interaction. This will become clearer in the following chapter when daily co-existence problems create tense neighbor environments although they are expected to cooperate with one another in the management of their residential complexes.

At the scale of the ciudadelas, residents are very cynical that their government produced something worthwhile. Sandra Linda admits that she is surprised at the government during the discussion group, because "the government doesn't always provide what you need." She did not expect that the government was able to provide her with housing and a community that satisfied many of her needs, while also fulfilling a lifelong dream of owning a house. She makes this comment after Gloria opined about why she, as do others in the group, does not trust the government. They all see the national government as a generally corrupt social entity that "keeps the city's money." Sandra Linda's positive comment about the government fulfilling her needs is short-lived, in this discussion and in the group's daily lives, because their distrust is simultaneously reinforced by their feelings of powerlessness when they discover the chain of wrongdoing that they feel is perpetrated on them. The national policymakers paved this road with good intentions but it seems to have deteriorated with the many cracks presented in this chapter that were created in a decentralized government framework and market economy. It becomes increasingly complex and difficult to manage rights-oriented policies and quality control following each subsequent institutional actor—the Ministry of Environment, Housing, and Territorial Development[68], national housing and planning regulatory body, the District of Bogotá's housing and planning agencies, the agencies that organize the building of social housing, e.g. Metrovivienda, and private developers. While this particular group of participants has members that are heavily active in their communities, this system of social housing

[68] See footnote 67.

production still poses a great challenge to navigate. Navigating this road is confusing for the citizen who is not quite as civically engaged. Bogotá created an agency to oversee multiple platforms for citizen participation through its District Institute for Participation and Communal Action (*Instituto Distrital de la Participación y Acción Comunal*), one of which are the *Juntas de Acción Comunal* at the barrio level.[69] There are numerous other ways in which citizens can participate, one example of which is the social committee that Álvaro and Gloria are members of that is overseen by Metrovivienda, but there are many people who do not or cannot take advantage of them. For example, Luz Elena does not seem interested in any volunteer activities and Marta most often works three jobs a week and cannot commit any time to them.

Conclusion

While all participants agree and like the *form*-al physical and spatial qualities of most of the housing units, residential complexes, and the ciudadelas, residents challenge the notion of what has been deemed decent by housing policy and design and planning practice. Prior to 1991, when the ICT was dissolved by the national government and public-private partnerships were created to build social housing in its place, the state was criticized for not creating enough housing units to meet the needs of the population in the 1970s and 1980s (Gilbert, 1997). Now that the neo-liberal scheme is in full force and has created hundreds of thousands of units, market-based land pricing practices, building quality control, and design quality have many more opportunities to make physical and social spaces problematic.

[69] According to the resident participants group, no juntas de acción comunal (JACs) exist in the ciudadelas. The only participatory platform described was the residential complex council. I suspect that local JACs have the ability to incorporate ciudadela residents as members if they chose. It should be noted that participation in the governance councils are specifically tied to the property of the resident, whereas participation in a JAC is not contingent upon property ownership.

CHAPTER 7: MISUNDERSTANDINGS AND PROBLEMS LIVING IN A 'NEW' PROPERTY SCHEME

Residents living in and associated professionals working with the Metrovivienda ciudadelas of *El Recreo* and *El Porvenir* in Bosa, Bogotá experience many complexities as they become accustomed to the new formal and urbanizing space. This third chapter continues both participant groups' accommodation to this 'new kind of city'; related housing discourse is also included in the analysis. Whereas the previous section featured their experiences with the physical and spatial character of a new urban space, this section features the new and different social relationships that are generated in them. Specifically, this chapter describes the nature of the social relationships in the new urban forms of the residential complexes and the ciudadelas. Initially, I illustrate how the participants have accommodated to the horizontal property law that regulates the kind of property they purchased. Later in the chapter, I feature examples of infractions of the law's rules and regulations and then the reasons why those infractions are made. It should be noted that the residents' narratives describe their own experiences, but unexpectedly, they describe the experiences of their neighbors, in addition to their perceptions of their neighbors. In many instances the participants 'other' their neighbors for reasons of class, rural-city origin, inappropriate behavior, and their upbringing, which influences their behavior. The 12 resident participants' narratives, serve three purposes–windows into their own daily lives, windows into the lives of their neighbors, and clear voices for the community at large.

Once a developer completes construction of a residential complex, the company must turn over its management to residents once 51 percent of the units become occupied. All government sanctioned social housing in Colombia is only available for purchase and is subject to national Law 675 of Horizontal Property, as with other multiple dwelling complexes. This co-

property scheme, wherein individual proprietors own their units but share common ownership of a property's common areas, is a crucial aspect that shapes and organizes residents' expectations and actions as homeowners. First, this property scheme has created a deep schism in the resident participants' understandings of what it means to be a homeowner. Second, it has created an environment of tense relations between owners and their neighbors due to what they report as a gross misunderstanding and lack of awareness about the property scheme into which they purchased. Moreover, because this property law requires residents' participation in housing complex governance, such governance becomes very strained. The housing related professional participants are very much aware of the problem of *convivencia*, loosely translated as social co-existence but more accurately can be explained as the quotidian phenomena that encompass how people get along with one another. However, the professionals' breadth of understanding is curiously shallow, given that, for example, Metrovivienda's social team leader has grand plans to attempt to alleviate many of the ciudadelas' social ills. Both groups' efforts at alleviating problems in these communities will be the subject of the fourth and final findings chapter.

In the early 20th century, the national government created the ICT, the Institute for Territorial Credit (see Chapter 3). More recently, the national 1991 constitution, in supporting private property and free enterprise, decentralized the government's responsibility over land and housing and made municipalities responsible for their own urban development. State-owned, national agencies that developed housing were disbanded, housing subsidy programs based on the demand for housing by individuals were implemented and laws were created to help facilitate the construction of housing, specifically for those with low incomes (Gnecco, in Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá). Since 2000, when President Álvaro Uribe's policies opened up its markets to the international sector, Colombia became a member of a globalized culture that increasingly

enables it citizens to attain homeowner status. The reformation of the government's role in the production of social housing created a situation where the interface between the housing producer and its end user evolved from being a transaction between the government and the recipient of an entitlement to one between a private developer and the consumer. In this newer development model, the state is no longer officially involved. The developer is charged with providing all information to its customers, but these participants' narratives reveal that this has not happened.

Residents

Unclear understanding of the property scheme. A prospective low-income home buyer, which characterizes all of the residents in this study, is often told by word of mouth, real estate agents, or Bogotá's Habitat Secretariat, that she or he can visit the Habitat Secretariat's field office in Bosa to see current options in development. That person is more than likely a recipient of a District of Bogotá housing subsidy voucher, or if she or he is displaced, will also have a national subsidy voucher. At the time of data collection, there were only units in housing developments being sold in ciudadela El Porvenir; El Recreo's units had been sold off for quite some time. The person is told to walk around the field office where developers have individual stands where she or he can peruse plans and unit offerings. Just outside the office, there are grounds with model apartments and houses that can be walked through in order to help choose a unit. There are both unfinished and finished models, and Metrovivienda builds and maintains them. However, if there are not many developments being built, Metrovivienda will not build model units for only one or two developments. I saw many model units during my research reconnaissance trip, but by the second data collection trip, there was only one left.

Developers begin construction once a certain percentage of units are purchased. Homebuyers are then invited during construction to visit the project if they wish. Despite the horizontal property law, residents of the ciudadela still believe that if one acquires a home, one can do what one wants with it. Since the Spanish colonized Colombia, its society has supported the ideal of homeownership (Gnecco, in Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá). Luz Elena poignantly says, "it is a happiness that all of us Colombians dream of… always having a little ranch in which to put yourself in." "Little ranch" (*ranchito*) functions as a cultural reference that describes one's home while harking back to a traditional lifestyle in the countryside. Nowhere in the field office or in the developer stands are there signs or other indications that all of the units, regardless of which development they purchase, are subject to a co-property scheme. Gloria, who lives with her second husband and is a homeowner, as well as the administrator of her residential complex, perfectly characterizes what it is like living with others under this property scheme:

> There are a lot of people that lack this knowledge and therefore make many mistakes due that same ignorance, so from there [arises] the importance of disseminating the knowledge because, if we all know the same issue, it's easier to manage [the complex], in other words, there are [sic] no more people who are so stubborn, so reluctant to accept that they had to share with the neighbor the same property, because if we really see what horizontal property [is about], *we own everything and we own nothing*! We only have a space, because the neighbor's walls are my walls, if we're talking about apartments, the ceiling of my house is the living room of the next floor, the walls are shared, the pipes, everything is shared, so, we thus have to learn how to co-exist in community and with good, wholesome convivencia.

As homeowners in this co-property scheme, Gloria is correct as she describes the fact that they all have property rights over common facilities but, importantly, they do not have individual ownership over them. This is critical for people to understand because sharing common property means that everyone cannot do as they please. She makes a clear case for why it is important

that information about legal rights and responsibilities be 'disseminated' so that the complex's level of convivencia can improve; an indisputable component for peaceful, everyday life.

It is up to developers to communicate this legal information to the prospective buyer, but in four of the participants' interviews, directly and also in the group discussion, I was told it was not made very clear at the time of purchase. Camila, Álvaro, Dalia, and Luz Elena told stories about their unclear understanding of ownership during or after their housing purchase process. They assumed that, as Dalia says, "… if you bought your house it's so that you can feel free." She admits that if she had known about the rules and regulations that she has to abide by as a co-property owner, she may have not bought her social housing property. One of the regulations with which she does not agree is the Monthly Administrative Fee (similar to what is known in the United States as a "Maintenance Fee" or "Common Charge") that she must pay to help cover the residential complex's maintenance costs and any special needs or capital improvements. Álvaro is explicit about the lack of communication between developers and housing customers about this very important detail:

> …You see that the project is very nice at the beginning and you invest and you go through the steps, arrange, meet the requirements that the developers ask for but then you come and, there's some missing information between the developers and owners… they don't inform you that this is horizontal property… that we're subject to Law 675, and they never told us that. When we came here, [we were told] 'you have to pay an administration [fee]', 'but what do you mean?'… [there's] a lack of information.

Camila almost did not buy her house because she did not want to be in debt but a friend convinced her to purchase and referred her to a local non-governmental organization that helps low-income women head of households. She received a grant from the organization and as she describes, she worked very hard to create a debt-free situation: I don't understand that little part… because if this is my house… and I tried to not remain in debt and here if you are late in the administration fees, they create problems over the house." That "little part" she is referring

to is the Monthly Administrative Fee and she is still not clear why she is charged it. For three years prior, she lived in the same complex as a renter; this fee must have been included in the rent. Álvaro and Camila are very frustrated that they followed all of the steps required of them as prospective buyers. Álvaro is implying a criticism of the developers for not doing the same. Most new homeowners understand that they must set up a savings account, apply for a housing subsidy, and obtain a mortgage or other sources of funds to purchase their dwellings. They expect that their housing payments will consist only of a loan repayment and they do not budget for an additional life-long monthly fee. While this fee is on average $10,000 COP (~$6 USD), it is often a burden for some folks. Paul is behind on his monthly fees because, "… I don't even have [enough] for a *panela* (hardened molasses loaf), much less am I going to pay an administration [fee], I told the administrator, 'I don't have money to pay it because my work doesn't provide enough for that'." Camila and Gloria also mention that there are many residents who have not paid their fees, some for as long as two years. Gloria and Dalia explain that a household is sanctioned after a few months of non-payment and legal action is then taken against the owner. Luz Elena and Camila guessed what the monthly fee is for but they only understood its function in the context of the property scheme after I explained it to them. It took me three months of intense fieldwork and analysis of its language to understand the property law in the Colombian housing context; the confusion and surprise of the average person seems very daunting and understandable. All four homeowners feel deceived and in order to keep their homes, forced to pay for something that they never expected.

Contrary to their experience, Jaime & Milay were quick to say that they were informed about the rules and regulations prior to moving in and that they were already familiar with them because they were renters in a building that was subject to the same property scheme law. In fact,

they, Elena & Mariana, and Maria Luisa mentioned they were informed about the co-property scheme; two of them cited a manual that was given to them. Notwithstanding, all three were quick to articulate the fact that this was not the case with their neighbors.

Most of the complaints centered on the monthly administrative fees, however, there is one common mandate that a couple of residents to not like. Dalia complains about a noise rule she does not like; disturbing noise has to be kept to a minimum and cannot be made past a certain time of the day. As was mentioned in a prior section, noise is particularly problematic because unit party walls transmit noise very easily due to their hollow design and cheap and quality. This is troublesome to Dalia because it makes it difficult to host a party at night, a common social activity among Colombians. A study conducted by the *Universidad Distrital Francisco José de Caldas* (2005) profiled residents of the El Porvenir ciudadela, and in a question about their monthly budget, the category '*rumba'* was included; this word describes a dance party, whether it's in a formal night club or in someone's home. She continues to explain why she does not agree with this rule because it is not practical and potentially offensive to others:

> … After three in the morning, for example, if you have a get-together you have to turn off the stereo and everyone [directs her index finger to her mouth to make a hushing noise], so those are rules I don't agree with… because if you have a family member, and I invite him/ her and that family member lives far away, s/he can't leave, you can't say to him/ her 'go' and the gathering we had is finished, we can't continue.

While she is concerned about her guests, she does not cite concern for her close neighbors. As a homeowner, she believes she can do what she wants, when she wants. This same kind of complaint is repeated in the group discussion—people are used to 'partying' at all hours and doing whatever they want.

Álvaro, as others, had no choice but to accept the rules and regulations, and as a former governing council member, believes in upholding them. He reveals his conflict about them when it applies to his own house:

> Here you can't transform the houses because [you will be] fined, if you remove an exterior wall or change the frame of the [main] door, the window, whatever, they will sanction you, so practically, you have to submit yourself to what they sold you, you can't do anything, no improvements or anything, so you can't say that [the house] is yours, because you'd like to do little things to it, I would like to, for example, I don't know, add a balcony or terrace… if you were living in a barrio and you make a different kind of home improvement, no one will bother you, you see?

The rules regarding the exterior design or structural integrity of the houses complicate the wonderful sense of ownership that he and others feel. Furthermore, he contrasts his situation with the more common one of living in a low-income barrio, where horizontal property hardly exists, if at all.

In one ear and out the other. Álvaro and Camila both told me they did receive paperwork that detailed the horizontal property law's rules and regulations and the residential complex's by-laws. However, it fell on deaf ears during the bureaucratic procedures of the purchase process. By the time I interviewed Camila, I suspected that there was rampant misinformation about the property scheme residents purchased into. I ask,

Isabel: Has anyone mentioned something called horizontal property to you?

Camila: Yes, I heard it on one occasion, the truth is that I didn't pay much attention, I didn't pay attention to that little bit, no.

Isabel: Who told you about it?

> Camila: In [the] Metrovivienda [field office], I went with two other (female) friends and they were explaining something, about the housing, that there were those kinds of properties, in other words, they explained it but I didn't pay attention, my head was in another place.

It is unclear who attempted to explain the property scheme because people commonly refer to the Habitat Secretariat's field office as "Metrovivienda." This office holds staff members from the Habitat Secretariat's office, Metrovivienda, and developer firms. What is important to note is that Camila barely heard it one time.

During the discussion group, two participants once again bring up the fact that they were unprepared and unaware of the co-property scheme. And, once again, they frame it within the discussion of the right to housing that they should be guaranteed as Colombian citizens:

> Álvaro: … What the [developers] did is build and did not even… they would sell [us] a house and [did not] inform us that there was a horizontal law that we were all subject to, that there were some regulations that we had to abide by. So, there is a lack of information from the developers and the State as well, they violated many of our rights.
>
> Sandra Linda: Yes because, many people's, many people have fought about the fact that they didn't inform them, they sold them [the houses] but they didn't inform them that social housing is subject to the horizontal property law that is Law 675 of 2001. There are many people that afterwards—and that's why they haven't been able to adapt, [they say] 'why do they tell me what to do? Why do they tell me? Why do they ask what I do? So an and so forth. Why do I have to pay the administration [fee]? Why do I have to adapt to a regulation that a council dictates? And so on.' And there are many people that don't know the 675 Horizontal Property Law. They're completely unaware of it.

Sandra Linda's re-telling of others' questions and complaints indicates that there is a dissonance between their perceptions of homeownership and the expected behaviors in a very different property scheme. Several participants became very knowledgeable with the horizontal property law after they were confronted with problems that arose from their misunderstandings. Álvaro taught himself because he had to self-advocate to deal with his personal problem with the developer and to be more knowledgeable as a member of his residential complex's council. Gloria and Sandra Linda took a course offered jointly by the Bogotá Chamber of Commerce and the developer of their residential complexes at a local university; all three are former members of their respective councils. They took it upon themselves to remedy their state of misinformation.

In actuality, they blame the developers for not doing an adequate job of informing them initially, as well as the government, whom they feel should be providing oversight of social housing. By extension, they believe that the government is violating their rights to decent housing.

Although this next vignette is not about the property scheme per se, Camila's housing experience illustrates how misinformation can be considered a kind of maltreatment. As a displaced woman and head of household, Camila was able to qualify for a program from a non-profit organization that provides housing grants. She credits them for guiding her through the confusing process of buying a house because the state agencies that granted her both the national and city subsidies did not sufficiently explain the process. At several moments during the interview, she communicates that the staff at the non-profit organization treated her well and that she was able to explain exactly "how things are," that is, her life circumstances. The staff made her feel comfortable enough to tell them particulars of her life that are possibly difficult to discuss and they in turn told her exactly how they could help. It is possible that she equates being mistreated with being misguided or misinformed during an emotionally laden and complex and process with which she is unfamiliar.

Why it is difficult living in the ciudadelas.

Neighbors' problematic practices. It is important to note that in the interchange featured immediately above, the participants talk about both their and their neighbors' experiences as well. This was very common not only among the community leaders (former council members or other volunteers) but among the participants who are less active in their communities as well. Álvaro and Sandra Linda begin to highlight the very prominent problem that "other" residents' lack of knowledge of the property scheme creates. Seven of the twelve participants, in addition to the group discussion, detail how neighbors are not used to complying with their residential

complexes' rules and regulations. Regulation of noise levels is a problematic issue, as was highlighted in the previous section, however, other daily routine practices, such as taking out the garbage, tending to individual and common green spaces are also discussed.

When I asked Elena & Mariana about what they think about the rules of the residential complex, Elena responds, "no one follows them" (everyone laughs). Mariana then adds,

> When one purchases they always give you a file that says what you must do and what you cannot do in horizontal property… it's not the majority, in fact, it's a minority that become accustomed to horizontal property—a lot of people come from many places because it's low-income housing. They may have been used to taking the garbage out to the corner of the house or leaving it at the front door and someone would pick it up, not here, [you have to take it to] the [garbage] chute, and so maybe… they'll leave it on the stairs, they were to lazy to go to the chute.

Mariana was a member of her complex's governing council. She clearly indicates that new homeowners receive the co-property rules and regulation. However, the content is not communicated in a way that is meaningful to the residents who have different housing practices and perhaps are less motivated to learn in an unexpectedly highly regulated environment.

How people deal with garbage and cleanliness is mentioned several times, as in Mariana's comment above. The complexes have a designated area where residents are supposed to leave the trash, which the city regularly collects. However, many people still leave their garbage outside their door or on the street in random locations, as was the practice in their old neighborhoods and towns. Gloria commented on the fact that people tend to leave the common areas of the complex dirty. In the previous section, Marta describes how much dirtier her old neighborhood was when compared to her current neighborhood precisely because the current one requires everyone to follow the same rule. She agrees with the rules and regulations but she admits that she is "prohibited from doing a lot of things." Many neighbors "protest" against them: "maybe it doesn't bother me because I live on the first floor and I have my patio," but her

neighbors hang clothes outside of their windows even though they know that it is not allowed. Their current laundering areas are too small for the clothes that need to air dry in a usually humid climate, as it is not common for anyone to own a dryer, let alone someone of limited means.

The problem seems to arise out of the fact that people are now living in units they have purchased, that is, their own units. This schism in people's schemata about homeownership is at the heart of what drives many issues of conviviencia. As explained before, convivencia is the quotidian phenomena that encompasses how people get along with one another. It is evident that this co-property scheme and its associated rules and expected behaviors are foreign to the general population of the ciudadelas. People may be even more resistant to the rules and regulations precisely because following others' rules is not consonant with their meanings of homeownership. The discussion group's most outspoken members, Álvaro and Sandra Linda, exchange notions about why neighbors have a problem following rules. Sandra Linda notes that as renters, people still have to abide by rules and know how to live with one another; it all depends on how the individual person handles themselves:

> … it's about your script… it's the same thing in a rental. You have to learn how to live with one another when renting because if I live on the second floor and the person below me tells me, 'don't stomp so loudly because I'm sleeping', if you're going to put the stereo on, 'I'm so sorry, can you please do me a favor and turn it down because so-and-so is sleeping, you have to learn…

Sandra Linda models two hypothetical noise-making scenarios in the quote above where one neighbor's actions impact the other. She indicates that people need to learn how to show respect for others by including a request to modify behavior based on a presumably valid reason. However, there currently seems to be a lack of respect for others' needs, which then causes many problematic situations.

Strained neighbor relations - many problems living with unruly neighbors. Participants describe annoying and more serious situations, such as high noise levels or not paying the monthly administrative fee, but their main complaint of others' lack of compliance with rules centers on the social problems they experience with their neighbors. A common way that they describe this phenomenon is that "the convivencia is bad." Part of the underlying issue that exists between how residents deal with one another on a daily basis is marked by social class difference. As stated in Chapter 5, the first findings chapter, homeowner residents of the ciudadelas live under different kinds of socioeconomic conditions. Furthermore, they settle here from different barrios across Bogotá and the country. As a result, the social condition is tense, varied, and unsettling because these are people that are not accustomed living with one another. The kindling that is then added to the fire is the fact that there is a very rampant misunderstanding of co-property ownership; the kind that requires communication and cooperation among owners. Such conditions create experiences that are awkward at the least and violent at the worst.

Álvaro, Elena & Mariana, Maria Luisa, Sandra Linda, and those in the group discussion all described living in their residential complexes this way. Maria Luisa, a former governing council member, repeats the problem but adds another element,

> … more than 90% [of residents] don't comply [with the rules] because they're not used to living in this system, they come from barrios where they're used to… fighting with the neighbor, mistreating each other, they bring other different norms than the ones that are needed to live here.

