Community Participation & Empowerment in Informal Settlement Upgrading

A Case Study in Monterrey, Mexico

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Community Participation and Empowerment in Informal Settlement Upgrading
A Case Study in Monterrey, Mexico

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Preface & Acknowledgements

This master's thesis for the Management in the Built Environment track of the Architecture Faculty of Delft University of Technology is the conclusion of two years of academic, professional, and personal lessons learned along the way. This paper focuses on the processes of community participation in informal settlement upgrading that impact the empowerment of its dwellers. While completely new to me, as my previous experience in architecture had always focused on the design of buildings, the subject selected for the thesis proved to be an inspiring and eye-opening experience to the realities of the people I share the city with. The process of this thesis was challenging and nerve-wracking, but, at the end of the day, it was a satisfying and enjoyable experience I will look back at fondly.

First of all, this research could not have been concluded without the support of my supervisors Darinka Czischke and Ellen Geurts. Thank you for your guidance, sharing of knowledge, and pushing me to become a more independent thinker with every meeting we had.

I am also extremely grateful to the neighbours of La Campana for taking the time to open your doors to a stranger and giving me a glimpse into your lives. Listening to you was inspiring and I truly admire you for building and improving your community with your own hands from the ground up.

I would also like to acknowledge the interviewees who quickly answered and eagerly showed interest to share their experiences and knowledge with me. I truly enjoyed listening to your first-hand experience and your passion for the subject is contagious.

Next, I would like to thank my family. To my parents, for always encouraging us to take every opportunity and face the fears that are presented to us since we were children. To my sisters, for always being joyful and finding a way to motivate me to push through. A special thanks to my housemates for all the late-night dinners, laughs, and support throughout these two years and to my friends back home for always being there despite the distance. I would also like to thank Jamila for helping me straighten out my thoughts during this process. Throughout this time, I also had the pleasure of making Dutch and international friends along the way, thank you for sharing this experience with me. I am sure we will meet later down the road.

Lastly, I would like to express my utmost gratitude to FONCA and CONACYT for sponsoring my studies during these two years. I am proud to form part of a generation and group of Mexicans I am sure will have a positive impact on our country in the future.

I hope you enjoy reading this paper.

Sincerely,
Xavier

Abstract

As part of the larger urban context, informal settlements belong to the realm of formal urban governance while simultaneously possessing governance systems of their own. In the Mexican context, a shift in urban governance has facilitated elements of a networks approach, which places community participation as central to upgrading interventions, to coexist with a historically dominant hierarchical approach. Community participation involves dwellers in the process and is a means for community empowerment, but its validity is put into question as expert-driven and technocratic approaches persist. Therefore, informal settlement upgrading finds itself at a crossroads at which the formal and informal governance systems and hierarchical and networks governance approaches converge. This thesis focuses on identifying factors of government-led upgrading programmes that enable community participation to promote a process of empowerment; taking the Campana-Altamira Initiative in Monterrey, Nuevo Leon as a case study. In this research, community participation covers a broad range of activities and is seen as a means for community empowerment, defined as the ability to gain access to resources, democratically participate and gain a critical awareness of reality. The methodology used to conduct the research was a literature review, followed by empirical research focusing on the Contextual, Socio-Spatial, Planning, and Stakeholder dimensions. The data was collected through document analysis of socio-urban diagnostics and planning instruments of the case study, as well as interviews and focus groups with public, private, civil society, and expert groups. Through the review of planning documents, analysis of stakeholder relations, and power dynamics, seven factors are identified and presented, namely the Planning Process and Policy, Transparency and Reliability, Networks and Support, Leadership, Stakeholder Collaboration, Community Collectivity, and Contextual Implications. In addition, contributions of this research, recommendation for further research, and a reflection on the topic and process are presented.

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List of Abbreviations & Translations

Abbreviation	Spanish	English
CAI	Iniciativa Campana Altamira	*Campana Altamira Initiative*
CSR-CEMEX	Responsabilidad Social Empresarial - CEMEX	*Corporate Social Responsibility - CEMEX*
FOMERREY	Fomento Metropolitano de Monterrey	*Metropolitan Development of Monterrey*
IMPLANc-MTY	Instituto Municipal de Planeación Urbana y Convivencia de Monterrey	*Monterrrey Municipal Urban Planning Institute*
IIC	Consejo Interinstitucional	*Interinstitutional Council*
ISU	-	*Informal Settlement Upgrading*
ITESM	Instituto Tecnológico y de Estudios Superiores de Monterrey	*Monterrey Institute of Technology and Higher Education*
-	Ley General de Asentamientos Humanos	*General Law for Human Settlements*
-	Ley de Desarrollo Urbano del Estado de Nuevo León	*Law for Urban Development for the State of Nuevo Leon*
-	Plan de Desarrollo Urbano del Municipio de Monterrey 2013-2025	*Urban Development Plan for the Municipality of Monterrey 2013-202*
-	Plan Estatal de Desarrollo 2016-2021	*Nuevo Leon State Development Plan 2016-2021*
-	Plan Estratégico para el Estado de Nuevo Leon 2015-2030	*Strategic Plan for the State of Nuevo Leon 2015-2030*
-	Plan Integral para el Desarrollo del Polígono Campana Altamira	*Integral Plan for the Development of the Campana-Altamira Polygon*
-	Plan Municipal de Desarrollo 2015-2018	*Plan for the Municipality of Monterrey 2015-2018*
-	Programa Nacional de Desarrollo Urbano 2014-2018	*National Urban Development Programme 2014-2018*
-	Programa Parcial de Desarrollo Urbano del Distrito Campana-Altamira 2020-2040	*Partial Programme for the Urban Development of the Campana-Altamira District 2020-2040*
SPGG	San Pedro Garza Garcia	-
SEDATU	Secretaría de Desarrollo Agraria, Territorial y Urbano	*Secretary of Agrarian, Territorial and Urban Development*
SEDESOL	Secretaría de Desarrollo Social	*Secretary of Social Development*
SEGOB	Secretaría de Gobierno	*Secretary of Home Affairs*
SSP	Secretaría de Seguridad Pública	*Secretary of Public Safety*
UANL	Universidad Autónoma de Nuevo León	*Autonomous University of Nuevo Leon*
UDEM	Universidad de Monterrey	*University of Monterrey*

Chapter 1
Introduction
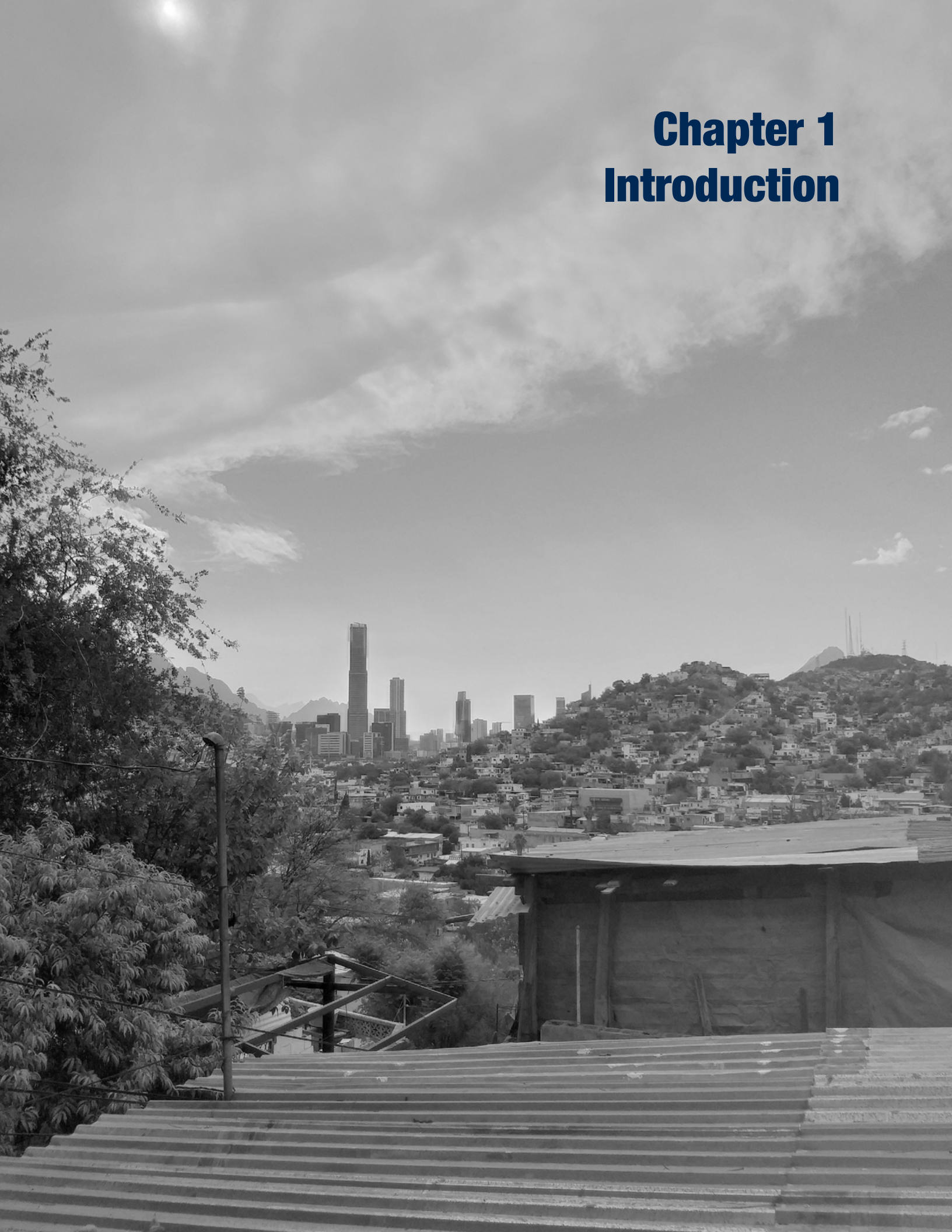
As a consequence of the fast-paced urbanisation occurring in the developing world, the urban informal sector has grown steadily over the past decades; becoming the most accessible market for acquiring land or a dwelling for one out of three urban dwellers (Acioly, 2010). This translates to approximately one billion people worldwide living in informal settlements, often characterised by poverty and poor living conditions such as the habitability, affordability, and legality of the dwelling, as well as higher degrees of institutional and social exclusion, marginalisation and stigmatisation (Suhartini & Jones, 2019). Thus, this further increases the urban divide between those within the formal system and those excluded from it, in the form of greater economic, social, political, legal, and spatial inequalities (Suhartini & Jones, 2019). To face this growing and complex challenge, informal settlement upgrading has been adopted as a strategy to improve the living conditions of informal settlement dwellers (UN-Habitat, 2015a; United Nations, 2020)

1.1 Problem Statement

As part of the greater urban context, informal settlement upgrading belongs to the realm of urban governance, as this captures the arena in which decisions are made regarding the distribution and access to urban and public goods (Muchadenyika, 2015). Informal settlements oftentimes possess their governance systems shaped by local norms, values, and structures and function outside the formal systems (Suhartini & Jones, 2019). In the Mexican context, the political shift in recent decades toward neoliberalism, democratisation and decentralisation is reflected in its formal urban governance discourse, allowing elements of networks to coexist with those of previously dominant hierarchical structures (Guarneros-Meza, 2009). This has followed a more inclusive discourse in which community participation from vulnerable groups is central to urban development and upgrading interventions by involving them in the planning process, oftentimes as a means for community empowerment (Guarneros-Meza, 2009; Moser, 1989). Therefore, in the Mexican context, informal settlement upgrading finds itself at a crossroads between informal and formal governance systems, as well as the coexistence of two distinct governance approaches to urban development. Recent literature points to the resistance of expert-driven technocratic approaches toward democratic and inclusive processes that value the knowledge of the residents (Guarneros-Meza, 2009; Irazábal, 2015; Zurbriggen, 2014). Thus, putting into question the precedence, validity, and strength of community participation in upgrading programmes and hampering the process of community empowerment (Frediani et al., 2019). This phenomenon constitutes the main issue the research addresses.

Hierarchical

Informal Governance ← **Informal Settlement Upgrading** → Formal Governance

Networks
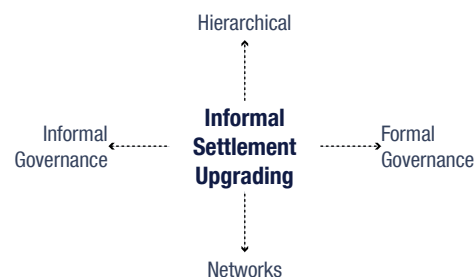
Figure 1.1
Positioning of Informal Settlement Upgrading in Research Problem.
source: author

In Monterrey, Mexico, the Campana and Altamira neighbourhoods present a situation with characteristics associated with informal settlements and governance of their own. In the past decade. an intersectoral process between public and private institutions and the community has resulted in the consolidation of the Campana-Altamira Initiative, a government-led upgrading programme which aims to improve the living conditions of the residents of this area. This case presents an opportunity to inquire into how the process of community participation has unfolded at the previously stated crossroads and identify factors that promote the empowerment of its community.

1.2 Goals and Objectives

This research builds upon the current knowledge on the topics of urban governance, informal settlement upgrading processes and community participation. Further, it analyses how the component of community participation within the urban governance of informal settlements can promote community empowerment. The aims and objectives of this research are to:

Aims	Objectives
1. Obtain greater insight into how urban governance dictates the way participation unfolds	By analysing urban governance structures on a theoretical and empirical level
2. Identify areas of opportunity for community participation during informal settlement upgrading processes	By capturing the interest and roles of key stakeholders of upgrading processes, as well as the power dynamics between them
3. Achieve a greater understanding of urban poverty and informal urban development	By studying the process of urbanisation and poverty on a theoretical level and analysing the contextual implication on this empirically

Table 1.1
Research Aims & Objectives
source: author

1.3 Research Questions

From this narrative, this paper explores the factors that determine how community participation can promote community empowerment in the upgrading process. The main question of this research addresses the three elements that were previously mentioned in the problem statement: informal settlement upgrading, community participation, and community empowerment. The question aims to unpack the factors of community participation that promote community empowerment in the process. The question is further structured around sub-questions touching upon the themes of planning processes, stakeholder relations, power dynamics, and contextual implications. The main question os this research is the following:

What **factors** of informal settlement **upgrading processes** in Northern Mexico enable **community participation** to promote **community empowerment?**

To answer this, the following sub-questions are developed, which build on each other to structure the research. The first subquestion aims to narrow down the regional scope to the city of Monterrey and identify the arenas of citizen participation in which decisions regarding the city are made. By identifying these arenas, it is then possible to focus on the selected case study. To this end, the following question is asked.

SQ1. What are the **current practices** of community participation in informal settlements in the city of Monterrey?

The purpose of the following sub-question is to understand the precedence, process, and scope of the Campana-Altamira Initiative case study. This will help to have a comprehensive understanding of the general arena as well as the temporal dimension of the intervention. Further, it is necessary to unravel how community participation is engrained into the upgrading process and how it is promoted. To this end, the second subquestion is:

SQ2. How are government-led upgrading programmes in Monterrey **initiated, planned, and implemented**?

The following sub-question focuses on the actors that can be identified regarding the case study. Urban development practices involve a vast array of actors, all aiming to promote their interests; having these as the precedent to decide the course of action when exercising power, they will need to be documented. Second, it will be necessary to document what their

role has been during the process to understand their involvement during the upgrading process. The third, is to understand the relationships with each other to further unpack the power dynamics amongst them. To this end, the following question is asked:

SQ3. Who are the **key actors** that can be identified and what are their **roles and interests**?

A key component of community participation is power and how it is transferred to those without it (Botes, 2000; Frediani et al., 2019; Moser, 1989). This component is crucial to understanding how governance structures can determine how actors relate to each other and how their interests are promoted throughout the process. In addition, perceptions of power among the different stakeholders and of themselves can aid in identifying opportunities for improving relations. From this, the following sub-questions aim to understand how power is distributed and perceived among the actors throughout the different stages of the programme.

SQ4. How is **power** manifested and **distributed** amongst actors throughout the process?

The final subquestion concerns the implications that the context has on community participation throughout the process. Context-specific factors need to be identified and considered to adapt the research to the case study. From this narrative, the context plays a role that directly or indirectly impacts the way upgrading processes and community participation relate to each other. To this end, the final subquestion is asked:

SQ5. How does the **context** impact community participation in the upgrading process?

With these questions in mind, they are translated into a conceptual model, elaborated on in the following section.

1.4 Conceptual Model

The research aims to identify the factors of informal settlement upgrading through which community participation can promote the empowerment of its communities. Therefore, the relations between the research concepts are translated into a conceptual model, as seen in Figure 1.1. The model can be read from the centre outward from a micro to a macro-scale of the process. This process revolves around the concept of Community Empowerment, which is the desired outcome extracted from the main question. At the microscale, four concepts directly relate to the process, namely Community Participation, Formal and Informal Governance, and Informal Settlement Upgrading (ISU). As seen, the four concepts overlap with Community Empowerment, implying that they all operate in the same arena. Further, centring around Community Empowerment removes a linear time constraint and allows for different temporal interpretations to influence the process. The only explicit time dimension is the non-linear ISU process, in which a feedback loop between the phases implies an iterative learning process. In addition, the four concepts in the Community Empowerment arena share a relationship and impact each other, this is illustrated by the solid blue line linking them. The four small squares (mesoscale) consider a series of variables that play a part in how the process unfolds at a mesoscale, allowing for the identification of context-specific factors and application of the model. Moreover, the larger outer square represents the context at a macro scale. Lastly, the thick blue dashed line encompasses the answer to the main question 'What factors of informal settlement upgrading processes in Northern Mexico enable community participation to promote community empowerment?'
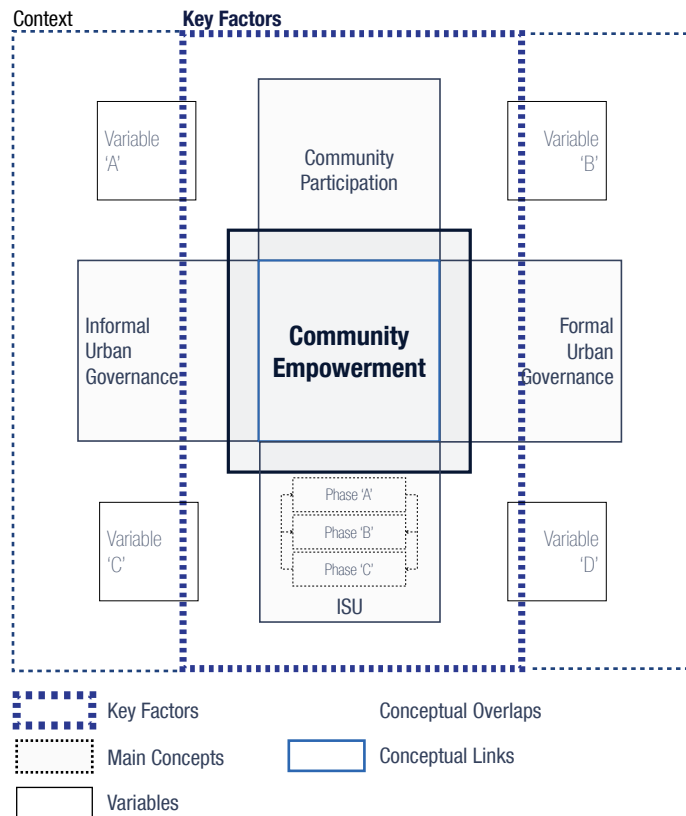
Figure 1.1
Conceptual Model
source: author

1.5 Research Output
Dissemination and audiences

This research is intended for two main audiences: the practical and academic. For a practical audience, this research provides insight into necessary aspects regarding of informal settlement upgrading and community participation to be considered when empowerment is established as one of its objectives. It can benefit the public (policymakers and other public authorities, private (developers and landowners), voluntary (NGOs) and civil (community and neighbourhood groups and leaders) actors to create innovative ways to understand the context within which they operate as well as the paths taken to interact with each other. On the other hand, the academic audience first refers to researchers on the subjects of urban governance and community participation. Second, it refers to students of architecture, urbanism, management in the built environment, social sciences, and policy and management. This audience can benefit from this research to better understand the interests and relations amongst different urban sectors and how these relationships impact urban development practices.

Personal Study Targets

With this thesis, the author aims to add to the knowledge of informal settlements, urban governance, and the participation from its communities to gain greater access to resources. The topic is of high societal and scientific relevance due to the high number of people that resort to the informal market for the acquisition of a dwelling. Therefore, there exists a social responsibility by managers in the built environment to add knowledge that may have an impact on creating more sustainable communities and cities. Moreover, top-down upgrading processes in Mexico have followed similar paths to others; with expert-driven approaches persisting, resorting participation to a legitimation process. For this reason, identifying factors that promote empowerment during informal settlement upgrading processes has been chosen as the main subject of this thesis.

Societal and Scientific Relevance
Societal Relevance

The societal relevance of this research relates to the involvement of a wide range of public, private and civil actors that can benefit from the success of informal settlement upgrading processes in both short and long periods. Informal settlements and the upgrading processes that attempt to integrate them into a formal framework impact micro, intermediate, and macro dimensions of cities and subsequently, their dwellers. Creating arenas for vulnerable sectors of the population to participate and influence urban development, considering their needs and not disrupting their cultural and traditional values, allow for a voice that had been institutionally and socially silenced before to be heard. Thus, facilitating pathways to reconceive urban poverty and inequality.

Scientific Relevance

The focus of this research studies how community participation can be a means to enhance community empowerment during informal settlement upgrading. The concept of community participation has often been used, without it being fully understood first or its objectives misaligned. Therefore, the scientific relevance of this research lies in the conceptualisation and understanding of community participation in urban development practices such as informal settlement upgrading in Mexico. The study on urban governance, stakeholder relations, and power dynamics in upgrading processes in Mexico, all central to this research, holds scientific relevance relates to a contemporaneous case and builds on and expands the current body of knowledge.

1.6 Thesis Outline

The research is structured into five chapters. The first chapters presents general information of the research such as the problem statement, research questions, and conceptual model. Chapter 2 is a literature review which helped formulate the problem statement, the research questions, and identify the concepts that bind the research. Chapter 3 outlines the research design and methodology of the theoretical and empirical research conducted in Monterrey, Mexico. Chapter 4 presents the case study and Chapter 5 concludes with the synthesis and conclusions, in which the main research question is answered and a discussion, a set of recommendations for future research, and a reflection on the process are included. The thesis is outlined in Figure 1.3, along with the corresponding sections.

Chapter 1
Introduction

Problem Statement	Conceptual Model
Research Goals & Objectives	Research Output
Research Questions	Thesis Outline

Chapter 2
Literature Review

| Informal Settlement Upgrading | Community Participation & Empowerment |
| Urban Governance | Key Terminology & Definitions |

Chapter 3
Research Design & Methodology

| Research Approach | Case Study Design |
| Research Design & Data Collection Methods | Breakdown of Subquestions, Methods and Outcome |

Chapter 4
Empirical Research

| Contextual Dimension | Planning Dimension |
| Sociospatial Dimension | Stakeholder Dimension |

Chapter 5
Synthesis & Conclusion

| Key Findings | Contribution and Future Research |
| Recommendations for Practice | Reflection |

Figure 1.3
Thesis Outline,
source: author

Chapter 2
Literature Review

Structure and Scope

The purpose of this chapter is to build a theoretical foundation of the principal concepts relating to the main research question of this paper. It studies four concepts: 1) informal settlement upgrading 2) community participation & empowerment, and 3) urban governance. Each concept has a relationship to the rest and, together, they constitute the research scope of this paper as can be seen in Figure 2.1. The purpose of this theoretical foundation provide a the concepts, terminology, and framework of the research. The sources for the literature review were mainly scientific journal articles, reports, and academic books.

Figure 2.1
Theoretical Framework,
source: author
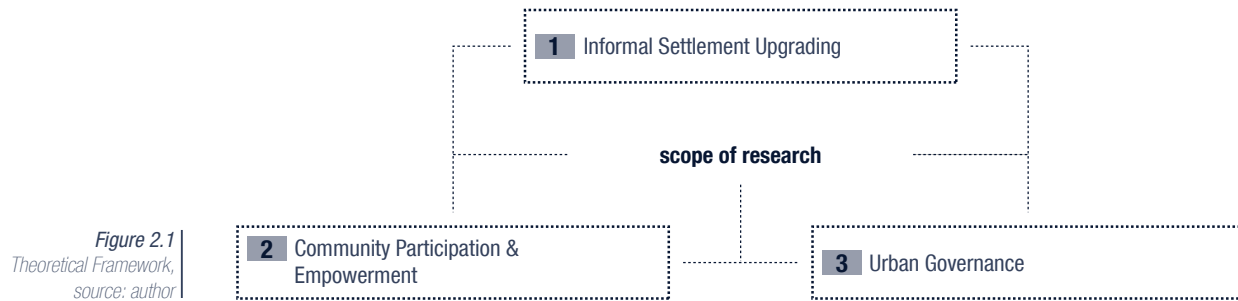
2.1 Informal Settlement Upgrading
Definition of Informal Settlements

One of the main challenges in addressing informal settlements is the lack of a consensus regarding its definition, hindering possible progress on the matter (Fernandes, 2011). An informal settlement has been defined as unregulated, illegal and unauthorised construction, that is typically spontaneous or unplanned (United Nations, 2020). UN Habitat (2003), however, places informal housing within the overarching concept of slums, referring to them as *"a heavily populated urban area characterised by substandard housing and squalor"* (p. 8). High densities and housing qualities found in these settlements encapsulate physical and spatial aspects, while squalor touches upon social and behavioural patterns. In contrast, (Georgiadou et al., 2016) make a clear distinction between these two terms, relating slums to physical conditions, and informal settlements to legal status. Another approach to defining informality is by categorising the settlements into type and nature, extent and the type of building improvement or identifying them as 'slums of hope' or 'slums of despair', in which the former refers to a progressive housing settlement and the latter to a process of degeneration (UN-Habitat, 2003; United Nations, 2020). The imprecise and multidimensional definition of informality leads to challenges in metrics, making them non-comparable across space and time (Fernandes, 2011).