Maria Luisa describes a social situation whereby the people that move to the ciudadelas tend to be prone to conflict. Although Camila feels the opposite about her current neighbors, she described her former ones when she lived in a barrio of Bogotá in similar fashion to Maria Luisa. Maria Luisa's comment about other people's unruly behavior is exacerbated living under co-

property because in this type of scheme, cooperation among neighbors is necessary in order to have the complex run smoothly. As explained in the housing context chapter, all households must participate in routine general assembly meetings and they elect volunteer governing council members to represent their interests; an administrator is hired to serve as a property manager but oftentimes also heads community building initiatives. Álvaro and Elena & Mariana describe many of their neighbors as being ill mannered; as people who have no sense of decorum. Elena says,

> … Some are educated, others are not, some always want to fight, so that always—here I talk to my neigh—two (female) neighbors from here and I'm like, 'good morning, neighbor', 'good morning' and that's it, what annoys me is that people are ill mannered, it annoys me that people don't understand, so it's hard to come here and learn to scold people that are not your family.

Elena has a difficult time with others and feels the need to reprimand them if they don't behave according to her vision of what constitutes good behavior. It is easier to do so with people that are in her intimate circle, but not with strangers. She limits her contact with neighbors but is still cordial with them. Decorum is a highly valued moral value for Colombians. For example, in Sandra Linda's quote above about communicating with one's neighbor, I translated the apologetic tone as "I'm so sorry." However, the literal Colombian Spanish translation of "Ay, que pena" is "Oh, what shame." It is very common to take a humble or apologetic tone if one is raised "correctly." Elena is a 55 year-old widow and shares her apartment with one of her adult daughter, Mariana. As a life-long resident of Bogotá, she is also experiencing a kind of culture shock upon her move into ciudadela El Porvenir. She cannot become accustomed to the crime and drug use she sees around her. While her husband was still alive, the family lived in the lower middle-class neighborhood of Ciudad Jardín, named after its garden house architecture. In the

quote below, she notes her change in housing stratum, inferring that she now lives among socially inferior folk who experience problems that she has never had to confront:

> … the barrio is a kind of a little dangerous, I come from, the other side that I never thought I would find myself here like, like strange, no? Because I changed [housing] strata, so, now you feel a [little] uncomfortable. Yes, they should finish building, to see if there is more control of people, the kids, the thieves, all of that.

Elena uses the words "little" and the diminutive of the adjective "uncomfortable" (*incomodito*) to convey a softening of the feeling. However, as she continues to tell me about her new life in El Porvenir and her previous homes, she says, "I'm sort of traumatized in that sense, I don't feel at home here." The family had been renters their whole lives. Mariana explains that the apartment is bittersweet because they now own their home, but it is a result of her father's pension payout after his death. It is ironic that Elena and Mariana's newfound housing security exists in an unsafe area among neighbors whose poverty and social problems are problematic for Elena.

Álvaro also tells a story about how what he experienced when he first moved in:

> … You see the people that live in this area, that are very marginalized and don't know how to live, don't know how to live with people, they're not very sociable, people that are very vulgar, and there's even child abuse, you can hear many things here because these walls [allow you] to hear … the problems here (signals next door)—the one who has a family here behind [my house], the lady has a boy and she insults him very badly and everything and I complain to her, so all those things, that you see, you regret afterwards, because you see this project as a being good at the beginning.

Álvaro acknowledges that many of his neighbors are socially marginalized and have not had the same upbringing and moral education as he did; at least one neighbor is verbally abusing her child who may very well continue to be conflict prone as an adult. Álvaro is an ardent fighter for his and his community's housing rights, and similarly, tries to call attention to an infraction of someone else's violation of their human rights. Notwithstanding, he has found acceptance in the community and is very friendly and helpful when others are in need.

Strained neighbor relations – Neighborliness within limits. In this seemingly tense context, Camila, Dalia, Luz Elena, and even Maria Luisa share that they do indeed get along with their neighbors. Marta and Sandra Linda are more careful and keep their distance. Both Marta and Sandra Linda prayed for good next-door neighbors. Marta repeated the wish that came true during the group discussion:

> … I would always ask that when I would go to live, to what would be my apartment, that I have a good neighbor, better said, I ask God for Him to give me a roof and a good neighbor, because to be fighting with the neighbor all the time is terrible, right? [crosstalk]

During her interview, she related the fact that she does not even borrow a cup of sugar from her neighbors or does not visit with them in their apartments because she wants to avoid "*compinchería*", a state of too much friendliness with another person that may lead to negative influences. Such actions have the potential to lead to problems. She limits her interactions with them but she is still able to coordinate the painting of the stairwell with her neighbors very smoothly. Sandra Linda strongly believes that the reason she does not have problems with her neighbors is that she first and foremost makes herself be respected. She lives with neighbors that she never expected to be within such close proximity:

> I say that this is [about] a process to adapt to people, because people from all of Bogotá's barrios come here… the thief comes, the marihuana smoker comes, the mugger comes, everybody comes here… but that's the way that you adapt to living here… but if you make yourself be respected from the beginning, they won't mess with you for any reason, won't mess with you for any reason, me personally, 'good morning, good afternoon', if I can help, I do, if not, unfortunately, I don't.

She is cordial and places limits on she relates to others, similar to Marta. During our interview, she kept the door open and between eight and ten people popped in to say hello to her. As a former council member, neighbors still seek her help with diverse issues.

Positive experiences with neighbors. Camila, Maria Luisa and Luz Elena have positive experiences with their neighbors. Camila and Luz Elena are not active in their community but Maria Luisa does participate in several volunteer initiatives; all three are displaced. Camila said that she lives among those similar to her and who understand her life situation. Maria Luisa feels a sense of community, especially because she takes a proactive role as a leader:

> What I like about the area is that despite the fact that it is not a locality [of Bogotá] where there are high strata people, there is respect, there is union among the community and most of all that we assist with the security of the barrio. [Isabel: And how?] Well, being alert, when we see things that don't follow the rules, we call the police.

While she likes living in El Porvenir, she does acknowledge that there are problems that get severe enough for residents to organize to keep the neighborhood safer. Community organizing efforts will be discussed in the final findings chapter. Maria Luisa uses the string of words "high strata people" as others commonly do so to indicate social status as another way of signifying class differences than for example, the term 'social class'. This spoken practice may originate from the city's (and country's) utility companies and planning department's designation a stratum number from one to six to denominate the prices of utilities for it residents (Uribe Mallarino, 2008); the highest three strata subsidize utilities for the lowest three. A feeling of friendliness is not limited to those participants who are displaced. Dalia likes the fact that neighbors recognize her. This is mainly because she owns a small internet and long distance calling business in El Recreo, where she lives.

Diverse cultures and practices. Participants go back and forth about how they feel about their neighbors. They recognize and complain about many problems but they manage to find silver linings among the clouds of the ciudadelas. They also theorize why there are people who are problematic and cite specific evidence to support their understanding. One of the main

reasons that explain why they experience many problems with neighbors is that residents come from all over Colombia and as a result have different practices. Colombia is diverse geographically and resulting from historic political and economic practices, people developed many different cultures. The Pacific coast is primarily settled by Afro-descendants, the northern Caribbean coast also has Afro-descendants but is more mixed with Caribbean island, European, and indigenous cultures, the south has a strong indigenous history, and the central Andean region, where the capital of Bogotá is located, has the most European descendants, whether as only European or mestizo (European mixed with indigenous) ancestry. The culture of the Andean region is traditionally more socially conservative. To use a small example to illustrate this, it is considered a faux pas for women to wear thong sandals even to this day in upper class neighborhoods. This is not a problem in lower class neighborhoods even though the weather may not be so warm. Such a practice does not measure equally to the importance of people's communication practices, but it is a small indicator of the social climate that is very judgmental of the expression of people's cultural and social backgrounds.

Some residents, who originate from different regions of the country with their respective cultures and lifestyles, experience difficulties adjusting to the socially conservative culture of Bogotá. For example, they have difficulty adjusting to some of the rules of the residential complex, such as keeping noise levels down. The thin and hollow cinderblock walls that divide people's houses and their small size also exacerbate the noise pollution. Liliana who is from the department of Santander explains:

> …it's been a little complicated because of what I told you, because my family is used to another type of life, another type of culture and well now we're in an area that is horizontal property, where you have to abide by some rules or to some rules of conduct of the complex and it's been a little complicated, because you know that well me who comes from the interior [of the country] I speak loudly, or the neigh—well, not really the neighbor we're the ones that speak loudly (we both laugh), so it's uncomfortable, um, the

> reduced space, but equally I think that equally you get used to, the level of the quality of life well that, presents itself.

Not only are neighboring practices different but there is a fundamental value difference placed on how people should relate to one another. Many of the participants' excerpts above speak to the different experiences residents bring along with them as they settle into their new city spaces. Elena mentions above the dual lack of education and sense of culture of people in poverty by her use of the word "*cultos*." Álvaro relates another story about people being rude with one another. As he walked into a general assembly meeting with all of the homeowners, he hears,

> … Two women cursing up a storm, 'this and that, I don't know what! I won't pay what they say is $15,000 pesos for the administration fee', the other [said] eight, or ten', I returned home, I didn't go into the assembly and I was fined for not going, but then I said, 'that's the kind of people with which I'll be living with? I regret having bought a house here.' I hadn't even moved, it was tough, and you could hear them yelling at each other! Oh, no, it was tough! I came home disillusioned.

This was seven years ago and as we saw he and his wife are contemplating selling their house due to negative neighbor qualities as in this example. Some people may become accustomed to the pitfalls of living in a certain area, and perhaps change their behavior in time. As it stands, there was very little talk about specific instances where they accepted other cultures or their practices, except in general terms as discussed below.

'Different kinds of people'/ other. Sandra Linda, both in her interview and during the group discussion encapsulated the otherness that many residents native to Bogotá have encountered. To be clear, these 'others' are both people from outside of Bogotá and people who have other cultural practices, whereby both kinds of people lack a certain level of education. Moving to El Recreo was a "great change" for her and for her children. Although she came from a very poor barrio in the northern section of Bogotá, she had access to many amenities that she

feels are not quite as accessible to her living in the ciudadela. More importantly, she did not expect the diversity of poverty and behavior associated with it, even though her former next-door neighbors were thieves. This was the first time she lived in the co-property scheme and in a gated complex as well. She says,

> …Living in the north where you had everything and everything else imaginable you had a better quality of life than the one right here. Here you come to relate with even indigents, with those rehabilitated back into society (referring to demobilized lawless groups), with guerrilleros, with the displaced, you come into this other environment than the one that you lived in over there, right?

The kinds of people she cites are people that are marginalized, do not necessarily want to participate in a society that has excluded them, or deliberately shun the law to advance their own political and economic causes. Even former right-wing militia or left-wing guerrilla members who have demobilized and been 'reinserted' (*reinsertado*) into civil society are still too closely associated with violence and uncivil behavior.

The discussion group spoke extensively about what it is like living with these 'others' that makes it so difficult. They began by saying that there are convivencia problems all over the world, not just in Colombia. Juan, a neighboring administrator invited by Gloria to the group, insightfully related it to human nature in general:

> …In general [crosstalk], I think that in the whole world, I believe that the issue of co-existing, in other words, of understanding that another person is different from you and that has [his or her] culture, some customs, a bunch of things that are different from you, that issue of understanding that the other is different is very complicated, that is very, very difficult.

These participants deftly analyze their problems within cultural, social, political, and economic conditions that have created them both in Colombia and elsewhere.

In addition to characterizing neighbors as 'others', participants simultaneously make an effort to understand them to try to bring about change. Although several members of the group

use the word "indigents" they recognize how stigmatizing it is. Sandra Linda wants to advocate for homeless people's rights (indigents) with the mayor of Bogotá because housing policy is only recognizing people displaced from the countryside. However, she feels that the homeless also need to be helped. Gloria responds to her, "You can tell him that they're socially displaced as well, they're displaced from a social bond [with others], the word 'indigent' shouldn't even exist because they're human beings just like us, they're limiting them from reclaiming their rights." Gloria and Sandra Linda team up to defend people whom they know can be problematic to live with because they recognize the systemic problems that create poverty in the first place. They have co-opted the term 'displace' to indicate not only being forcibly removed from one's home but also to indicate the structural conditions under which certain people have been removed from society. Sandra Linda says that the money the government recovers from narco-traffickers should be funneled back into social programs to rehabilitate indigents prior to giving them housing, help mother head-of-households, and better resources for the disabled.

Displaced people's practices[70]. Gloria explains the lack of education and urbane practices of people, specifically of those displaced from the countryside: "The displaced have another kind of discipline, they're not subject to possibly paying for utilities, much less an administration fee, to live with other people, in reality, I would say it's a low cultural level." Lacking culture, whether as formal education or informal moral education is prioritized and seen as a fundamental reason for a disregard of the expected social rules of horizontal property living in the ciudadelas. Gloria seems to accept that displaced people have other ways of doing things but when their "other discipline" is juxtaposed day in and day out with a different and expected

[70] Although five of the residents in this study identify as displaced, and those who are not displaced speak of the displaced as a group, I did not further analyze this condition because it is outside of the scope of the research aims of this study, which were to understand the meanings of home of two participant subgroups, residents and professionals. The condition of displacement warrants its own in-depth analysis.

behavioral discipline, conflicts ensue. Using data from the Office of the United Nations High Commission for Human Rights and the International Monitoring Centre for Displacement, the local non-governmental organization CODHES estimates 5.2 million people have been displaced internally or are living in other countries (El Espectador, 2011). The displaced population is especially perceived as comprised of backwards country folk who essentially do not live according to expected behavioral norms, and are doubly disadvantaged because, whether correctly or not, they are associated with the armed conflict and could possibly be *guerrilleros* or *paracos*, left-wing or right-wing oriented groups, respectively. Regardless with which group they may be perceived to have affinity, both lawless groups are violent and are not to be trusted. Paul's story about having a curfew in Chapter 5 highlights the discrimination he experienced as a renter in a barrio. As was seen in Liliana's life sketch, she is perceived by her neighbors as a *miliciana* (militia member) because she is an active organizer of women's and displaced people's rights.

Whether or not they are officially displaced due to the armed conflict, low-income residents come from many different regions of the country that are not urbanized and where bureaucratic practices are less common in daily life, as recognized by Gloria and others. Such was the case with Camila. She had been living in and out of Bogotá for about 16 years before she purchased her used house in El Recreo. Although she is very familiar with monthly rental payments, this next passage highlights the contrast with many people contend. She explains how 'renting' a house works in her hometown of Montería, the provincial capital of the department of Córdoba:

> I think that over there in the [Caribbean] coast that everything is probably much easier, you go out and the neighbor [says], 'Take care of that house because I won't be living there. Now you don't have to pay rent there, right? That is, "Take care of the house for me, just keep it nice and take care of it for me.

Maintaining the house and its grounds constitutes the equivalent of a rental payment.

Reasons for conflictive/ unruly people.

Home as how people are raised. The importance of child-rearing is the main reason that participants cite to explain why their neighbors could be disagreeable and difficult. They unequivocally agree that the home is the seat of the teaching of societal values; specifically, they cite parenting styles and societal changes as causing the unruly behavior of adults that move into the ciudadelas. Actions that take place at the scale of the home play out at the level of the housing complex, which then has repercussions with how neighbors relate to one another. Such lifelong scripts take time to be revised. In the meantime, relational problems are generated among neighbors as the adjustment process occurs.

Colombian society assumes that a nuclear family is comprised of a father, mother and children despite the prevalence of female only-headed households and the importance of extended family. A family does not exist as a social grouping unless there are children, particularly among the lower sectors (Pachón, 2006, p.148). It is the social structure where correct moral education is imparted to children and the construct of home is the spatially implicated cite where it takes place. As a result, the meaning of the word home for many participants involved the notion of family and the raising of children. In this context, it is not surprising that all 12 resident participants' definition of home included the dimension of family. However, I found it to be striking since the multi-dimensional meaning of home literature (e.g., Bachelard, 1994/ 1958; Deprés, 1991; Dovey, 1985; Grauman, 1989; Mallett, 2004; Porteous, 1976; Perkins, Thorns, Winstanley & Newton, 2002; Saunders & Williams, 1988), which is mainly Anglo-European, encompasses relationships with family but does not center on it. For example, Marta and Luz Elena say that home means 'having a family'. Camila defines home as

"mother, father, and children" but then applies it to her own situation where there is no steady father presence and says that home is herself and her children. Maria Luisa feels that home is about experiencing a sense of emotional stability, particularly because her family had been torn apart due to displacement and the wrongful imprisonment of her husband.

Sandra Linda says during the group discussion, "the family is implicated in a lot." While she was the most vocal in the group about this issue, there was ample crosstalk after this quote. She raised three sons in her former tenement, and as she indicates, all turned out to be "good" young men; one is a police officer. Her former neighbors, who were thugs, would even threaten them if they followed their own footsteps, because as she recounts, they said that her sons should be proud of having "exemplary parents" who care for them, as they themselves lacked. She is "astonished, astonished, astonished!" at how her neighbors treated her family and "thank[s] God she knew how to straighten [her sons] out." Furthermore, she explicitly states that how one relates to others depends on one's values, which are learned in childhood: "it's the culture that was inculcated in us as little children." During the group discussion she uses her personal experience to explain that the determination to inculcate good values in one's children is required and must continue when living in the ciudadelas to avoid so many problems: "I tell you that here is how you learn how to live, and the education that you have, from what your parents may have grounded in you, and you have grounded in your children." She refers to providing a strong moral foundation for children to avoid bad behavior, including delinquency, which is rampant in the ciudadelas. Others in the group adamantly affirmed her point of view. Álvaro grew up in a notoriously poor and crime ridden neighborhood in the center of Bogotá and he explains that it was the education he received from his parents that prevented him from succumbing to following down in the same footsteps as many of his neighbors.

According to Pachón (2006), it is also expected that people raise issues of moral education if they are talking about the cultural concept of family. Liliana, Dalia, Gloria, Paul, and Sandra Linda all mention children's moral education. For example, Liliana's definition centers on the family having good behavioral values, such as responsibility, and principles in general. Gloria defines home as "an edification," a structure in which to build a family and its quality depends on the kind of moral foundation that is laid. Jaime & Milay, Elena & Mariana mention that a sense of closeness and the ability to get along well among family members, described as 'union' or 'unity', and conviviencia, forms their definitions of home. Sandra Linda's definition encompasses all three previously mentioned aspects of home: having a family, where a sense of union exists among family members, and the social structure where a moral foundation is laid for children. Paul was the only resident that incorporated a spatial aspect in his definition of home. He adds, home means that his children "have their own little rooms." This is particularly important for Paul because he was concerned about his six boys' and girls' privacy if they were to be raised in one tenement room. This, however, refers to educating his children so that each gender can develop according to his notion of moral correctness.

Referring to teaching others to follow the rules and regulations of horizontal property, which will be discussed in the next chapter, Mariana, Elena's daughter is confident that she knows how to behave,

> …because you come with principles—I say that education comes from the home, from when you're children, if you throw away a little piece of paper anywhere in the house, well it means that you can throw it out anywhere, so it's always complicated, to straighten out the tree that has grown for some time (we all laugh).

Mariana cites the example of how one learns how to throw garbage out in its proper place. Not only is moral education taught in the home but rule-following behavior is taught there as well. Jaime & Milay tell me that there are many children residing in their residential complex

and some of them are currently destroying property in their residential complex. They raise this issue because two governing council members who visit Milay, the complex's administrator, interrupt our interview to complain about damage to the playground by children who are sneaking inside. It is being built and sponsored by the local telecommunications company and is not officially open yet. Both residents feel that the children need some kind of extracurricular activities in order to keep them busy because idle hands can become destructive: "[They need] arts and crafts courses so that the children can remain occupied, because when they're not occupied, that's the problem! Then they're outside causing trouble." When Sandra Linda was purchasing her house, she wanted her unit to be located near the administration's office and her parking spot to be right in front of her house so that it would be possible to watch out that her son's police car would not get vandalized by local children because she says, "the children are very destructive here." In the following section, I will include how some of these participants attempt to teach parents about the care of their residential complexes so that they in turn can teach their children. Gloria stresses the point that children "not straying" is very important. They need a strong moral foundation to be become adults with proper decision-making abilities. Furthermore, in the context of obtaining one's own housing, she mentions that 'material wealth would mean nothing if children grow up to become delinquents'.

Interestingly, both Mariana and Sandra Linda use the metaphor of "straightening" a child to explain moral upbringing. It is common to use it when referring to the raising of children in general, and not only in situations where a young person has gone astray down a morally questionable road. Through the influence of the Catholic church over the course of colonial Colombia and into the 21st century, especially among the lower classes, "the child was that being

that the mother would mold and prepare for the good, the beautiful, and the truthful" (Pachón, 2006, p.148).

One participant of the discussion group, Juan, took a different stance on the need for the government to intervene on a massive scale to help alleviate the convivencia problems of the ciudadelas that result from the lack of information about the property scheme. Juan is a main critic of the government's development practices of social housing. However, he recognizes that people have free wills when faced with difficult situations. He extended the individual level and internal decision-making process, learned in childhood, that adults undertake when confronted with different quotidian practices of others: "Maybe, it is more of an interior exercise that one must do instead of waiting for the government to solve one's problems, or the [residential complex] administrator, it's a more of a personal question." Juan also acknowledges the fact that there is a high probability that the government may take a long time to intervene in people's daily problems, if at all. Nevertheless, an "interior exercise" is usually taught and made with a certain level of social support, whether from family, the school, or other personal or institutional entity.

Teaching good values and a good sense of morality to children would ideally create a harmonious family and would eventually engender adult citizens that "everything they do will turn out well," as Dalia indicates. The home functions as a space of morality particularly as a supportive habitat for family coherence and the creation of law abiding citizens. If there is so much talk about good moral upbringing, then why are there so many people whom the participants describe as combative?

Labor pattern changes and parenting. Sandra Linda complains that parents place the responsibility of raising their children on others because they leave their children alone in their houses when they go out to work:

> [Parents] dedicated themselves only to work, to work, to work, and they neglect their children… they lock them inside the house like this one, social housing, they leave them to fend for themselves, the [residents of] the complex have to see of the child walked or ran or died, anything you can imagine, they dedicated themselves to make money and not educating them. They tell the child, 'if the old lady on the corner tells you something, talk back to her, if the old lady does this, hit her'… when children get involved in these kinds of situations, the convivencia [committee], we're the ones that have to watch out for the whole community that they don't fight, that they don't talk, that they don't kill each other, this and that… parents today [feel] they have less responsibility with their children than in our day.

Her criticism is not necessarily directed at women working outside the home. First, she is upset that the children are left alone. However, saying the words "locking up" is not used as a method of child abuse but rather, as a way of forcefully indicating that children are not meant to leave the house. Second, and more importantly, she is upset that they are taught to protect themselves while their parents are gone through conflict prone means. Not only does this kind of defense perpetuate the cycle of conflict and violence but she is explaining, and the other participants agree, that there is less value placed on 'good' parenting itself.

Gloria, Sandra Linda, and others, both describe and decry the changes in social and labor patterns as they negatively impacted how children are currently being raised. While both Gloria and Sandra Linda worked when their children were small, they talk about their experiences interlaced with those of others in a generalized way:

> Unfortunately, we're living in a very macho society, women's liberation came and off we went to work [but] we had to assume the reigns of the [responsibilities] of the home. We fought for it and now 'you have to contribute' [to the economy of the household]. The children were left alone, the children are not receiving their original parents' culture but do you know what culture they're receiving? The neighbor's, because it's they who have to raise them, and if that neighbor's culture is bad, well the child… unfortunately, it's not

> the education we would want, no because we had to go to work! And if we choose to take care of the baby, with what am I going to feed him? Fathers became very irresponsible and they delegated the responsibilities to us the mothers, so that is the problem of the future because we're seeing youth now completely disorganized because they're being raised by the neighbor, the friend, the family member [crosstalk].

It seems as if Gloria regretted the feminist movement because of the negative consequences that only time showed her. As a young woman, she was independent and left her home in Villavicencio, in the Meta department, after high school because she knew her father would not let her continue her education or work. She married and had three children with her husband but she left him and raised them on her own. Although she does not say who took care of them while she worked, she is proud as she explains, "the road to raise my children was hard, it was a hard struggle, but I know that that work was mine and I know the children I educated—look, the one that just called me is in the army." It appears that she felt in control, whereas now, 'other people' do not have that internal sense control or do not care to have it.

Bad educational system. The residents, particularly during the group discussion, reflected on how there have been changes in society that impacted how parents raise their children. A faulty school system is one reason why youth and adults don't behave correctly. Participants agree that convivencia, learning how to live with others, is learned both and at school. Álvaro mentions that a child spit at him outside an elementary school and he complained to the school's principal. He credits his parochial school education for teaching him how to be socially skilled. While he does not specifically say that a religious education is necessary for proper education, he does say that public school nowadays provides a bad quality education despite the fact that the school buildings and its resources are to be 'envied.'[71] During his

[71] Anecdotally, it is very unpopular to send one's children to public school, and it seen as a last resort; only those who have absolutely nothing send their children to public school. From the late 1960s, when my siblings became

interview, Álvaro reflected on the need for a better educational system in order to prevent problems that many youth in his community face. High teen pregnancy rates, drug use, and general delinquency are very real problems they face. However, as the participants say, the socially acceptable behaviors of decorum and rule-following are fundamental facets of child rearing necessary for youth, and later adults, to avoid problems in their lives. Sandra Linda shared a story where she criticizes the teacher's treatment of the children in her care. She had to visit the school of a child she babysits; the boy's mother is a single mother of four children and also works. Sandra Linda walked into the classroom when the teacher was checking some of the children's backpacks because she claimed to have been robbed by one of the students:

> She separated a group of students and said to them, 'I won't check your backpacks because I trust you' and meanwhile she was checking others'… she says to me, '[Sandra Linda's charge] stole $50,000 pesos', and I said, 'tell me something, I came in during the whole process, did you check everyone?' She said, 'no'… [I said,] 'you're going about this badly… you can't call them thieves'… I checked his bag and he had 700 pesos that his mother had given him. The teacher was [still] calling him a 'thief, thug!', the worst words. Education is terrible in the schools, [I asked her,] 'you think that you can treat children like thieves?'… she wanted to know why I defended the boy, I said, 'because he's always at my house'… I know him… it's you that doesn't know him'.

Her story reinforces the notion about how adults that are not children's parents educate them poorly by the treatment that they receive. While it is in a formal education setting, she is referring to the informal behavioral patterns that she is inculcating in the teacher's students. At this the time of the discussion group, I changed the focus because I felt we had veered on a tangent for too long. However, I did not know at the time that how people learn and are taught to behave would be such a fundamental issue at the heart of the problems that residents experience.

Spatial and social implications of living in social housing. The conflict that arises among neighbors is exacerbated by living in small spaces among people with different social and

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school-aged, till today, when a friend was forced to make a decision about her children's schooling, dire financial circumstances are the only reasons to consider having children educated in public schools.

cultural practices in a co-property scheme. Perceived differences of the displaced, demobilized, indigents, abusers, and ill-mannered and conflict prone people in general are the reason residents explain the cause of so much neighborly conflict[72]. However, Juan also paints a wide-reaching picture on the physical and spatial implications of placing such diverse people in this new planned space that is subject to the horizontal property law in one large area along the outskirts of the city:

> There is a culture shock between living in the countryside and living here in the city and coming to live in a type of housing that is very different than the countryside, or that is very different than living in a barrio, for example, I lived in the Olaya barrio here in Bogotá, where the houses are very large, where the kitchen is more or less as large as this [office] … so to come to live in a place where the kitchen is more or less one fourth the size of where we are [now], where the walls are so thin and shared with a neighbor, so for example you can't speak louder than how I'm speaking [now] because they can hear me on the other side, or the children are sick and they're crying so the neighbor doesn't like the noise being made at one or two o'clock in the morning, right? … So, trying to manage let's say all of those situations of all the differences between us is complicated, it's incredibly difficult and I think that that's the most difficult thing to experience living in this type of housing.

While everyone agrees that people's material conditions have improved, the small spaces of the housing units in complexes spread across 612 acres of the same kinds of housing, i.e. housing for low-resource people only, have served to create clashes between people who never lived with one another before. The highly resonating talk about the problems with how people have been raised, and are currently raising their children, illustrates how important it is that social relations in the ciudadelas need to improve at the base, fundamental level of the home precisely because participants perceive home as the seat of value teaching. This does not preclude the fact that children and youth development programs can be created to outreach to parents at the level of the housing complexes with socializing their children in healthy, productive ways to supplement endeavors targeted to the nucleus of the family.

[72] Youth delinquency and other crime is also largely responsible for social conflict and insecurity but will not be elaborated in this dissertation. See footnote number 52 in Chapter 5.

The small sizes of social housing units even have implications for children and their upbringing as good, socially acceptable citizens. Similar to Jaime & Milay's call for the need for children to have extracurricular activities so they are not idle, Gloria says children need spaces for wholesome recreation precisely because the housing units are too small. She and neighboring administrators worked together, along with the community outreach section of Bogotá's sanitation department, Ciudad Limpia, to create a communal playground outside of the complexes. I attended one of their planning meetings and learned that this organizing served a dual purpose. The first was to close off access to a main road that dump trucks were utilizing illegally. These trucks tend to go at breakneck speeds, posing a threat to children who were already playing on the empty lots alongside this tertiary road. Its second purpose was to provide an actual playground for the children. With the help of Ciudad Limpia, they collected materials, mostly tires, to recycle them as swings and for demarcation of the edges of the playground; they dig half of each tire underground and line them up. While they knew that this could only be a temporary measure to block truck access, as the city is planning to build a formal access route to a planned expressway for personal vehicles only, community members took an initiative to help improve the quality of life for their children.

Conclusion

There is a clear diversity of residents living in the ciudadelas that I believe policymakers and housing practitioners did not anticipate when the Metrovivienda ciudadelas were built and housing subsidies disbursed to low-income homebuyers. Just because housing is the same price does not mean that every one of its users will come from the same life conditions. In the Meanings of Homeownership chapter, we could see there was a broad range of affordability and budgetary conditions among residents. In the Design and Planning chapter, it was evident that

the improved physical and material qualities of the ciudadelas served as mistaken markers of wealth. In this chapter, participants explain the social characteristics of a broad range of people. There are indeed class differences among social housing residents that play out through income and informal educational differences. The complexes are like microcosms of the lower sectors of Colombian society where social relations are generated, duplicated, and perpetuated. The reflections and community organizing that these participants undertake can potentially break cycles of poverty, violence, and ignorance.

Professionals

In comparison with the residents' group, most of the professionals in this study talked very little about the particulars of the problems they know that the residents experience after they move into the ciudadelas. Although it makes sense that professionals' lived experiences reflect their lack of knowledge of the problems at the ground level, it is that much more critical that they, as policymakers in related spheres, learn about the depth of conviviencia issues so that they can design appropriate intervention programs. This final portion of the third chapter will describe how professionals and related housing policy discourse refer to these issues. The fourth and final findings chapter will feature their current attempts at intervention.

Reasons for convivencia problems.

Diverse cultures. Several professionals, three Metrovivienda staff members and two staff members of one developer firm, are knowledgeable about the conviviencia problems that residents of El Recreo and El Porvenir experience on a daily basis. Both Metrovivienda and the developer undertake some interventions but the Metrovivienda staff is more reflective about the issues. FH, FA, and FS say that the reason residents tend to be conflictive with one another is that they come from diverse cultures, as was illustrated in-depth in the previous section. The

term ‘culture’ is used broadly by participants and signifies a set of characteristics that unite a group of people, but it can also be commingled with people’s informal moral education and formal educational attainment.

Negative worldviews. Although FH knows a majority of residents that have positive outlooks about their new housing, he recognizes that there is a significant minority of people who tend to have negative worldviews due to what he considers to be a lacking educational system. As a result, this element colors their relations with others:

> I believe that the lack of investment in education has generated groups of people that are never happy…and it pains me a little to say it, groups of people that are never satisfied with anything, they’re the groups I call, ‘what’s in it for me’… ‘I want everything for me but I don’t want to do anything.

The ‘what’s in it for me?’ attitude that these folks have cannot be viable in the horizontal property that they now live in that requires cooperative decision-making and rule-following behavior for pleasant co-existence. He is the only professional participant to discuss education’s role in the formation of citizens. He explains that ciudadela El Porvenir’s most important feature is its educational campus, a corridor where public day care centers, primary, secondary, and university level schools, in addition to community-service oriented buildings, are currently being built. He once worked with a housing agency that provides control and oversight of all kinds of housing, of informal or formal character, and saw the marginalization of children, youth, and the elderly who were “sometimes forgotten.” FH believes in the importance of building this “educational ciudadela” because it affords the ability to formally educate young people and therefore, “permits us to make a better city, where absolutely everything occurs.” He believes this act of building, in conjunction with many other urban design and planning actions, will create a better society. He admits that he would like to make better interventions and personally

guides his work with such a perspective given the many constraints there are to building ciudadelas.

Metrovivienda staff member J works as a receptionist in the Bosa field office. He answers questions and directs prospective homebuyers to the appropriate place. When I ask him to describe the kinds of issues about which people visit the office, he volunteers that there are people who do not want to make an effort to obtain their housing. As described earlier, purchasing housing requires undergoing many steps and takes persistence. J describes the group of people that receive the most for free as the ones who are laziest:

> I see an attitude that they don't want to make an effort, they want everything given to them, they want it easy, better said, if it was up to them, they would have the keys to their house taken to them, there's no—seeing that a house is an important life project but no… [they say] 'I have the right', I say 'it's not here that [you have to go], it's there', then 'oh, I have to walk all the way there', and I say 'but it's for a subsidy, they're going to give you 12 million pesos', 'I would walk wherever' (we both laugh) I say.

J does not state exactly about whom he is referring, but he believes that some people use the fact that they know they are entitled to state-sanctioned housing as a crutch and as such, should be very easy to obtain. His re-enactment of a situation where people are unwilling to go through a significant process can be viewed as a precursor to the unwillingness and resistance that some homeowner residents encounter with regard to the new co-property rules and responsibilities. However, it can also be viewed from an angle of a perspective of a 'violation of rights', as Álvaro argues above. If bureaucratic processes can be confusing to educated people familiar with them in everyday life, then the housing purchase process could be perceived as wrongful and unsupportive to a community of people who are not familiar with them at all, as in Camila's experience with the lack of guidance and possible mistreatment by the state agencies when she

purchased her house. She persevered and was willing to endure rain, sunshine, and hunger to receive her subsidies and obtain her house.

Home as the seeds of society. Unlike the residents I interviewed for this study, the housing related professionals did not cite people's character formation as the principal and fundamental reason why residents have problems getting along with one another. As stated above, the resident participants' meanings of home largely focuses on the social structure of family and where children are to be educated. While professionals' definitions[73] of home incorporated more varied elements than those of the residents', they have somewhat similar perspectives on what home means. Two staff members of two different developer firms, ACP and JR, and the urban designer, YO, agree with the residents' definition. Interestingly, ACP and Metrovivienda staff member RP include notions of the family's purpose as the structure in which the seeds of society are sown. In a similar fashion to the residents, ACP explains how the *hogar*, the family, helps to create the kind of individual she or he becomes in the future. I ask her to define the word 'house', and she begins by saying that it is the place where the family develops and then adds,

> … There are many studies, and you who is involved in that know, well that the family is what generates in the future violence, conflicts, convivencia, well when people have a family and acceptable life conditions, *normal ones*, people grow up mentally wholesome, right? If you come from a home with violence, with mistreatment, when people are pressured, [living in] tight [spaces], or the next door [neighbor] is yelling or fighting, well, you grow up that way. When you achieve obtaining your house, having a better life condition, I believe that in the future, that family grows in that house, right? And transmits that to their children and that indisputably in the future improves society, right?

RP says home is, "where your family grows and develops, that is the little piece of soil of the nation that you were dealt and the nice thing about that is that it is a thing that is like the

[73] I neglected to ask all of the professional participants for their meanings of home during their interviews. I only obtained five out of 11 professionals' definitions. Upon reflection, I believe I thought it would seem out of place for me to ask this in the context of their heavily technocratic interviews.

foundational rock that builds the rest of the structures that maintain a nation alive, your house, your home, if that is an apartment or social housing." His definition is uncharacteristically conflated with the spatial elements of where one lives and draws a clear line between the physicality of the house and the geographical and political characteristics of a country. Given what he says, it is not surprising to find that Colombia's constitution defines and "protects the family as the basic institution of society" (Article 5).

Spatial and social implications of informal to formal living. The fundamental cause for the problems among many ciudadela residents that two Metrovivienda staff members, FH and FA, point to is the change from living in an informal to formal lifestyle. The use of the word 'formal' relates to the character of daily practices that are regulated, institutionalized, and socially accepted; the word 'informal' indicates the exact opposite. This change disrupts long-standing, housing-related behavioral patterns. Not only are residents moving into formally planned spaces but the fact that they are now expected to follow rules and regulations and engage in communal co-property behavior in them is a more difficult challenge, given that many of them lead 'informal', that is, unregulated lives. Such lives are characterized as being under the radar from acceptable bureaucratic and urban practices, such as informal employment and living in informal settlements or the countryside. As FA indicates, people's employment and residential backgrounds have an influence on whether people follow rules and how they do so. He explains this translation of behavioral skills as he mentions that developers prefer not to sell housing to people who have been resettled from informally planned settlements:

> … I have the perception that they prefer to sell their apartments to formal families, and by formal [I mean] from a labor point of view, in other words, people who work in a company, that follow a schedule, that [pay into] their unemployment benefits, that have a salary, than selling them to an informal family, in other words, people that don't have [anything]—why? Because the fact that they work in a company, being accustomed to accepting and respecting certain company rules makes it also where they will accept and

> respect convivencia rules. It's easier for me to have to accept that I have to keep the building's common hallway clean if I am accustomed to working in a company in which I have to keep my workplace clean in the face of others, if I work at a traffic light, or I work as a street vendor, I don't have that problem… so the [developers] say 'no', [asking] developers, 'how many units will you sell to resettled people?' They tear their hair out.

This passage is important because he raises key elements of the processes of production and consumption of social housing in Colombia. He utilizes a narrative mechanism to communicate a sense of understanding by putting himself in the shoes of a hypothetical 'informal family member', that there is a very important and large schism that is created in people's lived experiences as they physically transition into the formalized and urbanized urban spaces of the ciudadela. He understands that it is not just an issue of following co-property rules but that people's whole lives affect and are affected by how they deal with expected situation-related behaviors. The other major life practice, besides one's housing related activities, that structures people's daily lives is how they make a living. In essence, he recognizes both the physical/ spatial and social relational nature of human behavior. Similarly, FH cites the transition from an informal lifestyle to a formal one as the critical issue with which to contend. However, be highlights two levels at which social changes thus occur – at the intimate level of the home, that is the family, and thus in society at large. Moreover, he indicates that informality, that is, unregulated and illegal development, itself is a quality found in *all* societies, particularly the ones plagued with structural poverty:

> [They have] other characteristics [related to] the informal development of the city and they begin formalizing themselves, that rupture, from passing from the Informal to the formal, produces changes in the nucleus of the family, in their financial resources as well as in what it actually means to people, for the city, and in general, for the country and that is the search, right? To develop a planned city, right? [Not only] in our context of Colombia because it's a worldwide scheme, pirate development, illegal development, we see even in many places, you don't need to be a third world-er to see that, if you go to London, you find illegal developments, in smaller proportions than what you find in

> African countries, Asian, or in Latin America, right? Where the percentage of informal growth of the city is high, it is a phenomenon of structural poverty.

FH is explicit about the implications that territorial interventions have from the scale of the home to the larger one of society because of the physical and spatial character and the associated practices of city building. This notion is exactly at the heart of Metrovivienda's (and other related social housing policy) mission but it remains implicit. The discussion chapter will explore this notion further.

Housing practitioners understand that there are co-existence problems, however, housing policy, at both the local and national levels, does not explicitly support large-scale social intervention programs to ameliorate transitional problems. This is particularly troubling given that formal planning mechanisms are being increasingly used to regulate both existing land use and urban expansion. As Metrovivienda's work evolved over five mayoral administrations, they have taken steps to intervene in the communities that they helped develop. Their efforts will be illustrated in depth in the next and final section of this chapter.

Conclusion

First, all professionals participants' perspectives of an emerging housing practice, which encompasses people's meanings of home, social relations, and lifestyle changes as residents transition into their new ciudadelas, interestingly incorporate broader perspectives on its implications on society at large, in contrast to their resident counterparts. I do not believe it is simply because they have higher levels of formal education than the residents' group, as the latter group is very articulate and reflective about their own life conditions. While the residents explain that social relational problems are largely due to one's informal education, in other words, one's character formation, the professionals' discourse makes one extra step to involve

the concept of 'society'. In a related theme, both the residents' and professionals' participant groups and related discourse conceive the family unit to be the key social grouping that organizes society and the concept of home in everyday use reinforces this notion. Both groups, however, have slightly nuanced differences of the use of the word society; where the residents maintain their discourse on the formation of children, the professionals broaden their definition to include the implication on society. Second, it is critical to note that not one professional, or related discourse, states that new homeowner residents are not informed about the horizontal property scheme into which they have purchased their new homes. There is a clear difference between this and the fact that they do acknowledge problems adjusting to new rules and expected behaviors. Third, in the second findings chapter, two professionals noted the differences that neighboring residents of the ciudadelas perceive of the social characteristics of ciudadela residents. However, both professionals' and housing policy discourse do not acknowledge the class differences *among* ciudadela residents, a key factor in the social realities of the ciudadelas. Lastly, and most curiously, all participants, whether residents or professionals, that complain about the lack of rule compliance do not acknowledge the fact that there are other sets of expected, and followed, behavioral norms in informal settings; nor does housing related discourse either. For example, at first glance there is an apparent chaotic aesthetic quality of an informal settlement in Santa Marta, Colombia along the Caribbean coast (Kellett, 2005). However, residents follow an organized system for daily living needs. Except for a brief moment of dissent in the focus group about the need for the horizontal property law to change, most of the narratives conceive the law and its associated rules as correct, appropriate and non-negotiable. Despite the fact that the national government no longer builds housing per se, it nevertheless created the law that must be followed at the most local level of daily life.

Therefore, the state remains a key agent in influencing how residents are meant to relate to their housing spaces and indeed, one another.

Addendum

It is necessary to mention that the dimension of convivencia, the ability to get along with one another, encompasses another kind of problem experienced by ciudadela residents, besides the ones experienced by participants due to the lack of rule compliance and decorous behavior. This other kind of problem is the large level of insecurity that residents experience living in the ciudadelas. The large level of crime is described as 'insecurity', not as crime or feeling unsafe. Although insecurity is experienced in the spaces of the ciudadelas, it is not specifically about this dissertation's emerging theme of an 'emerging housing practice' (Ferguson & Navarrete, 2003). In fact, these safety issues can be found in other kinds of living spaces in Bogotá. The following is a brief picture of how insecurity is experienced by residents that impede their ability to co-exist peacefully.

In this study, the residents' and participants overwhelmingly discuss issues of safety and security both before and after they have moved into the ciudadela as homeowners. Most residents feel safe up to a certain extent. Elements that increase their sense of security are the existence of gates and security guards in and around their residential complexes and police presence in the street. Their security is limited, however, by the looming sense of insecurity that they feel is palpable, usually while outside of their residential complexes. They know of the existence of drug dens inside and outside their complexes, drug use among youth and petty crime, such as assaults and thefts, also usually committed by youth. Petty crime is said to be a result of drug use or by youth gangs that organize themselves around soccer leagues (*barras bravas*, akin to hooligans in the United Kingdom). Various housing related professionals, within

the context of their specific work, mention how they attempt to prevent or alleviate insecurity (no mention of preventing crime per se). Three of the participants make connections between conditions of youth in poverty, lack of jobs and/ or good education, and possible community-wide preventive measures. Three participants, two of whom have been displaced by the internal armed conflict, have experienced death threats for their community organizing efforts. The displaced participants currently organize for displaced people's rights; one has experienced threats by people who did not agree with his politics and the other was taking precautionary measures at the time of interview because she was being threatened by other displaced people who may be scapegoating her. A third participant used to volunteer in her complex's governance council and was threatened by two resident adolescents who did not like the fact that she did not allow them to use the community room because the homeowner was behind on his/ or her monthly administrative fees.

Virtually the only professionals that discuss issues of insecurity in this participant group are Metrovivienda's community development team members. In fact, most of their time and resources in this area of Bogotá are committed to ameliorating problems of insecurity. However, at the beginning of field work, there were two staff members in the Bosa field office and they were whittled down to one by the time data collection was completed. The community development team leader introduced a facilitating strategy that integrated the participation of community leaders with representatives of different city agencies to try to improve robbery, assaults, and drug use. One example is the walking site visits that identified specific locations of crime. If such a location was used because there was a lack of street lighting, the representative from the public lighting company was instantaneously informed with the goal that they would then promise to install adequate lighting.

CHAPTER 8: STRAINED ATTEMPTS AT AMELIORATING HOUSING COMPLEX CONVIVENCIA PROBLEMS VIA HOUSING GOVERNANCE

Arising from the tense context detailed in the previous chapter, residents and housing related professionals attempt to build community. Specifically, they try to ameliorate the convivencia problems they experience in the ciudadelas in numerous ways. The state designed into the horizontal property law a participatory mechanism to encourage community self-sufficiency but these residents' experiences problematize the practice of the law. In this chapter, I will first illustrate residents' participation in their housing complex governance councils, or boards, which includes how they approach teaching others, their problematic participation, and propose solutions for improvement of the law and its associated practices. While some resident participants participate in community organizing activities outside of their residential complexes, such as Maria Luisa, who assists with local youth organizing events, such activities will be excluded, as they are not about the major emerging theme of this dissertation of 'an emerging housing practice'. I will then demonstrate the professionals' efforts at helping residents build community. Similarly, housing related professionals, like the Metrovivienda social team staff, engage in various activities to facilitate and foment community-building activities. However, a good portion of the two field staff members' efforts, and later one staff member, assigned to work in the Bosa ciudadelas, work on problems associated with safety and security. I will only discuss those efforts that are related to strengthening conviviencia through the housing complex governance structure that is related to the same emergent theme of 'an emerging housing practice'.