Criteria of Informal Settlements

In the literature, it is determined that patterns of applying certain criteria to determine what informal settlements encompass are evident. Various authors recognise an array of aspects when attempting to define and categorise informal settlements. Fernandes (2011), identifies four criteria, namely: development features, physical characteristics, socioeconomic characteristics, and legal aspects. Similarly, Georgiadou et al., (2016), recognise the context-dependence of informal settlements but argue for the presence of physical, social, and legal aspects when defining this concept. A widely accepted operational definition is provided by UN-Habitat (2013), in which they refer to informal settlements as groups of people living in urban areas lacking certain aspects. Similarly, Georgiadou et al., (2016) have determined key indicators to identify adequate housing conditions. Table 2.1 shows the criteria adopted by these authors to demonstrate similarities and differences between them.

Criteria for Defining Informal Settlements

UN Habitat (2003)	Georgiadou et al. (2016)	El Menshawy et al. (2011)
Durable housing of permanent nature	Habitability	Poor Structural Quality of Housing
Sufficient Living Space	Affordability	Poor Provision of Basic Urban Services
Easy Access to Safe Water	Accessibility	Poor Environmental Conditions
Access to Adequate Sanitation	Availability of Services, Facilities & Infrastructure	Lack of Basic Municipal Services
Security of Tenure	Legal Security of Tenure	Lack of Health and Education Facilities
	Location	Lack of Places for Community Gatherings
	Cultural Adequacy	Insecure Residential Status

Table 2.1 Criteria for Defining Informal Settlements, source: author

The shortcomings of a lack of a clear definition of informality are mirrored by its difficulties in measuring it. The measurement of informality is driven by its definition, leading to a constant level of arbitrariness across the field (UN-Habitat, 2003). As a result of this, the information and data have proven to be fragmented and imprecise, resulting in unreliable quantifiable data (Fernandes, 2011). Censuses have also proven to pose challenges in correctly quantifying informal settlement dwellers. One of the issues is self-perception. For instance, people living on land illegally may still positively perceive their ownership status, despite the absence of security of tenure. An additional complication in quantifying informality is the overlapping layers between land tenure and urban planning aspects involved in informal settlements (Fernandes, 2011).

Causes and Effects of Informal Settlements
Causes
Political, economic, legal, and social arenas provide opportunities for informality to grow and consolidate within cities. Informal settlements are the result of various factors at different levels which can be summarised as the failure of housing policies and delivery systems, as well as national and urban policies (UN-Habitat, 2003). At a global level, weak governments often allow unlimited globalisation which results in increasing inequality and marginalisation of the vulnerable population. At a national level, fragmentation of policy and institutional frameworks makes it difficult to support the dynamics of urban migration. At a local level, municipal governments often lack the resources and capacity to manage the situation properly (UN-Habitat, 2003). The causes allowing the consolidation and perpetuity of informality as a method for acquiring land and housing for the urban poor are tied together in a complex system. Table 2.2 captures the main causes of informal settlements found in the literature and identified by institutions and authors.

Causes Informal Settlements found in Literature

United Nations (2020)	Cities Alliance (2021)	El Menshawy et al. (2011)
Political Change & Uncontrolled Urbanisation	Population Growth	Failed policies
Policy absence & failure to adopt pro growth planning	Migration Dynamics	Bad governance
Limited affordable housing poilicies	Governance	Corruption
Lack of political will to recognise land tenure	Urbanisation	Inappropriate regulation
Failure or reluctance of state to support economic reforms		Dysfunctional land markets
Private sector weakness		Unresponsive financial systems
		Lack of political will

Table 2.2 Causes of Informal Settlements Found in the Literature, source: author

Tied to this is a dysfunctional legal system that enforces lax measures on the violation of laws and the limited access to legal information by the public (Fernandes, 2011). What further exacerbates informality is the lack of planning for urban growth, followed by policies that have focused on fighting urbanisation rather than working with it; ultimately increasing the inequality and poverty of urban dwellers (UN-Habitat, 2003). Acioly (2010) states that informal settlements are a prominent indication of a dysfunctional housing sector characterised by low-income to high-price ratios, scarcity of serviced land, and a lack of transparency and distortions of land, housing, and real estate markets. Housing is a sector that functions under a supply-demand dynamic, which due to various external or internal factors spawns different outcomes (illustrated in Figure 2.2). The interplay between supply and demand is what defines the affordability of housing and, in consequence, steers the population to an acquisition method that falls outside of the formal or legal market.
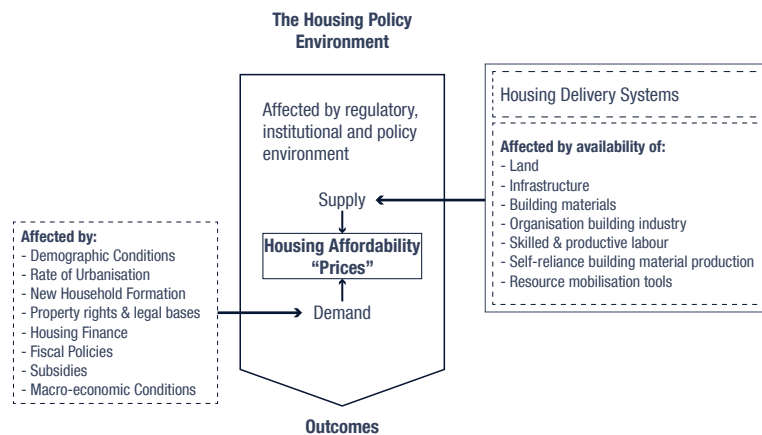
Figure 2.2
Normative view of the housing sector and the policy environment to deliver affordable housing, source: adapted by the author from Acioly (2010)

Effects

As part of the urban fabric of cities, the result of informal settlements is the exclusion of low-income groups from formal acquisition methods and affordable land; constraining them to resort to the informal market and economy to purchase a dwelling. This results in both direct and indirect economic, social, and environmental impacts on cities. Economically, they hamper the development and synergies between factors of production. They cause a direct economic loss on public revenue due to a reduced tax base, productivity and job opportunities as well as impacting markets, production and investments (Ordóñez-Barba & Alegría Olazábal, 2016; United Nations, 2020). Further, their presence also implies high direct costs for local governments to adopt upgrading programmes (Fernandes, 2011). Finally, due to their illegal status, the transferability of land or housing as an asset is hindered, impeding dwellers to acquire wealth over time(United Nations, 2020).

Informal settlements also have social impacts on their dwellers and the city. First, lack of tenure security poses a high risk for evictions, demolishment or other measures governments may take to deal with the situation. Second, the areas are usually susceptible to high crime rates due to poor or null police security and lack of public lighting. Third, informal settlements are prone to not being recognized by governments, releasing them from their obligation to provide basic services such as freshwater, electricity, schools, hospitals, and transport infrastructure. The impossibility of access to credit markets further alienates informal settlement dwellers by reducing their capital for emergencies or business investments, ultimately hampering their economic freedom and development (United Nations, 2020). In addition to this, the 'urban penalty' poses hardships specifically for inhabitants of informal settlements. It has been shown that dwellers have a shorter life expectancy and lower health levels, are more prone to experiencing hunger, have fewer education opportunities and in consequence are ill-equipped for employment (Acioly, 2010).

Environmentally, informal settlements are commonly built on land that is prone to natural disasters and manmade emergencies (United Nations, 2020). In addition, emergency responders may not have adequate access to these locations, leaving the dwellers in a more vulnerable position. 'Informal' constructions may also contribute to air or water pollution due to unregulated building and uncontrolled drilling for freshwater as well as poor quality septic systems. Finally, informal settlements may be built on land that is protected (United Nations, 2020), such as natural reserves or glens.

3.1.1 Informal Settlement Upgrading
Responses to Informal Settlements
Faced with the challenges presented by informal settlements, alternatives can be adopted to respond to the problem. The first alternative adopted by governments is to ignore them, relying on the assumption that economic growth will eventually cease the existence of informal settlements. Second, governments may adopt displacement or relocation strategies, which may or not be through the use of forced eviction. Third, actors relating to informal settlements may seek the opportunity to upgrade the living conditions and surroundings of these neighbourhoods (UN-Habitat, 2015a). This alternative is known as informal settlement upgrading (ISU). The following sections define this concept, classify it, and provide a critical outline of its top-down and bottom-up variants of it.

Informal Settlement Upgrading Definition, Scope, and Classification
Informal settlement upgrading lacks consensus of a clear definition in part due to the same rationale as the troubles in defining informal settlements; the definition is directly influenced by context-specific needs and attributes. The location of the settlements implies different socioeconomic contexts and is essential to clearly define the necessary interventions (Georgiadou et al., 2016). Therefore, Abbott (2002), refers to it as an intervention that is initiated by any actor relating to a settlement resulting in a quantifiable change in the quality of life of the dwellers. This multidimensional definition, consequently, implies a wide array of possible approaches to informal settlement upgrading. Interventions taking place in existing settlements are referred to as in-situ upgrading and are aimed at delivering tangible and intangible benefits based on three pillars: 1) property of rights, 2) property values, and 3) the physical attributes (Georgiadou et al., 2016). In the literature, varying sources categorise the scope of the upgrading process into different components, as shown in Table 2.3.

Components of Informal Settlement Upgrading

	Antolinhao & Van Horen (2005)	UN Habitat (2012)	Cities Alliance (2012)
Components of Informal Settlement Upgrading	Natural Assets	Environmental	Physical
	Physical Assets	Physical	Social
	Human Capital	Organisational	Legal
	Social Capital	Social	Econonomic
	Economic Foundation	Economic	

Table 2.3 Components of Informal Settlement Upgrading, source: author

Further, in the literature, in-situ upgrading is classified into different categories depending on the initiating actor and the extent of the intervention. Huchzermeyer (1999), identifies three different types of interventions: 1) externally designed comprehensive upgrading, 2) government-initiated support based interventions, and 3) NGO-initiated support-based interventions. Adding to this, Abbott (2002), advocates for three strategies; 1) progressive improvement model of infrastructure provision, 2) community action planning (microplanning), and 3) physical transformation through the holistic plan. The main characteristics of each approach are unpacked in Table 2.4 and further elaborated on in the following sections; differentiating them between top-down and bottom-up hierarchical approaches.

Classification of Informal Settlement Upgrading Processes

Author	Name of Intervention	Central Theme	Initiating Actor	Hierarchical Approach
Huchzermeyer (1999)	Externally Designed comprehensive upgrading	Transformation of living standards in short period	Government or External	Government-Led
	Government-initiated Support-based Intervention	Break down intervention into people-driven components	Government	Government-Led
	NGO-initiated Support-based Intervention	Increase community capabilities and encourage community empowerment	NGOs	Community-Led
Abbott (2002)	Progressive Improvement model of Infrastructural Provision	Physical Improvement	Government	Government-Led
	Physical Transformation through Holistic Plan	Economic	Government	Government-Led
	Community Action Planning	Community Participation	Communities	Community-Led

Table 2.4 Classification of Informal Settlement Upgrading Processes, source: author

Government-Led Informal Settlement Upgrading

A shared, and central, aspect of government-led approaches to informal settlement upgrading is the government as the initiating actor. Governments may recognise the value of upgrading the settlements to improve the lives of their dwellers. First, communities can hold inherent value, as their social capital and community investment may already be well consolidated. Second, it has proven to be the most cost-effective and financially appropriate way of improving the living conditions of dwellers and the urban environment of cities (UN-Habitat, 2015a). However, these interventions are often characterised by decisions being previously made by the government and executed disregarding community input, leading to a lack of local context by government authorities. In addition, top-down approaches are criticised for tending to focus on the development and improvement of the physical aspects of the settlements, and commonly ignore the existing social capital (Georgiadou et al., 2016). The 'progressive improvement model of infrastructural provision' described by Abbott (2002), for example, holds strengths in providing physical infrastructure in a short, capital-intensive time. However, conceptually, it functions as a fragmented model where the pieces function independently to make up the whole intervention. Another criticism of top-down approaches is the lack of network structures between different agency levels. For these reasons, top-down approaches are commonly seen as coming from a paternalistic ideology, which hinders reciprocity between parties and exercises social control (Huchzermeyer, 1999).

Community-Led Informal Settlement Upgrading

As opposed to government-led interventions, which focus on physical improvement and provision of services, the central theme of community-led interventions is related to the existing human and social capital and the development of these aspects. In this approach government intervention would draw back from its provision role and take on a more facilitating one by providing support for legal, institutional, and regulatory environments. Consequently, the community's role is at the forefront in programmes in the form of training in several fields to build the capacity for long-term sustainability. Under this narrative, participatory approaches to upgrading allow techniques that enhance knowledge transfer between actors, especially communities and local authorities, and take community input regarding their local needs and conditions into account (Georgiadou et al., 2020). Furthermore, participatory approaches use the existing human and social capital of communities as a platform to develop the skills of dwellers and access to resources, resulting in an increased sense of empowerment and ownership (Georgiadou et al., 2016, 2020). For these reasons, in the literature, community-led interventions are commonly associated with

a higher degree of sustainability. However, the authors have also pointed out the weaknesses of community-led approaches. Abbott (2002), states that they are often driven by ideology and refute opposing views, as well as their view on success, tends to be subjective. Further, there exists a hierarchical structure to decision making processes and discussions on the matter tend to overlook this. In other words, there is a need for a clearer picture of when and what decisions can be made by communities, which should be made as a partnership with local authorities, and which should involve a wider range of stakeholders. Abbott (2002), states that full community empowerment over decision-making can have an opposite effect to the desired one, leading to a higher degree of isolation and fragmentation.

Defining Success of Informal Settlement Upgrading

The multidimensionality and context-specific aspects of informal settlement upgrading imply that there exists no one-size-fits-all solution for this problem (Georgiadou et al., 2016). From this statement, it can be deduced that success is therefore dependent on the specific needs of the communities and the established extent of the intervention. Therefore, successful interventions are dependent on established targets by different actors and at different scales. Local authorities may identify success as the provision of infrastructure and basic services, while communities may require other needs, such as the development of their social capital. Abbott (2002), defines success as the capacity to scale and replicate and approach and concludes by stating that the initiating actor is not a defining factor, but rather, the strength of the precedent it is based upon.

2.2 Urban Governance

Urban Governance Definition

The political, economic, legal, and social arenas that allow for the appearance of informal settlements are all tied to the way urban governance arrangements are organised. Urban governance can be understood as the '…formulation and stewardship of formal and informal rules that regulate the public realm, the arena in which state, as well as economic and societal actors, interact to make decisions' (Muchadenyika, 2015. pg. 2). More specifically, in an urban context, governance involves institutions, both public and private, that contribute to the effective management of cities and is a continuous dialogue that must consider different needs and interests to provide the benefits of urban citizenship (UN-Habitat, 2015b). The purpose of urban governance is to increase in a productive and corrective manner, the capabilities of different urban sectors. Increasing the capabilities of all urban sectors, especially the most marginalized, achieves equity in access to the systems of urban dynamics, while at the same time, opening up for more inclusive decision-making environments (Hendriks, 2014).

In a practical and simplified manner, the decisions made in these arrangements have a strong impact on the city and its dwellers because they distribute who gets what, when and how through institutional and administrative processes that can constrain and enable the adequate provision of public goods (Muchadenyika, 2015) (Suhartini & Jones, 2019). Moreover, governance overlooks the instruments or policy tools available to shape the decision-making environment of key development actors, and this is further supported by effective place leadership, genuine stakeholder engagement and by the capacity to act. Successful developments are accompanied by governance that matches the innovative and complexity of place-making with high but realistic ambitions (Adams & Tiesdell, 2012).

Urban Governance Approaches

In urban development, governance has commonly taken the form of one of three approaches. First, governance through hierarchies is structured in a top-down approach in which decision-makers hold power over those below them, and so on. This approach is characterised by highly bureaucratic governmental processes and functions under the condition that those at the bottom of the pyramid will adhere to the margins set by their superiors (Adams &

Tiesdell, 2012). In other words, the government sets the rules for what is to happen in a rigid and closed system, resonating with the formal end of the spectrum. Second, in governance through markets approach, the role of the governments shifts towards a more facilitating role rather than a provisional one, opening up the space for markets to take a leading role in the provision of development. This approach functions under the assumption that the private sector involvement will stimulate competition between market parties, resulting in the delivery of efficiency, growth and widespread prosperity (Adams & Tiesdell, 2012). The shortcomings of this neo-liberal approach were found in the property-led development, focusing on generating profit rather than providing urban infrastructure. Third, as a response to the results stemming from the market-led initiative, a networks approach to governance gained prevalence. This approach is characterised by collaboration between all stakeholders across the public, private and voluntary sectors to arrive at a common goal, and depend on trust, reputation and voluntary collaboration will result, echoing the perspective of a continuum of formal-informal rather than a duality (Adams & Tiesdell, 2012). However, a potential drawback can be a more complex and bureaucratic system if the dependence on partnerships is excessive and should not be used as a one-size-fits-all solution to urban development (Adams & Tiesdell, 2012).

Governance through Hierarchies

Hierarchies function under the presumption that an objective or desired outcome is already established, and that this outcome can be divided into smaller pieces, each carried out on individual layers (Thompson et al., 1991). As previously stated, governance through hierarchies functions in a pyramidal structure of coordination in which each level of the pyramid directs the actions of those below them, as shown in Figure 2.3. At the top of the pyramid is one institution that is capable of constraining the actions of others. In other words, the lower tiers of the pyramid have gradually less autonomy and power (Thompson et al., 1991). These authors state that as a coordination mechanism, a hierarchical approach can result in the subdivision of tasks, individual interests, mechanisms of control and communication, and the relationship between autonomy and levels on the pyramid. Hierarchical approaches have often been criticised for being excessively layered, causing fragmented information sharing, fragmented decision-making, and an unclear divide between managers and their subordinates. This last point results in ineffective leadership and diminished accountability (Thompson et al., 1991). However, the authors argue that while this may be the case, these top-down approaches to governance are the most natural and efficient way of coordinating in large organisations for two reasons. The gradual complexity of the tasks as the type of mental activity required to conduct these tasks.

Governance through Networks

In contrast to a top-down arrangement, networks are characterised by their horizontal organisation and equality in the actors involved in them (Adams & Tiesdell, 2012). As shown in Figure 2.3, the lines of communication between actors are more varied, and a decentralised leadership can be found in each sector. Networks can connect different sectors, eliminating the bureaucratic processes of a hierarchical approach, however, this increases the complexity of relationships and the interests of each actor are more equal, thus, allowing conflict to unfold. Therefore, a central element of the relationship between actors is the trust between them, as it reduces strategic uncertainty, considers the interests of all stakeholders, and enhances information sharing amongst them (Klijn & Koppenjan, 2012). The theory surrounding networks associated four main concepts to it. The first is the actors and their interdependency that is needed to initiate and maintain networks. The second is the result of these interdependencies, which is the complexity of the interactions concerning problem-solving. These interactions further determine the outcome of the policy and distribution of public goods. Third, these interactions also lead to the institutionalisation of relationships amongst actors, which determine the rules of behaviour in networks and social relations, such as power dynamics. Lastly, network management refers to the guidance

needed for the complex processes in networks. These management activities involve facilitating processes or interactions between actors (Klijn & Koppenjan, 2012). Networks are also seen as representing all actors equally and opening up to more democratic decision making. However, Klijn & Koppenjan (2012) state that in these approaches, a technocratic nature persists. The authors state that this is due to the difficulty in allowing decisions to be made that steer away from those established by government actors, and that, while participation from citizens and other stakeholders can take place, they do not often influence the result.
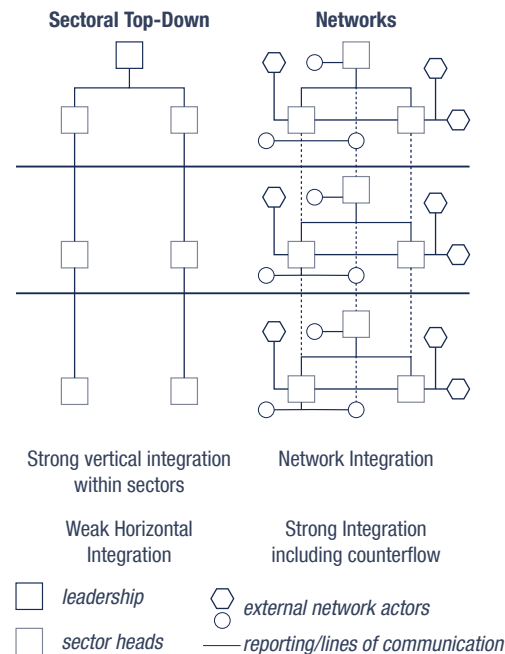
Urban Governance in Developing Countries

One of the key challenges, and centrepiece to this thesis, is how governance arrangements shape the decision-making environment that facilitates or inhibit the development of long-term capacities for the informal dwellers. Saharan et al. (2019), state that varying urbanisation patterns are the offspring of different historical developments and these, in turn, have shaped urban planning towards dealing with consequences such as informal settlements. In many developing countries, colonialism, for example, has played an important role in how countries respond to urban challenges. Subjected to an often exploitative and patronising relationship, it is common for developing countries to inherit or adopt official planning systems from developed countries that lack the substance to be well-grounded to realities (Saharan et al., 2019). These planning systems seldom focus on development processes and mechanisms that function at local levels where both governments and communities have experienced their particular challenges, thus rendering them ineffective (Jouve, 2008). Further, in developing countries, interventions into the informal sector are commonly carried out with a top-down governance approach, making it more difficult to align with the local cultural and political activities and circumstances (Bakker et al., 2008; Jouve, 2008).

In cities in the developing world, the concept of urban governance entails both formal and informal arrangements for the allocation of resources. This, as a means of facilitating access to the opportunities that lead to development at a city level that includes a variety of urban interest groups (Suhartini & Jones, 2019). In this manner, the dual and simplistic distinction between the formal and informal should be rejected and rather be seen as a continuum of

toleration, negotiation between both poles (Suhartini & Jones, 2019). It is worth noting, however, that there exist power asymmetries between stakeholders; governments, for example, are the main actor due to the ownership they have over resources, such as basic services, and the power to allocate them to the population (UN-Habitat, 2016). In practice, this power asymmetry has exacerbated the inequality of basic service provision through selective public policies that favour higher-income groups (Suhartini & Jones, 2019). According to UN Habitat (2016), the focus of public policy research has shifted from a more divided governance arrangement between the public and private sector towards a fluid and flexible approach with the government as a central actor, but, involving a wider range of stakeholders. To further understand how urban service provision can be achieved through either rigid or flexible approaches, it is necessary to know its components. First, the production of urban services refers to the stakeholders' involvement in managing and producing the resources. Second, the provision of urban services entails the organisation, budgeting and implementation of public service delivery (Suhartini & Jones, 2019).

Suhartini & Jones (2019), present three levels of urban governance in the context of urban service provision in developing countries, namely formal governance, informal governance, and hybrid governance, each with their definitions, processes and natures, as summarised in Figure 2.4. On one hand, formal governance places the government in a central role and its institutions are used to conduct and supervise its functions, in the same sense that the formal sector is regulated in a top-down approach within legal and governmental rules. On the other hand, informal governance is conducted in a more bottom-up approach and is established by urban residents, individuals and groups as central stakeholders (Suhartini & Jones, 2019). Informal governance can further be described as *"urban governance based on tradition, informal and non-formal systems, which gain their validity from socio-cultural orders and strength of linkage to indigenous kin and ethnic groups and their adaption in the urban setting"* (P. Jones, 2016). Finally, hybrid governance is seen as the overlap and interaction between formal and informal arrangements, in which their systems must be well established and work together efficiently to achieve their goals (Osborne, 2009).

Hybrid Governance

Formal Governance

Informal Governance

Definition: interaction of formal and informal governance. This occurs when formal governance has the least impact and informal governance is well-established and works efficiently. Common in developing countries where they share both systems in terms of planning, budgeting, implementation, as well as stakeholder contribution

Process: multiple ways, vertical and horizontal

Nature: acquires some values and characteristics of formal and informal governance, allow more actors and stakeholders to contribute to the process

Definition: relies heavily on buraucratic and administrative processes conducted by government . This includes the organisation of planning, development and managing public interests. Uses structural governement institutions to run its functions.
Process: one-way, vertical, hierarchical
Nature: Rigid, coercive, government-led

Definition: established and run outside the formal system, mainly by members of civil society. Has its roots in the local norms, values, and structures
Process: two-way, multiple ways, mainly horizontal
Nature: fluid and flexible, persuasive, adaptive, community-led

Figure 2.4
Formal, Informal, and Hybrid Modes of Governance,
source: adapted by author from Suhartini & Jones (2019)

The Shift in Urban Governance in Latin America and Mexico

Historically, hierarchical modes of governance have dominated in Latin America. During the 1980s and 1990s, governance in the region was strongly shaped by International Financial institutions (IFIs) such as the World Bank, The United Nations Development Programme, and the Interamerican Development Bank (Zurbriggen, 2014). These institutions promoted and recommended mechanisms to allow greater influence by markets and were accompanied by a changing role of the state in which it shifted from being a direct provider to a facilitator and

mediator in the delivery of public services. Simultaneously, a greater degree of citizen participation was promoted, this is especially the case for leftist governments in the 21st century (Zurbriggen, 2014). In the Mexican context, a similar process has followed. Guarneros-Meza (2009) argues that the intervention of these financial institutions helped to create institutional change that is often associated with a networks approach to governance. In addition, this has been facilitated by a political transition toward democratisation and decentralisation and has changed the ways governments relate to civil society. In urban movements, this process of democratisation has been key to promoting the discourse of including grassroots groups in the provision of basic services and municipal governments who have sought after innovative ways of participation have improved in this area (Guarneros-Meza, 2009). However, this change of perspective presents some challenges, as two opposing views collide in the same arena. On the other hand, other authors state that the robustness and efficiency of participation need to follow the development of managerial practices. While the values of participation, self-government, and co-responsibility have challenged the belief that the state should be the only one responsible for providing services, the objective of empowerment has often been undermined in large part due to the capacity of grassroots groups (Guarneros-Meza, 2009).

Participatory Urban Governance in Mexico

From this narrative, this section explores what participation in urban development entails. The Mexican government uses the term "citizen participation" as a way of redistributing power by enabling citizen participation to make decisions along with other public and private actors (Silvonen, 2021). The discourse to make enable participation from locals to decide on matters that impact them directly has brought forth challenges of how these practices can unfold. These practices can relate to Paul's (1987) intensity of participation, ranging from informing and consulting, to co-designing. However, one of the main criticisms of top-down approaches is that their implementation can inhibit the level of collaboration of citizens (Silvonen, 2021). In addition, informal settlements were self-built by the residents, requiring a high degree of collaboration. With this in mind, they may be more averse to participating in top-down approaches (Silvonen, 2021).