Housing governance

Social housing complexes are subject to a horizontal property law (National Law 675) which is a co-ownership property scheme similar to the condominium law in the Unites States wherein an individual has private ownership rights over his/ her individual unit and has common ownership rights over commonly designated property. As explained in Chapter 3, this law is specifically intended to enable property that is subject to this law, in this case, housing, to function as communal entities in the service of their own property management and improve "peaceful co-existence" (Article 2). In order to do so, every property subject to this law requires a governance board. However, as was developed in the previous section, many residents are not aware of the full extent of the law's regulations, or are resistant to them. Once the development has 51% occupancy, the developer is then allowed to transfer control and management of the entire property to a board of residents, known in this context as a housing complex council. This transfer can only happen when that board is officially in place with elected members, such as a president, and an appointed administrator in a paid position who functions as a property manager and implements what the board and the entire owners decide. During the first three months of each year, a general meeting must be held, in which all homeowners are required to attend, for instance, to discuss balance sheets, approve projects, and elect council members. A homeowner is fined if she or he does not attend. The council can also call an "extraordinary" meeting, if an issue(s) is urgent, such as a necessary response to a spike in the incidences of robberies.

Residents

It is not just property management. Gloria describes her job as an administrator of her residential complex in El Recreo as fulfilling. She enjoys working for the community's benefit and is proud that she is able to apply her skills to reverse the deterioration of the complex before she was hired: "I have shown another image of the residential complex." Some of her

responsibilities include collecting and administering the residents' monthly administrative fees and overseeing the care and use of the common areas, such as the two community rooms the developer provided. One room is left for residents' use for social activities and the other is rented to a private day care center. She provides assistance to the council and oversight with social events or major capital improvements. But as Álvaro clearly explains the chain of command, the administrator is subject to the council who in turn is subject to the resident homeowners' decisions' made during periodical general assemblies. Ideally, it is a democratic process designed to foment community decision-making. Jaime & Milay and Gloria are highly aware of this. Gloria positively describes the council structure as akin to the one that governs the country. Jaime explains that "the people, as they say" are the ones who elect residential council members or decide that they be removed from their post.

The participants that are actively engaged with their community acknowledge that before they can begin to teach their neighbors how to behave appropriately and comply with the horizontal property law's rules and regulations, they must learn to understand them as people who have different practices in order to begin to break down their perception of 'otherness' that separates them in the first place, as was detailed in the previous chapter. Moreover, they recognize the need for people to 'understand' what community means and how that concept is integrally involved when sharing property. Most of the residents in this study engage in teaching the law and its associated elements despite the limited resources at their disposal. Such activity occurs in the context of their residential complexes' governance councils.

Working to create community. Liliana, Paul, Álvaro, Mariana (Elena's daughter), Gloria, Jaime & Milay, and Maria Luisa all commented on how much they enjoy working for their community despite the many obstacles they face. Liliana and Paul are advocates for

displaced people's rights; Álvaro has partaken in various community organizing efforts such as having a local private bus company extend its route to service a greater area in the ciudadela, and organizing two youth groups for sports and folkloric dance; Maria Luisa is a member of a local conflict resolution committee and helps organize youth events as well. Interestingly, all the aforementioned participants were once or are still active in the governance of their residential complexes as council members or as administrators. Although no one was explicit about this, it seems that the voluntary organizational scheme of the residential councils would be natural places for them to actualize their community leadership skills.

As people with these skills who are committed to their community, they articulate the need for residents to learn, or more precisely, for them to teach, their neighbors how to better co-exist, that is, to have good convivencia. Despite the fact that it is challenging work, some participants do acknowledge that it is enjoyable. Gloria explains that many people, in this case, the displaced, are not accustomed to following rules associated with their dwellings because they have "a low cultural level." While this might very well be condescending, Gloria very much wants for everyone to enjoy a better quality of life but it requires that everyone do their faire share of the work. She feels she needs to,

> Organize them, we have had to do so with convivencia workshops, to [teach] sociability, in other words, to have them understand that this is another lifestyle, that they cannot keep throwing out the garbage in front of the houses, that there are regular behaviors to follow, that it's in certain bags, that they need to take them to the chute… to make them understand that the space is not only mine but that it's everyone's and between all of us, we have to take care of it, that if I'm behaving badly I'm affecting another person, that if speak loudly, have parties also, then we have to adjust to a regulation where we have to learn how to live with one another.

Gloria is explaining the kind of sensibility and care necessary to live in horizontal property but is also referencing everyday practices associated with living in a city. This law is only applicable to multi-unit housing and commercial spaces and such spaces are usually found in cities where

land is less available and more expensive. Thus, Gloria is describing the lifestyle transition from country living to city living. Folks who come from tenement dwellings in Bogotá must also face this transition as they acquire the understanding that they have purchased into co-property and not individually owned private property. Jaime & Milay speak similarly about fellow residents' need to learn about a new kind of community, where everyone can help one another and help care for their communal spaces, otherwise they will deteriorate. Jaime says,

> Contact with people is good, well I'm speaking about me and possibly for my mother because we have the way and the gift to possibly help a person, we have a sense of belonging. Every human being that feels that this is theirs… you take care of it… [We] have to make them understand that we are effectively in community and that we have to help each other, that if we do not mutually help one another, this effectively will decay and go bankrupt. [Milay: everything will fall apart]. Jaime: Everything will fall apart.

Jaime is also highlighting two necessary points for the best possible co-existence – a sense of belonging and a sense of community. These two aspects are acquired gradually but it is much more difficult to generate when people only think they are purchasing 'their own home', or do not feel a sense of belonging, like Pablo, who was "given" his housing as part of his displaced condition but does not consider it his.

These leaders' community work is valid and necessary but it is also tinged with feelings of condescension, a sense of us vs. them that still separates them from the community that they truly want to integrate. This sentiment was also discussed in the focus group. Fundamentally, in order to be able to live well together, Sandra Linda believes that,

> You have to begin to socialize with them, from [whatever place or situation] they come from, and if you have an education you have to try to teach them the goodness one has so that we can have good convivencia.

This is a problematic notion because it influences how they approach others. However, teaching requires dialogue, patience, and tolerance. In another instance in the discussion, Gloria adds,

> That is way I say there is no bad neighbor, what happens is that it's according to how [he or she] was raised in their home… but if you know how to get in there and how to learn [sic], say to him, 'señor, that looks very bad.' It's a question of dialogue, because that neighbor isn't to blame, it was how he was raised. Obviously, you can't ask a pear tree to bear apples… that's what good modeling is for, tolerance, not acting the same way as them but show him the difference, show that there are rules that need to be respected, obviously it's not possible the first time, it's discipline and tolerance.

There is a very fine line that participants, like Gloria and Sandra Linda, walk as they try to model good behavior. It is not easy to be tolerant of others' practices if one believes that they are inherently wrong. Learning new rules to adapt to a new kind of community is valid, but it should also be asked whether they should be revised to accommodate how people truly want to live.

Problems associated with housing complex council management. These community leaders meet with a multi-faceted resistance and thus experience many problems as they try to manage their complexes through the governing councils. Metrovivienda provides them with some technical assistance on these convivencia issues, yet their role is severely limited due to the fact that only one field staff member's time is largely dedicated to community development around problems of safety and security in the Bosa ciudadelas. The remaining social team allots its time and resources in another large-scale social housing master plan initiative in Bogotá in Usme. As such, the community leaders call for more and improved teaching of the law to all residents by outside institutions, not just the council members. Lack of resources and preparedness to teach a new lifestyle are cited as two major contributors of this difficulty. Jaime & Milay indicate that they are overwhelmed, both because they are financially strapped and because it is difficult work to have others change their very entrenched behaviors. As Juan, an administrator and participant of the discussion group indicates, "And if we're not prepared as an administration [of the complexes]… as quote-unquote leaders of these communities, we're not prepared to know and treat in [an appropriate] manner those situations… it will become more

unmanageable [than it already is]." Out of the six interview participants, only Gloria and Milay remain in the council (her son Jaime serves as her informal assistant), perhaps because they are paid administrators of their complexes; the others held voluntary positions in their respective councils. The following situations paint a picture of how challenging the daily administration of the complexes can be.

In the previous chapter, Jaime & Milay discussed the fact that some of the children in their complex had begun to destroy some of the features of the complex; as an eight-month-old structure, it is virtually brand-new. They find it difficult to reach the parents of those children and making them understand that living in horizontal property "is indeed living in community and we have to help each other." Parents retort that the reason they bought their own homes was just so that their children can have the freedom to run around. This harks back to Carmen's experience as featured in chapter 4, where she was glad that no one any longer could claim the right to manage her children's behavior, it was finally her space.

Mariana was a member of her complex's council for two years. During this time she received a lot of help from AD, one of Metrovivienda's field workers whose contract was not renewed after two years of employment. She says, "Thank God I met AD from Metrovivienda, she was an unconditional[ly supportive] person, I learned a lot [about] horizontal property, that's why I talk a lot about rights, responsibilities, it was very nice work, helping people." However, she did not continue her work in the council due to a death threat she received from a couple of young residents of the complex. Mariana continues, "But it's like everything, you are liked by people or you're not by others." Mariana explains in a calm voice that she decided not to let the young residents use the common room for their gatherings because they kept asking for it every week. Upset, they spray-painted a message with a death threat directed at her. The council

decided to take the young people to a local public oversight committee and then the local juvenile district attorney's office. In front of the judge, the defendants admitted that they acted out in anger and were not serious. Recalling Liliana's threat in chapter 4, Taussig (2003) explains the use of death threats, whether real or not, to intimidate others in order to gain something. It is clearly a systemic problem that has seeped into the culture probably for over hundreds of years.

Developers are eager to turn over the property management responsibility to residents once they construction is completed. As a result, Juan, from the group discussion says that the decisions to hire an administrator and elect council members can be hasty; the best choices are not always made to carry out even the minimum responsibilities of the charges, let alone build community, as some have said they are responsible for as well. Jaime & Milay recount that the reason that Milay was recently hired to be their residential complex's administrator was because residents realized the administrator that was hired was not attending to the needs of the complex. Milay was the council president and the council suggested that she resign so that she can accept the job of administrator because she was already taking care of the current administrator's responsibilities:

> I'm already here 24 hours a day, I'm always here, so everyone—I was doing her job and she was the one getting paid, she would only come and generate monthly bills and collect her salary. [Isabel: And she didn't live here?] No, she didn't live here, so I was the one who had to deal with the problems, attend to people, try to solve whatever thing, all of that. That's why that decision was made.

Gloria is adamant that people in those positions must be able to do their job well because they have many responsibilities and in order to do so they need to have certain qualities, otherwise they damage everyone's reputation:

> It's a combination of values, honesty, responsibility, punctuality, because there are things that are due on that date and it's for that date… it's not just taking and keeping the money.

> Not presenting income tax [paperwork], that's fraud, it's a pain for the complex because that then generates a fine and that is also bad management and like I was telling you, perhaps some administrators with not so great moral bases are then degrading the rest of the trade, that's why those of us that are excellent [at out jobs] we have to conserve ourselves so that people see that we're not all the same, and before that, we have to vet, we have to remove those people that sack the complexes, unfortunately that does happen.

I had already heard several stories about how participants either mistrust the management process or cite examples of mismanagement. I believe that there is a general social distrust of authority, and especially of those in power who also have fiscal responsibilities.

During the discussion group, participants acknowledged that they have become "greatly disillusioned" with their participation in the councils. They mentioned that even some members of the conviviencia committees, comprised of a few council members, may even be themselves very prone to conflict. Meetings can get contentious and patience and communication guidelines are necessary to maintain level heads. Outside of the council, both Maria Luisa and Sandra Linda mentioned that residents tend to gossip about its members. In her duties as a former council member, Maria Luisa did not handle any funds but she says that neighbors think she was part of a "*rosca*", a ring of scammers; she says, "it's better to stay away." Paul agrees that it is better not to get involved in order to avoid any problems that "may fall on one's home". Camila is not fully aware of how her complex is run but she does not want to get involved either, for fear that she will not get along with other council members. In chapter 4, we learned that Álvaro is currently being sued by his complex's former administrator for libel despite the fact that he has proof that she misappropriated funds on a security kiosk that was not approved by the council. Álvaro, Maria Luisa, Paul, Camila, Sandra Linda, and Mariana now avoid organizing in their residential complexes, that is, their home areas, perhaps to maintain the peaceful environments they have attained in their own homes.

Proposed solutions. Gloria is proud when she describes the benefits of the governance structure, however, she recognizes some flaws with it as well; the problems described above also testify to this. The law stipulates general processes for community decision-making to support property management and other activities of a social or economic nature the entity, in this case a multi-family residential complex, would like to undertake. Gloria suggests that to further strengthen accountability and transparency, administrators should work in teams to carry out tasks and special projects. She admits that she is lucky she has a supportive council working with her to make the complex as good as it does but not every complex is managed the same way. Specifically, she recommends that in order for a good team to function, that the rest of the council be financially incentivized so that their hard work can be recognized. The problem is that many folks currently refuse to volunteer:

> They should provide them with a financial recognition, well not really a salary, but an incentive so that people would be more motivated to participate. There are complexes where you only see an administrator who is working by him or herself, in other words, a working group is named as a council only to legalize the paperwork [transfer management to residents] but in the hour of truth, it does not function because [the members of the group say] 'no, I have to work, if I don't work, I don't eat, and the one who earns a salary,' as if they're saying, 'well, work, because you're the one who's earning the salary.'

The administrator is the only one who is remunerated; as a result, it may be common to think that she or he should be doing most of the work. This governance structure may work for residents in other income brackets but the social context is different in the low-income ciudadelas. Her suggestion to have the council members remunerated may be valid but the reality is that those funds must be raised. The administrator's salary originates from homeowner's monthly administrative fees. If a stipend is disbursed, these fees would have to increase and they are already unmanageable for many residents, as we saw in Chapter 5. Other incentives, such as a reprieve from a certain percentage of these fees, may be another idea, but again, the complex's

budget would suffer unless fees are increased. Perhaps a discount in the unit price might be another idea, but that would mean that the developer would lose money, making this option highly improbable.

During the discussion group, a couple of suggestions were made about the how the government could assist in the improvement of social relations among neighbors. Pre-purchase, the government and developers should organize meetings with prospective homeowners. As we saw in Chapter 7, it seems that the information developers provide to their buyers is not sufficient or is not made in the most meaningful way possible. Post-purchase, Sandra Linda and Álvaro in separate instances suggest that the government should visit residential complexes to organize talks on convivencia. Gloria responds that the government already provides a similar kind of training, as well as conflict resolution training, through Bogotá's Chamber of Commerce. However, what she does not point out is that the training is specifically targeted to council members and administrators. The others are suggesting that an outside party provide outreach to community members at large. Regardless, current training may not also be adequately reaching its target audience in the entire city. Another kind of outreach participants mentioned was specifically on social integration, that is, to provide social services to those that have been historically marginalized, such as street dwellers and the displaced. Sandra Linda had mentioned this in the context of the "indigents" that live in the ciudadela. She also thinks, as was mentioned in Chapter 7, that the money recovered from drug lords should be utilized for such training programs.

Not only should the government outreach to the community at the level of the residential complex, but participants also cited that they "should work on the issues" themselves at this same level. While they would love to organize across complexes, Álvaro does not think this is

feasible because it is already difficult to do so in each complex. It is, however, possible to create opportunities for non-council member residents to participate in activities because it is extremely difficult to get people to enlist in the council. Gloria cites an example of a group of women in her complex. She comments on how they are very nice but that they refuse to join the council. During Christmas time, "the creatives", as she calls them, help her to decorate the complex. Álvaro agrees that small gestures can go a long way to create a friendlier atmosphere. In a general assembly, he recommended that neighbors should greet one another every time they saw one another. He testifies, "believe me… everyone greets you now, 'good afternoon, good morning, good evening', you're in the store, 'hello, how are you?'

Participants also returned to the idea that parents, in particular, must be reached because they are the ones in charge of educating their children about living with other people. Parents must firstly be able to balance their responsibilities better between working and raising their children; Sandra Linda attests to how difficult it is but it is imperative, "It is responsibility-work, responsibility-home, responsibility, you have to focus on the responsibility that you acquired [as parents]… the other technique is to teach [the children] to be responsible in their own homes." This harks back to the complaint in Chapter 7 about parents delegating this responsibility to others in the complex. She calls for parents to not only change their own behaviors but also to change those of their children. While the group is not explicit of the reason for these suggestions, it is clear that it meant so that responsible, peaceful, and law-abiding adults can be fostered.

Conclusion

The residents, both former and currently active in their governance councils, utilize their organizing skills and commitment to their community through the channel created by the horizontal property law. However, there are many challenges to having the residents of their

residential complexes understand or follow their various responsibilities. There is a consensus that the horizontal property law should be changed because there were “many mistakes”. However, it is important to note that these residents lump together the horizontal property law, its by-laws, and expected behaviors all into one category. When these participants describe challenges about teaching their neighbors, participating in the councils, or providing solutions to governance problems to build better community, they always reference “the law.” They are very knowledgeable about it and their rights associated with it, making any mistake or unforeseen circumstance arising out if its practice an injustice. In contrast, the others who are not active participants in the councils talk about rules and regulations, whether they agree with them or not, but they hardly reference it as “the law.” It is not clear whether the community leaders’ discourse is a turn off to others but it may be an issue when implementing any kind of reform or outreach strategy.

Professionals

Several professionals were explicit about the fact that they are deeply committed to helping improve the quality of life of those living in poverty despite the fact that they work in both the public and private sectors. Two of them either once worked for Metrovivienda or currently do, and the other two are employees of a major developer. Both pairs, even the ones who work for the private sector, are limited in their capacities to not only house those in need but to improve the convivencia problems they know are rampant in the ciudadelas.

Metrovivienda’s notions. Metrovivienda realized over the years that it needed to assist new residents in the transition process once they become homeowners because they saw many problems arise. However, it was never part of its mission to provide this kind of assistance to end users, it is merely a state company that purchases land, provides urban infrastructure, and

sells parcels of this newly transformed urban land to the private sector to build affordable housing. FA explains that during his tenure in Metrovivienda, the social team was hired to provide much needed assistance, but was unfortunately not made an official arm of the agency. Such a position conceptualized the team as precarious despite the fact that its work was increasingly warranted:

> Their [work] is totally transversal, in the process of sale [of the superblocks] they're associated with legal processes, as in the process of the design of the partial plans [for planned development], then they're associated with operations, in the infrastructure process, they're associated with the technical department, as in the real estate process, they're associated with the [developers].

To be clear, the team's multi-faceted work is related to the impact on people, who either live on the land that is to be developed or as it is related to how the developers deal with its customers. I believe that the inability to have a strong foothold in the overall agency's efforts contributes to the team's already sparse human resources being dedicated to the major development in Usme and not to continuous problems in its first ciudadelas in Bosa. Specifically, the team's leader, FS is the sole decision-maker with regard to its initiatives; there is little else that Metrovivienda's executive director does to provide oversight, other than support them. He recognizes their need in Bosa and muses over what would be ideal to help ameliorate convivencia problems:

> … The fact that these people come from other realities… you would have to see through, how many people there came from, for example, outside [the city], from the country, [if they're] displaced, how many came from living in rentals in houses or apartments or I don't know what, from somewhere, how many came from living in tenements, in [geographic] high risk zones, etc., because then you can know people's important behavioral factors when people have to enter into cohabitation with others.

FA posits that an assessment of ciudadela residents should be made in order to understand how to best approach an intervention to ease the transition into the new property scheme and lifestyle. Moreover, he recognizes that it is problematic for people who are accustomed to living in a house over large terrain in the countryside to move into a tiny apartment. Nevertheless, this is

merely a notion and not a real plan for action. Nothing like this is planned, even in the Usme development.

FS, the social team's leader, is an intimidating, tenacious, and methodical woman who is passionate about building community. With experience leading a similar team in another locality of Bogotá, she has an incredibly clear vision for how to conduct her team's work within Metrovivienda; she has "clarity" of its issues because she is a "pioneer of social integration management." As mentioned previously, she divides her staff between the development in Usme and the ciudadelas in Bosa. Although most of its efforts are in working with the existing population within the catchment area slated for development in Usme, her narrative focuses on the work in Bosa. She indicates that what has been done in Bosa can be replicated in Usme in the future. However, for two reasons, this may not come to fruition—first, her tenure in the agency is temporary, because with every change in mayoral administration, most city agency staff is turned over as well, and Usme's full development is projected to last another 20 to 30 years. Second, most of her and her staff's efforts in Bosa are related to improving convivencia related to security issues, because as she says, it is "what the community has called for", and not residential complex neighbor relations. Nevertheless, FS talks about these related issues because she is aware that they are relevant to residents and are problematic.

The fundamental problem that plagues the ciudadelas, FS says, is the problematic "social fabric" that needs to be mended. Relational problems across both private and public spaces occur as a result of the diversity of cultures and past experiences of residents; curiously, she does not mention poverty. Her team's role in the agency can be characterized by balancing the organized urban intervention Metrovivienda leads with an equally integrated community intervention. This means that the community building work she promotes should be holistic

because relationships among people are continuous between the private sphere of the home and the public spaces of the residential complex or ciudadela:

> … the [person] that comes from [living] in a wide space but in terrible sanitary conditions, it's terrible reducing himself to the space [of the housing unit], so corporally, the first encounter that the person has is with the management of space and [his or her] corporality, right? And that is all a language, it's a construction, right? And from there, even we say in the private and in the public and the interrelationship that exists between the public and the private—

FS theorizes that people perceive space with their bodies due to past experiences, first and foremost. It is an active "construction" to adapt to new spaces. Such adaptation occurs across the two different kinds of spaces we inhabit and have social implications that then she and her team would like to intervene in. She lists problems that occur in the domestic sphere, such as when problems with spatial adaptation can cause misunderstandings within the family, or domestic violence. Transitioning to the public sphere, disagreements between neighbors also have a spatial component. She provides an example of something she heard during a community meeting:

> The time that there was a security council meeting [the attendees] were saying, 'imagine that the man from the coast takes out his music player, his stereo and cranks up the volume and we take it' and that created, for example now, a confrontation of a physical nature between the two people…

She explained that the complainers did not want to stand their noisy neighbor's behavior anymore and their lack of patience made tempers fly to create a fight. This is an example of an encounter that involves people from different cultures enacting their preferences, but it also illustrates the more fundamental problem of the "culture of habitat." More than describing how people co-exist with one another in the best way possible, as good convivencia would describe, the culture of habitat adds an element of spatiality, that is, how people relate to one another

within and across spaces. The concept has been integrated into the city's social policy since Antanas Mockus' first mayoral administration from 1995 to 1998:

> In the 20 localities [of Bogotá], the [Secretariat] of Habitat has working roundtables created by a decree that are called Habitat Roundtables, and something that we want to work on is that theme of the culture of habitat, right? … [H]abitat is seen in an integrated way because habitat is not only the place of housing and its interior, but it's the entire environs and how they harmonize with all that is public and private. So let's say that it would be an interesting space [for Metrovivienda] to participate in to give continuity to this work.

Her approach to try to improve culture of habitat problems is through "the construction of citizenship, neighbor relations, and conflict resolution within the theme of habitability, we're thinking of … strengthening the theme of habitability with the area and in each locality [of Bogotá]." Habitability is thus a "rights' based" concept that she utilizes to mend the social fabric of residents and thus build citizenship. She operationalizes habitability as working to improve how to inhabit a space by "interrelating the public and the private with different actors and how to build those spaces in the most pedagogical, most integrated ways… [from a] perspective of equality and equity." It is also how she defines the word habitat. To FS, habitat, or habitability, is not a static concept, but rather, it is an active socio-spatial notion that is geared to improving a determined lived space inter-institutionally, involving multiple entities—residents, community groups, her staff, and staff of other city agencies.

FS' praxis involves a method that she utilized in her previous work in another city locality to bring multiple actors together to help resolve community issues. The "methodology" is currently being used to address insecurity issues. Briefly, it involves identifying places where residents have mentioned, for example, that assaults have taken place. The sites are visited with representatives from the community and then all institutional and community members that have any relationship to that space are invited for a walk-through to identify the problem and have

each agency or person provide on-the-spot commitment to helping resolve the issue. For example, thieves had been known to hide in the branches of certain trees in an unlit sidewalk. Area residents wanted the trees cut down but FS suggested that the branches be trimmed on a continuous basis to be able to enjoy the trees' benefits. The lighting company was told to fix the street lamps and the Botanical Garden, in charge of city trees, was told to trim the trees. This strategy seems like it can work over the long run, however there is currently only one field staff member and she cannot cover all security problems, let alone the ones that generate conflict between neighbors or about horizontal property. In order to address these latter issues, FS mentioned that she would like to create "ABCs" manuals as guides for homebuyers for both pre- and post-purchase. I had recently discovered that Metrovivienda had published such a document during the tenure of the previous executive director during the previous mayoral administration. However, she had no idea that it existed. At one point, FS admits that they are learning as they do their work. There clearly has been little to no continuity between past community initiatives.

Former field staff member, AD, had attempted to address convivencia problems at the level of the housing complex but FS did not implement her proposal and it was not made clear as to why. I surmise that it would require acceptance from the real estate department, who liaises with developers, as well as the executive director. It would require an increased cost to developers, who as we saw in Chapter 6, already complain of tight constraints to build social housing, and may not be a preferred move for the executive director who wants to try to reach profitability because he runs, ideally, a commercial enterprise. In the spirit of one large housing developer's social outreach program, described below, AD proposed that all developers be required, in partial fulfillment of the competitive bidding process, to provide workshops to new homeowners of their properties on their rights and responsibilities living under the horizontal

property law, how to improve convivencia, as well as citizenship building skills. She argued that if the horizontal property law is meant to foster "peaceful convivencia" (Article 2), then residents should learn the principles behind the rules and regulations of the law. For example, living in horizontal property requires respect for common areas as well as for neighbors; several associated "principles of healthy convivencia" are "communication, respect for the other, solidarity, integration, and understanding." Moreover, she frames these principles within a citizenship building discourse; she defines citizenship as, "the collection of principles, values, and attitudes, that people recognize as social, political, and civil rights [no citation]". As a homeowner, one is required to participate in activities such as the general assemblies, and is encouraged to join the council, and participate in ways to make common areas more livable. She writes, "Citizenship building is synonymous with active participation in the community". AD operationalizes active participation as ways that "generate common ground and identities with common senses of belonging; plan projects based on common values; and recognize and influence power relations." Not only would she want to residents to know their obligations but also the basis for them in order for people to be fully cognizant of elements to strengthen society. This proposal would fall in line with the help for which resident community leaders called, in addition to the habitability that FS and Bogotá's social policy supports.

Developer tactics. There is only one social housing developer that has a community outreach department explicitly charged with overseeing a post-occupancy program to assist homebuyers that live on their properties. Contrary to JDP's small firm, who would like to run similar programming, A and ACP's company is part of a large corporation that offers different services, including insurance, and thusly have a larger operational budget at their disposal. They run the program with a small staff of three people but hire local university interns to conduct

much of its outreach work. The initiatives are based on teaching the legal aspects of the horizontal property scheme, along with elements geared to strengthen the institution of family as well as democratic institutions. They also incorporate educational, health, environment, income generation, and arts and cultural programming. Fundamentally, these programs are meant to improve physical as well as personal quality of life aspects in order to establish good convivencia within families, and between neighbors and residential complexes. The purpose of this department is not entirely altruistic; it is meant to counteract the company's "non-financial risks." The programs that foster social relationships and stewardship of the environment are designed to increase the "guarantee" of the developer's investment in their properties in order to avoid the fact that "developer's image [can] deteriorate". ACP says,

> The measures we take to guarantee good convivencia, well, that means that we are guaranteeing the housing, the guarantee for the banks, because everyone who buys has a mortgage line of credit, so it is also a way for the bank to maintain its guarantee.

Their company is interested in keeping the banks' of their customers happy because if the property values decrease, banks would be less interested in lending to the developer's future customers. According to A, 95% of their clientele purchases social housing with mortgages. While they take a rights' based approach to support the transition of residents to living in horizontal property, it still functions within a market structure. In fact, it can only survive if the housing remains profitable to the developer. The major program that encompasses all of the developer's priorities involves a contest that each of the residential complexes can enter. Based on three annual evaluations, each complex increasingly receives technical assistance to improve the property management, fiscal management, community strengthening, and environmental management, as well as recognition in the company's newsletters and website. At the time of

interview, 135 residential complexes all over Bogotá participated in the contest. Gloria's complex is one of them.

Conclusion.

Professionals from Metrovivienda and a housing developer make attempts at addressing the convivencia problems experienced by residents of the ciudadelas. Both FA and FS have ideas for improvement but seem constrained, resulting in scant human and technical resource management. FA muses over changes to assessing residents' problems but the strategy he supports is lobbying for the social team to have a separate division within the agency. FS has a theoretically sound community building strategy but the lack of personnel in the Bosa field office, coupled with imminent security issues, make for a minute intervention in the large scaled territory that encompasses both El Recreo and El Porvenir. A program, similar to what residents asked for during the discussion group to help prospective residents understand what it is like to live in co-property was mysteriously and quickly dismissed. Additionally, only one developer's community outreach program, while worthwhile, cannot sustainably address residents' issues, when they are one of about 18 others currently building housing in, for example, El Porvenir.

It seems that the state and those who enforce the law, in this case, community leaders and some professionals, are particularly adamant about reinforcing the rule of law but Colombia as a society has undergone many years and events over history that has ignored the rule of law. Attempting to create peaceful communities under the aegis of a law is fraught with complications and perhaps is counterproductive. Additionally, what is occurring in Bosa will be repeated in Usme, where Metrovivienda is undertaking the largest urban transformation project in all of Colombia. While they are working with the existing community of Usme to enter as peacefully

as possible, I did not hear any talk with regard to addressing the same transition of future residents into co-property living.

CHAPTER 9: SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

This chapter will feature a summary of the findings as they relate to the experiences of each participant group and discuss their implications for Colombian society.

Given the main guiding research question, "What are the meanings of 'home' [and 'habitat'] of the key actors, involved in the production and consumption of state-sanctioned low-income housing in Bogotá, Colombia and how do these meanings influence housing, neighborhood and community building practices?" the primary findings of this dissertation are encapsulated by the theme of an "emerging housing practice" (Ferguson & Navarrete, 2003). This rubric encompasses four different dimensions of residents' and housing related professionals' experiences. They are: the meanings of homeownership, the experiences in formal urbanizing spaces, the misunderstandings and problems that arise living in a 'new' horizontal property scheme, and the strained attempts at ameliorating housing complex convivencia issues via housing governance. These practices are 'emerging' because residents are in the process of adapting to living in these new residential spaces, as are the associated housing professionals adapting to creating housing that meets residents' needs. It can be said that social processes are always 'emerging' because things are never static and this research is no different; it captures people's meanings at a moment in time and it recognizes that meanings are always in flux and can change if any personal and contextual factors change. As a reminder to the reader, Ferguson and Navarrete's (2003) term of "emerging housing practice" generally describes the formalization of housing production and financing in Latin America. However, I am expanding it conceptually because it encompasses how relevant actors adapt to a new kind of city and lifestyle. Utilizing this broad question, I was also able to begin to uncover an underlying narrative that explains that the process of adapting to these new communities also reveals a story about how the state is encouraging a specific kind of citizenship building. I thus

argue in this chapter that the spatial and social groupings of residential complexes of social housing in Colombia are structured by a regulating participatory national law that is designed to foster the development of a democratic vision of civil society.

As it stands, a lack of urban literacy of ciudadela residents may be a way to describe the disjuncture between planned physical space, its associated new rules, and how people understand and make their daily lives in this new, urbanizing space. One can argue that a certain trust in one's neighbor, a crucial ingredient for a good level of convivencia, is lost in the new, bureaucratic way of operating, that is, following many new and different rules of homeownership in horizontal property, which also lies in direct contrast to the popular idea that as a homeowner, one can do what one wants on one's property. However, I would like to note that framing the disjuncture in a negative light, that is, as a *lack*, positions being literate in the customs of urban life as prime and possibly exclusionary. It is highly probable that 60% of the world's population will be living in cities by 2030 (World Health Organization, 2013) and that it is absolutely necessary we all learn how to cope with the transition, natural resource management, and the many additional factors that must take place for people to lead productive and secure lives. Nevertheless, it is important to remain critical about the social practices that render a certain kind of physical housing space, which then engender certain expected social practices, which then create new kinds of inequalities or re-create problems that were meant to be alleviated in the first place. A question that thus arises is, "What are the skills required to be able to live in the new ciudadelas? If some skills are to be able to cooperate with others in order to manage a housing space and to accept to live under a certain kind of physical order with associated expected behaviors in an essentially unexpected co-property scheme, then a critical reflection of this answer points me to ask, "Who are the people who decide what is correct behavior and what is

necessary for society? Who claims civility, if it is defined as politeness, being cultured, quiet, rule-following, trustworthy and cooperative? I believe it is both residents and professionals featured in this study. Prior research and program interventions both in Colombia and elsewhere provide examples that illustrate this spatial and social project of civility.

This dissertation thus far provides an in-depth insight into what it means to be a homeowner in a formally planned community and what it means to be professional that has undertaken a role in the production of creating that community. Underneath these stories, or perhaps hovering over at a macro-level, is another one that kept recurring in my analysis, and is relevant to Colombian history at this time. Not only is there an "emerging housing practice" (Ferguson and Navarrete, 2003), but this dissertation also tells a story of the process of master-planned urbanization. Urbanization has obvious physical implications but there are social ones as well; both of these elements are dynamic and as such, feed off of one another. The city of Bogotá also intervenes to improve low-income housing by upgrading the physical and social infrastructure in neighborhoods that were once informally planned, that is, without regulation by the state, and where no social housing exists. Perhaps studying an informal community of this kind would have yielded a different understanding of the role of the state. It is very important to consider, however, that when the state creates master-planned communities from scratch, as with the tabula rasa approach of these ciudadelas, and implements a law to govern its properties, its residents contend with specific implications not found in informal barrios. The quality of 'formality' embedded in the four dimensions of an "emerging housing practice" (Ferguson & Navarrete, 2003) is currently changing how people live in the ciudadelas. Formal processes of homeownership, formal behavioral change expectations in convivencia and community building practices through the formalized horizontal property law, and formal planning mechanisms that

create certain form-al physical and spatial characteristics all collude to push social housing residents to enact new formal, urban lifestyles. Specifically, the professionals, and their related discourse, are pushing residents in this direction, but also certain residents are reifying those practices by attempting to enforce the horizontal property law. This formalized lifestyle is essentially about the creation of urban citizenship. Thus, Metrovivienda, as an agent of the state, is not only building new city spaces, but it is also facilitating the building of new types of citizens. Citizenship is as an overarching structure that orders people's daily lives both spatially and socially and is fundamentally about creating, or strengthening, a particular kind of Colombian person in this study—one who should ideally exercise his or her right to housing by building social capital and the right to democratic practice.

I do not disagree that some of these elements are crucial for people to be able to get along, but I would like to question what this means in Colombia at this time in history. Distrust, violence, the exercise of power, and economic inequality have for many years ravaged all sectors of society but it is people with low economic and social resources that have historically suffered the most. Although violence in cities and the countryside has decreased dramatically, it still exists and systemic problems of poverty still make life very difficult for many people. I argue that the housing created by Metrovivienda are not just about trying to fulfill a quantifiable housing deficit, but that the state is simultaneously undertaking a project to create a new kind of citizen that will hopefully engage in more peaceful cooperative practices. By ordering territory, as planning is defined in Spanish, in conjunction with the application of the horizontal property law, the state is also creating a new kind of spatial and social order for people with low resources, in effect, teaching a populace how to live a new kind of lifestyle that primes physical, material, and social formality and order, over informal physical, material, and social disorder (see also

Sanín Santamaría, 2008). Well-intentioned policymakers provided democratic mechanisms through which residents can manage their own housing environments in such a way to promote peace and local sustainability precisely because there is a need for those qualities but as with many grand plans, it is 'not working well' at the moment. The findings of this study paint a picture of what hinders cooperation and it has to do with a lack of institutional resources for better outreach, archaic master planning, a lack of concrete knowledge of residents' social needs in these new spaces, and market-based land development practices.

As Yory (2007) indicates, citizens themselves also participate in the creation and maintenance of the norms of civility. I believe this occurs in any kind of housing space but it is particularly salient in the housing structure that is put into place by the horizontal property law. The resident leaders are adamant about creating spaces of cooperation and convivencia but the moral order that it requires shines most brightly in the notions of children's upbringing, especially since life in these communities is surrounded by poverty, crime, and low levels of education. Raising children that 'do not stray' to become law-abiding citizens is particularly important when the next-door neighbors are thieves, when teachers expect children to become criminals, or when years of violence and displacement create an environment of physical as well as psychological insecurity. My intention is not to argue against the re-threading of a torn social fabric, but I do support the questioning of ways in which so-called democratic practices are implemented so that cycles of oppression are minimized as much as possible. The residential complex seems to be an ideal site for social intervention, both for adult homeowners and their children, but it is important to keep outreach or educational programs relevant to the diverse cultures of the residents and not prescriptively replicating the dominant social order of middle

class *bogotanos* (see also Rodríguez Leuro, 2008) who live in multi-family housing subject to the same law.

While the concept of home as it is used in the Anglo-European academic literature is different than how it is used by the participants of this study, it proved to be a useful way to enter and interrogate the research field and interview participants. As stated in the review of literature in the introductory chapter, a person's meaning of home is a confluence of multiple factors at the any given moment that include the interrelationship of space and social relationships, along with culture, memories, ideals, and time. Home is not only about the interior of residential walls but includes the space around it. Envisioning the meaning of a home space in this broader manner, together with the use of an inductive qualitative narrative inquiry methodology, allowed me to "see" beyond my first findings on the individual level meanings of homeownership to consider the social, cultural, and economic practices that produce the housing and structure how people live.

Implications of formal processes of homeownership

The **meanings of homeownership**, for residents became clear from tracing their journeys into becoming owners of social housing. Feeling happy to own, having had negative rental experiences that are characterized as too costly and where they lacked spatial and behavioral control inside the units all contributed to the overwhelming support of homeownership by this group. Notwithstanding, some of the participants in this study had ambivalent senses of ownership due to the many problems they have with neighbors or they have life circumstances that render the sense of ownership low on the scale of things that matter. Furthermore, dramatic household budget changes indicate the struggle that low income homeowners must still prevail after a positive event in their lives. They discuss those elements that are pertinent to them both

before and after they purchase their housing. Dayaratne and Kellett (2008)'s work in informally settled communities in Sri Lanka and Colombia, whose residents actively controlled conditions of settlement and house construction, pointed to the "desire to acquire a complete sense of home" (p.58) for residents in both places. This desire was divided into five different components:

> 1) to own through the acquisition of a piece of ground; 2) to acquire and conform to popular images and conventions; 3) social acceptance, social respect and personal dignity; 4) to order and orchestrate to fulfill household needs; 5) to form a community.

One could argue that the Bosa residents in this study have obtained a "complete sense of home" as they were enacting this practice in a place that was allowed to be settled, however, no participation from prospective residents, legally sanctioned settlements, formally planned spatial qualities, and legal regulation of property designating rights and responsibilties, rendered a very different dynamic in the present research, illustrating that here too, there is always the non-static quality of the desire to make home. Nevertheless, there are some similarities between Dayaratne and Kellett's research and this study. There may have been a compromise in the first component by accepting apartment units and even attached row houses; part of the peace and tranquility that emerged from owning their own dwelling certainly contributes to a sense of dignity; and there are efforts to form a community, even with the pitfalls, threats, or difficulties some residents experience. I contend that the process of acquiring homeownership and its maintenance is a reflection of the fact that many residents are now entering into a process of formalization. In other words, it is an element of a new kind of lifestyle to which must be accommodated. New kinds of compromises must be made, budgets have to change, fees have to be paid, mortgage payments have to be made, etc. No one seems to be against this process because they welcome a home to call their own, but barriers make the transition more difficult.

In contrast, the narratives of the professionals center on select elements of the process prior to purchasing housing. Additionally, they have a surface-level quality that illustrates a removed understanding of the phenomenon. It is telling that there is no recognition of the struggles with which some of the homeowners contend. A lack of meaningful communication of the rights and responsibilities of horizontal property, as well as a lack of understanding of life situations during the transition into homeownership contribute to homeowners' struggles. There is a sense of pride, however, that they are working to make the right to housing a reality, that is, providing formal housing.

Homeownership and poverty. I take this opportunity to inquire what the implications are of homeownership for Colombian society. It is a common perception that homeownership is tied to improved life conditions. However, the residents of these ciudadelas are characterized as belonging to the lower end of the socio-economic spectrum. As explained before, most of the housing units in the ciudadelas are labeled stratum 2 so it is presumed that it is not a mixed-income environment. However, as we saw in Chapters 5 and 7, there are people with a variety of life conditions and stereotyped perceptions of 'the other' living side-by-side. Poverty and related social problems still exist despite the fact that most people are homeowners. Metrovivienda recognizes that they cannot provide adequate housing for the large segment of the population that cannot build savings or access traditional lines of credit. As it stands, the current system of affordable housing production, as seen through the case of this housing agency's efforts, cannot fully meet Colombia's high demand (A. Florian, personal communication, August 11, 2010).

Nevertheless, one possible benefit of continuing this kind of housing policy is that homeownership may be perceived as a social stabilizer, particularly because those in poverty have suffered many years of fear, violence, and displacement. Property ownership in its late

capitalist iteration, i.e. individual homeownership accessible through lines of credit, has been seen as promoting social capital and residential stability in the United States and Germany (DiPascuale & Glaeser, 1999). It is uncertain whether such a relationship can be claimed in Colombia given the very different cultural contexts and that the professionals' discourse is about the 'right to housing' and not the 'right to homeownership.' As owner-occupiers with an obligation to remain on the property for at least 10 years if they received any kind of government housing subsidy, they may indeed become more stable because they have financial obligations that tie them to their homes. This, in turn, might possibly generate greater attachment to, and care of, their home and habitat. Nevertheless, individual property ownership in a market-based economy is based on an individualistic premise that does not guarantee that problems of poverty will be alleviated, or may even be aggravated because of the necessary accumulation of debt.[74] As mentioned, the confines of a privatized system of homeownership exclude a large segment of the population particularly because their income is inadequate and is typically obtained through informal means. Consequently, this form of housing, based on the demands of individuals, can never fully address all of the population's residential needs.[75]

Household level benefits of homeownership. Security of tenure and the sense of stability that arises from homeownership can have individual-level psychological implications

[74] The accumulation of wealth through property ownership is another possible benefit of homeownership given Colombia's neo-liberal economic policies. Although it cannot be determined with certainty how the lack of the ability to modify property will affect the property values of residential complexes in the future, it is possible to conclude that it will have some kind of impact. The ability for owner-occupiers to accumulate wealth through the appreciation of property value might very well be affected. Other factors such as neighborhood services and crime statistics also impact property values, but it is unclear how an individual household can benefit from becoming a homeowner in the low-income ciudadelas. Dalia, however, admitted that she believes that having a mortgage for her row house allowed her to obtain a small business loan for her internet and telephone kiosk business. Moreover, the indebtedness of households, whether through formal or informal lines of credit, is a heavy burden, as we learned about the financial struggle that many participants experienced after they purchased their units. The typical mortgage for many of the participants is 15 years, a length of time that is perceived as very long. This is the first time they have ever needed to use this kind of banking system or any kind of banking system for that matter.

[75] "On demand" is the terminology used in Colombian housing policy practice and literature.

for both adults and children. Many people in my study speak about renting in a negative light. Homeownership is the housing mode the state uses to provide low-income housing and the residents willingly accept this kind of tenure because living in rentals, they were at the mercy of others, i.e. the landlord and/ or the other tenants that may share the same dwelling. The ideology of private ownership is sustained when renting is not seen nor experienced as a positive alternative. In Colombia, people with low resources tend to perceive ownership as the most desirable kind of housing tenure because renting is too expensive and it is inconvenient to live with others, even if it is with other family members (Dayaratne & Kellett, 2008). Ownership provides a sense of security, an ability to pass on that asset to children, and a sense of stability that the job market cannot provide. Perhaps if one's experiences are negative in such environments, then it would follow that owning a home is what provides utmost control and therefore positive reactions to day-to-day living (see Rakoff, 1977).