Another key point to consider is who is eligible to participate. In informal settlements, both formal and informal modes of governance converge. Citizen participation is often built into top-down upgrading programmes through the creation of local committees or neighbourhood citizen councils. These councils have been promoted as a complement to the urban development plans of the area. These councils are typically people who live in the area and that do not require high levels of education or expertise to actively participate (Guarneros-Meza, 2007; Silvonen, 2021). The formalisation of previous informal organised groups allows them to access resources and funds from programmes or be eligible to vote in mechanisms such as participatory budgeting processes. However, may simultaneously discourage participation from groups not complying with the requirements and excludes urban organised groups who prefer to work autonomously and not participate in methods promoted by the government (Guarneros-Meza, 2007; Silvonen, 2021).

2.3 Community Participation
Background of Community Participation and Empowerment

Community Participation as a concept was foreshadowed by the debate on Community Development during the 1950s and 1960s (Abbott, 1993). Historically, they have their roots in the realm of economic development and were synonymous to the point that community development was viewed as a *"process designed to create conditions of economic and social progress for the whole community its active participation"* (United Nations definition quoted in Moser, 1989). Community Development as a way to aid in the social needs of the urban poor of cities undergoing industrialisation was widely supported in developed countries. However,

this approach had faults in the fact that it assumed consensus of the community's needs as well as socio-economic homogeneity (De Kadt, 1982). Therefore, its implementation failed in developing countries with different social, political, and economic environments. The Latin American context until the mid-1980s, for example, was characterised by authoritarianism and weak democracies, as well as tensions between citizens and the government. This context serves as the base for concientizacion, as a way for the *"poor and exploited to...become conscious of their situation"* (De Kadt, 1982, p. 574). For Abbott (1993), this resonates with the concept of Empowerment, as this represents *"the organised efforts of the disempowered groups to increase control over resources and legislative institutions"* (UNRISD, 1979, p. 8). This conceptualisation of empowerment is what allows for a discussion to unfold regarding community participation, as they share an intrinsic relationship.

Approaches

Approaching the concept of community participation has proven to be complicated for two main reasons. The first is the ideological debate or the different interpretations of planning and approaches to planning. The second is the lack of consensus on the terminology. Participation is multi-faceted and authors approach it from different angles; providing varying definitions, objectives and kinds of participation (Abbott, 1993). In literature, two main strands of thought have had the greatest impact on conceptualising Community Participation. The first is Moser's approach, which advocates for a means-end duality, with the objective of empowerment at its core. The second is Paul's approach, which, in contrast, conceptualises Community Participation as functioning along a spectrum of multiple dimensions. This section presents these two approaches.

Duality Approach

Moser's approach to community participation has at its core the objective of empowerment. This concept had been promoted by institutions, such as the UNRISD, whose definition of empowerment is *"the organised efforts to increase control over resources and regulative institutions in given social situations, on the part of groups and movements hitherto excluded from such control"* (UNRISD, 1979, p. 8). Moser's contribution is the introduction of community participation as a 'means' and 'ends' toward achieving empowerment. As a means, community participation is the mobilisation to get things done, whether through top-down or bottom-up approaches. As an end, community participation is a process that results in more significant participation (Moser, 1989). However, the evaluation of these is not of importance, but rather, identifying the process through which participation as a means can develop into participation as an end. The transfer of power, from those that hold it to those excluded from it, is inherent to the concept of empowerment. In urban development projects, this implies that as communities participate in the process, tensions can rise as two different sets of objectives, those of the state and community may clash (Moser, 1989). With empowerment as the only objective of community participation, the 'means' and 'ends' duality of this approach has a strong assumption that all development endeavours which do not have empowerment as their main objective are manipulative, or ethically 'wrong' (Abbott, 1993).

Spectrum Approach

In contrast to this dualist view, Paul, (1987), focuses on a spectrum of objectives. Paul's major contribution is twofold by first drawing a line between the definition and objective of community participation (Abbott, 1993). Paul defines participation as *"...an active process whereby beneficiaries influence the direction and execution of development projects rather than merely receive a share of project benefits"* (Paul, 1987, p. v). Subsequently, he presents a multidimensional model of participation based on objectives, intensity, and instruments of participation The objectives are: a) empowerment, b) building beneficiary capacity, c) increasing project effectiveness, d) improving project efficiency, and 3) project cost-sharing. These objectives can be achieved through required levels of intensity, which is the type

and extent of input coming from communities and varies accordingly to the project or the stage. These are 1) information sharing, 2) consultation, 3) decision making, 4) initiating action. The final component of the model is the instruments, or institutional devices used to organise and sustain community participation, They are: 1) field workers of the project agency, 2) community workers/committees, and 3)user groups (Paul, 1987). This model helps in identifying the reasons for applying a certain degree of community participation aimed at the spectrum of objectives. In other words, it can answer the 'why' of community participation. However, it falls short in determining 'how' and by 'whom', these objectives and levels of intensity are established (Abbott, 1993).
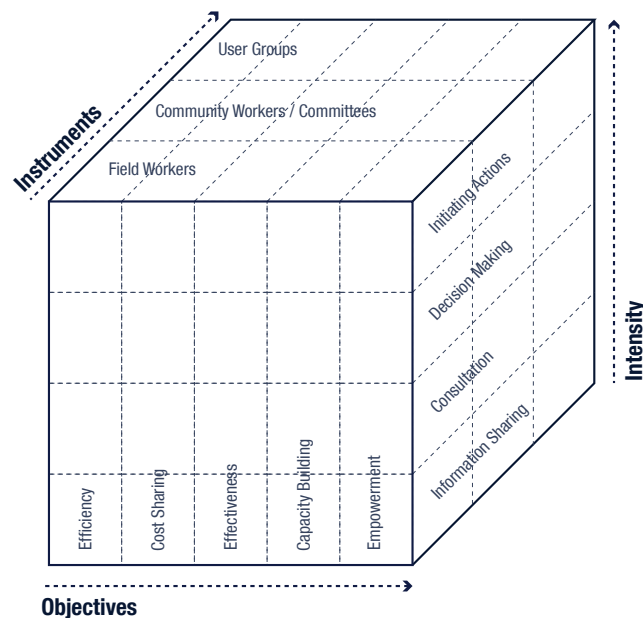
Figure 2.5
Objectives, Intensity & Instruments of
Community Participation,
source: author, adapted from Paul (1987)

Four Questions of Community Participation

Any approach to community participation should be able to answer the questions of why, when, whose, and how participation should take place, as any development project involves an array of parties and their interests and therefore it is about power (Moser, 1989; White, 1996). Eyben (2004), identifies five perceptions of power that can be useful in identifying the impact of political, economic, and social structures and development practices, as seen in Table 2.5. Another component that shares an intrinsic relationship with power is agency. Agency can be defined as an individual's ability to choose and can also function on a collective level as a group's ability to make claims (Frediani, 2010; Ibrahim, 2006).The why of community participation has already been answered by the previous approaches and refers to the objectives set to be accomplished. Participation also has a temporal element and, therefore, when participation is to take place needs to be determined. This relates to the project stages of decision making, implementation, and financing and managing. If the objective is empowerment, then community participation in the initial stages is paramount, as this sets the stage for the initial conditions of power to be shared. Whose participation refers to who is participating. This is determined by two factors: the accessibility of the project to the target population and the recognition of community heterogeneity, meaning the nature of the local power structure or the different social groupings. Lastly, the question of how community participation should take place refers to the means that are put into action to achieve community participation (Moser, 1989).

Perceptions of Power (Eyben, 2004)

Power to	Power over	Power with	Power as Knowledge	Power Structure
Choose and Act	Relational Components of Power	Common goal among different interests and collective strengths through organisation and development of shared values and strategies	Product of knowledge associated with the production of relation	Fundamental systematic forces define rules of the game that power relations generate

Table 2.5 *Perceptions of Power, source: author, adapted from Eyben (2004)*

Community Participation and Interests

Adding to this discussion, White (1996) warns that the apparent compulsory component of participation in development policies today, should be looked upon with more scrutiny, as *'sharing through participation does not necessarily mean sharing in power"* (White, 1996, p. 143). The different interests of the various parties, especially from those in power, can lead to participation being used as a phrase to legitimise the process and intentions on paper may differ from those exercised in reality (Moser, 1989). In other words, the form of participation undertaken in nominal participation and the groups serve as a display to legitimise the programme or project. This is backed by Georgiadou et al., (2016) who state that participation or collaboration may oftentimes be limited to consultation and legitimisation of decisions already made by authorities and private parties. Therefore, if the objective or interest of participation is that of empowerment, the intentions and collaboration have to come from both top-down and bottom-up actors. This way, participation can shift from a nominal towards a transformative form (White, 1996).

Interests in Participation

Form	Top-Down	Bottom-Up	Function
Nominal	Legitimation	Inclusion	Display
Instrumental	Efficiency	Cost	Means
Representative	Sustainability	Leverage	Voice
Transformative	Empowerment	Empowerment	Means/End

Table 2.6
Interests in Participation, source: author , adapted from White (1996)

Collective Action

To begin a review of collective action, the concept of organisations must be defined. Organisations are composed of a group of individuals that, collectively, aim to achieve a purpose. This is paramount because, without it, organisations lose their raison d'etre. For many organisations, their purpose is to advance the interests of the group members, e.g. the purpose of the state is to advance the interest of their citizens. Further, organisations also lack a basis if individuals are capable of promoting their interests outside and more effectively than within the organisation. A final point to make is the fact that even though organisations are composed of individuals aiming for a common goal to be realised, they possess individual, personal interests (Olson, 1965).

Previous to Olson's Theory of Collective action, there were two main strands of thought regarding organisations and groups, namely the traditional and the formal view. The first theory regards the ubiquity of organisations, stating that these are present everywhere due to the instinct of men to come together to fight off other tribes. In other words, the presence of organisations is part of human nature and society. The formal theory has a diverging base; it assumes the evolution of primitive societies into industrial ones. This is shown in the transition from close-knit groups such as families, and, characteristic of primitive societies, towards the emergence of industrial societies, characterised by associations that are

structurally different and capable of realising the functions of primitive groups (Olson, 1965). This transition results in the 'loss of function' of kinship or close-knit groups; if this holds, then the functionality of organisations proves to be a sufficient incentive for the formation of organisations.

Olson's Theory of Collective Action is a counterargument to these, basing it on the dismissal of two key components, namely the size of the organisation and the application of selective incentives. Firstly, Olson classifies groups into three sizes: small, intermediate, and large and describes the characteristics of each. Small, or 'privileged' groups are characterised by a high difficulty threshold for free-riding because of the high probability of accountability resulting from a small number of group members. They also have a high degree of achieving their common goals because it is possible that if the benefits outweigh the costs, one member may take on the complete cost (Czech, 2016). Intermediate groups are the most disadvantaged since they are not large enough to allow free-riding and not small enough for one single member to benefit enough to cover the whole costs. Lastly, large, or latent, groups, face the most difficulties in achieving their common interest due to three principal reasons. First, as opposed to small groups, large ones are at a higher disposition of team members free-riding. Second, as group size increases the degree of individual benefits decreases. Third, it is probable that the good is supplied less optimally as groups get larger (Czech, 2016). Large groups are also referred to as 'latent' groups because they have the potential to act but can only be mobilised through selective incentives. This second component has the purpose of attracting potential members that are capable of devoting their resources to the organisation's goals. They are referred to as 'selective incentives' because they function as non-collective goods as mechanisms only available to people within the organisation and not available to non-members, e.g. social status, or prestige. Parallel to selective incentives, Olson states that coercion may be the key to supplying public goods to large groups, such as through the use of taxes (Czech, 2016; Olson, 1965; Udehn, 1993).

Key Terminology & Definitions

Before introducing the research, terms and definitions are specified to provide a foundation level of the terminology found in the research. To provide clarity of the concepts found in the research questions and literature review, the definitions shown below are used.

Informal Settlement Upgrading

In this research, informal settlement upgrading refers to government-led initiatives that employ interventions with available resources to improve the quality of their living conditions. More specifically, it refers to programmes aimed at combating aspects associated with urban poverty. These can be in the form of social aspects (levels of education), physical conditions (poor housing quality), environmental characteristics (unsafe locations) or legal (tenure security). They also aim to achieve a higher degree of social and economic inclusion and mitigate their stigmatisation and segregation from the greater urban context and institutional resources (Ordóñez-Barba et al., 2013; Suhartini & Jones, 2019).

Figure 2.6
Informal Settlement Upgrading Definition Diagram, source: author

Government-led initiatives that deploy resources aimed at ⟶ Social | Economic | Legal | Physical | Environmental ⟶ Integrate into Greater Urban Context & Access to Institutional Resources

Urban Governance

Governance represents the arenas in which the distribution of public goods is decided through institutional and administrative processes. Its purpose is to provide the benefits of urban citizenship to all and increase the capabilities of those who are marginalised to access these urban systems (Hendriks, 2014; Muchadenyika, 2015; Suhartini & Jones, 2019). The inclusive element of urban governance connotes an emphasis on the participation of the urban poor in providing input on context-specific needs and better-defined issues. It is a non-hierarchical, or networks approach, in which non-state, social and private actors formulate and implement public policy (Zurbriggen, 2014), as it provides practices such as equity in access to urban dynamics, relationship building, and decision-making over the direction of the process (Chaskin, 2000; Suhartini & Jones, 2019; Zurbriggen, 2014).

Figure 2.7
Urban Governance Definition Diagram, source: author

State Non-state Social Private ⟶ Decision Making Arena ⟶ Urban Dynamics Relationship Building Decide Direction of Programme | Formal | Hybrid | Informal

Community Participation

Community participation is defined as the involvement of the community, in various forms and intensities, during informal settlement upgrading. It can also be defined as the participation in the form of knowledge between communities, local, and national authorities to align objectives (Georgiadou et al., 2020). In this research, community participation is seen as a means to achieve community empowerment (Moser, 1989; Paul, 1987).

Community Empowerment

It can be defined as the objective or end of community participation, as well as a process through which people have more control over their lives, democratically participate in the community's life, and become critically aware of their reality (Moser, 1989; Paul, 1987; Perkins; & Zimmerman, 1995). In other words, empowerment is the *"increase [of the community's] control over resources and regulative institutions"* (UNRISD, 1979, p. 8)

Figure 2.8
Community Participation and Empowerment Definition Diagram, source: author

Participation
means ⟶ Empowerment
objective ⟶ 1. + Control over Resources
2. Democratically Participate
3. + Critical Awareness of Reality
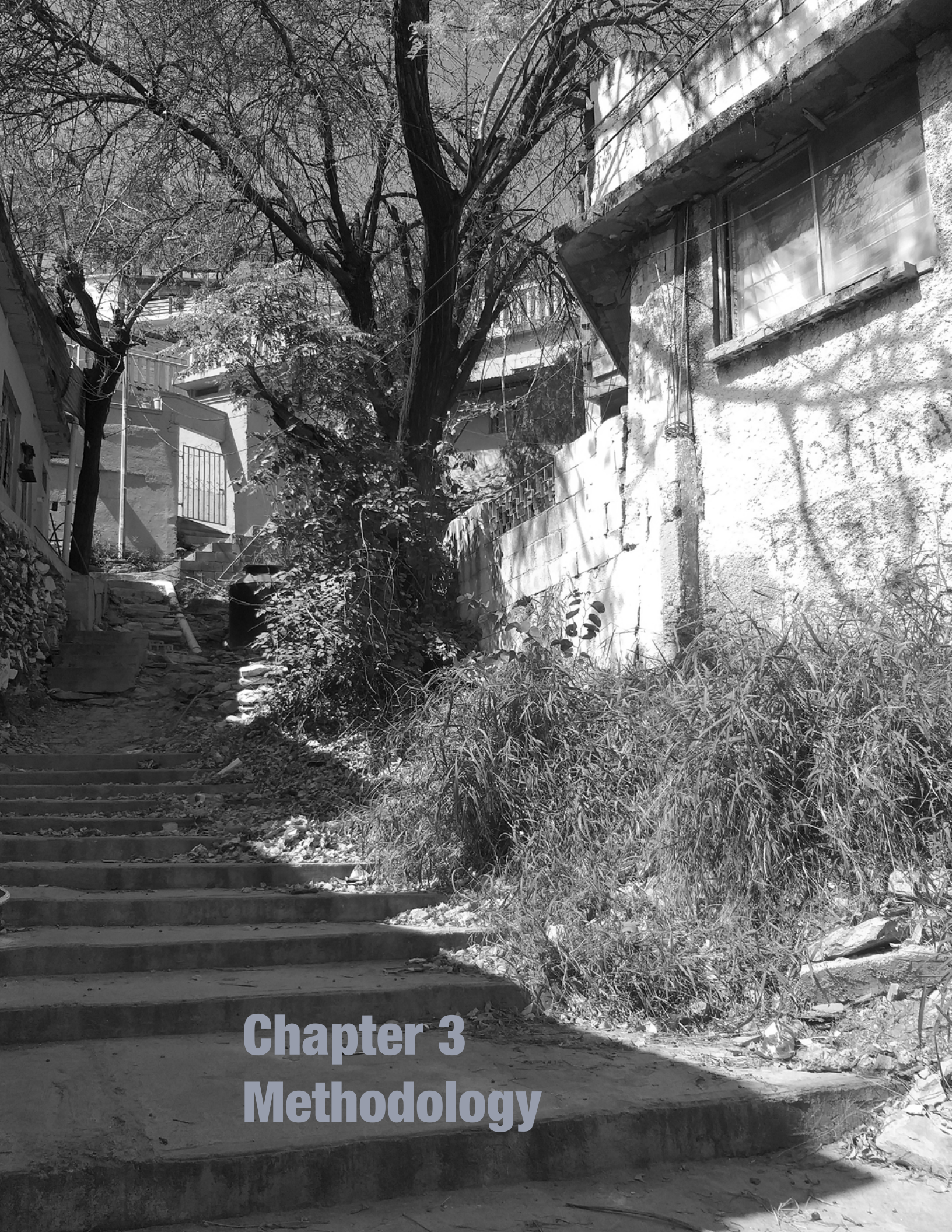
Chapter 3
Methodology

This section delineates the methodology used to carry out the research. First, the research approach regarding the logic of inquiry and the type of study is introduced. Followed by the methods used to obtain knowledge and gather data on the relevant concepts. Third, the case study design is presented in which the primary and secondary data collection methods are outlined.

3.1 Research Approach

This research aims to answer the main question 'What factors of informal settlement upgrading processes in Northern Mexico enable community participation to promote community empowerment?.' Therefore, it seeks to generate knowledge regarding the concepts of informal settlement upgrading, community participation and urban governance. Its purpose is to provide generalisations on the observed phenomenon and therefore, follows an inductive logic of inquiry (Blaikie & Priest, 2019).

3.2 Research Design

The research is conducted in three main parts, namely a literature review, empirical research, and synthesis and conclusions. Each section complements each other and aims to answer the set of research questions and is composed of specific methods and sources for collecting the required data. Further, the purpose of each part is to present a specific output obtained through the analysis of the data, which concludes the section.

3.2.1 Literature Review

The first operates within a theoretical framework and is undertaken as a literature review to identify the main concepts to be operationalised. This section serves two purposes. The first is to bridge the relevant knowledge in literature to the topic of this research and as a source for ideas or theories on the subject (Blaikie & Priest, 2019). The selected concepts to study in the literature for this section relate directly to the main idea of the research question and sub-questions to further concentrate and bind the research. The literature review of this thesis includes background information that justifies the existence of the problem to be investigated as well as previous research on the subject. Further, it is the literature review that provides the language to define and discuss the different elements that make up the key concepts to be operationalised.

3.2.2 Empirical Research

The second part is empirical research carried out in the selected case study of the Campana-Altamira Initiative in Monterrey, Mexico. The case is analysed in four dimensions, These are 1) Contextual Dimension, 2) Socio-spatial Dimension, 3) Planning Dimension, 4) Stakeholder Dimension.

The Contextual Dimension introduces the geographical, economic, and social positioning of the state of Nuevo Leon and the city of Monterrey. Based on previous literature and national statistics, an understanding of the history of its urban expansion and industrialisation can be captured. Within this scope, the current state of the social perception of informal settlements and wealth and poverty is also contextualised. Moreover, the history of the specific case study is introduced through the collection and interpretation of primary data, this is due to the lack of comprehensive studies of La Campana neighbourhood. In addition, context-specific variables that impact community participation are explained.

The Socio-spatial Dimension is composed of the relationship between the built environment of the settlement and the people that live in it. The main source data for this dimension was the secondary data that was used to plan the intervention, namely the "Integral Diagnostic for Sociourban Interventions for Inclusion and Attention to Poverty in Urban Zones - Campana-Altamira Urban Sector". The main purpose of this section is to capture the current

demographic, economic, physical, and legal status of the area and dwellers.

The Planning Dimension relates to the Campana-Altamira Initiative as it aims to capture a chronological understanding of the programme through its origin and phasing. Further, the legal framework within which it operates is studied along with the instruments available to be implemented. In this chapter, the engrainment of community participation into the upgrading process is captured.

The Stakeholder Dimension examines the stakeholder perspectives. Specifically, it captures stakeholder relations in three lines of thought and from different perspectives. The first is the relationship between stakeholders and the initiative, the second is the relationship between stakeholders with each other, and the third is the relationship between stakeholders and the community. This section presents power-interest matrices as outputs.

These four dimensions constitute the empirical part of this research and, together, are a critical factor to achieve the main objectives and answering the questions of this research.

3.2.3 Data Analysis

The data gathered from the interviews are transcribed using an online service and further coded manually. Coding is a central element in the process of analysing data and it *"...entails giving labels (names) to component parts that seem to be of potential theoretical significance"* (Bryman, 2012, p. 568). The coding practice used in this research is 'open coding' which is used to break down, examine, compare, conceptualise and categorise the data gathered in the interviews to further group the codes and turn them into themes (Bryman, 2012). These themes are bound to the empirical research and to the theoretical framework to provide a direction and boundaries to the research (Blaikie & Priest, 2019). The themes were identified by assigning codes to quotes extracted from the interviews. After each interview was coded, a memo was written which summarised the findings, a word cloud, and annotated other particular elements. Afterwards, the extracted themes from each interview were compared to find links between them, to ultimately arrive at identifying the factors mentioned in the main research question.

3.2.4 Data Validity and Evaluation

To evaluate the quality of the findings of case study research, Yin (2009) presents four tests that can be used. Namely, internal validity, construct validity, external validity, and reliability. This section outlines how data is validated in this research, however, it is worth noting that internal validity is exclusive to explanatory studies which seek to find causal relationships between concepts and is not considered in this research.

Construct Validity

Construct Validity refers to identifying the correct operational methods for the concepts that are being studied (Yin, 2009). This research follows two methods suggested by Yin (2009) to meet the test of construct validity. The first method is the use of multiple sources for data collection that converge on the identified concepts of study. The interviews with public and private, civil society, and expert spheres in the case study aid in making the findings more objective relating to the concepts. The second method used is to establish a chain of evidence, this is used by highlighting quotes from the interview process and citing them accordingly to increase the transparency of the findings.

External Validity

External Validity refers to whether the findings of a study can be generalised beyond the immediate case study (Yin, 2009). In this research two methods were used for to strengthen its external validity. First, the initial findings of the empirical research were discussed

at several points with experts from varying institutions, nationalities, and professional experiences. This allows validating the research beyond the specific context and allows the findings to be generalised to a greater domain. Secondly, the findings were weighed against the theoretical framework. This comparison allows for the alignment to theory from previous research, resulting in the confirmation of the concepts, or any emergent theories that may result from the divergence from the theoretical framework.

Reliability

The objective of the Reliability test is to make sure another researcher would arrive to the same findings if he or she were to conduct it (Yin, 2009). For this test, Yin (2009) suggests providing sufficient case study documentation on the procedures that were followed. For this research, the data collection methods are explained in this Chapter. Additionally, the interview protocols are found in Appendix A and confidential material such as some secondary data documents or audio recordings and transcriptions of the interviews are stored locally by the researcher. The manual data analysis of the interviews conducted by the research followed a similar procedure.

3.3 Case Study Design

To answer the main research question and sub-questions introduced in the first part, the empirical research is carried out in a single case study.

Case Study Selection Criteria

The first selection criterion is the location of the case study. As opposed to the majority of informal settlements in the Metropolitan Area of Monterrey, the Campana and Altamira neighbourhoods are located in close proximity to important economic centres and institutions, such as the city centre, the Valle Oriente commercial district, and the Monterrey Institute of Technology and Higher Education (ITESM). This situation implies a high land value that has the potential to attract interest from multiple parties to the area.

The second selection criterion is the contemporaneity of the case. Even though the neighbourhoods have been established in the area since the 1960s, the Campana-Altamira Initiative dates back to only 2014. As a result, it is still in the process of being executed, which means that contacting the actors currently involved in the initiative is highly likely. In addition, since the initiative is more current, perspectives based on ongoing experiences with the case will be captured rather than based on the recollection of actors' past experiences.

The third selection criterion covers the high degree of actor involvement in the case that presents the opportunity to capture the multidimensionality of the programme. The case allows for the collection of primary data from the different spheres in the process, both directly and indirectly involved in the process. This provides a well-rounded perspective on the issue at hand.

The fourth selection criterion is the availability of data related to the case. It has been determined that there is enough secondary data that can be used to gain a concrete understanding of the case. These documents provide quantitative and qualitative data on the area and explain how governance arrangements and strategies are used to initiate, design and implement the interventions. In addition to these sources, more information was provided by several actors throughout the empirical research.

Focusing the Case Study

It was determined that the Campana-Altamira Initiative covers a large area geographically, which presents challenges when conducting research. For instance, conducting interviews with committee leaders from all 13 neighbourhoods would lead to practical challenges due

to the possible lack of availability or willingness of respondents to participate. The second challenge would be due to time constraints to conduct, transcript and, analyse interviews with committee leaders from all 13 neighbourhoods, as well as other relevant stakeholders if a thorough investigation was to be achieved. A third challenge is that an area as large as 1.6km2 implies difficulties in controlling and managing the scope of the research.