Additionally, there is ample research that supports the idea that property ownership engenders a sense of control (Rakoff, 1977; Rohe & Basolo, 1997; Rohe & Stegman, 1994; Rohe, Van Zandt, & McCarthy, 2002). In the Colombian context, the housing that best provides this kind of control is the one that is informally built and progressively adapted to the needs of the occupants, whether as more rooms on the ground level or with additional floors, and materials improve as the owner has the ability to afford (e.g., Dayaratne & Kellett, 2008; Torres Tovar, 2009). In the case of the row houses in the ciudadelas, as in other social housing residential complexes all over Bogotá, most are being constructed to support an additional floor in recognition of people's preference to do so at a later time, but it is not possible to expand sideways if the units are not corner units. It is known from housing developments worldwide that even when housing is designed and planned without adaptations in mind that the residents

do indeed modify them over the years (e.g. Boudon, 1972; e.g. Cubillos, Gonzalez, 2006; Osmont, 1986; Sanín Santamaría, 2008). However, this will most likely not occur (or as quickly) in this Colombian housing because the horizontal property law to which these units are subject prevent most modifications in order to conserve the ordered aesthetic of the residential complex. The ad hoc look of the barrios is precisely what is meant to be avoided by those who enforce the law's regulations. Furthermore, developers are increasingly building apartment blocks due to market forces that create high land prices; these cannot be modified whatsoever.

Implications of formal behavioral change expectations on convivencia and community building practices

Convivencia. The first part of the third subsidiary research question, "How do the different meanings of home and habitat influence the kind of community, i.e. social relations between residents, envisioned and produced?", is answered by the findings in Chapter 7. This chapter, "Mis/understandings and problems living in a 'new' property scheme", encompasses the nature of the social relations that are formed in these new city spaces as residents transition into property ownership in the property scheme governed by the horizontal property law. The nature of these social relations is best captured by the Spanish word convivencia, which is loosely translated as co-existence.

Residents' and professionals' narratives about this subtheme vary the most. Although professionals are aware of the multi-faceted problems between neighbors that live in the ciudadelas, the major overall difference is their lack of depth of knowledge of the causes of the problems and their quotidian manifestations. This results in a severe gap in the fulfillment of residents' housing satisfaction. Just as one of the many reasons the residents group cites, the professionals' group mainly cites that people do not get along well with one another because

there is a very large diversity of experience of residents, that is, they come from different parts of the country or have different social backgrounds (e.g. formerly demobilized from the armed conflict) and thus have different cultural practices. Living in such small and close quarters in the new residential complexes is bound to cause friction. Furthermore, a smaller subset of residents have been observed to have negative worldviews, whether they do not care for the physical spaces of the ciudadela or their attitudes portray a sense of greediness, as in "what's in it for me?"

Residents may be socially and cultural diverse and somewhat negative, but they are now in a sense forced to cooperate with one another in order to manage their co-owned properties. Moreover, many residents were not made aware of the kind of property they were purchasing; just that it was going to be their own housing. While it was mentioned that living in horizontal property entails the learning and enactment of a new kind of community, the very large change that this entails seems to have been glossed over. Little was put into place to prepare and support residents in making this deep lifestyle change. Whatever has been implemented is captured in the following subtheme discussed below. This change disrupts long-standing, housing-related behavioral patterns. Not only are residents moving into formally planned spaces but the fact that they are now expected to follow rules and regulations and engage in communal co-property behavior, is a more difficult challenge, given that many of them lead 'informal', that is, unregulated lives because they live in conditions of poverty, are close to it, or have belonged to groups that have additionally been historically marginalized. Their lives have previously been free from having to adapt to bureaucratic and urban norms and practices.

Residents explore multiple explanations about why it has been difficult living in their new homes and neighborhoods. It is important to re-iterate that not only do their narratives explain their own experiences but they particularly center on those of their neighbors. Most of

the remaining members of the residents' group speak about how so many of their neighbors disregard the rules and regulations of their complexes. It is not clear if these others disregard them because they are not aware of them or once they are told, that they do so in protest to a property ownership where they cannot be free to do whatever they please; this is the point that is referenced as the main reason for purchasing a home in the first place. Additionally, residents explain that not only is there a rampant lack of rule compliance, but that the kind of people that move into the ciudadelas tend to be conflict prone; their personalities and behaviors are characterized as people who lack education, manners, and social graces. They often cite that they are either from outside Bogotá and/ or have different cultural practices. This latter reason describes people from other parts of Colombia as it does people who belong to subcultures, as in the case of youth gang members. One of these subcultures that participants highlight as 'other' are those who belong to the displaced population. This group of people is singled out precisely because they typify many aspects of otherness—lack of urbanity and culture because they come from the countryside, lack of moral education that manifests itself as a lack of rule compliance, which may or may not be associated with the previous reason or because of their presumed association with violent armed groups, even as victims, and very poor. Part of the issue is that some of the participants consider themselves as belonging to a different social class than for example, a drug dealer or a demobilized fighter, or a displaced person.

Another major difference between the discourse of residents and professionals is that the former group intricately explains the fundamental causes of social friction, or "bad convivencia". One reason they cite is the current state of the educational system that they believe is inadequate. Public education is generally perceived by most sectors of society similarly. While both participant groups recognize the improved physical infrastructure equipped with new facilities

and technological apparatuses, the residents disapprove of the quality of instruction found in neighborhood schools. Education is perceived as prevention to some of the social ills of poverty, such as adolescent pregnancy, drug use, and general delinquency. Furthermore, an example was cited about a teacher treating her students as if they were already delinquents, reinforcing a negative stereotype on impressionable young children. Another reason they cite are the historical societal changes that placed women in the workforce as having a detrimental effect on parenting. While a couple of the women in the discussion group did not convey a sense that women do not belong in the workforce, their main complaint centers on the fact that because parents must leave the home to work, others outside of the nuclear family must be responsible for the care but also for the moral education of children. This has created unintended negative repercussions because one cannot control how children are being raised and taught by other family members or the women of a home-based day care center. A working parent is thus at the mercy of the social conditions of those households. Secondly, some parents, who may not have access to childcare, leave children alone in their homes but are taught to defend themselves by conflict prone or violent means. These two reasons create the conditions that perpetuate the cycle of conflict and violence, and the third reason exacerbates it.

One point about which both the residents and professionals groups agree is that how people get along with one another has everything to do with how they are raised. *Home*, translated in this case as *hogar*, is the seat of the teaching of values, morals, and ethics, all of which are necessary for the creation of rule and law abiding adults. There is, however, one subtle difference between the two groups. The residents explain that hogar is the social structure that is comprised of the union of usually two parents and their children. Many of the professionals have this same definition of hogar, but their discourse extends the idea about how

people are raised as having direct implications on the quality of a society. It is not the multi-faceted and spatially implicated *home* that the Anglo-European meaning of home literature describes that was featured in Chapter 1.

Social cohesion. Social cohesion is a separate but related theoretical term that can be utilized to understand the issues relative to convivencia in the Metrovivienda ciudadelas. The neighborhood is the location where people for the most part enact levels of social cohesion through typical, every day events: "Social cohesion is about getting by and getting on at the more mundane level of everyday life" (Forrest & Kearns, 2001, p. 2127). This is certainly a component of convivencia. The British authors ask two key questions from a review of sociological literature on social change, and which emerged in my research. The first is, "What might constitute a cohesive society and what are the processes which generate and sustain such cohesion?" (p. 2128). To answer the first question, the authors elaborated the elements of social cohesion in a previous paper (2000, in ibid., p.2128) as the following: "social cohesion can emphasize the need for a shared sense of morality and common purpose; aspects of social control and social order; the threat to social solidarity of income and wealth inequalities between people, groups and places; the level of social interaction within communities or families; and a sense of belonging to place". The narratives of the participants in this research all address, to varying extents, their issues with all of these aspects.

The second question is, "given institutional changes which undermine forces of solidarity and cohesion [of the 20th and now 21st centuries], does the neighborhood become more important as an arena in which citizenship is attained or experienced (to the extent that it is at all) and in which personal and shared identities are created and maintained?" There is a more complex answer to this one because the societies that the authors reference are advanced Western

economies, where traditional neighborhoods and social ties of residents are experiencing processes of change different than in the low income ciudadelas of Bogotá. In the countries they studied, the middle and upper classes engaged in economic and social activities outside their home neighborhoods but there is an increasing trend to socialize in their home neighborhoods as well. They did, however, note the difference in the desire to neighbor among residents of low resource neighborhoods than the desire for a physical neighborhood of residents in wealthier ones (p. 2130) which might be more similar to the context of the present research. In the US, Guest and Wierzbicki (1999) found that senior citizens and people outside of the labor force were more dependent on local ties than other social groups (p. 2133). Contrary to the abovementioned research, van Eijk's (2012) mixed methods research in the Netherlands led her to conclude that relying solely on narratives of people describing their notions of social distance in their problematic neighborhoods is not an accurate assessment of actual practices of neighboring. One major finding was that the negative talk actually brought people together. A second is that casual social encounters were not negatively affected by perceived social diversity and disorder. Such phenomena could be a possibility in the ciudadelas but my study did not address casual neighboring specifically. Nevertheless, the other data sources of field notes and document research supported the findings in the narratives of the interviews and discussion group.

Building community. The dimension of an emerging housing practice, strained attempts at building community, is encompassed by the second part of third research question: How do the different meanings of home [and habitat] influence the kind of community (i.e. social relations between residents) envisioned and produced, *and the project's future community building potential*? Residents and housing related professionals specifically build community by

attempting to ameliorate housing complex convivencia problems via housing governance. The clear difference between both participant groups is that in general, the residents, with very limited resources, attempt to make more of an impact than the professionals do. Without diminishing their efforts, the reality is that Metrovivienda staff and developers have a much wider territorial impact in the ciudadelas than the leaders of individual residential complexes but their efforts at improving conviviencia are minimal in comparison to the reach that they have.

Eight of the 12 residents of this study were self-described community leaders. Whether past or present, they were volunteer members of their residential complexes' governing councils. Two of them are administrators, the only position in the council that is remunerated. Several of these participants recognize and support the democratic structure of the council that the horizontal property law has designed. As members of their councils and in conjunction with the administrator, they are in charge of property management and any special projects the complexes wish to undertake. These participants clearly indicate that their roles move beyond property management to take on the character of supporting community building. This is largely because they are in positions that must engage their neighbors in teaching how to live in a "different kind of community", that is, one in which individual property owners must follow a certain set of rules of behavior work together as co-owners to effectively manage their properties. This has proven to be very challenging for many reasons. General push-back from homeowners who do not agree with co-property rules and regulations, the overall transition from living informal lifestyles to more urbanized formal ones, limited financial and capacity building resources to outreach to homeowners pre- and post-purchase, a death threat, and council mismanagement all contribute to the difficulties encountered by these community leaders and the relative inability to improve convivencia. Nevertheless, they accept the structure of the councils and suggest

improvements, such as restructuring the responsibilities of the entire council to improve accountability and transparency and remuneration of some kind to all of its members to encourage participation. Additionally, they call for more field-level outreach by developers and the government to inform prospective and new homeowners about the responsibilities of ownership of social housing.

It can be argued that grassroots-level organizing at the level of the residential complexes can better address the needs of a community rather than large state-sponsored top-down programming. However, the state of the "emerging housing practice" (Ferguson & Navarrete, 2003) of this kind of social housing warrants both kinds of interventions, particularly if the state has a heavy hand in creating these new communities in the first place. FS's vision to balance an organized urban intervention that Metrovivienda leads with an equally integrated community intervention is quite a worthy argument to improve housing related program efforts. The social team of the agency has a very small presence in the Bosa ciudadelas and primarily dedicates the one staff member's resources to security issues. The security problem is imminent and threatening but the housing related problems detailed throughout this dissertation could be utilized to warrant a large-scale and thorough intervention as well. While Metrovivienda social team's leader has a solid rights' based praxis of "habitability" work to mend the social fabric of the convivencia problems that are generated and perpetuated across the private and public spaces of the ciudadelas to teach citizenship, it is not adequately implemented to address residents' problems. Their resources are severely lacking and only one developer at this time implements a program to address physical and social needs of the homeowners. A former Metrovivienda staff member proposed that developers to be required to teach aspects of horizontal property living but this was not implemented, probably for political and market reasons. It is possible that adding

one more requirement to what is already perceived as a constraining bidding process, developers would push back citing higher production costs and less profits. Given that top agency positions are closely aligned with each mayoral administration, the relationship between the business community and the administration, that always sets housing development goals, may become strained and lead to fewer units produced.

Spaces for learning social rules. It is clear that both these new city spaces and the law that regulates its housing are attempting to influence a behavior change among residents. Given that most residents are unaccustomed to this space and its associated set of rules, I believe that there is a pedagogical project also taking place. Some researchers, as well as policymakers, contend that it is possible to change people's behavior in both the private and public realms of cities. This idea has been put into practice in Bogotá in other urban spaces of the city, setting up parallel support for the idea that the ciudadelas are also facilitating citizenship practices.[76]

Urban spaces, like housing and public spaces, are sites where people learn social rules, even if they are unwritten. Recall the CUAN housing project in Bogotá completed in 1958 which also implemented the first ever horizontal property law and was envisioned as a pedagogical project (Montoya Pino, 2007). The capital city has continued this pedagogical vision to this day through multiple public space initiatives (Berney, 2011). Social relations are forged in "shared settings" such as a "shared barrio [or] the short distance between housing buildings" (Páramo, 2010, p.131). Public spaces in cities are places where we use social rules to effectively interact with one another as strangers. In other words, *public spaces are places of as well as agents to teach how to co-exist with one another* on the basis of supporting individual and personal growth (cf. Yory, 2007). As a consequence, they are sites where citizen co-

[76] For a complimentary perspective on how public spaces have been integral in the practice and repression of democracy and citizenship by ordinary people, see Irazábal (2008).

existence has been and can be fostered by the use of "social contingencies" (Páramo, 2010). Social contingencies are the possible arrangements between a group's social practices or behaviors and the outcomes of those behaviors that sustain the practices in a certain milieu. Cities in other parts of the world have undertaken similar kinds of initiatives for improving relations among citizens (e.g., Barcelona's Educating City initiative (Ayuntament de Barcelona, 1990, in Páramo, 2010). In a 2008 study undertaken in Bogotá, most people do not call attention to unknown others for breaking or not following a rule or law because it is expected that they will respond with aggression or indifference (Urban and Environmental Pedagogy Group, 2008, in Páramo, 2010).

Rules are a kind of contingency insofar as they are not experienced immediately after a behavior but still teach compliance and self-regulation of a possible act (Hayes, 1989, in Páramo, 2010). They can be explicitly reinforced with a sign, for example, to inform pedestrians that they can walk through a designated area, or more implicitly, behaviors are taught and learned in the home. Rules guide behavior without the necessary presence of a regulator, official, or regular citizen (p.134). In order for the use of social contingencies to be effective to support socially desirable behaviors in a public space as self-sustaining mechanisms to promote well-being, people must believe that they are valid and held in the same regard by others as well. In other words, they cannot be punitive or motivated by possible negative consequences, but must be regarded as contributing to both one's well-being and the common good. For example, the use of a bicycle is believed to support one's health and reduce pollution and not necessarily used because one can avoid a ticket for taking out one's car during the day it should not be moved in Bogotá.

Páramo recommends that a pedagogical program that creates a behavior or a modification to an existing one must be accompanied by the set of rules and consequences that will sustain that behavior. Moreover, People's opinions can take more than a generation to evolve, and is cumulative because the more people partake in an activity, the more the socially desired behavior will be followed. Applications of formal and informal social contingencies, as a group of self-sustaining desired behaviors among a collective at any scale, are best in children and young people so that they can transfer them to successive generations.

Antanas Mockus, mayor of Bogotá from 1995 to 1998, attempted to create a socially responsible culture among bogotanos. "*Cultura Ciudadana*" (Citizen Culture) was a city-wide campaign spear-headed by his mayoral administration to change residents' behavior to become more pro-social in order to improve convivencia in public spaces based on the premise that three systems govern human behavior – legal, moral, and cultural. Conceptually, these three systems are congruent in ideal democracies but are observed to be "divorced" from one another in people's perceptions in Colombia (Mockus, 2001, p.3). Such an imbalance generates a breach and non-compliance with pro-social norms, which have led to "an increase in violence, delinquency and corruption; to the discredit of institutions, to the weakening of many cultural traditions, and to a moral crisis of the individual". Most of Mockus' paper is focused on how this theoretical framework was applied to reduce violence in Bogotá in the mid-1990s but some of it was also applied to other kinds of conduct people engage in public spaces. The breach in the three abovementioned elements that regulate behavior can take several shapes. For instance, a law is broken because it is justified at both the moral level and cultural level but not at the legal level. Communication is key to alleviate conflicts, in particular the kind that takes place face to face. The strategy was named "intensified interaction" and this intense kind of communication

brings about each party's argument for the most "valid" viewpoint. Although not cited, it is probable that he was influenced by Habermas' (1985 in Flyvberg, 1998) theory of communicative action that, in its simplest explanation, supports the idea that actors build consensus based on mutual agreement.

"Cultura Ciudadana" was defined as "the minimum group of shared customs, actions, and rules that generate a sense of belonging, facilitate convivencia, and drive a sense of respect for common heritage (patrimony) and the recognition of the rights and duties of citizenship (Mockus, 2001). Its main goal was specifically to encourage the self-regulation of behavior between common people and between common people and the authorities in public spaces of Bogotá using the most peaceful means of interaction. The cost of implementing this three-year initiative was $130 million USD, 3.7% of the city's budget. Although much of the initiatives involved preventive behavioral change, the biggest impact was on the reduction of water consumption.[77] The discourse of the horizontal property law contains similar elements—supporting property ownership through the exercise of rights and duties of homeownership in semi-common property by following norms and self-governance (or self-regulation) to facilitate convivencia.

Social relations and social capital. Residents' and housing related professionals' overwhelming narratives of misunderstandings, struggle to get along with one another, and citizenship building points to the need for the strengthening of , that is, the strengthening of social capital, which is what Mockus attempted to do. If exercising a person's right to housing is meant to be done by following the horizontal property law, which is meant to strengthen cooperation and build peace, then a discussion of social capital is relevant because it describes

[77] One project that typifies the kind of collective pain suffered by many Colombians that is worth mentioning was the one termed "Vaccination Against Violence". A hotline was set up to have people call and air their frustrations, anger, or resentment about any violence or injustice they experienced in their childhood or other times in their life with trained psychotherapists or psychiatrists. This is a striking collectivist response to the origin of violence. It is an individual level problem that later manifests itself at the collective level negatively].

the building of social networks to strengthen the sense of relationship building, trust, and reciprocity.

The ability to develop social ties in a community contributes to a feeling of connectedness to place, or place attachment (Low & Altman, 1992), which is related to social capital development and the reduction of violence (Cerda & Morenoff, 2007). There are varying definitions social capital (e.g., Bourdieu, 1986; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Burt, 1992, 1997; Coleman, 1990; Fukuyama, 1997; Inglehart, 1997; Portes, 1998Portes & Sensenbrenner, 1993; and Putman, 1993; in Adler and Kwon, 2002). This variety is a result of the way researchers concentrate on the different aspects of social capital (Grootaert and Van Bastelaer, 2002b, in ibid.), such as the nature of social relations and the structural forces that shape those relations. One of the classic definitions by Putnam (1998) describes social capital as "the norms and networks of civil society that lubricate cooperative action among both citizens and their institutions" (p. v). Such an interpretation would lead us to presume that the level of social capital is highly compromised in the context of the residential complexes in the ciudadelas. However, two contemporary definitions capture the dynamism that is reflected in the use of the term convivencia in this research. Adler and Kwon (2002)'s focus on social capital is the resources that others can potentially provide depend on the goodwill people can provide to one another. Dekker and Uslaner (2001)'s version of the term focuses less on the quality of people's relationships but more on the basic quality about how people interact with one another. The former conceptualization can capture the idea when participants say they want "good convivencia" even though it is not just about the resource potential of others, but the latter term is useful to conceptualize how people get along with one another, a very basic issue experienced in the residential complexes and the wider ciudadelas. Brehm and Rahn (1997) offer a definition

based on Coleman and Putnam's associative theory of social capital as the links between people's relationships and problem solving with a civic or political perspective. Using an individual level of analysis, they found that participation in democratic institutions generates trust in others, thus bolstering more participation. Importantly, there needs to be trust in institutions first, a consequence of social capital. This finding presents a catch-22 because it questions how local residential or institutional level interventions can best be designed in the Colombian context where there is little trust in institutions. Pillai, Díaz, Basham and Ramirez-Johnson's (2011) research supports the idea that democratic attitudes positively influence levels of social capital in several Latin American countries. Freedom to participate in socio-economic development programs was found to be a very important factor, among others, which supports the indigenous decision-making necessary for empowered communities with high social capital (Netting, Kettner & McMurtry, 2004, in ibid.). In my study, the residents active in their councils do participate in the governance but they complain about their neighbors who do not and effectively cite many instances where there is a lack of trust in individuals and institutions, such as the council and even more so, the communal co-property scheme they have purchased into, presumably precluding them from participating in the first place. A key factor in the basic democratic participatory governance of the horizontal property scheme is that, although it theoretically facilitates local decision-making, it is a structure that has been imposed on a majority of the residents who were not fully aware of their rights and responsibilities as future homeowners. This may possibly nullify the freedom for self-governance that is embedded in the well-intentioned law.

In contrast, Saegert and Winkel's (1998) study of low-income cooperative apartments in New York support the argument that the cooperative structure strengthens residents' social

capital. The co-op property structure is similar to the condominium-like horizontal property structure insofar as they are both co-property arrangements that mix individual and common area responsibility. What differentiates them is that in the co-op scheme, no one owns actual property but a resident owns shares in the entire property, whereas in the Colombian model, residents are owners of the interior spaces of their units and are responsible for the care and management of common areas. It is important to note that the co-ops in Saegert and Winkel's (1998) study were sold to existing tenants, albeit in poor material conditions. There was full knowledge of the rehabilitative and management work that was necessary to take ownership of the buildings.

Implications of formal planning mechanisms on physical and spatial characteristics

Spatial implications of design and planning. Having discussed the quality of social relations in the ciudadelas, we can return to the implications of these social relations within the physical spaces of the ciudadelas. Another subsidiary research question, "How do different types of actors foster or hinder ['habitat']?", is addressed by the second dimension of an "emerging housing practice" (Ferguson & Navarrete, 2003) – experiences in formal urbanizing spaces.

Narratives of both groups of participants were organized according to the three different scales of the new communities, the housing unit, the residential complex and the ciudadela. At first glance, it may be obvious that residents' and professionals' experiences of the formally urbanizing spaces are different because the former group lives in the ciudadelas and the latter group does not. However, it is a worthwhile exercise to come to understand specific reasons that account for the dissimilitude. Even understanding the nuances of the similarities provide meaningful insight into people's perceptions of place. I suspect that the level of strained day-to-day interaction is also mediated by the problematic physical and spatial qualities at the level of

the unit and residential complex, such as the small sized units, the poor quality materials that create high levels of noise transmission, and other construction deficiencies, the large swaths of territory dedicated to housing people with low resources. All of these unite to increase the levels of tension, conflict, and violence that are part of the social condition of poverty. Curiously, the lack of socializing spaces was mentioned as a change to which a couple of residents had to adapt, but it was not prevalent in the data as a design element that was deficient. While the intentions of professionals, housing policy, and the state were to improve the material conditions of a portion of its citizenry, their social problems are not necessarily improved in the new urban spaces they were essentially dropped into.