As a result, the area of study was scoped down to the sub-area of AGEB 4197, which is located on the eastern side of the entire area of intervention (Figure 3.1). When selecting this particular basic statistical geographic area (AGEB 4197), the third criterion (actor involvement) was applied. Out of all the neighbourhood councils that were contacted initially from different sub-areas, those who are operating in AGEB 4197 responded the most often and were more willing to participate compared to those in other sub-areas. Furthermore, the researcher would often refer to the neighbourhood councils working in AGEB 4197 with other actors working in the initiative using the snowballing method.
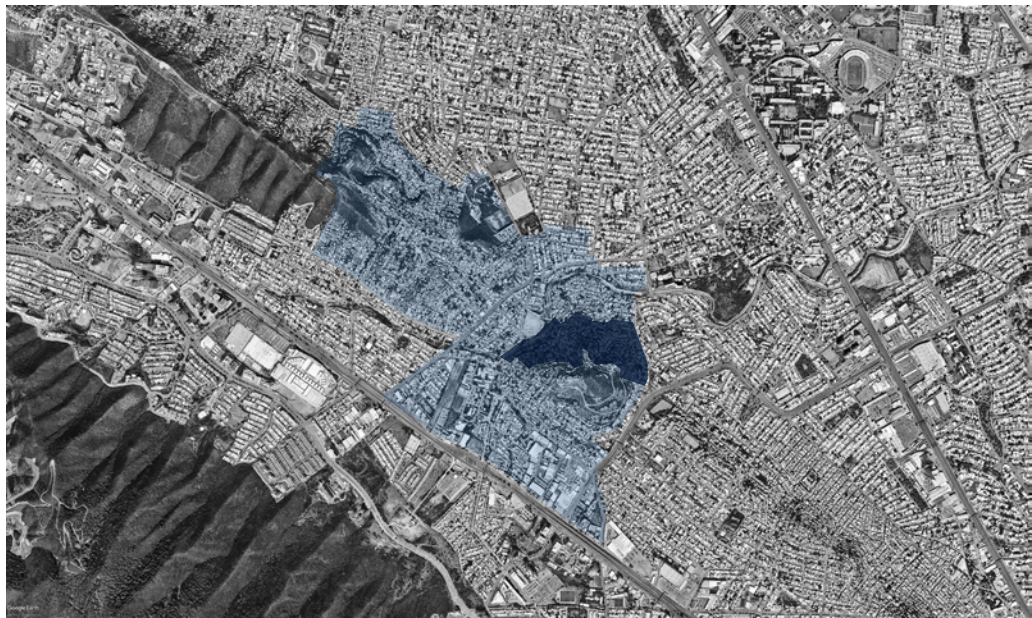
Figure 3.1
Area of Study AGEB 4197,
source: author + Google Earth

It is important to note that while the geographical focus of the research is limited to AGEB 4197, all other aspects of the Campana-Altamira Initiative are still included in the research investigation. These include actors from public and private spheres, the governance structure and phasing of the initiative and relevant documentation. The geographical focus only serves to gain a more controlled scope of the research within a vast territory to obtain a greater comprehensive understanding of reality.

Data Collection
Primary Data
The primary data is collected mainly from semi-structured interviews in a seminatural setting with the following key stakeholder groups: public, private, civil society and experts, as shown in Table 3.1. Please note the 'Code' column of this table refers to the interview code referred to during the empirical part of this document. The questions in the interviews are designed to ultimately understand the main concepts derived from the theoretical framework and extract the necessary data.

It is important to note that when interviewing the civil society stakeholders, two methods are used to collect the primary data. With the operative members of the association, who all live in the area, a focus group was conducted due to a common perspective, availability and willingness to participate in this dynamic. Being part of the active community, this

methodology aims to capture the similarities and differences between what they deem important, as well as how they approach the topic from a collective point of view rather than as individuals (Bryman, 2012). While an initial intention was to conduct a focus group with leaders from different neighbour committees simultaneously, this presented practical difficulties as it proved hard to coordinate the dynamic due to time availability. Further, the president of 'Nuestro Espacio' was interviewed separately in a semi-structured interview since the availability of the other members was limited.

The interviews and focus groups were conducted in person and Spanish, as it is the native language of the respondents, as well as the researcher. The location for the interviews varied by the actor. Public, private. and expert actor interviews were conducted at their corresponding offices while the interviews with civil society actors took place on-site at their homes or local institutions. The selection of the respondents was conducted initially through purposive sampling, followed by snowballing. Purposive sampling involved identifying individuals who have specific knowledge and first-hand experience in the case, in addition to their availability and willingness to participate (Palinkas et al., 2015). Table 3.1 shows the list of the participants in the case. The interview process began in December 2021 through a series of exploratory interviews with actors. Later, a total of 11 semi-structured interviews and focus groups were conducted between March and April 2022 and ranged between 45 minutes to 3.5 hours in length. Before recording the interviews, the respondents were asked for their consent and the level of confidentiality they desired.

The interviews were structured into four main topic areas, namely: 1) the background of the organisation and interviewee, 2) the relationship between the interviewee and the case study, 3) the relationship between the interviewee and other stakeholders, and 4) the relationship between the interviewee and the community. Concerning the role and position of the interviewee, the questions were adjusted accordingly with slight variations. An interview protocol is provided in Appendix A.

It is worth noting that the actors from the expert group with an asterisk next to their interviewee number in the table above, have all participated actively in either a neighbourhood

Interview Respondents

Actor Group	#	Organisation Classification	Organisation	Respondent	Code
Public	1	State Government	Secretary of Citizen Participation	Secretary of Citizen Participation	X.P.
	2	Municipal Government	IMPLANc	Urban Regeneration and Social Urbanism Coordinator	J.A.
Private	3	ITESM	DistritoTec	Social Liaison Initiative - Community	V.G.
	4	CEMEX-TEC Research Centre	CEMEX-TEC Research Centre	Urbanism Leader	R.P.
Civil Society	5	Neighbourhood Council	Nuestro Espacio	President	T.R.
	6	Civil Society Organisations	Barrio Esperanza	Operative Team	P.H. X.C. N.C.
	7	Local Support Institution	Food Bank Jesucristo Pan de Vida	Operative Team	J.C.
Experts	8*	Independent	Independent / Nuestro Espacio	Professor & Nuestro Espacio Consultant	C.F.
	9*	Independent	Independent/Barrio Esperanza	Barrio Esperanza Consultant	J.M.
	10*	UT Austin	UT Austin	PhD. Candidate	L.S.
	11*	IIED	Human Settlements Group	Principal Researcher	A.F.

Table 3.1 List of Interview Respondents. source: author

council or civil society organisation as consultants. However, the outcome of their interview provided a more expert-driven perspective based on academic and practical experience.

Secondary Data

The secondary data is collected from the analysis of public documents provided by different actors relating to the case. These documents include an extensive diagnosis of the area, planning instruments for the development of the neighbourhoods, as well as documents that outline the internal governance of the initiative (shown in Figure 3.2). The recent development of these documents allows a clear chronological understanding of the events that played a key role in the formation of the initiative. Further, the analysis of the documents aids to comprehend the planning, process and decision making relating to the case. In addition, it helps to validate and add value to the data extracted from the interviews, especially in the case of the social workers from public and private parties working in the area.

Integral Diagnostic for Sociourban Interventions of Inclusion and Attention to Poverty in Urban Zones (2014)

Integral Plan for the Development of the Campana-Altamira Polygon (2016)

Partial Programme for the Urban Development of the Campana-Altamira District (2020)

Governance Manual for the Campana-Altamira Initiative (2022)

Incubation Model for the Campana-Altamira Initiative (2022)

Figure 3.2 *Secondary Data Documents, source: UANL (2014), Municipality of Monterrey (2016), IIMPLANc MTY (2020), niciativa Campana-Altamira (2022)*

This data will help understand the extent and focus of the objectives, as well as the different actors and their position within the process. These sources provide sufficient data to complement the answers to the set of subquestions as they cover the concepts in the literature review and experience from the field.

3.4 Breakdown of Subquestions, Methods, and Outcome

As previously mentioned, the methodology outlined in this chapter aims to answer the main research question built on a set of subquestions. Table 3.2 outlines how each subquestion is answered, the methodology used, and the expected outcome.

Main Research Question		
What factors of **informal settlement upgrading processes** in Northern Mexico that enable **community participation** to promote **community empowerment**?		
Subquestions	**Research Method**	**Outcome**
1 What are the current practices of community participation in informal settlements in the city of Monterrey?	**Literature Review** • On upgrading programmes and citizen participation in Mexico • On concepts of community participation and empowerment **Semi-structured Interviews & Focus Groups** • Public Actors experienced in Citizen Participation in the City • Private Actors that have been closely working with the community • Civil Society Groups both formal and informal **Document Analysis** • Analysis of planning documents and legal frameworks	Identify modes of formal and informal participation in a common arena, and the opportunities for hybrid participation
2 How are government-led upgrading programmes in Monterrey initiated, planned, and implemented?	**Semi-structured Interviews** • With public and private actors who have been working in the Initative since its origin **Document Analysis** • Integral Plan for the Development of the Campana-Altamira Polygon • Partial Programme for the Urban Development of the Campana-Altamira District 2020-2040	Insight into into the governance approach and structure, as well as methodologies used to engage with the community Identify what is understood by participation and how it is engrained into the planning process and the instruments used to promote it Cross-examination of community participation in legal framework and planning documents
3 Who are the key actors that can be identified and what are their roles and interests?	**Desktop Research** • On the case study and other informal settlements of Monterrey **Exploratory and semi-structured Interviews (Snowballing)** • With public, private, civil society, and experts working in the area **Document Analysis** • Review of Planning Documents that outline the Governance Structure	Identify the actors involved in the process and capture their interests in relation to the case study
4 How is power manifested and distributed amongst actors throughout the process?	**Literature Review** • On notions of power and concept of empowerment **Semi-structured Interviews & Focus Groups** • With public, private, civil society, and experts working directly in the case **Document Analysis** Review of Planning Documents that outline the Governance Structure and Instruments for Participation • Integral Plan for the Development of the Campana-Altamira Polygon • Partial Programme for the Urban Development of the Campana-Altamira District 2020-2040 • Campana-Altamira Governance Manual	Mapping of the stakeholders on expected and actual power-interest matrices Capture how power-relations open or close arenas for participation
5 How does the context impact community participation in the upgrading process?	**Desktop Research** • On the urbanisation and industrialisation of Monterrey and recent drug-related violence **Semi-structured Interviews & Focus Groups** • With Public Actors • With Private Actors working Directly with the community • With Civil Society Actors that live and participate in the neighbourhood	Place the upgrading process into the broader urban and social context to understand the position of the case study in relation to the city and other parties

Table 3.2 Breakdown of Subquestions, Methodology, and Outcome per Research Question, source: author

The empirical part of this thesis delves into the Campana-Altamira Initiative case study. This chapter is divided into four sections, each analysing a different dimension. The first section pertains to the city of Monterrey and La Campana Neighbourhood, Sections 2,3 & 4 are directly related to the Campana-Altamira Initiative. These sections are:

Monterrey & La Campana	1. The Contextual Dimension
Campana Altamira Initiative	2. The Socio-Spatial Dimension
	3. The Planning Dimension
	4. The Stakeholder Dimension

Table 4.1
Empirical Chapter Section Outline
Source: author

The Contextual Dimension Chapter provides two perspectives. First, the greater urban context of Monterrey is presented, going over its geographic, economic, and social positioning, industrialisation and urbanisation, and recent challenges the city has faced. Second, the chapter provides the history of the settling of the La Campana neighbourhood and also focuses on the specific social, and cultural characteristics of the neighbourhood, The purpose of this chapter is to provide an introduction to the case based on desktop research and first-hand experiences extracted from the interviews. With the Contextual Dimension established, it is possible to then introduce the dimensions relating to the Campana Altamira Initiative.

The Socio-spatial dimension introduces characteristics of the specific geographical area of intervention. From data extracted from document analyses, this chapter presents the socio-economic characteristics of the neighbourhood and its inhabitants, relating these qualities to those found regarding Informal Settlements in the Literature Review section. Further, the chapter goes over certain qualities of living in the area as well as the urban composition and appearance of the specific geographical location. The goal of this chapter is to position the case concerning its context and establish characteristics of informal settlements on the empirical research.

The third dimension analysed is The Planning Dimension. In this chapter, the two main documents of the Campana-Altamira Initiative are unpacked, and complemented by other documents. These are the Integral Plan for the Development of the Campana-Altamira Polygon, in which the governance model and operational structure of the initiative are defined, the different phases comprising the programme, and the legal framework it operates within. The second document unpacked is the Partial Programme for the Urban Development of the Campana-Altamira District 2020-2040. This document presents the policy, objective, and strategic specificities of the programme, as well as the instruments to stimulate community participation.

The final section of the Empirical Part is The Stakeholder Dimension. In this chapter, the key stakeholders directly involved in the Campana-Altamira initiative are presented and those interviewed are specified. Further, the interests of the stakeholders are put forth, followed by an Expected Power-Interest Matrix in which the public, private, and civil society actors are mapped out. This is followed by an analysis of the relations between the different actors, extracted from the interview data, to arrive at an Actual Power-Interest Matrix in which the expected and true positions of the stakeholders concerning each other are compared and justified.

4.1 Contextual Dimension
4.1.1 Monterrey, Nuevo Leon
Geographic, Economic, and Social Positioning of Monterrey, Nuevo León

The city of Monterrey is in the northeastern state of Nuevo Leon. Its metropolitan area is the second-largest in the country with a population of 4,689,601 living in an area of 7,657.5km2 (SEDATU et al., 2015). Nuevo Leon also has a high urbanisation rate, with 96% of its population living in cities as opposed to the national average figure of 79% (INEGI, 2022). Economically, it is the third-largest contributor to the national GDP, with its economy mainly based on industrial, commercial, and construction activities as well as receiving 10% of the country's foreign investment. These characteristics make Nuevo Leon one of the leaders in job creation in the country. (INEGI, 2016, 2019). On a social dimension, Nuevo Leon ranks second-highest at a national level in the Human Development Index, which is based on the measurement of the state's population's access to health, education, and economic opportunities, seen in Figure 4.2 (PNUD, 2015). For these reasons, the state capital city of Monterrey has become the most important and strategic urban area in the north of the country and is often referred to as an example of development, entrepreneurship, and education for the rest of the country (Aparicio et al., 2011).

Monterrey, Mexico

Figure 4.1
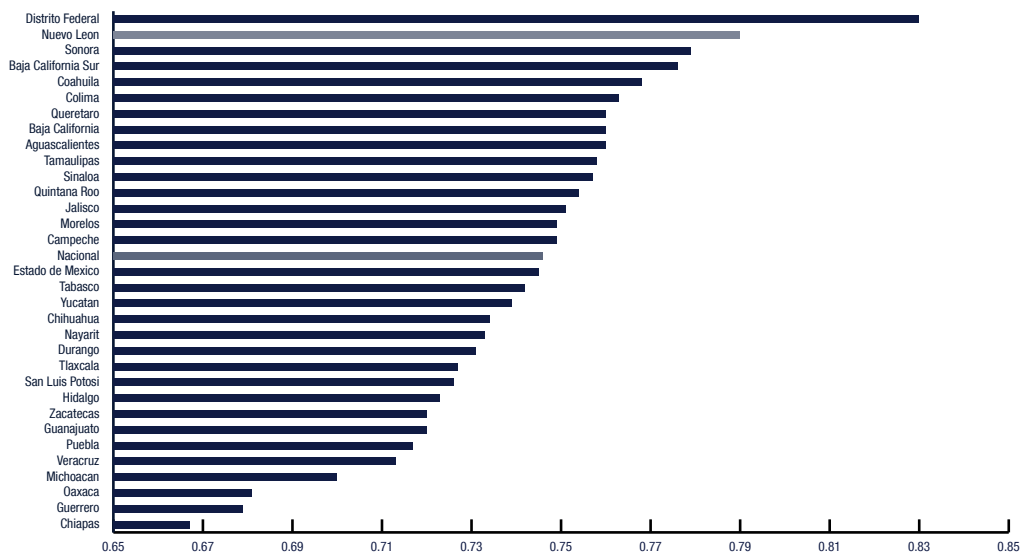*Monterrey, Mexico*
source: author

Figure 4.2
Positioning of Monterrey in HDI in comparison to other states, source: author, adapted from PNUD (2015)

However, while studies often place Nuevo Leon as a leading state in economic, educational, and social development, a different perspective can be attained by considering a concrete number of people who lack these opportunities. In 2018, 773,000 people lived below the poverty line, and this number increases when considering the those in a vulnerable situation to 2,182,800, or 41% of the total population (Prieto González & Arias Hernández, 2021). These figures, in combination with the steady economic growth of Nuevo León, imply a high degree of inequality in the distribution of wealth produced in the state. As a result, in 2016, the state of Nuevo Leon ranked first in income inequality (Prieto González & Arias Hernández, 2021).

Industrialisation and Urban Expansion of Monterrey

Despite the positive narrative that is often associated with Monterrey, the city still presents high levels of inequality and a segregated urban landscape. This section gives an overview of how Monterrey's industrialisation and urban expansion led to the segregation of its urban classes within the city.

1940 – 1980: Industrialisation and Socioeconomic Migration Patterns

In the decade of the 1940s, during which the shift towards industrialisation in Mexico took place. Monterrey's strategic geographical location between the centre of the country and the United States led to the improvement in access to the city, and the consolidation of the Metropolitan Area of Monterrey (MAM) began to take shape (Aparicio et al., 2011). The growth of its population size was mirrored by its expansive urban sprawl and the attachment of new municipalities comprised of neighbourhoods and industrial areas. Towards the 1960s, immigration rates continued to grow, and owners of different industries created neighbourhoods specifically meant for their workers. However, this implied that the only way to access the public property for the lower-income groups was by being a beneficiary of these programmes; consequently excluding the migrants that came to the city and forcing them to find housing in the poorly-communicated periphery of the city (Ortega, 2001). During the 1970s, the high-income classes began to migrate from the city centre to the well-communicated and well-equipped suburbs of the city (Figure 4.3). From 1940 to 1980, Monterrey's population multiplied by fifteen from 190,000 to 2,987,700 inhabitants.

- - - - - - - ▸ Abandonment of City Center and Moving Trends of Social Classes   ● Working Class Neighbourhoods
- - - - - - - ▸   ● Elite and Wealthy Neighbourhoods
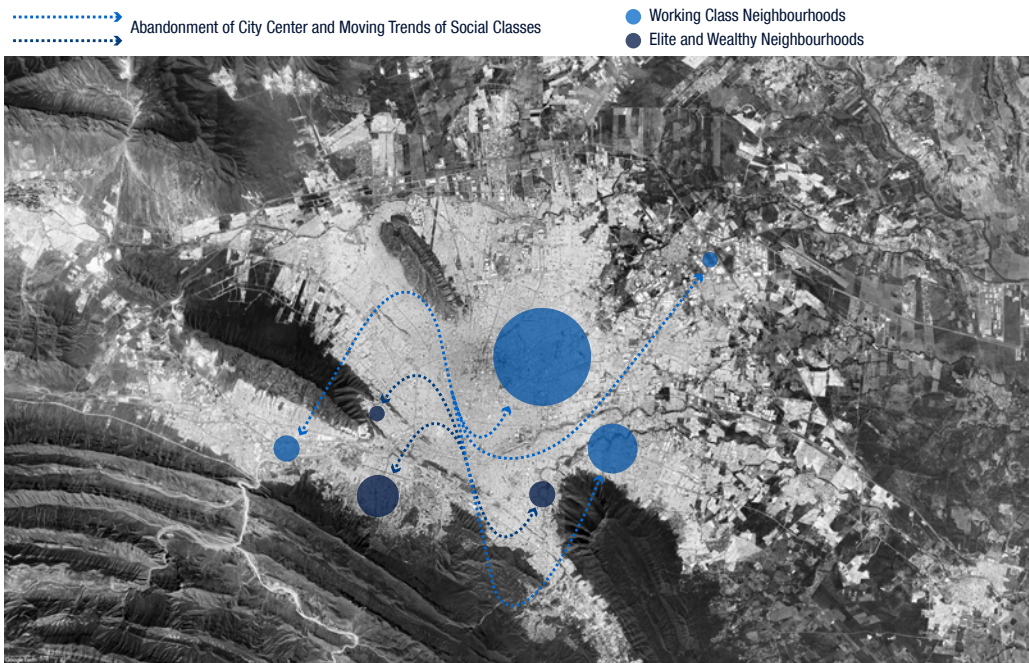
Figure 4.3
Socio-economic Migration Trends,
Monterrey,
source: author, adapted from Aparicio-
Moreno (2011)

Recent Urban Expansion of Monterrey and Socio-spatial Segregation

Monterrey's urban sprawl continued to expand throughout the following decades as migration rates and patterns toward its metropolitan area remained relatively constant (Sandoval Hernández, 2008). From 1990 to 2015, its population grew from 2,707,299 to 4,689,601 inhabitants, representing a 73% increase. Monterrey's centrifugal, periphery-oriented migration from both ends of the socio-economic spectrum resulted in the socio-spatial segregation found in the city today (Aparicio et al., 2011). Its continuous urban expansion has resulted in the integration of former peripheral settlements into the metropolitan area. Further, the urban expansion of the city in recent years is characterised by the promotion and proliferation of gated communities, exacerbating the polarising the social inequality and socio-spatial segregation in the city, as only a small portion of the population can afford to live in these communities. This has blatantly put into evidence the inequality, social segregation, and territorial fragmentation in the form of socio-economic enclaves that exist adjacently to each other, resulting in a 'micro-fragmentation' of the city (Aparicio et al., 2011). In the urban landscape, the most notorious contrast is found between the municipality of San Pedro Garza Garcia (SPGG), and surrounding municipalities, as shown in Figure 4.5. As a point of reference, SPGG ranks second in both terms of human development index and GDP in Mexico, making it one of the wealthiest municipalities in the country (Dorantes-Gilardi et al., 2020).
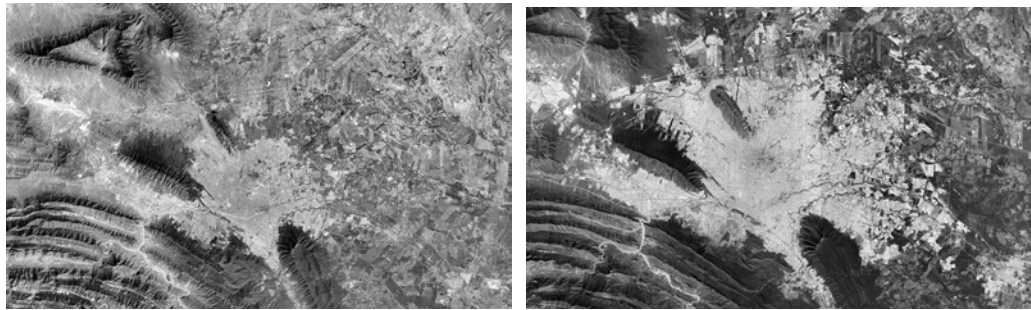
Figure 4.4
Urban Expansion of Monterrey
1986-2020,
source: Google Earth

Figure 4.5
Socio-spatial segregation,
source: Wall Street Journal., 2017

Perception of Wealth and Poverty in Monterrey

The migration patterns to Monterrey during the decades of its industrialisation and urbanisation also contributed to the social perception of poverty. Poverty and marginalisation are often associated with the influx of migrants from surrounding states such as San Luis Potosi, Coahuila, Tamaulipas, or Zacatecas. According to Sandoval Hernández (2008), poverty is absent in the social reality of its citizens due to social ideas that are adopted regarding the history and regional contexts as well as the social perception of poverty. In Monterrey, liberal ideologies prevail in its social fabric, reducing the origin of poverty to individual decisions, vices, or defects, rather than an unjust social order or economic limitations. Simply put, in Monterrey, the social perception of poverty is that it prevails in society because the poor do not want to work rather than lack opportunities. Simultaneously, a converse parallel line of thought is developed when referring to wealth and is attributed to individual hard work and values (Sandoval Hernández, 2008).

Impact of Recent Drug-Related Violence on the Urban and Social Fabric

The inequality and segregation of the urban and social fabric of Monterrey were further exacerbated due to the wave of drug-related violence that began in the city in 2009 (Villarreal, 2021). Before this, homicide rates in Nuevo Leon were below the national average, representative of a state boasting one of the highest economic and social development indexes. At its peak in 2011, the homicide rates multiplied by nine and doubled the national average, as shown in Figure 4.6. This impacted the urban fabric by increasing the number of gated communities as well as the social fabric as the wealthy, already concentrated in the municipality of San Pedro Garza Garcia, retrieved further into their social and geographical enclave, making it a 'fortified' area within the city (Villarreal, 2021). Conversely, the rest of the city was not 'armoured' from the wave of violence. In Figure 4.7, each red dot represents a neighbourhood in which a homicide took place during the peak of violence in 2011, while the blue dots represent the opposite. The clear concentration of blue dots in the south of the city is where the Municipality of San Pedro Garza Garcia is located.
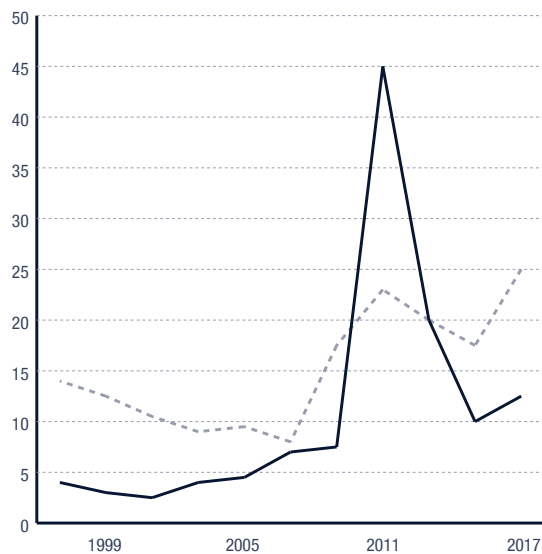
Figure 4.6 *Homicide rates for Mexico and Nuevo Leon 1997-2017, source: author adapted from Villarreal (2021)*
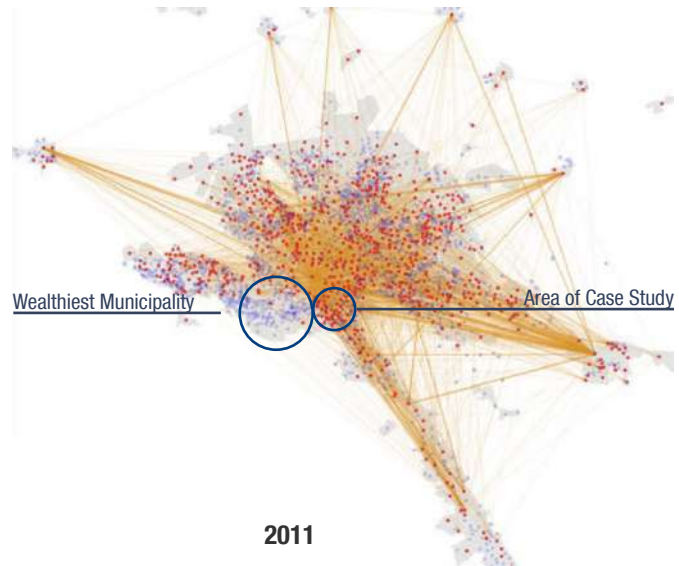
Figure 4.7 *Network of homicides in the Monterrey Metropolitan Area 2011, source: Dorantes-Gilardi (2020)*

Culture of Citizen Participation in the City of Monterrey

It is important to note that there is currently (May 2022) a practically non-existent culture of participation in the city of Monterrey. The Secretary of Citizen Participation has previously stated that *"...no one wants to participate, only 4% of Nuevo Leon's Society is*

interested in participating, and of that 4% practically no one wants to participate with the state government." (X.P., personal communication, 2022). The figure she is referring to is published in the Poll of Legality and Citizen Participation Culture 2021, as seen in Figure 4.8. The title reads, "How frequently have you participated in the past twelve months, eitherin person or virtually, in the following activities?". From the positive answers on the left-hand side, it can be depicted that most of the percentages range between 1 to four per cent (the outlier of 26% is voting in elections. She further states that while there is no one definite answer as to why this is, it is important to look back at the history of the city. Its development heavily dependent on industrial activities resulted in corporations that were strongly structured in a top-down approach. This instilled a paternalistic relationship with society that constrained participation and created a dependency on those at the top to provide basic living conditions (X.P., personal communication, 2022). Thus. while not a definitive answer, the history of the urban growth and industrialisation of Monterrey explored in this chapter sheds some light on a cultural aversion toward citizen participation.

How frequently have you participated in the past twelve months, either in person or virtually, in the following activities?
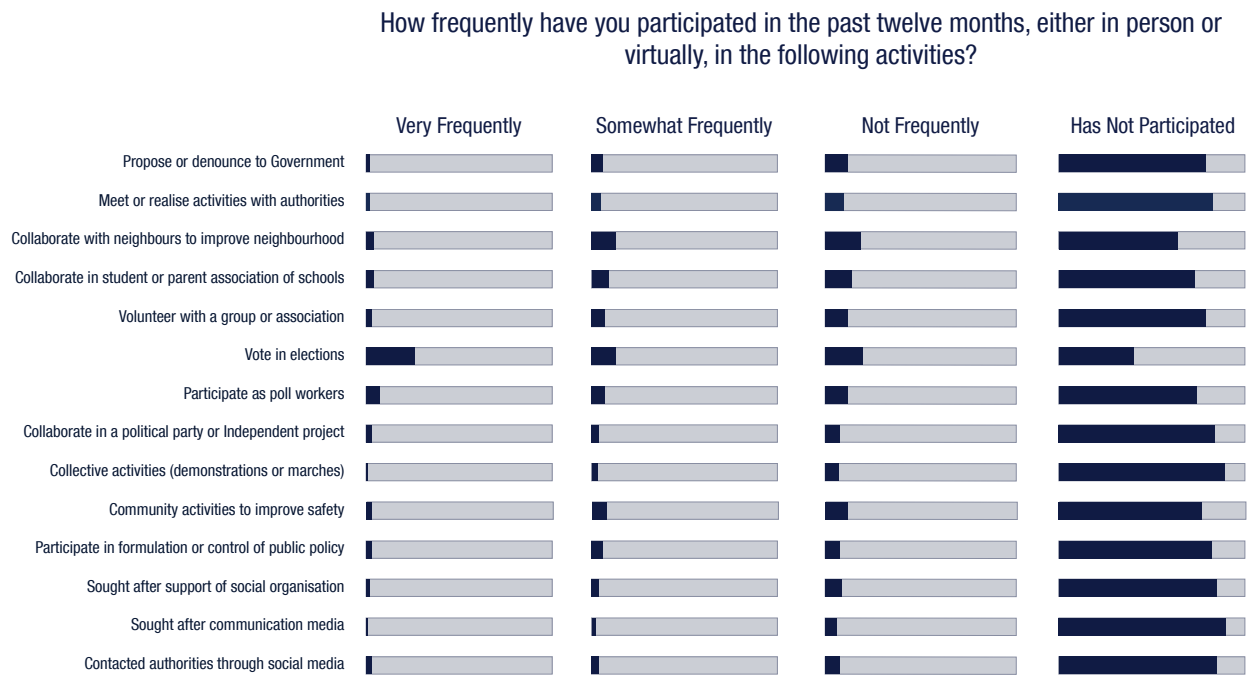
Figure 4.8 *Citizen Participation Frequency Poll, source: author, adapted from Consejo Nuevo Leon (2022)*

4.1.2 La Campana Neighbourhood

The geographical area this research focuses on is a specific part of La Campana neighbourhood, located in the southcentral part of Monterrey. This section presents the history of the formation of this neighbourhood and the current social and cultural conditions. The history is outlined by the land allocation process of the neighbourhood, the introduction of basic services, and its mobility and accessibility. Since there is limited historical documentation on the subject, recent studies on the area have helped rebuild it from the ground up through interviews with people who participated in turning a rocky hillside into what is today La Campana. On the other hand, from the interviews, certain social and cultural conditions were recurring themes mentioned by all actors, representing situations worth documenting to capture a better image of reality.

Figure 4.9
Aerial photograph of Monterrey, 1950. La Campana Hill circled in blue
Source: Photographer Unknown

History of La Campana Neighborhood

While versions of the first indicators of settlements on the hill vary, the dominating one is the influx of migrants from neighbouring states, dating back to the 1960s (Gonzalez, 2020). As people came to the hill, plots of land were allocated to the newcomers through a person affiliated with the government, though his exact position within it is blurry, as recounted *"Well, truth be told, I don't know what position that man held in government or who facilitated him to allocate people. Because I think that if he was from the government, they would have set us up well, with streets and services"* (T.R., personal communication, 2022). Once the plots were allocated, the people themselves would carve out the hillside and progressively build their own homes.

The introduction of basic services into the area was a progressive process. At first, water had to be paid for and collected at the bottom of the hill to then be carried by foot up to their homes (T.R., personal communication, 2022). Later, a water intake was provided by the municipality and the community was able to tap into it and carry it up the hill. Years later, through an effort from the neighbours, a water pump, a water tank, and a collective water meter were installed. However, this had its challenges as *"...we struggled a lot because we had to be careful since they were all plastic water hoses and they dried up with the sun, or they cracked open, or people who lived higher up tapped into them. So we did suffer quite a lot here, a lot"* (T.R., personal communication, 2022). The last step was to have individual water meters installed, which was accomplished thanks to the effort of the women living in the area. The process

to have electricity followed a similar path. At first, the neighbours were tapping into the municipal electrical grid. Afterwards, through a collective effort, the community requested the electricity commission to formalise this service. Similar to the water, it was a slow process that took about 5 years of negotiating. However, to obtain electrical power, the municipality requested the titled deeds of the neighbours, an effort that was also done collectively (T.R., personal communication, 2022).

Finally, both the horizontal and vertical accessibility in the neighbourhood was built by the community. The municipality did not provide any paved streets, so the alleys and stairways that connect the neighbourhood were traced and built by the community themselves. Afterwards, the community collectively paved the streets that now connect the area horizontally and that serve as the entry point into the neighbourhood (T.R., personal communication, 2022).

Context-Specific Social & Cultural Conditions

This section presents a series of context-specific social and cultural conditions of the Campana neighbourhood. It is important to note that while these conditions may apply to other areas in the city and other spheres of society, in this section they refer directly to the area of study due since they are extracted from the interview process. While the main thread of the interview was always aligned with the process of community participation, the themes in this section were transversally mentioned by all actors, implying that all respondents either considered this to impact directly or indirectly the way participation has unfolded in the area.

Forms of Violence in the Area

As mentioned in the previous section, drug-related violence has impacted daily life in the city. During the peak of violence, there were specific implications for the Campana and Altamira neighbourhoods. It's important to note that during the interview process, all actors, whether with no relation or family ties to the area, mentioned the negative impact of the wave of violence on the area. *"...the pain of the people that have lived almost a decade of violence, five or six years of a lot of violence. I mean, the level of violence is indescribable. Neighbours tell of the screaming of people being tortured, of the young people that were shot at that had nothing to do with..."* (V.G., personal communication, 2022).

In addition to this, the drug-related violence implied difficulties in the collection of accurate data. For example, it was mentioned that institutions faced difficulties in completing the national census in 2010, resulting in the completion of reports and documents to resort to adjusted data, which, could ultimately lead to urban development efforts standing on a weak foundation (C.F., personal communication, 2022).

Another form of violence mentioned during the interview process was violence toward women. The women from the community who were interviewed all had in common the presence of a "machismo" culture in their families, whether it be their parents, husbands, brothers or other relatives. This culture has instilled a submissive role of women that are afraid or not allowed to speak out, or, in this case, participate. According to X.P., the importance of women's participation in the public realm *"...has very important social implications, [...] for the simple fact that there is now participation from a person that had previously been banned from the public sphere and that now influences and transforms. But also because we women have a lot to contribute to public life, so a lot of things are strengthened when women participate"* (personal communication, 2022).

Moreover, an additional form of violence that was mentioned during the interview process was the stigmatisation of the social class of the neighbourhoods coming from either the local or city scale. V.G. (personal communication, 2022) stated that during some interventions,

there has been distrust from adjacent neighbourhoods toward the Campana area stemming from social stigmatisation that the people living there will resort to crime targeted at them.

Political Clientelism

Finally, another condition of the area that appeared horizontally throughout the interview process was the historical and present existence of political clientelism found in the area. R.P. (personal communication, 2022) stated that neighbourhoods such as the Campana have historically been a source for votes. Political parties have instilled a paternalistic relationship with the community based on trading a commodity for a vote. As the "Nuestro Espacio" Community Leader states, *"Unfortunately, political parties here have done more damage than having helped because they accustomed people to give them a basic food basket in exchange for their vote"* (T.R., personal communication, 2022).

Further, a high level of distrust from the community towards external actors, especially political parties, has been the result of the presence of candidates during election times, promising change in the neighbourhood and not coming back after elections have passed, whether the results favoured them or not. Moreover, is the presence of 'campaigners' as leaders of neighbourhood committees. By structuring neighbourhood committees around a political affiliation, parties have been able to build strong network structures that uphold their presence in the neighbourhood, as stated by C. F. (personal communication, 2022).

4.1.3 Spaces for Informal Governance & Participation

As a result of the institutional abandonment and history, culture, and social conditions of the area, it today presents elements that point toward a latent mode of informal governance and participation, reflecting what was found in the literature by Suhartini & Jones (2019). The first indicator of this is the organised informal community councils working in the area. The ITESM Social Liaison mentions the presence of community councils that have worked independently without any public or private intervention for some years now and who that to work this way despite the presence of the initiative in the area (V.G., personal communication, 2022). In addition to this, all informal community councils have mentioned the use of digital platforms to communicate their ideas, activities, and projects to the community. The civil society groups, for example, are all part of a Whatsapp group chat in which they share each other's ideas and projects, as well as a platform for networking to aid in the communities' needs (P.H., personal communication, 2022). Informal governance is also present in certain rules of transport, safety, and justice systems the community has established and that function within this geographical area. An example of this transport system is the VW Beetles, seen in Figure 4.10, which are recognised and function as taxi services for dwellers to use within this area (V.G., personal communication, 2022). Furthermore, T. R. indicated characteristics in the area that point to the existence of the organised informal provision and fee systems for basic services and land allocation in the area (T. R., personal communication, 2022). Finally, the local institutions in the area such as the "Jesucristo Pan de Vida" Food Bank along with Barrio Esperanza have also focused on the creation of public spaces and physical improvements in the area (J.C,; P. H., personal communication, 2022). Table 4.2 presents the spaces for informal governance and participation found in the case study, linking it to the literature on informal settlements and informal governance.

Spaces for Informal Governance and Participation	Organised informal community groups and communication platforms
	Own transport, safety, and justice systems
	Organised informal provision and fees for basic service provision and maintenance
	Organised informal land allocation

Table 4.2 Spaces for Informal Governance and Participation, source: author

Contextual Dimension Conclusion

Monterrey's urban and industrial growth throughout the second half of the 20th century contributed to a sharp division between social classes. A high influx of migrants from neighbouring states created a demand the city was not able to meet. As rich and poor groups migrated toward different outskirts of the city due to opportunity, social enclaves became the norm, exacerbating sociospatial segregation and using the existing mountains as physical borders from one another. In the past decade, socio-spatial segregation has increased as wealthy classes further retrieved into the municipality of San Pedro Garza Garcia due to the wave of drug-related violence that impacted the city. While Monterrey and Nuevo Leon often rank high in human and economic development when compared to the national average, this is also the case for the level of inequality that exists in the city. These factors contribute to the perception and invisibility of poverty that exists in the city today. In regards to the La Campana Neighbourhood. the transformation of a rocky hillside into the homes of the community was accomplished through a collective effort, as told by T.R. (personal communication, 2022). The need and lack of basic services and an accessibility network required the first settlers of the area to act collectively. To this day, it is still an ongoing process as the upper parts of the hill still lack individual water meters and title deeds. Today, however, this is now being don't more independently as opposed to the collective efforts undertaken decades before. The feeling of lack of support from governmental entities is still latent in the neighbourhood, as it has historically been viewed as a source to extract votes and political parties have created clientelism networks and structures in the social fabric of the community. Moreover, the wave of drug-related violence the city has experienced in the past decade is heartfelt today in the area since this territory was significantly impacted by it. Finally, these conditions and the institutional abandonment throughout the years have opened the space for informal governance systems within the area to function aimed at meeting the needs of the community, such as networks for support and service provision. Table 4.3 highlights in blue the causes found in the case study that align those found in the Literature Review. With this established, the following chapter introduces the government-led Campana-Altamira Initiative.

Causes Informal Settlements found in Literature and Present in Case Study

United Nations (2020)	Cities Alliance (2021)	El Menshawy et al. (2011)
Political Change & Uncontrolled Urbanisation	Population Growth	Failed policies
Policy absence & failure to adopt pro growth planning	Migration Dynamics	Bad governance
Limited affordable housing poilicies	Governance	Corruption
Lack of political will to recognise land tenure	Urbanisation	Inappropriate regulation
Failure or reluctance of state to support economic reforms		Dysfunctional land markets
Private sector weakness		Unresponsive financial systems
		Lack of political will

Table 4.3 Causes of Informal Settlements found in Literature and Present in Case Study, source: author

Campana-Altamira Initiative

This chapter presents the Campana-Altamira Initiative. A multisectoral effort by public, private, and civil society actors to improve the lives of those living in this area. The chapter is divided into three parts, each corresponding to a different dimension of the initiative. First, the socio-spatial dimension presents the Initiative's geographical area of intervention, its physical characteristics and appearance as well as its socio-economic and demographic composition. In addition, the geographical scope of the research is presented and justified. Second, the planning dimension of the initiative is introduced. This section outlines the legal framework in which the initiative operates, the available instruments, as well as the phasing and lines of action undertaken to plan, design, and implemented the interventions. Third, the stakeholder dimension of the initiative identifies and maps the stakeholders from the different spheres and their interests, as well as presents the governance and community involvement structures.

4.2 Socio-spatial Dimension

The first chapter of the Campana-Altamira Initiative is in regards to the socio-spatial dimension. That is to say, the way its dwellers relate to the immediate built environment. To formulate this chapter, data was gathered from both primary and secondary data. Primary data constituted of five site visits. The first site visit was an exploratory one, carried out with an association working in the area. This visit helped to initiate direct contact with the community and gain a better understanding of the scope and complexity of the area. The following visits had more focused intentions, as they were meant to interview specific people and visit several of the interventions that have been implemented. The secondary data relates to the documentation that was provided by respondent V.G.. These documents provide geographic and socio-economic data on the area to formulate a clear understanding of the scale and problematics at hand. The chapter is divided into five sections. First, an overview of the geographical area of intervention is presented along with its topographic characteristics and general appearance, as well as the geographical scope of the research. Second, the socio-economic characteristics of the area found in the diagnostic conducted by the UANL in 2014 are presented. The characteristics selected relate to the common attributes of informal settlements, namely: economic status, tenure security, and access to basic services. The third section presents the qualities of living in the area and the sense of belonging of people living there.

Geographical Area of Intervention, Characteristics, and Appearance

The area of intervention is located in the southcentral part of the Municipality of Monterrey, sharing a border with the Municipality of San Pedro Garza Garcia. The total area of intervention is a polygon composed of 6 Basic Geo-Statistical Areas (AGEB) spanning an area of 1.6km2 as illustrated in Figure 4.11 (Municipio de Monterrey & IMPLANC Monterrey, 2020). Geographically, the area is composed of two hills facing each other. One is the end of the Loma Larga and the other is the hill of La Campana. The neighbourhoods nestled in and around these hills are what make up the area of intervention. The two hills meet at their lowest point along the flat valley area known as the Arroyo Seco (Dry Creek) which runs longitudinally between the neighbourhoods. This geographical composition results in the identification of three main zones with distinct characteristics in the area. These are the lowest point made up of formal urbanisation, the hillside composed of serpentine alleys and stairways, and the hilltop which has a lower urban density and is harder to access (Municipio de Monterrey et al., 2016).
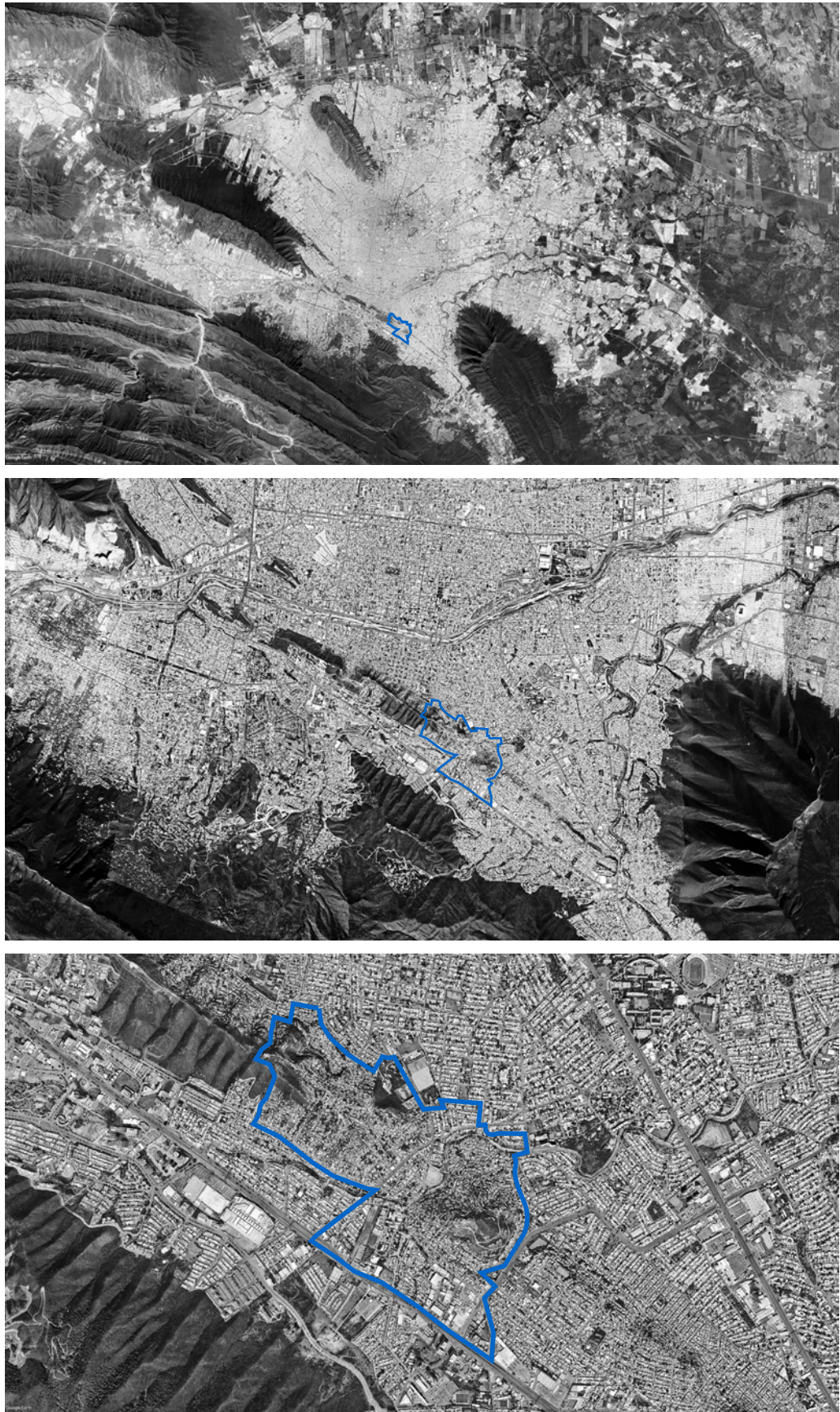
Urban Mobility

Figure 4.12 showcases a series of incremental rings at every 2 kilometres and coloured dots that capture work, school, or shopping related trips of the dwellers of the neighbourhoods. Within the Campana-Altamira Polygon, most of the trips are done by walking and are school related. The tendency as the distance increases is the use of public transport and work-related trips (Municipio de Monterrey et al., 2016). It can be seen especially on the left-hand side the conglomeration of light blue, work-related dots. The following section presents the mobility within the area.

Figure 4.12
Urban Mobility Rings and Travel Reasons,
source: author + Google Earth

Local Mobility, Facilities & Public Spaces

Despite its privileged location, there are significant problems regarding mobility within the area. Figure 4.13 presents the streets with and without vehicular access. The red streets are either alleyways or steep staircases that connect the high points to the low points. The poor quality of this network presents accessibility challenges for older or handicapped groups and increases the daily commuting time of the dwellers as it takes thirty-five minutes to get from the lowest to the highest point (Municipio de Monterrey et al., 2016). Regarding local facilities in the area, Figure 4.14 shows health, religious, community development, schools, and shelters. From this, it can be seen that there is a lack of cultural, sports, and health offers (Municipio de Monterrey et al., 2016). This is especially the case in the higher parts of the neighbourhoods, but, the densely populated hillsides imply difficulties in introducing such facilities. For this reason, most people of the area must travel down the hill for everyday needs. In general. the area has a lack of public spaces, but several of these present opportunities to create large meeting points for all the neighbourhoods that are part of the Campana-Altamira Initiative. Several interviewees pointed to the plot highlighted in dark green in Figure 4.15, known as El Campo de los Pinos (The Field of Pines), seen below in Figure 4.16, as having great potential to create a meaningful space for the community (V.G.; J.M., personal communication, 2022). This 10,800m2 space is already recognised by the community as a previous meeting point used for sports and social gatherings, but these were impacted negatively and overtaken during the wave of drug-related violence (J. C.; P.H.; X.C., personal communication, 2022). During the interview process, it was also revealed that this plot has been purchased by the ITESM, but, this has not been communicated to the neighbours to avoid creating expectations of what it will be used for (V. G., personal communication, 2022).

Figure 4.13
Car Accessibility of
Case Study Area
source: author +
Google Earth

Accessibility

Car accessibility

No car accessibility

Figure 4.14
Facilities in Case Study
Area, source: author +
Google Earth

Facilities

- Health
- Shelters
- Religious
- Community Development
- Preschool
- Elementary School
- Middle School
- High School

Figure 4.15
Public Spaces of
Case Study Area
source: author +
Google Earth

Public Spaces

- Campo de los Pinos
- Other Public Spaces

AGEB 4197 Urban Composition and Appearance

As mentioned in Chapter 3, the Campana-Altamira Initiative's area of intervention spans an area of 1.6km2 and is composed of 6 AGEBs. However, to narrow down the scope. this research focuses on the AGEB with code 4197, highlights in dark blue in Figure 4.17 for three reasons. First, it is the area in which the neighbourhood councils and leaders who were interviewed are located, allowing to gather data that is more geographically concentrated. Second, it was the AGEB that had the highest level of participation during the initiative's preliminary studies (Municipio de Monterrey et al., 2016). Third, within this AGEB those considered to be living at the bottom and top of the hill converge, this allows capturing different perspectives from the dwellers within a controllable geographical area.

Urban Composition and Appearance of Sub-Area of Study

AGEB 4197 is located on the northern face of La Campana Hill and has an estimated area of 0.12km2 . To the north, it is bounded by the 8th and 9th Avenues, to the west by the Arroyo Seco, or Dry Creek in English, to the south by alleyways running transversely along the hill and to the east by the Leopoldo González Sáenz street. In terms of accessibility, it can be entered from the north of the hill by one of the main access points which leads to Leopoldo Gonzalez Saenz street. From this street, the 7th, 8th, and 9th Avenues stem to intersect the area transversely. From these avenues, a system of stairways runs up and down the hillside in between houses and from these stairways, alleys shoot out transversely to reach the houses. From the east, it can be accessed through the Camino al Mirador cul-de-sac and the system of stairways and alleys repeats. Figure 4.18 shows AGEB 4197; the blue line represents its boundary, in the area there are systems of paved streets and systems of stairways and alleys that the inhabitants use throughout the area. From Figure 4.19, it can be depicted that there is a clear division in the way of mobility between the bottom of the hill and the top of it. While those living in the lower part can access their homes through a paved street system, those at the top only have the option of using the system of stairways and alleys.

Figure 4.18
AGEB 4197 Boundary, Paved Streets,
Stairways and Alleys, source: author

Figure 4.19 *Comparison of Mobility Bottom and Top of Hill, source: author*

Socioeconomic Characteristics of the Area

This section presents the socioeconomic findings of the diagnosis of the area conducted by the Autonomous University of Nuevo Leon and commissioned by the Secretary of Social Development of Nuevo Leon in 2014. The findings that are presented relate to the demographics of the area, the economic situation of its inhabitants, the educational level, and access to health and social security.