Both groups agree that residents prefer purchasing row houses to apartments. The subtle difference embedded in this preference is that for the resident participants, it is based on the potential for using part of their home space as a productive space from which to launch a business even though none of these participants has yet done so. It is based on how their new homes can impact their and their families' future livelihoods. The professionals' assessments, in contrast, are based on a cultural stereotype of poor folks who have historically been tied to land production while living in the countryside. This stereotype may (cf. Dayaratne & Kellett, 2008) or may not be well founded, given that both perspectives are related to sustenance or income generation. Residents' preferences are much more grounded and those of the professionals' are more abstract.

There is a marked difference between how residents *experience* the design issues of the housing units, residential complexes, and how professionals *design and plan* the very same spaces. The small size of the units, the lack of adaptability for disabled users, the noise that easily transmits across units, and the maladaptation of service and utility installations within

some complexes pose a nuisance and sometimes even a danger to the residents. But these are design-based problems that can only be experienced by virtue of living in the complexes. As some of the participants reflected on these issues they were fully cognizant of the fact that they live in places where developers cut corners to maintain profit margins that ultimately drive development. Professionals' perspectives on the constraints they experience in building social housing reflect the market system under which they operate. For instance, the Metrovivienda classification system to award winning contracts primarily values the number of units per square meter. The goal of maximizing the size of units, coupled with market-based pricing and the subsidy voucher system result in decisions based on profitability and not on functionality or creativity. One notable exception in this study is developer JDP; as a consequence he has only won two bids over the course of 10 years.

Both the residents and professionals generally agree that the ciudadelas are an aesthetic improvement over informally developed barrios. While several residents complained that they live too far from areas of the city in which they work, all agreed with the ordered streets, wide sidewalks, and the overall general lack of crowding they felt living in Bogotá's barrios. The streets and functions of buildings were designed to provide a sense of spaciousness, which thus reduces noise pollution in a city that is very dense, but the small size of the units and their inexpensive material construction ironically increase noise levels in interior spaces. Nevertheless, residents perceive the ciudadelas as a social step up, because most urban spaces for lower social classes do not have those physical attributes.

Metrovivienda fulfilled its objective of utilizing formal planning mechanisms to create affordable housing with supportive urban infrastructure with El Recreo and El Porvenir. Citing that this process of development is much less expensive than retrofitting pre-established barrios

(Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá), this commercial state agency still operates in the red. It is undertaking a major development project, much larger in scale than El Recreo and El Porvenir in Usme and this situation does call into question the agency's mission and its overall longevity as a commercial enterprise. A discussion of public spaces, such as park land and meeting areas comes up but does not figure heavily in the narratives of both groups despite the fact that public space, in addition to 'decent' housing are constitutionally supported elements of development. There are several parks that some people mention they enjoy and the shopping center in El Recreo satisfy many of its residents' needs. El Porvenir does not have such a space so residents must displace themselves to El Recreo or other parts of Bosa for local shopping needs until a major supermarket chain builds its planned store there. In contrast, the public areas of the complexes are seen by at least one developer as compensation for the small-sized units. Residents do not make this connection whatsoever and concentrate on how 'unjustly' sized they are. The community leaders of this subgroup are quite knowledgeable of social housing rhetoric and thusly frame the material conditions of their living spaces in this manner.

In addition to the improved urban design of the ciudadelas, everyone is in agreement that community facilities or services have improved and will continue to do so. Yet for some participants they are still not adequate or planning for them is taking too long. Promised facilities, such as a local hospital, have not been built in the 10 years of El Recreo's existence. Furthermore, post-occupancy construction problems lead Alvaro to believe that entities with power, namely his residential complex's developer and Metrovivienda, as an agent of the state, act too slowly or makes promises with little or no follow through, reinforcing the notion that the government does not adequately fulfill the people's needs.

We are able to see how physical and spatial factors influence and re-create behaviors and thus, meanings, of the home space and its surroundings. The *form*-al quality of the different scales of the new communities—unit, residential complex, and ciudadela—is important in shaping how one perceives these spaces. The rationality of a space is like a language that becomes understood through the bodily experience of being in a space, such as moving through a city with its buildings, streets, and other signage (cf. de Certeau, 1984). This particular order that allows people to understand and move through the space simultaneously regulates behavior in that space. However, it is impossible to separate the influence of the physical/ spatial with the influence of the social, they both go hand-in-hand. People co-exist with one another in spaces and as such influence one another's behavior.

Social capital and design. Design interventions that strengthen social capital have been attempted, with mixed success. Different disciplinary research has attempted to address the relationship between neighboring interactions and the qualities of public and semi-public spaces (Wilkerson, Carlson, Yen, Michael, 2012): in public health (e.g. Coburn, 2004), in urban planning (e.g. Forrest and Kearns, 2001), in sociology (e.g. Sampson & Raudenbush, 1999), in psychology (e.g. Fried, 2000), and in architecture (e.g. Evans & McCoy, 1998). New Urbanist design principles that integrate traditional American neighborhood aesthetic qualities have also been implemented in an attempt to increase social capital particularly in federally funded low-income housing retrofit projects (e.g. Bothwell, Gindroz, & Lang, 1998; Sander, 2002). Architects and design researchers have also argued that site design and smaller architectural elements can foster social relationships (e.g. Abu-Ghazzeh, 1999; Marcus & Sarkissian, 1986; Gehl, 2010, 2011; Rapoport, 1986). For example, Abu-Ghazzeh's (1999) study is particularly salient to this research because it is set in Jordan where it and other neighboring countries are

experiencing rapid rates of urban expansion and new town development. The building form that residents reported being more conducive to socially cohesion was described as "single-family attached dwelling units grouped together in one building mass that has a block form and contains a central (shared) open space" (p. 64). This is similar to the row house block design found in the Metrovivienda ciudadelas. However, the latter lacks an ample central courtyard for unit access; units are accessed via an undifferentiated alleyway made up of small garden plots and a walkway or directly from the street. Nevertheless, the Jordanian residents' social cohesion was also facilitated by the close proximal distances from each unit (unit or lot size was not provided). This was not the case in Colombia.

Forrest & Kearns (2001) define the neighborhood as "overlapping social networks with specific and variable time-geographies" (p. 2134) and contend that it can be an important site for the broader socialization of people similar to the public space authors reviewed earlier. However, save for one person, the participants in this study do not use the familiar word barrio to describe where they live or what they work towards, rather, they utilize ciudadela, the larger scaled community as it was labeled by Metrovivienda and the Transmilenio feeder bus route that services ciudadela El Recreo. Ciudadela is essentially an urban form and not a term laden with social implications as barrio. The next smallest scale is the residential complex, which is not a neighborhood but by its very definition that the horizontal property law assigns it, mixes the private space of home and semi-private public space of the common areas. It is a liminal space that can both be seen as an extension of the home space or as the extension inward of the public space of the city; yet, it can also appear as a private space, especially if it is secured with a gate. Wilkerson et al.'s (2012) study focused on the impact that micro-level physical environment features, such as porches, sidewalks, traffic-calming devices, and the absence of litter and bars

on windows and doors has on neighborliness in Portland, Oregon. Results support the idea that semi-private places where one can interact with others near both the home space and the space of the street, like porches and sidewalks do encourage neighborliness. In the context of this study, I believe the co-property law overrides exclusive attention to physical environment features. Moreover, as described in Chapter 6, the alley-like row house arrangement, traditional apartment blocks, and the adaptation to the 'closed door' culture of Bogotá, do not facilitate people's outdoor neighboring.

While many of these complexes are gated, they should not be seen as typical gated communities that are affluent, or as 'commodified communities' (Guterson, in Lang and Danielson, in Wilkerson et al., 2012) where residents buy into an idealized lifestyle that is secured. They are not de facto communities where there is social cohesion and trust among neighbors, indicative of gated communities, according to the authors.

An emerging practice of citizenship through social housing

Based on my discussion of the findings above, the remaining discussion will further develop the recurring thread of the discourse of strengthening community cohesion, social capital and creating citizenship. This theoretical analysis is based on my approach to address the fourth research question outlined in this study: Is there a relationship between home, [habitat] and community building? If so, what is that relationship? This could have been answered in various ways, however, this broad question allowed me to think 'big'. I interpreted it as, "what is *the nature* of the relationship between what participants (including related discourse) said about their home and housing spaces and what they do to build community? By thinking about the nature of the relationship, that is the underlying quality connecting home and community, the findings pointed to the relationship of the physical/ spatial urban interventions of the ciudadelas

with the social intervention of the horizontal property law. They connect by colluding to produce urban citizenship. All formal processes outlined and discussed above crystallize to create a new kind of citizen.

If creating ciudadelas is a project of city building and citizenship by the state, then is citizenship really being fostered when so many challenges present themselves with regard to communal trust, cohesion, and participation? It may not be fostered to its highest capacity but it is certainly an attempt.

The spatial and social grouping of the residential complex is "a specific way of inhabiting [a space] according to socio-historical values imposed and/ or administered by the political technology of the day… [The regulating technology] not only 'orders' a space but also regulates and administers its use according to prevailing political demands" (Yory, 2007, p. 28). However, Yory does not envision this as an example of a purely hegemonic project of the state but one that is collectively constructed by a commitment to support a citizenship based on individualized rights and responsibilities (p. 37). The notions of public, space, and citizenship have become globalized and as a result similar in different cities all over the world, but Yory questions what this would look like in a Latin American city.

The modern conception of regulation as used by a democratic state and other entities with power is explained as such:

> Governance directs attention to the nature, problems, means, actions, manners, techniques and objects by which actors place themselves under the control, guidance, sway and mastery of others, or seek to place other actors, organizations, entities or events under their own sway… the term seems a useful substitute and analogue for regulation, administration, management and the like, precisely because it is not overly burdened with conceptual baggage (Rose, 1998, p. 16).

A democratic government does not only use such 'disciplining' (p. 22) a la Foucault directly, but indirectly as well through other entities with some kind of authoritative power through a complex

set of social, economic, and cultural relations (p. 16) as well as between individuals (p. 23). "Discipline seeks to re-shape the ways in which each individual, at some future point, will conduct him- or herself in a space of regulated freedom" (p. 22). The housing complex arrangement does not altogether fit Foucault's perception of schools, prisons, and asylums as hierarchical social structures that regulate, space, time, and social relations "through procedures of hierarchical observation and normalizing judgment" (p. 26) that then an individual uses to self-regulate behavior, but it comes very close. The governance of the complexes was designed as democratic entities that are first accountable to the co-owners, then to the councils who then designate an administrator to undertake certain tasks. However, council members and administrators are in relative positions of authority that regulate activity in the complexes.

After WWII, citizenship (in Northern Europe and the US) was defined in terms of "solidarity, contentment, welfare and a sense of security established through the bonds of organizational and social life" but in the 1980's, the language of citizenship in government programs changed to become one that focused on individualistic notions of freedom of choice and enterprise (Rose & Miller, p. 48-49). It is important to be clear that 20th century notions about citizenship are not just about enacting political rights, but civil, socioeconomic, and cultural as well (Holston & Appadurai, 1996, p.200). The language of citizenship in Colombia still retains these characteristics, especially because Antanas Mockus, philosopher and former mayor of Bogotá, and others, were inspired by Hannah Arendt's definition of citizenship that includes the notion of the "right to have rights" (Mockus, 2012).[78] According to Mockus (2012), 'one becomes a citizen when the following three conditions are met: one is treated as a citizen,

[78] Arendt espoused a citizenship that was active and argued for the rights of people who were refugees or deemed stateless and problematized the conflict between human rights and the rights of citizens of a nation state (Cotter, 2005). The fundamental right of any human being is to belong to a political state: "'The only human right is the right to citizenship,' that is, the right to belong legally to a state and have one's human status (and all that that implies) be guaranteed by its laws" (p.110).

one tries to act like a citizen, and one's actions are interpreted as acts of citizenship.' Enrique Chaux's, a Colombian psychologist, competencies for peaceful citizenship, informs Mockus' approach to individual and collective levels of behavioral change. Despite the fact that citizenship is framed within the discourse of human rights, it is not only about recognizing rights but also about expected behavior and actual behavioral acts, that is, social duties or responsibilities. This theoretical framework has influenced other Colombian city agencies' policies, as well as national, such as the National Ministry of Education who has pushed it forward since 2007 (Hoyos Vasquez, 2007). Influenced by Amartya Sen and Martha C. Nussbaum philosophies, this institutionalized initiative has been named "Citizenship Competencies" and conceptualizes citizenship as a compendium of multi-faceted material, economic, social, and cultural rights. Framed as individual (and then collective) level capabilities, this moves away from the definition of citizenship that envisions a social contract between the state and its populace promoting civil and political rights. This liberal view supports a more democratic society through mechanisms of participation in many facets of social life. The 1991 Colombian Constitution foments such a vision, for example, with Articles 1, 2, 26, 39, 40, 41, 107, and 112. Similar conceptualizations of citizenship can be found in constitutions and institutional policies in other countries as well, such as Brazil, Australia, and Germany (Friedmann, 1998).

This conceptualization of citizenship thus requires the support of civil society to support endeavors of the state (Friedmann, 1998), oftentimes blurring the division between public and private life. Civil society is generally defined as social groups that are not formally part of government such as households, family networks, and religious and civic organizations that are bound by "shared histories, collective memories and cultural norms of reciprocity" (p.2). Once

again, the spatial and social grouping of the residential complex in social housing that is regulated by the participatory national horizontal property law is the main manifestation of civil society that is framed in this vision of a democratic citizenship. However, as a project of the state, it is not a manifestation of a civil society that challenges the status quo, as so many social mobilizations in the 20th century in Latin America envisioned themselves (Friedmann, 2005). The concept of civil society in Latin America evolved from prior notions of *el pueblo* (the people), to *el sector popular* (the poor people) in the 1970s, and from the 1980s on, to become *la sociedad civil* (civil society) that recognized and advocated rights for everyone. It is a project that means to include 'marginalized' groups within the dominant socio-economic framework. The active residents in these communities can also be perceived as "fighting for inclusion in the system, and not its overthrow" as they recognize and fight for their rights (p.131). Even the professionals, who believe to be implementing the right to housing are working to include people with low resources into a system that is perceived as just.

Holston and Appadurai's (1996) work on cities and citizenship describes a post-modern vision of fragmented citizenships that evolved in the late 20th century. There is a recognized need for Colombia to build a peaceful and cooperative society through its constitution and in the 2006 version of the horizontal property law. These nationally institutionalized frameworks thus attempt to create, not only a peaceful, cooperative people, but citizens, people that are not only bound by common political nationality but people who partake in a project for the good of others within that boundary. As Holston and Appadurai (1996) state,

> The project of national citizenship depends less on the idea of the nation as a neutral framework for competing interests than on that of the nation as a community of shared purposes and commensurable citizens. Its working assumption is that this national community is committed to constituting a common good and to shaping a common life well-suited to the conditions of modernity. This notion requires a set of self-understandings on the part of citizens which lies at the core of the liberal compact of

> citizenship: it requires that people perceive, through a kind of leap of faith, that they are sufficiently similar to form common purpose" (p. 192).

They continue to say that this "liberal" notion of commonality is failing with increasing social and economic inequalities on a global scale. It is also very much challenged in the new communities due to the similarly unequal practices that Metrovivienda, and the very same state, have implemented. While active citizenship may occur by owning co-property in a residential complex, participating in the council meetings, participating in the council itself, paying monthly fees or common charges, and following a host of other rules, this kind of active citizenship is severely strained, or perhaps, falls apart when these citizens are not duly and meaningfully informed of their rights and responsibilities as homeowners, further undermining new urban citizenship-building.

The civil society project embodied in the spatial and social grouping of the residential complex may not have a name like "Cultura Ciudadana" or "Citizenship Competencies" but it fits within the same citizenship building parameters as these and other examples I have previously outlined in Colombia and elsewhere. This civil society project illustrates how formal urbanization of rural and peri-urban areas in Colombia are an 'emerging' "citizenship project" (Isin in Rose, 1998) of the state.

CHAPTER 10: CONCLUSION

The current study features an in-depth exploration into how multiple kinds of actors experience the process of social housing consumption and production in Colombia, with a more acute lens cast on how residents experience their new housing. The meaning of home as a conceptual lens was worthwhile to enter the housing landscape because it captures an ontological understanding of one of the most important places humans make despite the fact that Colombians have a different understanding of the word home. The concept's flexibility enabled this study to become a way to understand home spaces in a culture that is not Anglo or European, where most of the literature hails. It opened up the wider discussion of home in three ways. First, the findings encompass proximal spaces to the residential space—the residential complex and ciudadela—the first of which is specific to Colombia, and the second is endemic to these master-planned communities created by Metrovivienda. Second, physical and spatial elements were integrated along with social ones that contribute to how people experience a space. Stemming from these social aspects, the final strategy was to cast a wider view into the structural forces that shape the experience of housing production and consumption, such as the political, economic, historical, and cultural elements that very much inform how people make meaning. As such, this case study can also be envisioned as an in-depth exploration into how people experience the process of urbanization, because in addition to providing housing, the new ciudadelas are urbanization projects that the city of Bogotá built in order to provide a controlled growth of its rural and semi-rural periphery. Not only are the residents familiarizing themselves with or challenging the new way of life, but the housing related professionals are also learning how to plan a city with a specific kind of vision in a relatively new planning and legal framework that has been implemented since the early 2000s.

Limitations

The main limitation I encountered in this study was that I spent relatively little time in the field. Although four months was just enough time (in a psychological study) to become familiar with living in a different country, learn the housing and planning environment, I could have benefitted from a less tightly packed schedule. I had little to no time to stop, listen to my interviews, and read my notes *in earnest* in order to begin analyzing while I was still in the field; I waited till I returned. This is not recommended because there are many things that a qualitative researcher can intuitively and more quickly pick up while immersed in the field. Additionally, I would have had more time to better familiarize myself with local research efforts and literature. Second, I would have been able to re-visit with any interviewees to clarify any questions I had while interpreting their own situations. Nevertheless, my separate field trips and the discussion group during the second visit did indeed help with this limitation. Third, the limited time in Bogotá did not allow me to learn of and capture the housing policy changes that occurred both at the national level and in Metrovivienda. The specific changes will be featured in the Post-script section below.

Recommendations

This section briefly lists a few recommendations primarily for Colombian housing planners and housing policymakers to improve social housing provision. It is briefly addressing my final research question that is applied in nature: What policy and practical lessons about the meanings and qualities of [habitat] of different types of stakeholders can be drawn for utilization in the human settlements and housing fields? A much more thorough consultation can be made in the future. An in-depth consideration of this study's practical implications are necessary in light of the several urban interventions Metrovivienda has been planning since the early 2000s,

including the Campo Verde and La Palestina projects, the aforementioned Usme Ciudad Futuro, the newer ones in the center of the city, and the recent free housing initiative spearheaded by the national government (see post-script).

Without a doubt, a very necessary and meaningful outreach campaign about the rights and responsibilities of horizontal property homeownership to prospective and new homeowners of social housing must be organized both by the city of Bogotá and the private developers that interact with all prospective homebuyers. With regard to the city, the Habitat Secretariat should undertake the initiative and revise their materials to include an explanation of the property law in the brochure that advertises the housing subsidy process (Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá, n.d.), as those who qualify for subsidies will virtually be the same as those who qualify for social housing; as well as liaise with local mayoral administrations[79], who then should liaise with housing governance council leadership to implement outreach campaigns. With regard to the developers, initiatives similar to the former Metrovivienda staff member's proposal to require them to educate their prospective homebuyers as part of Metrovivienda's bidding process is worth reconsidering. Importantly, housing governance council leadership and other community leaders would benefit from some kind of funding and/ or forum to improve their own local outreach campaigns as they see fit, whether for adults, or for both children and adults. A citywide roundtable on horizontal property does exist but a few of this study's community leaders did not think it was the best outlet to discuss their issues. We have also seen that residents care about children's contribution to their home spaces, neighborhoods, and society. Children and youth can be integrated into outreach and other appropriately designed intervention programs that center on the stewardship of their complexes and cooperation with others. Furthermore, a heavy

[79] Bogotá's public administration is organized by one head mayor who is popularly elected and oversees the city's overall administration and appoints the local mayors of the city's 20 localities who then lead their own smaller administrations.

consideration of the diversity of experience and cultures of the residents of any social housing must be integrated into conflict resolution strategies that are necessary for cooperative homeownership in order to help break down people's stereotypical perceptions that tend to increase conflict. Finally, designers, urbanists, and housing policy-makers should also be educated about how the normative rights and responsibilities of the property law are perceived by social housing residents if they are to avoid paternalistic approaches in carrying out this law.

While I sustain that the abovementioned recommendations be heeded immediately as a short-term solution, taking a more critical perspective of the structural impact of the horizontal property law can also yield some positive changes. Even though each governance council has the ability to customize its rules and regulations according to its needs the law is very prescriptive. This research has illuminated an incredible amount of resistance to these rules by the homeowners. The law requires participation by all homeowners and the law's rules and regulations are designed to be enforced by other co-owners, and it is this type of enforcing that people tend to dislike and ignore. Aside from that fact that property owners are not meaningfully made aware of the rules and responsibilities they must heed, they are not allowed the chance to design a governance structure on their own. The law contains participatory elements but it was developed exogenously and therefore not truly participatory. Colombian government in general, particularly Bogotá's local one, has made inroads in developing and implementing participatory structures in many social initiatives. However, anecdotal evidence claims that they are only participatory in name, as in the case of the Juntas de Acción Comunal. Nevertheless, this study now reveals that one of these initiatives, the horizontal property law, can only be characterized as participatory at the surface level. There is a city-level horizontal property roundtable where residents can voice their concerns and try to make changes to the law but, as previously

mentioned, some participants thought the roundtable was worthless. Addressing this complaint and revisiting the application of this law to all multi-dwelling units is highly recommended, given the fact that so many social housing residents come from backgrounds where bureaucratic practices are not part of everyday life.