Demographics

The latest census conducted by the National Institute of Statistics and Geography (INEGI) in 2010 provides an extensive insight into the composition of the population in the Campana-Altamira neighbourhoods by taking into account the six AGEBs that make up the intervention polygon. It states that the population in the area was 19,543 inhabitants, divided equally among men and women, living in 5,332 dwellings (UANL, 2014). Further, the inhabitants are divided into three age groups. The first comprises a third of the population and are minors up to 18 years of age. The second and largest age group makes up 56% of the total population and is between the ages of 18 and 60, while the remaining 10% is over 60 years old. These figures imply a young population that can be a key factor for steering change in the area if engaged properly.

Economy

In the UANL's (2014) diagnosis, the economic situation in the area is analysed by dividing the average monthly household income ($6,375MXN) between the average household members. The result of $1,598MXN per person is then weighed against the economic wellbeing line ($2,617) and is concluded that eight out of ten families would be below this threshold. When compared to the minimum wellbeing line ($1,273MXN), it is concluded that approximately half of the families in the area cannot afford a basic food basket. When compared to the average of the country, the population of the area spends a larger percentage of their monthly income on accessing the basic food basket, as seen in Figure 4.20.

Campana-Altamira Polygon   **Mexico**

Percentage of Homes that spend more than 50% of household income on food
65.83%   52.1%

Percentage of Homes with insufficient per capita income for basic basket
48.30%   20.05%

Percentage of Homes with insufficient per capita income for basic basket
83.00%   51.6%

Figure 4.20 Economic Gap Comparison, source: author adapted with data from UANL (2014)

Education

The group from 5 to 29 years of age make up 38% of the population and implies a large number of potential students. However, there is a large educational gap, as 23.5% of students have abandoned their studies at some point (UANL, 2014). The Campana and Altamira neighbourhoods exceed the city, state, and national average as seen in Figure 4.21.

Campana-Altamira Polygon	Municipality of Monterrey	State of Nuevo Leon	Mexico
21.31%	13.1%	12.7%	19.2%
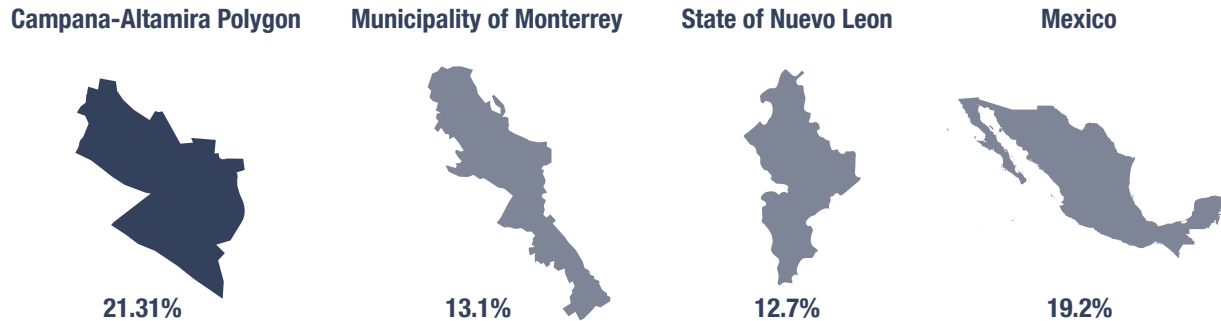
Figure 4.21
Educational Gap Comparison, source: author adapted with data from UANL (2014)

Social Security

Of the 19,543 people living in the area, 51.5% of them lack access to social security. This number is higher than the city and state average, but lower than the national average as seen in . While the lack of access to social security is high 75.6% of respondents answered to consult health problems in public institutions, ranking higher than the state average of 41.6%.

Campana-Altamira Polygon	Municipality of Monterrey	State of Nuevo Leon	Mexico
51.5%	42.3%	37.0%	61.2%
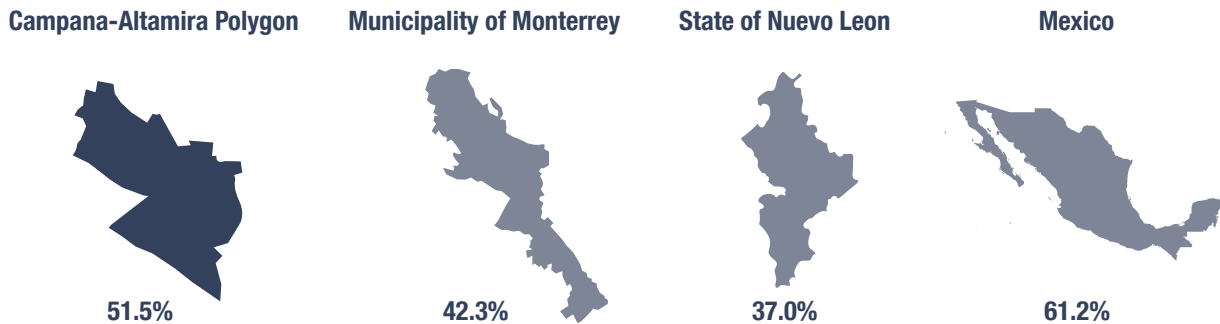
Figure 4.23
Access to Social Security, source: author adapted with data from UANL (2014)

Water and Electricity

The main problem regarding basic services is the quality of the provision of water. While there is a functioning water distribution with a water pump at the bottom and a water tank at the top, the water pressure is often insufficient. In addition, the water pipes are at risk of drying up and cracking since they are exposed at ground level. Furthermore, there is a high number of clandestine galvanized iron water intakes in the higher parts of the hill. This material allows the scaling of the pipes, contaminating the water that is distributed. All of this leads to a water demand that cannot meet the supply, leading to losses in water pressure throughout the neighbourhood (UANL, 2014). Electricity also presents challenges. Even though 90% of the dwellings are formally connected to the public electric grid, a large percentage are in risk conditions. Of the 247 street blocks, 28% are considered to be low-risk while 38% are considered to be high-risk (UANL, 2014).

Tenure Security

In terms of tenure security, there is a clear divide in the area between the bottom and higher parts of the hills (Figure 4.23). Of the 5.283 dwellings in the area, approximately two-thirds of the dwellings have legal tenure security, while the rest are considered to be irregular, meaning they lack title deeds (UANL, 2014).

No Tenure Security

Tenure Security

Qualities of the Living in the Area and Sense of Belonging

The main qualities of living in the area are related to its privileged urban location. As seen in Figure 4.24, it has a high level of connectivity to strategic nodes such as the city centre to the north, the Valle Oriente commercial district to the west, the Monterrey Institute of Technology and Higher Education to the north, and the entry point to the city from the south of the country, all within a distance of 2 kilometres (Municipio de Monterrey & IMPLANC Monterrey, 2020). The area is also well connected to the northern and southern parts of the city through the Rio Nazas street that runs through it longitudinally, making it possible to move in any direction effectively. This is supported by members of the "Jesucristo Pan de Vida" Food Bank, who state that they do not want to or need to leave because they can find everything close by, and the alternative of moving to the outskirts of the city is not appealing despite the housing quality being better. *"I have a house in Juarez (municipality on the outskirts of the metropolitan area) and it is nice, but being here is just better, we have everything here."* A. Cardona (personal communication, 2022). In addition, the physical qualities of the area are also a significant factor as to why people like living here. The "Nuestro Espacio" Neighbourhood Council mentions that *"[...] I don't want to leave because of the views that I have, because of the landscape, the environment, the smell of the air"* (T. R., personal communication, 2022). Furthermore, another member of "Nuestro Espacio" stated that there is a strong sense of belonging to the neighbourhood from the older generations, as they practically built it with their own hands (J. B., personal communication, 2022).
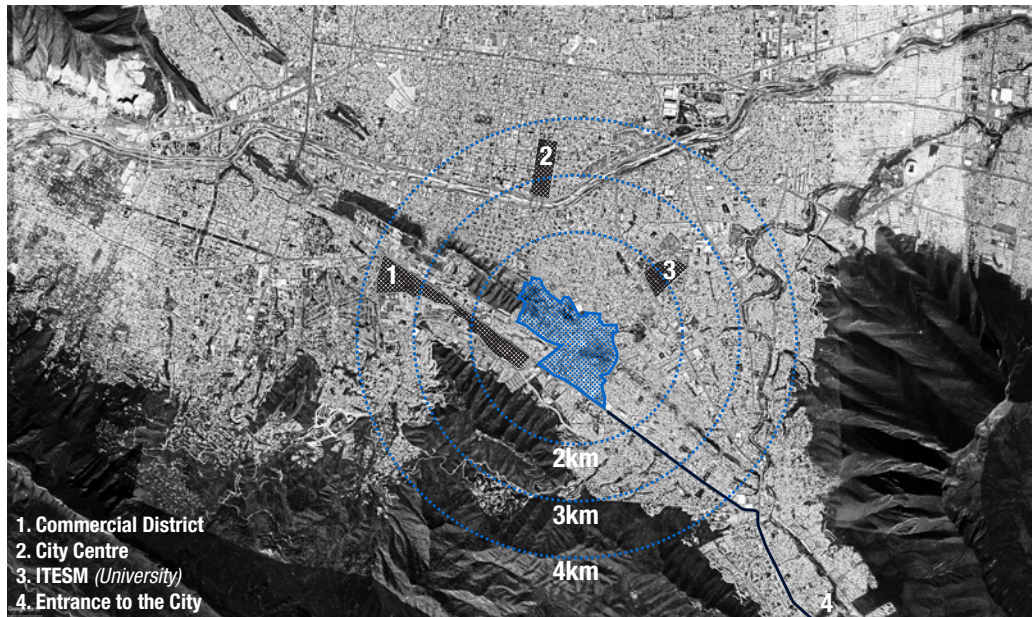
Figure 4.24
Strategic Positioning of Area of Intervention
in the City, source: author, adapted from
Municipio de Monterrey & IMPLANC
Monterrey, (2020)

1. Commercial District
2. City Centre
3. ITESM *(University)*
4. Entrance to the City

2km
3km
4km

Socio-spatial Dimension Conclusion

It can be concluded that the Campana and Altamira Neighbourhoods present characteristics often associated with informal settlements. It is an area home to an overall economically active and young population, but, there is a high degree of problems relating to urban mobility, public space, access to social security, and a significant educational gap. Simultaneously, while basic services are widely available, they require improvement and maintenance. Moreover, the status of tenure security presents a large challenge as one-third of dwellings are considered to be irregular. Furthermore, when compared to city and state levels, the Campana and Altamira neighbourhoods are an area with a high degree of vulnerability. Its privileged location in the city allows its inhabitants to have a wide variety of labour and income opportunities at a relatively short distance, but, it was revealed mobility conditions increase their commute times and impair the accessibility to the higher areas. The area of study is also well connected to the rest of the city. Internally however, only a part of the population can reach their homes through a paved street system. The physical conditions of the mobility systems imply a physical challenge for those who must ascend and descend it daily. Despite these challenges, neighbours of the area prefer living here to the alternative of moving to the outskirts because of the opportunities found within a close radius. Moreover, a significant sense of belonging was found in the older generations as they continue to make improvements in the area. Table 4.4 highlights in light blue the findings that align with the criteria for defining informal settlements found in the literature. With this in mind, the following section presents the planning dimension of the Campana-Altamira Initiative.

Criteria for Defining Informal Settlements found in Case Study

UN Habitat (2003)	Georgiadou et al. (2016)	El Menshawy et al. (2011)
Durable housing of permanent nature	Habitability	Poor Structural Quality of Housing
Sufficient Living Space	Affordability	Poor Provision of Basic Urban Services
Easy Access to Safe Water	Accessibility	Poor Environmental Conditions
Access to Adequate Sanitation	Availability of Services, Facilities & Infrastructure	Lack of Basic Municipal Services
Security of Tenure	Legal Security of Tenure	Lack of Health and Education Facilities
	Location	Lack of Places for Community Gatherings
	Cultural Adequacy	Insecure Residential Status

Table 4.4 *Criteria for Defining Informal Settlements found in Case Study, source: author*

4.3 Planning Dimension

This chapter is composed of the analysis of several documents provided to the researcher regarding the Campana-Altamira Initiative. The documents range from a broad plan of the programme to a focused structure of the governance approach and are referred to in Section 2.2.2 of this document.

This chapter presents the planning dimension of the Campana Altamira Initiative. The planning dimension is composed of the initiative's origin and consolidation, its governance structure and functioning, phasing, and the legal framework it operates within. To have a comprehensive understanding of the organisation and functioning of the initiative, it would be helpful to know the background of the initiative. The following section briefly introduces some of the actors, presents the events and milestones during the initial years, and outlines the purpose of the initiative which ultimately led to its symbolic consolidation in 2016.

4.3.1 Integral Plan for the Development of the Campana-Altamira Polygon

This section presents the structure and chronological found in the Integral Plan for the Development of the Campana-Altamira Polygon (Integral Plan) (Municipio de Monterrey et al., 2016). The purpose of this document is to outline the methodology to be employed in the implementation of the interventions of the Initiative. Therefore, this document should be seen as a guideline in which the governance structure and the working methodology for collaboration of the actors are defined. The definition of the Integral Plan was divided into four chronological phases, each elaborated on below. This section was complemented by information compiled from the Initiative's Governance Manual (Iniciativa Campana - Altamira, 2021) and the Partial Programme for the Urban Development of the Campana-Altamira District 2020-2040, as well as data gathered from the interview process. It is worth mentioning that phases one through three lasted for three months each, and phase four has been active for five years now (V.G., personal communication, 2022).
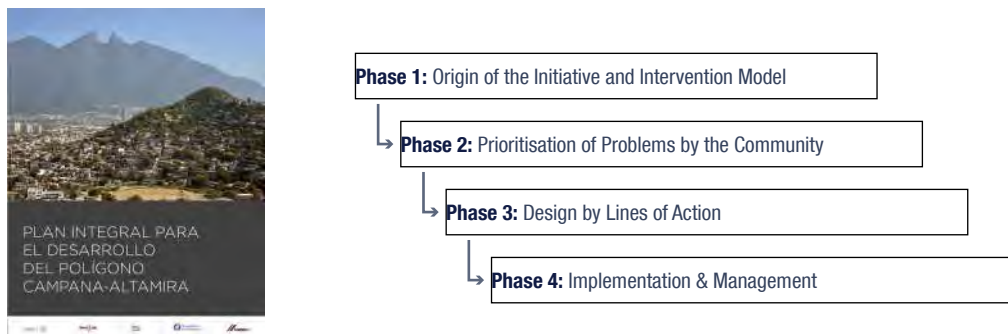
Figure 4.25
Integral Plan for the Development of the Campana-Altamira Polygon and Phases, source: Municipio de Monterrey et al., (2016).

Phase 1 – Origin of the Initiative and Intervention Model

The Campana-Altamira Initiative began in 2014 in a joint effort between three federal government agencies to generate a model to attend urban poverty at a national level. The agencies were the Secretariat for Social Development (SEDESOL), the Secretariat of Agrarian, Territorial and Urban Development (SEDATU), and the Secretariat of Home Affairs (SEGOB). In the city of Monterrey, the urban poverty polygons that were analysed were San Bernabe, La Independencia, and La Campana-Altamira (Municipio de Monterrey et al., 2016).

From this territorial selection, in 2014, SEDESOL commissioned the Autonomous University of Nuevo Leon (UANL) to conduct the "Integral Diagnostic for Sociourban Interventions for Inclusion and Attention to Poverty in Urban Zones - Campana-Altamira Urban Sector" (Municipio de Monterrey et al., 2016). The goal of the diagnostic was to

develop an intervention strategy to align the efforts of the federal, state, and municipal levels of government, other institutions, and inhabitants of the area. This, with the end goal of improving their living conditions (Municipio de Monterrey & IMPLANC Monterrey, 2020). The results of the diagnostic were delivered to SEDESOL in 2015.

Simultaneously, the Monterrey Institute of Technology and Higher Education (ITESM), whose campus is adjacent to the Campana-Altamira neighbourhoods, had been improving the urban landscape of its surroundings through the Distrito Tec Initiative. Due to its proximity, in 2013 the ITESM recognises the Campana-Altamira to be part of its urban ecosystem due to its geographical connection and the social and economic dynamic between both parts. At the same time, the levels of state and municipal governments join the efforts to improve the area (Municipio de Monterrey et al., 2016).

Lastly, the Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) of CEMEX participated in the Urban Forum of UN-Habitat and, in 2015, decides to develop a special project for the integral regeneration of a community. Later that year, through the recommendation of the federal government, CEMEX joins the Campana-Altamira efforts (Municipio de Monterrey et al., 2016).

The integration of these entities constituted the Interinstitutional Council of the Campana-Altamira in 2015. Their responsibility is to overlook the governance to promote the coordination between the actors. Due to the complexity of the situation and the actors that converge on it, the actors opt for a strategic planning agenda to conduct the interventions, from which three groups of actors are appointed different tasks (Table 4.5).

Strategic Planning Groups

Group	Actors	Responsibilities
Technical-Academic	UANL, ITESM, UDEM	Assess and consult on urban poverty, social inclusion, and urbanism to generate interventions adapted specific needs
Operative	Government, Instititions, Corporations	Articulate efforts and resources to intervene in an organised way
Community	CSOs, citizens, public institutions of the area	Validate, implement, operate and empower inhabitants

Table 4.5
Strategic Planning Groups,
source: author

As the technical-academic group began designing and later implementing an intervention model that would result in the Integral Plan for the Development of the Campana-Altamira Polygon, the first interventions began to take place in the area. These interventions were the improvement of some stairways, rehabilitation of parks, the macro-mural painted on the houses, and the formalisation of the first neighbour committee of the area.

In the year 2016, the Campana-Altamira Initiative is consolidated since *"through the different actions and projects, the process of regaining the trust of the community to the institutional commitment is accomplished through tangible actions"* and is defined as *"an interinstitutional initiative of community co-responsibility for the integral transformation for a vulnerable area in the city of Monterrey"*. (Iniciativa Campana - Altamira, 2021, p. 7; Municipio de Monterrey et al., 2016, p. 17). The purpose of the initiative is to intervene, activate, and empower the community of the Campana-Altamira with innovation and co-responsibility, trust and resilience to sustainably improve its wellbeing guided under the values seen in Table 4.6. In September 2016, the Integral Project is presented at the ITESM by the head of the SEDATU, the Governor of the State of Nuevo Leon, the Mayor of Monterrey, the dean of the ITESM and the CSR Director of CEMEX to the three levels of government, civil society and the community. Afterwards, a symbolic signing from all parts took place in the Campana neighbourhood and projects that would be carried out with public funding were announced (Municipio de Monterrey et al., 2016). The milestones of the preliminary phase are shown

in Figure 4.26.

Campana-Altamira Initiative Values

Coordinated Collaboration
Equality in public-private participation
Value creation through investment and concrete actions
Horizontality and consensus in decision-making
Community interests prevail over political interests
Transparency and accountability
Inclusive community participation
Flexibility and Openness
Co-responsibility between community and intervening actors
Sustainability and resilience

Table 4.6
Campana-Altamira Initiative Values, source: author adapted from (Municipio de Monterrey et al., 2016).

Preliminary Phase Milestones
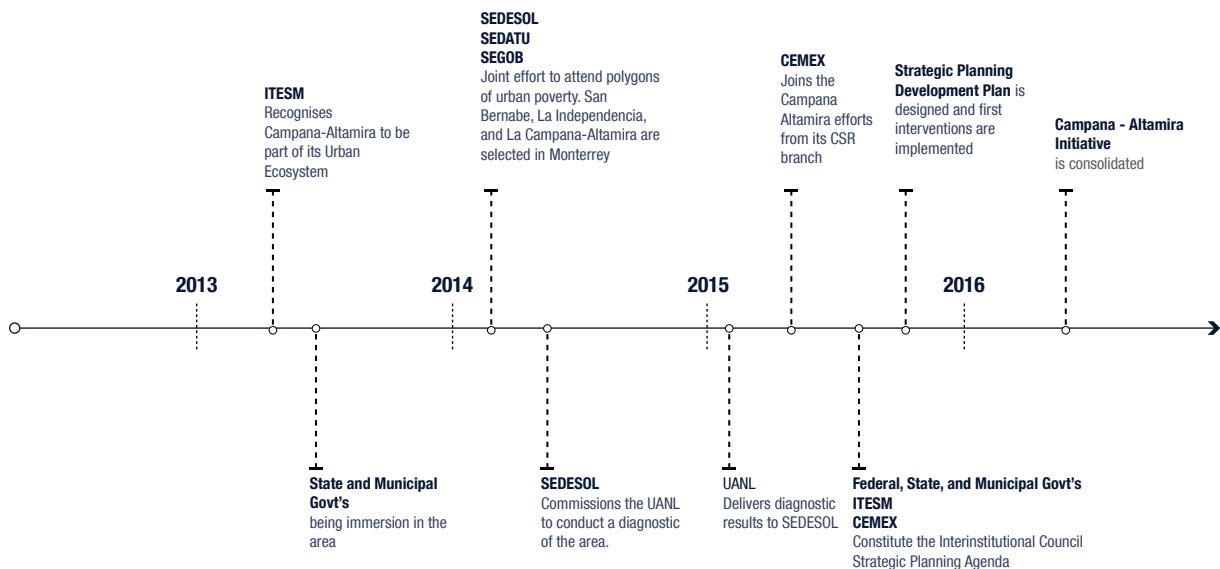
Figure 4.26 Preliminary Phase Milestones, source: author

Governance Structure

With the origin of the initiative outlined, this section presents the governance model designed for the initiative during the Preliminary Phase. This delineates the actors involved in the structure that determines the strategic planning for collaboration and decision-making of the initiative, the lines of action that uphold the interventions, and the allocation of responsibilities for each of the members within the operational dimension.

Interinstitutional Council

As previously mentioned, the Interinstitutional Council composed of the three levels of government, the ITESM, and CSR-CEMEX is informally constituted in 2015. To effectively address the complex socio-urban challenges that are present in the Campana-Altamira Polygon, the initiative is approached from an integrated urban governance structure, as shown in Figure 4.27. This translates to a horizontal, integrated, and coordinated system between

the different levels of government, citizens of the area, local organisations and institutions of the area, academic teams, and private enterprises, to enhance the sustainability of the initiative's efforts (Municipio de Monterrey et al., 2016). Therefore, in the governance model of the initiative, there are no hierarchies and decisions are made based on consensus from the voluntary collaboration of actors. According to J.A., this model creates a more resilient structure that can adapt to actors joining or leaving the Initiative(personal communication, 2022). Such is the case of CSR-CEMEX, which recently left the efforts of the initiative, and FOMERREY, which was officially instituted into the Interinstitutional Council in 2020. The purpose of this entity is to achieve a higher capacity for decision making and influence by coordinating and joining efforts and resources to attend to the problems of the area (Iniciativa Campana - Altamira, 2021). The functions of the Interinstitutional council are shown in Table 4.5.
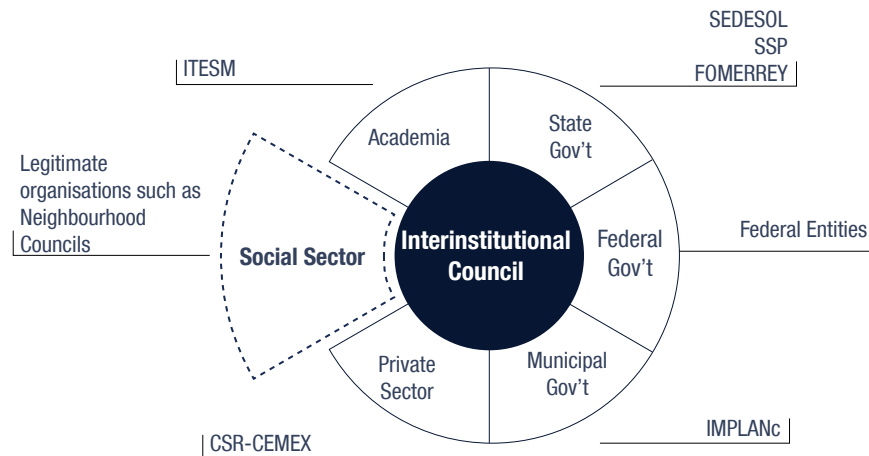
Figure 4.27
Campana Altamira Initiative Governance Model, source: author adapted from Iniciativa Campana-Altamira,(2021)

Functions of Interinstitutional Council

Allocate resources to the community's needs, aligned with the initiative's plans
Strategic resource management regarding insitutions than can develop community projects
Support and facilitate decision making to attend the community's needs
Promote coordinated and collaborative interventions
Participate in Interinstitutional Council meetings, representing and supporting institutional commitments
Allocate a liaison to the Coordination Committee to represent the institution at a technical level
Support technical liaison and maintain direct channels of communication
Select and actor of the Interinstitutional Council responsible for planning
Ensure the continuity and conclusion of projects led by the institutions
Intervene positively in the strategic problem solving
Contribute to maintenance. monitoring, and evaluation of the implementation of the Integral Plan
Ensure efficiency in the implementation of actions, with corrective measures as deemed necessary
Present an annual work progress report in alignment with established objectives
Represent the Initiative in national and international environments

Table 4.7
Functions of Interinstitutional Council, source: author adapted from Iniciativa Campana-Altamira, (2022)

As seen in Figure 4.27, the social sector is detached from the Campana-Altamira Initiative's centre of the governance model. This represents the absence of a social sector organisation that is part of the Interinstitutional Council. While their absence from the Interinstitutional council is apparent, the ITESM Social Liaison mentions that it is in the initiative's plans to eventually integrate this sector, composed of legitimate organisations, into the Interinstitutional Council (V.G., personal communication, 2022). To achieve this, it is necessary to count on certain conditions that ensure the participation as being

representative, legitimate, and contextually adequate (Iniciativa Campana - Altamira, 2021). These conditions are outlined in Table 4.8.