With regard to housing planning strategies, although the practice of planning was not specifically addressed in this study, it should be noted that the profession of planning is relatively new in Colombia and still retains the character of top-down 'territorial ordering' and 'territorial management', as these practices are called in Spanish.[80] Metrovivienda's ciudadela planning model, undertaken largely by trained architects, is a very archaic model of land-use planning that lacks an integration of community that can potentially take collective action over their own living spaces, and economic and environmental issues relevant to the area of intervention. Moreover, this kind of large-scale urban intervention obliterates any possible pre-existing community bonds and/ or organization that can change or fight against anything that is not appropriate for that area (see post-script for updated strategies Metrovivienda began undertaking after data was collected). Nevertheless, although it was not included in this study, it was highly likely that there were no pre-existing strong community bonds or organization, which allowed Metrovivienda's intervention to occur in the first place; in contrast to the very organized farmers, landowners, and other community members in Metrovivienda's relatively new development project in Usme. Additionally, it is worth reconsidering the community-based planning model that was once strong for some time in Colombia through the Organizaciones Populares de Vivienda (Popular Housing Organizations). These or other community planning strategies must be integrated differently than Metrovivienda's current approach that has helped to render these

[80] For an extensive review of planning's history and contemporary practices in Latin America and the Caribbean, see Irazábal (2009).

small-scaled grassroots organizations and building programs as virtually non-existent developers. Finally, while changing market-based land practices that generate a host of cost-based issues, such as high land prices, small lot-size, and inexpensive construction methods and materials are an unwelcome change, another consideration could be to revise the land purchasing model so that land upon which social housing is planned remains in the public domain so that property rights and building rights remain separate; this helps to control speculation and preserves affordability in perpetuity (Clara Irazábal, planning studio class, 2.25.13). Different modes of development, for both profit and non-profit enterprises, can more easily co-exist and create different spatial and social conditions. Colombia's constitution could support such a development model but it would take a concerted effort to re-interpret its language for this more communitarian mode of planning.

Future research

At least four areas of research emerged as possible lines of inquiry to extend the exploration conducted in this research.

The first is based on further developing the argument set forth in the discussion: if Colombian **social housing is a city building and civil society project that is meant to enhance democratic citizenship, then is democratic citizenship really being fostered in Colombian social housing** when so many challenges present themselves with regard to communal trust, cohesion, and participation? Further research would constitute exploring governance practices and exploring 'the moral order of place' of the dominant middle and upper classes that is specifically tied to the ownership of property as in the case of the horizontal property law. An extension of this idea could also explore whether or not the Juntas de Acción Comunal (JACs) that operate in the entire city at the neighborhood level are integral to citizen organization around

issues of housing, property ownership, and surrounding public spaces. Addressing this kind of citizenship organization was beyond the scope of the current research particularly because, even when asked, none of the participants cited it as a possible place in which to engage. We have seen that although the governance practices of horizontal property in social housing (and all multi-dwelling housing) is designed as participatory, it is in fact prescriptive. It evolved much differently than in the completely self-governed new informal settlements or in the informal barrios that have been legalized over time, where the JAC's may have helped residents participate in local decision-making processes with official authorities.

Additionally, given the fact that conviviencia is an integral part of citizenship building, exploring how to translate this term into English can be embedded into this line of research, particularly if residential civility or co-civility is used. This research question can also be adapted to explore the experience of children and their parents due to the fact that how children are being formed as future citizens was an interesting and unexpected finding. A comparative study can also be undertaken to compare the notion of citizenship and city building with other collective housing arrangements in other countries that were created to promote community and participation. For example, a major finding of Low, Donovan, and Gieseking's (2012) research on cooperative apartments and gated condominiums in the New York City area features the evolution, and its failure, of an authentic democratic space in those property structures.

A second area of research that could be pursued stems from the fact that this formal housing case study represents a small percentage of the housing that has been developed in Colombia. A valuable study could be designed to compare the meanings of home in the highly planned and formalized Metrovivienda ciudadelas with the informal settlements and the older now legalized barrios, where, theoretically, people have more control over their housing and

surrounding spaces. Looking into the different roles that the state takes as the ultimate developer of new communities in contrast to its neighborhood upgrading programs in older barrios could be interesting to compare with the respective roles that residents carry out. While this could be associated to the line of research above, the angle that this particular line of questioning does not necessitate involving citizenship practices.

The third is a gendered analysis into the relationship between **homeownership and its impact on women with low resources in Colombia**. What is the relationship, if any, between the new found (but relative) material wealth of women and helping their families? What does this mean in the context of relationship building and physical space? Are there any repercussions at a societal level? There are many women-headed households; according to the National Statistics Department, 32.7% of all households were headed by mothers (Tibocha Sarmiento, 2011). Buying a house is a project that was most likely relegated to the man of the house. This process builds knowledge, perhaps urban literacy, and thus may empower women in the long run because it provides stability, security of tenure, and possibly, the psychological ability to focus on other areas of their lives.

Lastly, much of the data collected for this study also featured the **insecurity problems** with which residents contend on a daily basis, even in the materially improved urban infrastructure of the ciudadelas. This certainly points to the fact that resettling people into better constructed communities will not erase all pre-existing social problems. An exploration into the meaning of home could very well feature the issues of safety, as we would call insecurity in the US. However, an in-depth exploration of one theme at a time was a better strategy to understand the nuances of daily life in the ciudadelas. Additionally, how residents and housing related professionals cope with living in and owning horizontal property is highly underrepresented in

the housing literature. Out of the key actors involved in this social housing case study, Metrovivienda tries to alleviate the elements that contribute to insecurity in these urban spaces—petty crime, drug use and drug trafficking, homelessness, and youth gangs, who are often implicated in the previous kinds of crimes. Developers' main response tactic is to build gates around the residential complexes because 'the people ask for them.' A simple but broad question similar to the one that guided this study could be designed to understand how both residents and housing related professionals experience insecurity in order for meaningful social intervention programs to be designed: how do social housing residents and housing related professionals understand urban insecurity in Colombia? Furthermore, what are the coping strategies that each group utilizes to alleviate insecurity problems?

Post-script

Since I concluded data collection in February 2011, there have been considerable housing policy changes at both the national and city level that came with the change in presidency and mayoral administrations. At the national level, two major policy changes have been signed into law. The first is the Victims and Restitution of Lands Law (Ley 1448 de 2011 – Ley de Victimas y de Restitución de Tierras) passed in June 2011 that officially addresses the needs of persons who are victims of the armed conflict, and implements a social assistance program, as well as a transitional judicial program to regain lost land and other assets. In the context of this research, this law is important in two ways. First, it expands the definition of victim and delineates political and socio-economic measures to 'repair' their rights, and second, it lays the foundation for those who have been displaced to be able to safely return to their homes, primarily in the countryside where much of the violence occurred. It is not a housing policy per se, but it does affect how the government will plan low income housing provision for its cities nationwide

because the overwhelming majority of victims are socio-economically marginalized. The second policy change is specific to housing. President Santos implemented a series of changes: the creation of the Ministry of Housing (formerly part of the now defunct Ministry of Housing, City and Territory), the signing of a law promoting additional private and public sector collaboration to increase urban development for the creation of social housing (Ley 1537 de 2012), and the promise to build 100,000 new housing units specifically for the nation's poorest population over four years that they can access for free (e.g., regulated in Bogotá specifically by Decreto 2088 de 2012) of a minimum of 40 square meters per unit (Ceballos, 2012). As explained in this research, the current lowest priced housing (VIP) is not readily accessible to individuals with little to no income because as subsidy recipients, they are required to build savings and supplement the balance of the cost of the unit with a mortgage, all of which are prohibitive to that segment of the population. Interestingly, these two housing initiatives extend the current model of housing planning; they only extend the creation and availability of housing to more people. The findings of this research have enormous implications for these recent housing policy changes. For instance, they reveal how the current social housing design, planning, production, and consumption processes do not address and in fact exacerbate problems in the daily convivencia of a space that is always subject to the horizontal property law.

In Bogotá, certain changes have also occurred in Metrovivienda. As mentioned earlier in this study, Metrovivienda's leadership staff usually turns over with changes in the head mayoral administration every four years. In 2012, a new General Manager (equivalent to an Executive Director in the US) was appointed. The agency's mission also changed twice from the simpler three-part strategy to control urban expansion by enabling the building of affordable housing as a land bank, providing urban infrastructure, and selling super lots to the private sector for

development. In early 2012, it incorporated a social vision to its primary urban intervention scheme:

> To contribute to the social construction of a just habitat in the city and its surrounding regions, by the management and provision of urbanized land, the promotion of social [VIS] and priority housing [VIP], and supporting families to gain access and security of tenure of housing (Metrovivienda, 2012).

Despite the fact that the social coordination team did not get its own department, as some of the staff featured in this study were trying to implement, this mission presented itself as a move in that direction. However, the agency's mission has once again evolved, most probably due to the abovementioned national policy changes, in addition to the acknowledged scarcity of urbanizable land that its original mission required:

> Metrovivienda manages and provides land for the development of Priority Housing – VIP, and Integral Urban Projects that include VIP, with an emphasis in the Amplified Center [urban master project], contributing to the decrease of socio-spatial segregation, to the gradual restraint of expansive territorial occupation and in its place, promote the model of a dense and compact city (Metrovivienda, 2013a).

There is no trace of the much needed social component, and it is not clear whether, for instance, the Habitat Secretariat will be providing any social support to Metrovivienda's existing and new urban interventions. While this possibility was never discussed, it certainly seems feasible that someone should coordinate social intervention services. This new mission does however bring new life to the agency's raison d'être, as its original operating model curtailed its longevity. It also incorporates contemporary city planning practice that promotes the multi-faceted revitalization of urban centers that include but are not limited to housing provision, while never forgetting the original and primary reason the agency was created in the first place—to control illegal urban expansion.

APPENDIX

Interview guides for residents and associated housing professionals

Residents currently living in Metrovivienda housing

Thank you for taking the time to participate in my study. I very much appreciate what you have to say about your experiences with your housing and home. Please note that I am an independent person and I do not work for Metrovivienda. I will go over details of my study and the interview process and ask you to sign a consent form if you agree to participate. You can read the form or I can read it to you if you prefer.

[Give form to read or I read form then ask:]

Do you have any questions?

1. Take a minute to think about your current home. Tell me anything you would like to share with me about it.

PROBES:

a. Who do you live with?
b. How long have you been living here?
c. How did you find this place?
d. Did you get help finding it? From who?
e. What do you think of the change moving into this place?
f. What characteristics of this neighborhood do you like? Do you dislike?
g. How are you associated with Metrovivienda? What do you think of the agency's objectives?
h. Are there some services of the locality or of the city that you use? Are there any you need?
i. What kinds of feelings come up when you think about this place?
j. What do you like about this place?
k. What don't you like about it?
l. Does this house or apartment feel like it is yours? Why or why not?
m. Do you feel safe living here?
n. What do you think about the rules of this residential complex that you must follow?
o. After moving here, is there anything that you expected to get or experience that you have not as of yet? (For example, about your house/ apartment, neighborhood, or neighbors, etc.)
p. On the other hand, is there anything that you did NOT expect but you got or you have experienced?

2. Take a minute to think about all of the places that you have lived in. Is there anything about your current home that reminds you of other places that you have lived in?

PROBES:

a. How different is this place than the other places that you have lived in?
b. A-F and I-L from above for each residence.

3. Tell me what you think 'home' means to you.
4. Tell me what you think 'habitat' means to you.
5. Of the following ethnic or racial categories, with which one do you identify: White, Mestizo, Afro-Colombian, indigenous, Romani or gypsy, or other?
6. In what social stratum is your housing classified?
7. Would you identify as a woman, man, or other?
8. According to the following age ranges, are you between: 18 & 24 y. o., 25 & 34 y. o., 35 & 44 y. o., 45 & 54 y. o., 55 & 65 y. o.?
9. Are you a member of the junta de acción comunal of this neighborhood?
10. Is there anything more you can tell me about what all of these places mean to you?
11. Would you like to comment on any question or on the interview in general?

Professionals currently involved with Metrovivienda

Thank you for taking the time to participate in my study. I very much appreciate what you have to say about your experiences with your work related to low-income housing. Please note that I am an independent person and I do not work for Metrovivienda. I will go over details of my study and the interview process and ask you to sign a consent form if you agree to participate. You can read the form or I can read it to you if you prefer.

[Give form to read or I read form, then ask:]

Do you have any questions?

1. As a _____ involved with Metrovivenda, tell me about the key points that you address with your work.
2. Have the key points changed since you began working in Bosa/ Usme/ Metrovivienda?
3. Are you satisfied with the objectives of this project/ agency? Why or why not?
4. Are the objectives of this project/ agency any different from the one(s) you have worked on in the past? If yes, how?
5. Are there any materials, like documents or plans, that you think are important for your work? We can take a look at them.
6. How do you think the residents feel about the [housing/ services] you help to provide?
7. Tell me about any influences on the kind of work that you do. Influences could be theories, people, social movements, or anything else that have been important to you.
8. In the context of this work, tell me about what 'home' means to you.
9. In the context of this work, tell me about what 'habitat' means to you.
10. Of the following ethnic or racial categories, with which one do you identify: White, Mestizo, Afro-Colombian, indigenous, Romani or gypsy, or other?
11. In what social stratum is your housing classified?

12. Would you identify as a woman, man, or other?
13. According to the following age ranges, are you between: 18 & 24 y. o., 25 & 34 y. o., 35 & 44 y. o., 45 & 54 y. o., 55 & 65 y. o.?
14. Is there anything more you would like to share with me about your work with social housing?
15. Would you like to comment on any question or on the interview in general?

Professionals previously involved that may have implemented policy or designs currently in use

Thank you for taking the time to participate in my study. I very much appreciate what you have to say about your experiences with your work related to low-income housing. Please note that I am an independent person and I do not work for Metrovivienda. I will go over details of my study and the interview process and ask you to sign a consent form if you agree to participate. You can read the form or I can read it to you if you prefer.

[Give form to read or I read form, then ask:]

Do you have any questions?

1. As a _____ previously involved with Metrovivienda, tell me about the key points that you addressed with your work.
2. Did the key points change throughout the time you were working _____?
3. Were you satisfied with the way the objectives of the project(s)/ services were carried out?
4. Was [were] that [those] project[s] any different than ones in the past? If so, how?
5. Are there any materials, like documents or plans, which you think were important for your work? We can take a look at them.
6. How do you think the residents feel about the [housing/ services] you helped to provide?
7. Tell me about any influences on the kind of work that you do. Influences could be theories, people, social movements, or anything else that have been important to you.
8. In the context of this work, tell me about what 'home' means to you.
9. In the context of this work, tell me about what 'habitat' means to you.
10. Of the following ethnic or racial categories, with which one do you identify: White, Mestizo, Afro-Colombian, indigenous, Romani or gypsy, or other?
11. In what social stratum is your housing classified?
12. Would you identify as a woman, man, or other?
13. According to the following age ranges, are you between: 18 & 24 y. o., 25 & 34 y. o., 35 & 44 y. o., 45 & 54 y. o., 55 & 65 y. o.?
14. Is there anything more you would like to share with me about your work with housing?
15. Would you like to comment on any question or on the interview in general?

Habitantes actualmente viviendo en vivienda de interés social afiliada con Metrovivienda

Gracias por tomar tiempo para participar en mi estudio. Me interesa mucho lo que me cuente sobre su vivienda y su hogar. Le quiero hacer saber que no trabajo para Metrovivienda. Le

repasaré los detalles de mi estudio y el proceso de la entrevista, y le pediré que firme una forma de consentimiento si acepta participar. Puede leer la forma o se le puedo leer si prefiere.

[Give form to read or I read form, then ask:]

¿Tiene alguna pregunta hasta ahora?

1. Tome un momento para pensar en el lugar donde vive actualmente. Cuénteme cualquier cosa que le gustaría compartir conmigo sobre este lugar.

PROBES:

a. ¿Con quién vive?
b. ¿Cuánto tiempo ha vivido aquí?
c. ¿Cómo llego a este lugar?
d. ¿Le ayudaron a encontrar este lugar? ¿Quién?
e. ¿Cómo sintió el cambio a esta casa?
f. ¿Cuáles características de este barrio le gustan? ¿Cuáles no?
g. ¿En qué manera está vinculado con Metrovivienda? ¿Qué opina de los objetivos de la empresa?
h. ¿Hay algunos servicios de la localidad o del distrito que usa? ¿Hay algunos que necesita?
i. ¿Qué siente cuando piensa en este lugar?
j. ¿Qué le gusta del lugar donde vive?
k. ¿Qué no le gusta?
l. ¿Siente que esta casa o apartamento es suya? ¿Porqué sí o por qué no?
m. ¿Se siente seguro/a viviendo aquí?
n. ¿Qué opina de las normas a seguir de este conjunto residencial?
o. Después de haberse mudado aquí, ¿hay algo que esperaba conseguir que no se ha realizado o no ha sucedido? (Por ejemplo, de la casa, del vecindario, de los vecinos, etc.)
p. Por otro lado, ¿hay algo que NO esperaba encontrar o vivir en su nueva casa o vecindario?

2. Tome un momento para pensar sobre todos los sitios donde ha vivido. ¿Hay algo de esta casa o apartamento que le hace recordar los otros sitios donde ha vivido?

   PROBES:

   ¿Cuán diferente es esta casa o apartamento a las otras donde ha vivido?

   A-F and I-L from above for each residence.

3. Cuénteme lo que significa ‘hogar’ para Ud.
4. Cuénteme lo que significa ‘hábitat’ para Ud.

5. ¿De las siguientes características raciales o étnicas, ¿cómo se identifica Ud.? Blanco, Mestizo, Afro-Colombiano, indígena, Rom o gitana/o u otro.
6. ¿En que estrato social está clasificada su vivienda?
7. ¿Cómo se identificaría Ud., mujer, hombre u otro?
8. ¿De acuerdo a estas escalas, esta Ud. entre ¿18 y 24 años? ¿25 y 34 años? ¿35 y 44 años? ¿45 y 54 años? ¿55 y 65 años?
9. ¿Es miembro de la junta de acción comunal de este barrio?
10. ¿Hay algo más que me quiera contar sobre lo que estos lugares significan para usted?
11. ¿Le gustaría comentar sobre algunas preguntas específicas o la entrevista en general?

Profesionales actualmente involucrados con Metrovivienda

Gracias por tomar tiempo para participar en mi estudio. Me interesa mucho lo que me pueda contar sobre sus experiencias relacionadas a su trabajo con la vivienda de interés social. Le quiero hacer saber que no trabajo para Metrovivienda. Le repasaré los detalles de mi estudio y el proceso de la entrevista, y le pediré que firme una forma de consentimiento si acepta participar. Puede leer la forma o se le puedo leer si prefiere.

[Give form to read or I read form, then ask:]

¿Tiene alguna pregunta hasta ahora?

1. Como un _____ involucrado con Metrovivienda, cuénteme sobre los puntos claves que trata en su trabajo.
2. ¿En qué medida ha cambiado su trabajo desde que empezó a trabajar en [Bosa/ Usme/ Metrovivienda]?
3. ¿Esta satisfecha/o con los objetivos de este [proyecto/ la empresa]? ¿Porqúe?
4. ¿Los objetivos actuales de [este proyecto/ la empresa] son diferente a otros en los que ha trabajado anteriormente? Si sí, ¿cómo?
5. ¿Hay algunos materiales, como documentos o planos, que Ud. piensa que son importantes para su trabajo? Podríamos verlos.
6. ¿Qué cree que piensan los habitantes de la [la vivienda/ los servicios] que Ud. ayuda a darles?
7. Cuénteme sobre cualquier cosa (o cosas) que influyan en [este proyecto/ su trabajo]. Las influencias pueden ser teorías, personas, movimientos sociales, o cualquier cosa que ha sido importante para Ud.
8. Hablando de este contexto, de su trabajo, cuénteme lo que significa ‘hogar’ para Ud.
9. Hablando de este contexto, de su trabajo, cuénteme lo que significa ‘hábitat’ para Ud.
10. ¿De las siguientes características raciales o étnicas, ¿cómo se identifica Ud.? Blanco, Mestizo, Afro-Colombiano, indígena, Rom o gitana/o u otro.
11. ¿En que estrato social está clasificada su vivienda?
12. ¿Cómo se identificaría Ud., mujer, hombre u otro?
13. ¿De acuerdo a estas escalas, esta Ud. entre ¿18 y 24 años? ¿25 y 34 años? ¿35 y 44 años? ¿45 y 54 años? ¿55 y 65 años?
14. ¿Hay algo más que me quiera contar sobre su trabajo con la vivienda de interés social?

15. ¿Le gustaría hacer un comentario sobre algunas preguntas específicas o la entrevista en general?

<u>Profesionales previamente involucrados con Metrovivienda que hayan implementado políticas o diseños actualmente en práctica</u>

Gracias por tomar tiempo para participar en mi estudio. Me interesa mucho lo que me cuente sobre sus experiencias relacionadas a su trabajo con la vivienda de interés social. Le quiero hacer saber que no trabajo para Metrovivienda. Le repasaré los detalles de mi estudio y el proceso de la entrevista, y le pediré que firme una forma de consentimiento si acepta participar. Puede leer la forma o se le puedo leer si prefiere.

[Give form to read or I read form, then ask:]

¿Tiene alguna pregunta hasta ahora?

1. Como un _____ previamente involucrado con Metrovivienda, cuénteme sobre los puntos claves que trató con su trabajo.
2. ¿Cambiaron los puntos claves durante el tiempo que duro trabajando en <u>El Porvenir</u>?
3. ¿Estaba satisfecha/o con la manera la cual [la vivienda/ los servicios] fue proveída [fueron proveídos]?
4. ¿Fue ese proyecto diferente que otros anteriormente? Si sí, ¿cómo?
5. ¿Hay algunos materiales, como documentos o planos, que Ud. piensa que le fueron importantes para su trabajo? Por favor siéntase libre de sacarlos ahora.
6. ¿Qué cree que piensan los habitantes de [la vivienda/ los servicios] que Ud. ayudó a proveer?
7. Cuénteme sobre cualquier cosa (o cosas) que influyeron en su trabajo. Las influencias pueden ser teorías, personas, movimientos sociales, o cualquier cosa que ha sido importante para Ud.
8. Hablando de este contexto, de su trabajo, cuénteme lo que significa ‘casa’ para Ud.
9. Hablando de este contexto, de su trabajo, cuénteme lo que significa ‘hábitat’ para Ud.
10. ¿De las siguientes características raciales o étnicas, ¿cómo se identifica Ud.? Blanco, Mestizo, Afro-Colombiano, indígena, Rom o gitana/o u otro.
11. ¿En que estrato social está clasificada su vivienda?
12. ¿Cómo se identificaría Ud., mujer, hombre u otro?
13. ¿De acuerdo a estas escalas, esta Ud. entre
    ¿18 y 24 años? ¿25 y 34 años? ¿35 y 44 años? ¿45 y 54 años? ¿55 y 65 años?
14. ¿Hay algo más que me quiera contar sobre este trabajo con la vivienda de interés social?
15. ¿Le gustaría hacer un comentario sobre algunas preguntas específicas o la entrevista en general?

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