**Conditions for the Integration of Community into Interinstitutional Council**

Delimit the neighbourhoods, considering the identity of the inhabitants
Procure the consolidation of neighbourhood councils or citizen associations in each one
Accompaniment and resource provision of neighbourhood councils to achieve their sustainability and strength
Inform neighbours of the importance of the neighbourhood councils or other forms of organisation as the key to social capital
Build capacities of the organisations and empower the inhabitants through programmes, workshops, etc.
The participation of the community in the Interinstitutional Council should have no political affiliation

Table 4.8
Conditions for the Integration of the Community into the Interinstitutional Council, source: author, adapted from Iniciativa Campana-Altamira (2022)

Coordination Committee

Point number 6 from Table 4.5, highlighted in blue, states the allocation of a liaison from each of the members of the Interinstitutional Council to the coordination committee. This committee is an organ for the coordination of the initiative and handles the technical aspect of the development of the interventions implemented in the Campana-Altamira polygon. The responsibilities of this committee are coordinating the participation of the IC, designing and managing strategic projects, managing alliances, channelling investment into the area and positioning the initiative as an intervention model for the area in a coordinated and collaborative manner (Iniciativa Campana - Altamira, 2021). In this way, the coordination committee is in charge of implementing the strategic direction decided by the Interinstitutional Council as delegates of this governance organ. Expanding on the governance model of the initiative, the Coordination Committee is represented as the outer ring in Figure 4.28 and its functions are outlined in Table 4.9.
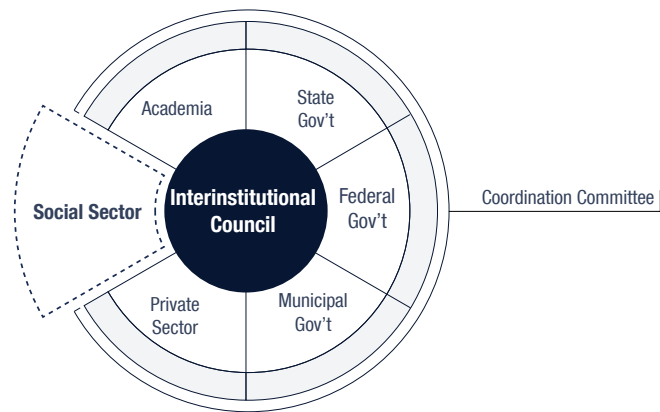
Figure 4.28
Campana Altamira Initiative Governance Model with Coordination Commit, source: author adapted from Iniciativa Campana-Altamira,(2021)

Functions of Coordination Committee

Operate and manage the intervention of the represented institution
Contribute to the integration of the annual plan of the initiative
Integrate the portfolio of interventions
Manage resources and identify strategic actors that contribute to the plan's objectives
Ensure the implementeation of programmes, projects, and actions for the community
Keep track and monitor strategic projects
Provide feedback and propose and improvement on the initiative

Table 4.9
Functions of Coordination Committee, source: author, adapted from Iniciativa Campana-Altamira (2022)

Phase 2 – Prioritisation of Problems by Community

Phase 2 of the programme last for three months and was designed to intensively incorporate the community to validate the finding of the diagnostic, prioritise the area's problems, and identify their vision of the area (V.G., personal communication, 2022). The document states that a key point is to safeguard a democratic process and that the entire area is covered. To accomplish these points, the territory was subdivided into 13 areas, each with individual characteristics, as seen in Figure 4.29. The means to accomplish this was the creation of spaces to consult the communities on the problems found in each territorial subdivision. These sessions helped crystalise and adjust the initial intervention model, defined in Phase 1, to better fit the communities' needs. The final result of this phase was a basis for the design of the Action Plan for the Polygon and the strategy design for the interventions (Municipio de Monterrey et al., 2016). During this phase two participation dynamics took place. The first was a meeting organised per sub-area in which the community was invited to participate in and had 263 attendees. The second was two sessions with 10 local educational and civil society institutions. The purpose of these sessions was the validation of the diagnostic to specific georeferenced locations. This process helped to formulate step three, the design by lines of actions, elaborated on below.
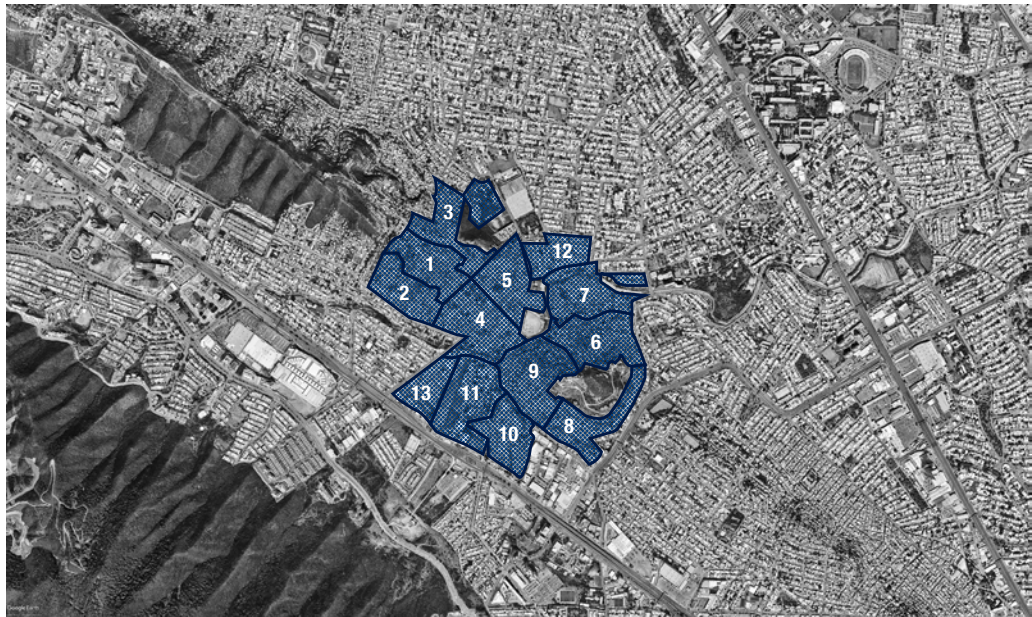
Figure 4.29
Strategic Territorial Division, source: author adapted from Municipio de Monterrey et al. (2016)

Phase 3 – Design by Lines of Action
Lines of Action

Phase 3 of the planning lasted for three months (V.G., personal communication, 2022), during which a series of seven strategic lines of action were determined (Figure 41). These were a result of the identification of problematics and prioritisation of needs in coordination with the community and validated by the Coordination Committee (Municipio de Monterrey et al., 2016). The purpose of these lines of action is a strategic approach to confronting the different problems. This is done by allocating human resources with specific expertise from each of the IC organisations into workgroups concerning the Lines of Action. The result is a technical and operational structure of the initiative led by members of the Coordination Committee (Iniciativa Campana - Altamira, 2021). This section outlines the seven strategic lines of action followed for the implementation of the interventions.

Social Safety & Peace

The neighbourhoods have been excluded from social, and economic processes concerning the city, facilitating patty and organised crime to develop in the area. Further, the absence of

police forces and an increase in crime have deteriorated the social fabric and have negatively impacted the relationship between authorities and the community. Therefore, the main objective of this line is to create a safe and peaceful resilient environment by building the operative capacity and legitimacy of the authorities. Simultaneously, building trust between the community and authorities is seen as key to accomplishing a symbiotic relationship to encourage the community to act and report crimes in the area (Municipio de Monterrey et al., 2016).

Social Inclusion & Citizen Participation

The main objective of this line is to strengthen community participation in the process of their human development. The means to accomplish this is by breaking down barriers that intervene in their social inclusion and mitigating the risks that lead to it, as well as creating mechanisms aimed at diversifying the opportunities the dwellers currently have to lead a proper life (Municipio de Monterrey et al., 2016). The four main pillars for this line of action are the empowerment of the communities, meaning the recognition of their autonomy to present their interests and expectations to other actors involved in the initiative. The second pillar is the personal development or interest to promote, act, recover and mobilise resources an individual possesses for self-determination, to manifest them in a social sphere. The third pillar is social cohesion, which is the community network and ability to sustain social ties, as well as the individual's ability to identify with a collective effort and shared values. The fourth pillar is social capital, defined as the ability to use social resources and relationships as a means to attain a public good (Municipio de Monterrey et al., 2016). To accomplish this, this line of action is based on two components: Community Participation and Attention to Vulnerable Groups. The first aims for the inhabitants of the district to identify themselves as actors in their development by actively participating in arenas designed for decision making. This is accomplished by creating the Campan-Altamira Neighbourhood Council and the Campana-Altamira Network. While the former is focused on empowering the residents to participate in decision making, the latter is the institutional support and links the Campan-Altamira Neighbourhood Council efforts to a social and public policy level (Municipio de Monterrey et al., 2016). The component of Attention to Vulnerable Groups aims to reduce the social gaps some groups experience in the district that hinder their active participation, excluding them from opportunities to expand their access to public goods. This is accomplished by identifying the groups experiencing this, as well as the root of the problem. Further, the deployment of a strategy that generates mechanisms that facilitate sustainable social integration and risk mitigation (Municipio de Monterrey et al., 2016).

Urban Inclusion

This line of action focuses on securing the citizens' access to the physical network of urban mobility that allows them to conduct their daily activities within the district and greater urban context. The means to achieve this is through the improvement of infrastructure, basic services, and increasing the options of mobility and connectivity in the area. Increasing the urban inclusion of the district's inhabitants stimulates the creation of economic, social, and cultural opportunities, resulting in a more close-knit community (Municipio de Monterrey et al., 2016). In addition, this line of action intends to create public spaces to stimulate interaction in the community, aiming to enhance social cohesion and community participation through the maintenance, valuing and preservation of the public spaces, resulting in a sense of ownership and belonging (Municipio de Monterrey et al., 2016).

Housing

This line of action has as its main objective guaranteeing access to dignified housing for the inhabitants of the district. The means to accomplish this is through the regularisation of land, attention to dwellings in low-risk zones, relocation of dwellings in high-risk zones, and general improvement of existing dwellings (Municipio de Monterrey et al., 2016). In this line, the most impactful action for the communities is the regularisation of land for several

reasons. It increases a sense of belonging, reduces legal uncertainty, and provides access to formal credit systems. In addition, it provides the dwellers with institutional visibility and a sense of ownership, resulting in empowerment and stimulating investment in their dwellings (Municipio de Monterrey et al., 2016).

Health

This line of action has as its objective to increase the dwellers' wellbeing by addressing their health needs and safeguarding their access to labour opportunities that guarantee their integration into the social security system. This line of action is built on three components aimed at strengthening the bond between the dwellers and institutions that supply the health services. These are nutrition, health, and social security (Municipio de Monterrey et al., 2016). While nutrition and health play an important role in facilitating dwellers to thrive in the community, guaranteeing access to social security is the most impactful when viewed collectively. Lack of access to social security excludes inhabitants from the pension system, hindering retirement, and paid absence due to accidents, while simultaneously having economic implications on the communities and individual households.

Economic Inclusion

The main objective of this line of action is to generate mechanisms that allow the district's inhabitants to actively participate in the local economy. The means to accomplish this is increasing access to labour markets that safeguard their rights as workers and expand their income sources. This way, the disposable income of the households can increase and promote the incorporation of the community into the economic activity of the city (Municipio de Monterrey et al., 2016).

Education

The main objective of this line of action is to strengthen and enhance the capabilities of the district's inhabitants by increasing and strengthening the education supply and utilisation of open areas aimed at their cognitive and social development. Education as a line of action not only builds the capacity of dwellers to choose paths of development but also makes future generations more conscious and resilient to respond to their needs (Municipio de Monterrey et al., 2016).

Technical & Operational Structure

As previously stated, these strategic lines of action are each spearheaded by a delegate of the Coordination Committee and referred to as Workgroups, as seen in Figure 4.30. The purpose of these Workgroups is to facilitate and increase the operational capacity of the initiative to drive the projects forward and create strategic networks across sectors with actors who can contribute to the initiative's efforts. In this sense, the Workgroups are operational branches for the implementation of the Initiative's plans in the area (Iniciativa Campana - Altamira, 2021). Their functions are outlined in Table 4.10.

Figure 4.30 Workgroups, source: author, adapted from Iniciativa Campana-Altamira (2022)

Functions of the Operational Workgroups

Network Closely with the community to achieve more precise problem definitions
Identify and propose work priorities based on the Lines of Action
Propose and manage the networking of internal and external actors that drive projects forward
Promote and manage authorisation and necessary resources for the projects
Follow up on projects and provide feedback to the Coordination Committee
Broadcast and communication the actions and results of the Workgroups
Document the interventions in reports to its participants

Table 4.10
Functions of Operational Workgroups
source: author, adapted from Municipio de
Monterrey et al. (2016)

Phase 4 – Implementation & Management

The main objective of Phase 4 was to define the strategic focus to implement the plan and has been active since 2017. This included the identification of instruments and tools that can be deployed. Based on the previous three phases, the strategic focus was validated by the Interinstitutional Council. A reflection was also carried out to further improve coordination and governance arrangements to enhance the sustainability of the initiative (Municipio de Monterrey et al., 2016). Figure 4.31 shows the timeline from 2016-to 2021 with some of the most important milestones of the initiative. It can be depicted that work in creating and formalising the Neighbourhood Councils promoted by the initiative was intensive until 2020, as the formalisation of four Neighbourhood Assemblies was Accomplished. Further, networking efforts were also carried out as the Campana-Altamira Community Network led by CEMEX began to expand. In the final two years, two significant changes occurred in the Interinstitutional Council, as FOMERREY, in charge of regulating land, joined the group. Recently, CEMEX, who is one of the main private partners in the initiative left. The reasons for this are blurry, as some interviewees point to fiscal incentives being withdrawn, a five-year commitment with the initiative expiring, or the attempt to construct a factory in the area being rebutted by the community (C.F.; R.P.; V.G., personal communication, 2022). A clear reason was not captured due to the lack of availability to interview actors from CEMEX. Finally, the Partial Programme for the Urban Development of the Campana-Altamira District 2020-2040 was completed, which is the instrument that outlines the specific policies and strategies to be implemented in the area. This document is analysed in section 4.3.2. The mechanisms for monitoring, control, and evaluation of this phase are also included in this section.
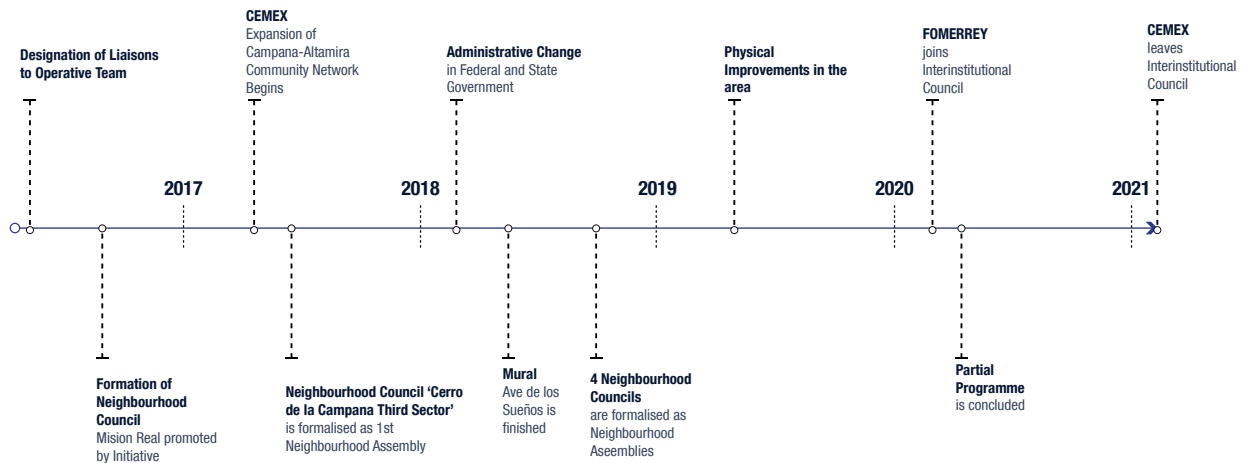
Figure 4.31 Campana-Altamira Milestones 2016-2021, source: author, adapted from Iniciativa Campana-Altamira (2021)

Legal Framework & Instruments
Legal Framework
It is worth noting that the Integral Plan for the Development of the Campana-Altamira Polygon is not a document that holds legal standing, meaning that it is a document developed between actors informally. The legal objective of this document is to provide the foundation for the development of the Partial Programme for the Urban Development of the Campana-Altamira 2020-2040 (Partial Programme), elaborated on further below, which would be subjected to examination to make it a legal instrument for the development of the area. Therefore, the Integral Plan must function within a legal framework, outlined in this section on a national, state, and municipal level, and that serves as the legal foundation for the development of the Integral Plan and Partial Programme.

General Law for Human Settlements
At a national level, the General Law for Human Settlements of the federation has five main objectives First, to establish the norms and instruments to ordain the use of the territory and human settlements in the country while respecting human rights and in compliance with the state's obligations to guarantee them. Second, establish the agreements between the federal, state, and municipal entities on the planning, ordainment, and regulation of Human Settlements, as well as establish the criteria for effective coordination and participation between these entities for the different planning stages of the settlements. Fourth, create mechanisms that promote the participation of vulnerable and marginalised groups during the planning and management of the territory, safeguarding the transparency in access to information. Lastly, the creation of arenas and instruments that guarantee co-responsibility between the government and citizenry in the formulation, monitoring, and evaluation of public policy on the subject, as seen in point 5 of Table 4.11 (Municipio de Monterrey et al., 2016).

Ten Principles for Cities and Human Settlements (General Law for Human Settlements)

1. Right to the City	Guarantee citizenry access to housing, infrastructure, facilities, and basic services
2. Equality and Inclusion	Guarantee equal rights. Promote social cohesion through means that prevent discrimination. Promote the respect for all forms of diversity and a diverse offer of land, housing, infrastructure, and economic activities aligning to different preferences, needs and capacities
3. Right to Urban Property	Guarantee the right to property with tenure security as well accountability for citizen responsibilities with the state and society. The public good prevails in the occupation and utilisation of the territory.
4. Coherence and Rationality	Adopt perspectives that promote a balanced, harmonic, rational, and congruent territorial ordainment and urban development following national policies and plans
5. Democratic and Transparent Participation	Protect the right to participate in the formulation, monitoring, and evaluation of policies, plans, and programmes that determine the development of cities and territories.
6. Productivity and Efficiency	Strengthen productivity and efficiency of cities and territory as guiding axis for economic development through the consolidation of mobility networks, energy and communication, and creation and maintenance of productive public infrastructure
7. Protection and Promotion of Public Space	Create habitable public spaces as the foundation to the right to a healthy city, coexistence, recreation and safety of a diverse citizenry.
8. Resilience, Urban Safety and Risks	Strengthen institutions and measures for prevention, mitigation, attention, adaptation and resilience to protect people and their livelihoods from natural or anthropogenic risks. Prevent occupation of high-risk areas
9. Environmental Sustainability	Promote rational use of water and natural resources to not hinder future generations' capacities. Avoid stress on ecosystems' capacity and urban growth in protected natural areas.
10. Universal Accessibility and Mobility	Promote universal accessibility that favours the relationship between urban activities and effective mobility that favours public and pedestrian transport.

Table 4.11
Ten Principles for Cities and Human Settlements (General Law for Human Settlements), source: author

Simultaneously, this law establishes that all people have the right to live in sustainable, resilient, healthy, productive, equal, just, inclusive, democratic, and safe cities and human settlements. A series of ten principles are provided as guidelines to abide by this definition, listed in Table 4.9.

Law for Urban Development for the State of Nuevo Leon

At a state level, the Integral Plan functions within the Urban Development Law of the State of Nuevo Leon. In regards to the urban development of the Campana-Altamira area, this document encompasses three topics. First, it includes instruments that promote urban development, such as Development Polygons, parcel regrouping and increments to densification. Further, it states the permission of Property Value Appreciation taxes which allows direct investments in the area with participation from the public, private, and social sectors (Municipio de Monterrey et al., 2016). Second, in this law, it is stated that Municipalities have the obligation to develop, approve, manage and execute municipal urban development plans or programmes. Within these development plans, the obligations are to regulate and monitor the compliance to the territorial ordainment, urban development, land-use plans, construction and parking. In addition, municipalities must promote programmes for the conservation, improvement, and growth of urban centres. Further, municipalities also have the power to assess and grant or deny applications to modify the territorial ordainment, such as Development Polygons or Regrouping of Parcels. Third, the Partial Programme is considered to be of public interest and utility under the Law for Urban Development for the State of Nuevo Leon, due to its technical and social content, as well as the projects for the collective benefit of the city(Municipio de Monterrey et al., 2016).

Urban Development Plan for the Municipality of Monterrey 2013-2025

At a municipal level, the Integral Plan functions within the Urban Development Plan for the Municipality of Monterrey 2013-2015 (UDPMM). The integral plan specifically concerns the Urban Reordainment Programme (Section 9.3.2) and is part of the Conservation and Improvement Programmes (Part 9.3) of the Strategic Actions (Chapter 9) of the UDPMM. The Urban Reordainment Programme is defined as applying to sites in which significant metropolitan educational, health, and commercial facilities are located and that require a better interrelationship with their surroundings and mitigate the impacts they generate on the area (Municipio de Monterrey et al., 2016). To this end, the UDPMM identifies polygons defined as strategic areas as those in which the implementation of development programmes implies the convergence of municipal, private, and civil institutions. These development programmes aim to drive the development of a clear territorial boundary with similar

Reordainment Actions or Policies
1. Improvement of relationship with neighbouring areas
2. Sustainable urban mobility strategies and policies
3. Incentive strategies for parking buildings in strategic areas and mitigation of parking on public driveways
4. Cycling Routes that connect housing with educational, health, and commercial facilities
5. Intense or moderate densification, aiming for a humane and aesthetic urban landscape
6. Improvement of the urban landscape and public space
7. Improvement of habitability of the residential areas through leisure options
8. Promote social and economic development in vulnerable areas
9. Inclusion of environmental strategies in the projects, and urban actions
10. Revision of urban norms
11. Land-use ordainment, encouraging compatible mixed-us
12. Strategies for 'detonator' projects that drive the urban development of the area
13. Strategies for taking advantage of abandoned or unutilised public spaces
14. Security programmes for the public facilities and inner and adjacent neighbourhoods

Table 4.12
Reordainment Actions or Policies, source: author, adapted from Municipio de Monterrey et al., (2016)

social and urban characteristics (Municipio de Monterrey et al., 2016). To execute urban re-ordainment actions, specific development plans or programmes for the area are required, through which the land-use ordainment can be accomplished, creating a sane interaction between the areas, facilities, and neighbourhoods that constitute the plan for the polygon (Municipio de Monterrey et al., 2016). The re-ordainment actions or policies that may apply to the polygon in question are shown in Table 4.12.

Instruments

In addition to the legal framework in which the Integral Plan operates, it also has its foundation in a series of strategic planning instruments that function at a state and municipal level. These are the Nuevo Leon State Development Plan 2016-2021, the Strategic Plan for the State of Nuevo Leon 2015-2030, and the Plan for the Municipality of Monterrey 2015-2018. This section provides an overview of these documents and their relationship to the Integral Plan.

Nuevo Leon State Development Plan 2016-2021

This document identifies the medium-term priorities for the development of the state and the strategies and lines of action that will be implemented by the government to accomplish these established priorities. Further, it defines the strategic projects to be followed, the prioritisation of programmes, and the social and economic development indicators (Municipio de Monterrey et al., 2016). The span of five years referred to in the title corresponds to the administration time of the government-in-charge. Therefore, this instrument states that the mission of this administration is a *"participatory society, proud to build a future in which everything is possible"* (Gobierno del Estado de Nuevo Leon, 2016, p. 14). The document states that the path to accomplishing this mission is through a strong alliance with civil society and the strengthening and efficiency of its institutions. To this end, the document outlines six priorities that build this path. The first is a Citizen Government, in which the decisions and actions taken are for the benefit of the people, characterised by transparency, lawfulness and efficiency. The second is the rebuilding of the social fabric to eradicate poverty. This point considers the bond between wealth and necessity to favour the social mobility of the most vulnerable citizens towards a higher quality of life and safeguarding all social rights. Third is mobility and transport to reduce citizens' time and cost of commuting. Fourth, is combatting corruption and impunity to build a new relationship with the citizens. Fifth is safety to live in peace through the strengthening of state apparatus and better coordination with other levels of government and, finally, is the development of infrastructure that improves the quality of life of people and the state (Municipio de Monterrey et al., 2016). In addition, this document presents three strategic axes of high social impact that can determine the quality of life of present and future generations, namely respect and exercise of human rights, gender equality, and citizen participation. It states that while these three axes provide congruence to the instruments, citizen participation is the most relevant as it contributes to better government performance through different levels of intensity, dependent on citizen intervention in public matters (Municipio de Monterrey et al., 2016). The Nuevo Leon State Development Plan 2016-2021 is aligned with the state's strategic plan, elaborated on below.

Strategic Plan for the State of Nuevo Leon 2015-2030

Similar to the State Development Plan, this document identifies medium and long-term priorities for the development of the state, as well as the objectives, strategies, and lines of action the government will need to implement. However, in contrast to the State Development Plan, the long-term dimension of this document implies its continuity through administrative changes (Municipio de Monterrey et al., 2016). The elaboration of this plan consisted of four phases: 1) definition of objectives and axes of the diagnosis, 2) analysis of the current situation, 3) prioritisation of areas of opportunity, and 4) presentation of strategic lines and initiatives. This methodology allowed the identification of six areas as the foundation to achieve the aligned vision between government agencies that resulted from the first phase (Municipio de Monterrey et al., 2016). These areas of opportunity are organised in three

concentric rings. The outer ring is composed of a Transparent and Effective Government and Public Finances and corresponds to the resources needed to make feasible the achievement of the established objectives. The middle ring is comprised of Sustainable and Economic Development, and Security and Justice and serve as the environmental elements that facilitate development. The innermost ring is composed of Social Development, Health, Education, and Art & Culture and are aimed at strengthening the capacities of people and communities (Consejo Nuevo Leon, 2015).

Plan for the Municipality of Monterrey 2015-2018

While the previous two documents focus at a state level, the municipal level of government is responsible for executing these plans in regards to the development of an urban or territorial programme. In this sense, the Plan for the Municipality of Monterrey 2015-2018, is the instrument that allows policies to be designed through the definition of objectives, strategies, goals and concrete actions. This instrument was elaborated through an integral process of democratic planning that considers the vision of the municipal administration of 2015-2018, as well as the demands and needs of Monterrey's society (Municipio de Monterrey et al., 2016). As a result, the vision statement of the Municipal Plan is to *"transform the municipal government to provide trust, safety, quality public services to society, while guaranteeing an orderly, sustainable, and inclusive development through efficient public policies and competitive strategies that position Monterrey as a global city"*(Gobierno Municipal de Monterrey, 2015, p. 34). In addition, its mission statement is to *"Be a government open to citizen participation, committed to transparency and accountability, providing quality public services that allow the people to enjoy a safe, inclusive, and sustainable Monterrey, procuring a social and economic development that guarantees the rights of all people"* (Gobierno Municipal de Monterrey, 2015, p. 34).

To accomplish this, the Municipal Plan is organised on five main axes, namely: institutional, economic, social, and environmental development, and public works. Further, to better focus and integrate the instrument to the citizens' demands, national and state planning, and vision for the city of Monterrey, the instrument is designed on six strategic axes, namely: government innovation, open government, human rights and social inclusion, integral safety, sustainable urban development, and economic development. As a result of this planning process, the Urban Development Plan was sought out to consider instruments that favour the creation of programmes related to urban re-ordainment and serve as the base for the development of territorial and urban intervention strategies aimed at improving the living conditions of dwellers within polygons such as the Campana and Altamira neighbourhoods (Municipio de Monterrey et al., 2016).

4.3.2 Partial Programme for the Urban Development of the Campana-Altamira District 2020-2040

While the Integral Plan delineates the overarching planning for the area, the Partial Programme for the Urban Development of the Campana-Altamira District 2020-2040 (Partial Programme) elaborates on the specific policies, instruments, and mechanisms that
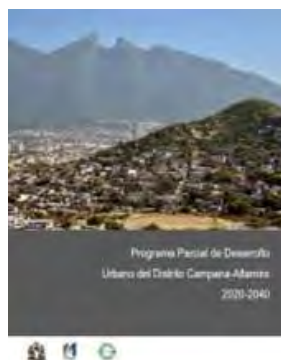
Figure 4.32
Partial Programme for the Urban Development of the Campana-Altamira District 2020-2040
source: Municipio de Monterrey & IMPLANC Monterrey,(2020)

are to be implemented to accomplish the objectives derived from the Integral Plan. Therefore, the Partial Programme was one of the main outputs of the efforts of the initiative as it was developed to safeguard the plans for intervention. This was done by submitting the Partial Programme for public consultation on the 19th of February, 2021.

Through this process, three milestones are accounted for. First, the Interinstitutional Council is formalised as the legal governance entity of the Initiative (Iniciativa Campana - Altamira, 2021). This facilitates the implementation of certain instruments and mechanisms in the area which will be elaborated on below. Second, the approval of the Partial Programme grants it a legal standing within the municipality's plans. This implies that the interventions of the Partial Programme form part of the municipal planning agenda and are safeguarded from administrative changes (J.A, personal communication, 2022). Third, the partial programme is seen as a replicable intervention model to apply to polygons of the metropolitan area identified previously, such as San Bernabe or La Independencia, integrally and systematically (J.A., personal communication, 2022).

This chapter is divided into three main sections. First, the legal and urban planning framework on national, state, and municipal levels is revisited to identify any significant deviations from the Integral Plan. Secondly, the policies, objectives and strategies of the programme are outlined. Thirdly, the instruments and mechanisms that can be deployed to achieve the objectives of the Initiative are presented.

Legal Framework and Planning Instruments Revisited
Constitutional Provisions
Under the Mexican constitution, it is stated that the state has the right to impose public interest over private property. As a result of this, the necessary measures can be used to regulate human settlements and establish adequate provision and uses of land, as well as execute public works, and plan and regulate the improvement and growth of urban centres. Further, it is stated that municipalities may formulate, approve, and manage zoning and urban development plans (Municipio de Monterrey & IMPLANC Monterrey, 2020).

National Level
Legal Framework
In the General Law for Human Settlements, the Partial Programme touches upon five main points. First, Article 11 states that it is the municipality's responsibility to formulate, approve and manage municipal urban development plans or programmes, as well as promote and execute actions and investments for the conservation, improvement and growth of urban centres. Second, Article 41 states that municipalities must promote partial programmes that facilitate specific actions for the improvement of urban centres. Third, Article 51 points out that these municipal programmes will include the specific actions for the conservation, improvement, and growth of urban centres, as well the zoning for the areas. Fourth, Article 59 states that zoning must be included in these urban development plans or programmes. Fifth, Article 4 states that the Right to the City is a guiding principle for planning, regulating, and managing human settlements, and that, the state must guarantee access to housing, infrastructure, urban facilities, and basic services to all inhabitants (Municipio de Monterrey & IMPLANC Monterrey, 2020).

In the Partial Programme, two other laws are included as part of its legal framework at a national level. The General Law for Ecological Equilibrium and Environmental Protection states that urban planning should be aligned with the strategies of ecological territorial ordainment programmes. Further, the General Law for the Inclusion of Handicapped People promoted universal accessibility as a right, and therefore, urban development plans must guarantee safe and dignified mobility conditions (Municipio de Monterrey & IMPLANC

Monterrey, 2020).

Planning Instruments

The Partial Programme is aligned with the National Urban Development Programme 2014-2018 under five main objectives. The first objective corresponds to the control of urban sprawl and the consolidation of urban areas. Secondly, is to consolidate an urban development model that grants urban dwellers with wellbeing, guaranteeing their social, economic, and environmental sustainability. Objective number three constitutes the design and implementation of normative, fiscal, administrative, and control instruments for land management. Following this, objective four is to drive a policy for sustainable mobility that increases the quality, availability, and accessibility of urban commuting. Finally, the fifth objective is to avoid human settlements in risk areas and mitigate the vulnerability of the urban population to natural disasters (Municipio de Monterrey & IMPLANC Monterrey, 2020).

State Level
Legal Framework

At a state level, the Partial Programme is mainly subjected to the Law of Human Settlements, Territorial Ordainment, and Urban Development of the State of Nuevo León. This law attributes to the municipalities the elaboration, approval, management, and execution of urban development partial programmes. In addition, these programmes must improve the lives of the dwellers, be aligned with other planning levels and documents, follow the established process for their formulation, and include policies and actions for the promotion of sustainable urban development and public safety. Further, Article 90 states that the objective of Partial Programmes is to specify, complement, adjust, order, and regulate the urban development of an area. Similar to the federal level, the urban development planning of an area must abide by the Environmental Law for the State of Nuevo León and these regulations have an objective to maintain, improve and restore the equilibrium between nature and human settlements to improve the population's quality of life (Municipio de Monterrey & IMPLANC Monterrey, 2020).

Planning Instruments

At a state level, the Partial Programme is aligned with the State Development Programme 2030. Within this document, the urbanism policies aim to promote the creation of green open spaces and urban parks, promote urban improvement with social projects, restore and strengthen walking by promoting ample sidewalks, improve the social and urban conditions, promote social inclusion, and implement social urbanism in zones that are lagging in development (Municipio de Monterrey & IMPLANC Monterrey, 2020).

Municipal Level
Legal Framework

At a municipal level, the Partial Programme falls under the Municipal Development Plan 2018-2021. This plan states that its objective is to improve the urban order by promoting the execution of urban ordainment and investment projects, as well as contributing to the quality of life through orderly and sustainable urban planning. This plan also states that it is within the municipality's responsibilities to increase actions that benefit poverty sectors and develop the capacities of inhabitants living in vulnerable areas, and increase their opportunities for recreation and participation.

Planning Instruments

The Partial Programme is aligned with the Urban Development Plan for the Municipality of Monterrey 2013-2025 which states that urban restoration must be aimed at physically and socially deteriorated sectors with a low-income population, lack of basic services and a high

degree of insecurity. In these areas, public sector intervention is required to balance their conditions and integrate them into the rest of the city.

Cross-examination of Community Participation found in Documents and Legal Framework

In this section, the objectives and means for community participation found in the Documents and Legal Framework and cross-examined (Table 4.13), it is worth noting that for some of the documents, the term citizen participation is used as an alternative to community participation. This is to compare the different levels of documentation and reveal possible gaps or mismatches between them.

Cross-examination of Community Participation found in Planning Documents and Legal Framework

Nature	Level	Document	Community Participation Objective	Means
Legal Framework	National	General Law for Human Settlements	Co-responsibility in planning and management	Creation of mechanisms, arenas, and instruments
	State	Law for Urban Development for the State of Nuevo Leon	Co-responsibility in formulating projects and programmes	Mechanisms created and regulated by authorities
	Municipal	Urban Development Plan for the Municipality of Monterrey 2013-2025	Decision-making regarding the city	Reinforcing the citizen-government relationship
Planning Documents	National	National Urban Development Programme 2014-2018	Promote Citizen Participation	Provide mechanisms to shape public policies
	State	Nuevo Leon State Development Plan 2016-2021	Increase citizen participation	Alliances and institutional efficiency
	Municipal	Plan for the Municipality of Monterrey 2015-2018	Decision-making regarding public policy	Establish mechanisms to incentivize and facilitate
	Campana-Altamira	Integral Plan for the Development of the Campana-Altamira Polygon	Activate and empower the community	Innovation, co-responsibility, trust, and resilience
	Campana-Altamira	Partial Programme for the Urban Development of the Campana-Altamira District 2020-2040	Co-responsibility in planning	Tools of citizen participation foreseen in the local regulation

Table 4.13 Cross-examination of Citizen Participation found in Documents and Legal Framework, source: author

From this cross-examination, it is possible to identify mismatches between the different legal and planning documents. As seen, the legal documents and municipal planning documents focus on the objective of community participation as a way to increase co-responsibility and decision-making mainly through mechanisms. Simultaneously, co-responsibility is the objective in the Campana-Altamira Partial Programme, achieved through mechanisms and instruments for participation; meanwhile, the Integral Plan views co-responsibility as a means to empower and activate the community.

Policies, Objectives and Strategies of the Partial Programme

Before presenting any specific policies, objectives, or strategies of the programme, the 2040 vision for the area stated in this document needs to be established. This vision is:

"The Campana-Altamira will be transformed into a zone in which the Right to the City is a reality leaving behind its social and economic contrasting condition. Its inhabitants will have legal certainty over their property, with equal opportunities in the access to quality public services, access to adequate housing, and access to facilities to be used for gathering, diversity and coexisting. It will be a safe and inclusive zone through the improvement of its public spaces and will have an efficient and integral urban connectivity, projecting to the rest of the municipality and metropolitan area a renovated urban image by organised, sustainable, and resilient communities." - Municipio de

Monterrey & IMPLANC Monterrey (2020)

To accomplish this vision, the Partial Programme follows three ordainment policies that fall under the legal framework previously presented, namely improvement, consolidation, and conservation, shown in Figure 4.33 by territorial division. The first refers to polygons that present physical deterioration and abandonment, or underutilisation of the existing physical structures that require transformation for better urban use of land. Consolidation refers to polygons in which a concentration of public facilities and equipment requires strengthening while considering an adequate relationship with the surrounding residential areas. Finally, conservation refers to the urban regulation and ordainment of areas to protect and preserve their historical, cultural, or environmental value, in addition to the lifestyles, customs, and cultural, scientific, or industrial knowledge of a social group. These require stricter land use, density, height and parking policies. As seen in the figure below, only improvement policies apply to the area of study AGEB 4197.

Improve

Consolidate

Conserve

Figure 4.33
Ordainment Policies, sub-area AGEB 4197
Outlined in Black, source: author, adapted
from Municipio de Monterrey & IMPLANC
Monterrey (2020)

Stemming from the diagnosis of the area conducted by the UANL (2014), a series of specific policies for the area is established, and further, objectives for each one are defined to serve as guidelines for an agenda composed of strategies, programmes, and projects. The policies of the Partial Programme are shown in Table 4.14 and are structured as seen in Table 4.15.

Policies found in Partial Programme

1. Land Policy	7. Citizen Safety Policy
2. Housing Policy	8. Citizen Participation Policy
3. Infrastructure Policy	9. Environmental Policy
4. Equipment Policy	10. Risk Mitigation Policy
5. Mobility and Accessibility Policy	11. Urban Image Policy
6. Social and Economic Development Policy	

Table 4.14
Policies found in Partial Programme
source: author adapted from Municipio de
Monterrey & IMPLANC Monterrey (2020)

Policy Title

Definition:	Definition of Policy	
Objective:	Objective of Policy	
Strategy:	Strategy Followed to Accomplish the Objective	
	Programme:	Programme Design
	Actions and Projects:	Specific Actions and Policies

Table 4.15
Policy Template
source: author adapted from Municipio de
Monterrey & IMPLANC Monterrey (2020)

From the list of policies, the Citizen Participation Policy pertains the most to this research, as it unpacks the objectives and strategies implemented to accomplish them. For this reason, this policy is elaborated on below.

Citizen Participation Policy

Citizen Participation Policy		
Definition:	Consider the inhabitants of the District as a pillar on which to build the intersectoral work initiatives in the area	
Objective:	Consolidate community organisation in the area through the use of various tools of citizen participation foreseen in the local regulation, reinforcing the capacity of the inhabitants with new civic abilities.	
Strategy:	Maximise the efficacy of the social structures that have been developed by different organisations and institutions, providing an institutional formalisation for a better performance	
	Programme: Organised Citizen Participation	Structure, document, and systematise how citizens of the area are involved in decision making in the District.
	Actions and Projects:	1. Strengthen the Campana-Altamira Interinstitutional Council
		2. Create the Campana-Altamira Neighbourhood Council
		3. Accompaniment plan for the citizen representatives in the Neighbourhood Assemblies
		4. Campana-Altamira Community Network
		5. Workshops for the acquisition and reinforcement of citizen participation abilities

Table 4.16 *Citizen Participation Policy Structure, source: author, adapted from Municipio de Monterrey & IMPLANC Monterrey (2020)*

The Policy for Citizen Participation found in the Partial Programme is defined and structured as shown in Table 4.16. As seen above, the main objective of the Citizen Participation Policy is to formalise and organise participation from the neighbours in the area as a way to maximise the efficacy of the already existing community structures. The actions and projects specified complement each other. The creation of the Campana-Altamira Neighbourhood Council stands out, as it is the organisation that is planned to become a member of the Interinstitutional Council in charge of the strategic decision-making process of the Initiative, and this way strengthen it. The Campana-Altamira Community Network is the name given to the articulation of several organisations and institutions that have been working in the area such as neighbourhood councils. This network is the institutional complement and joining of efforts of the Campana-Altamira Neighbourhood Council at a public and social policy level, as well as the articulation of the activities carried out by different social actors in the area in a structured way. The objective from the Initiative's perspective for the councils that take part in the community network is to formalise them into Neighbourhood Assemblies. Further, these assemblies together would constitute the Campana-Altamira Neighbourhood Council. It is worth noting that as of 2018, four neighbourhood councils have been formalised as Neighbourhood Assemblies, however, the Campana-Altamira Neighbourhood Council is yet to be realised. This citizen participation structure is illustrated in Figure 4.34.
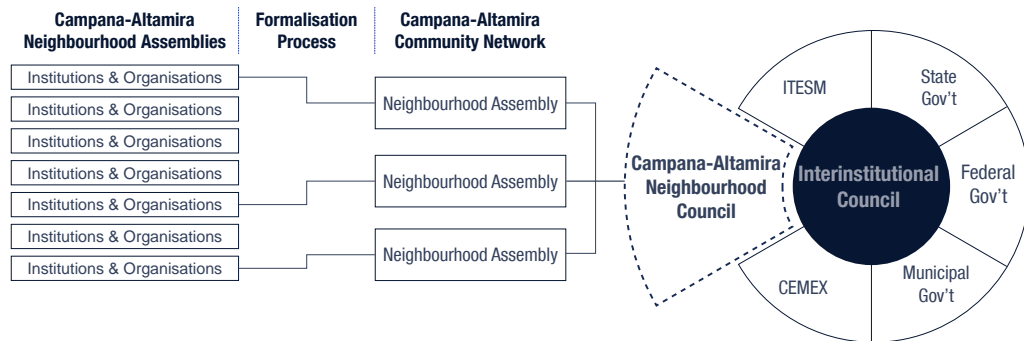

Figure 4.34
Citizen Participation Policy Community Structure, source: author

Instruments and Mechanisms

The Partial Programme presents twenty-three instruments that the municipality can use to achieve the objectives stated in the different policies, seen below in Table 4.17. These instruments are designed for economic funding, collaborative decision-making, and to facilitate private, public, and social coordination in the area (Municipio de Monterrey & IMPLANC Monterrey, 2020). This section presents the instruments that relate to the impact of how community participation can unfold. These are number one (CSO Formalisation with CLUNI Code) and number twenty-two (participatory budgeting). These two instruments will be elaborated on further below.

Instruments of the Partial Programme

1. CSO Formalisation with CLUNI Code	9. Increase in Property Value Tax	17. Issuance of Stock Market Certificates
2. Authorised Grantee	10. Development Rights for Public Works	18. Tax Stimuli and Reliefs
3. Public Private Associations	11. Public Debt Acquisition	19. Administrative Facilities
4. Trust Fund	12. International Organism Grant Procurement	20. Private Financing
5. Public Financing by Development Bank	13. Public-Private, Social Organism Formalisation	21. Acting Polygons
6. Federal and State Funds	14. Collaboration and/or Action Agreements	22. Participatory Budgeting
7. Partial Destination of Contributions	15. Decentralised Organism Creation	23. Re-registry of land
8. Benefits and Rights	16. Decentralisation of Administrative Units	

Table 4.17 *Instruments of the Partial Programme source: author, adapted from Municipio de Monterrey & IMPLANC Monterrey (2020)*

CSO Formalisation with CLUNI Code

This instrument is designed to provide the Unique Code of Enrolment to the Federal Registry (CLUNI) to those civil society organisations that comply with the established requirements of the Federal Law of Promotion of Activities Realised by Civil Society Organisations and that realise certain activities relating to Article 5. These activities that form part of Article 5 are focused on the community development in the built environment, the promotion of citizen participation in public interest affairs, and the promotion of the social fabric and citizen security. Once these organisations are provided with a CLUNI code, they acquire the right to participate by grants and stimuli granted by the Federal Public Administration and other supports (Municipio de Monterrey & IMPLANC Monterrey, 2020). Concerning the Initiative, this represents the formalisation of the Neighbourhood Councils that form part of the Campana-Altamira Community Network and allows them to participate in other dynamics and instruments promoted by the Initiative. From the interview process, it was found that Participatory Budgeting is the instrument that may have the most impact deriving from the decisions taken by the community. This instrument is elaborated on below.

Participatory Budgeting

The Participatory Budgeting belongs to Articles 53 and 55 of the Citizen Participation of the State of Nuevo León and states that this mechanism can be employed by the municipality to allow citizens, through Neighbourhood Assembly Organisations, to define public projects, works, and execute programmes in charge of the municipal expenses budget. This process is administered, executed, and is the responsibility of the corresponding municipal authorities (Municipio de Monterrey & IMPLANC Monterrey, 2020). J.A. (personal communication, 2022) states that participatory budgeting is one of the main reasons for the Initiative seeking the formalisation of the Neighbourhood Councils in the area. The Municipality of Monterrey is divided into five boroughs and these are further divided into sectors. Within these, the Campana-Altamira polygon is a sector itself that is part of the Southern Borough. The participatory budgeting functions within these territorial divisions, with a percentage of the municipal budget designated to one public work for each sector, proposed and voted by the Neighbourhood Assemblies of each sector. J.A. (personal communication, 2022), mentions

that this instrument will reinforce community participation not only within the Initiative, but collaboration and alignment of objectives between Neighbourhood Assemblies that belong to different parts of the sector. The structure and functioning of this instrument are illustrated in Figure 4.35.
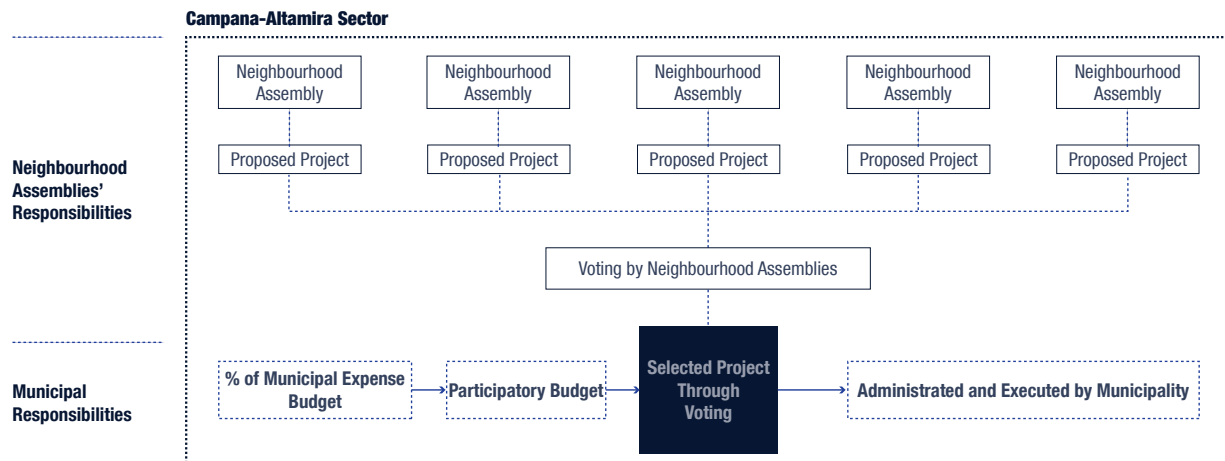

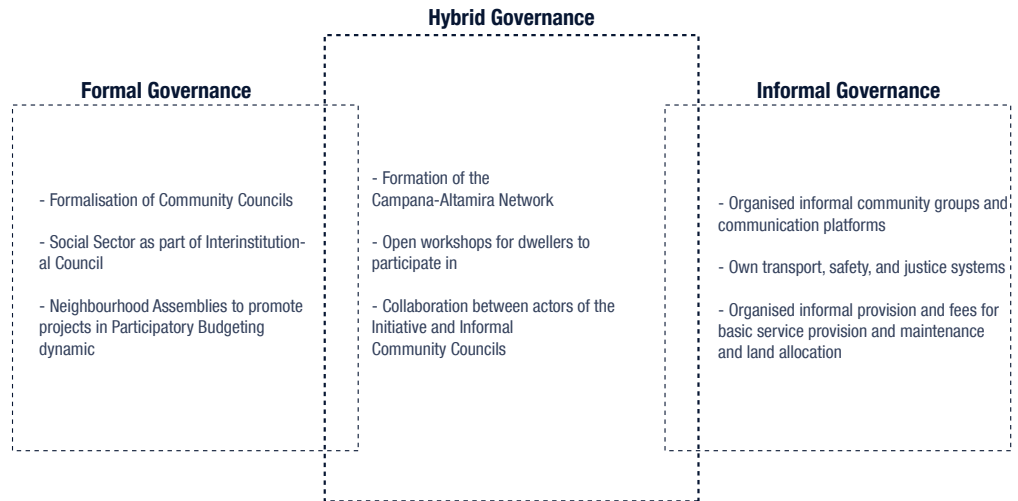| *Figure 4.35* *Participatory Budgeting Structure Diagram, source: author*

Mechanisms for Monitoring, Control, and Evaluation

Once the Partial Programme is approved, it will retain an active status until 2040. Throughout this time, the programme will be subjected every three years to monitoring, control, and evaluation actions that can result in adjustments as needed. These actions have four main objectives. First, evaluate the programme's application to confirm or modify the established axes. Second, determine corrective action that needs to be implemented to solve the identified urban problem. Third, evaluate congruence between actions and strategies regarding density, land use, and other urbanisation and construction restrictions. Fourth, evaluate the established actions and objectives at the programmatic level, as well as their execution in the proposed time in relation to the commitment by the various responsible sectors for executing these actions and the economic resource allocation. This monitoring, control, and evaluation process must be aligned with the legal framework of the Partial Programme (Municipio de Monterrey & IMPLANC Monterrey, 2020). Further, in the Partial Programme, it is stated that the Municipality of Monterrey, the Secretary for Urban and Ecological development of the Municipality of Monterrey, and the Interinstitutional Council of the Campana-Altamira Initiative have the capacity to conduct this monitoring, control, and evaluation process. Regarding this process, the responsibilities of the Interinstitutional Council are to permanently monitor the application of the actions established in the Partial Programme, simultaneously, this entity is also capable of requesting support from academic institutions for this purpose. Further, the Interinstitutional Council must develop an annual report in which the evaluation of the actions of the programme is measured against the results. Finally, the Interinstitutional Council may also propose additional municipal intervention, which must be assessed by the Municipality and the programme modified within six months of its approval, publication, and official registry (Municipio de Monterrey & IMPLANC Monterrey, 2020).

4.3.3 Spaces for Formal Community Participation

From this chapter, a clearer picture of the formal spaces for community participation in informal settlement upgrading can be captured. The choice to participate in decisions relating to the Campana-Altamira Initiative is strictly confined to a formalisation process of the community councils in the area, allowing them to participate in dynamics such as the Participatory Budgeting. While the Initiative's plans do recognise the presence of informal participation (elaborated on in Chapter 4.1.3) through the existence of the Campana-Altamira

Network or open workshops, these can only have decision-making power if they undergo a formalisation process. Further, the integration of the social sector into the Interinstitutional Council is constrained by enforcing the community councils to be recognised as legitimate legal entities. Figure 4.36 integrates the formal, hybrid, and informal elements of governance and participation found in the area and that relate to those proposed by Suhartini & Jones (2019).

Hybrid Governance

Formal Governance

Informal Governance

- Formalisation of Community Councils

- Social Sector as part of Interinstitution-al Council

- Neighbourhood Assemblies to promote projects in Participatory Budgeting dynamic

- Formation of the Campana-Altamira Network

- Open workshops for dwellers to participate in

- Collaboration between actors of the Initiative and Informal Community Councils

- Organised informal community groups and communication platforms

- Own transport, safety, and justice systems

- Organised informal provision and fees for basic service provision and maintenance and land allocation

Figure 4.36
Formal, Hybrid, and Informal Governance and Participation found in Area
source: author

Planning Dimension Conclusion

This section presented the planning dimensions of the initiative. The Integral Plan includes the governance model. centred around equal power of the members of the Interinstitutional Council, who is in charge of the strategic direction of the programme. It was also revealed that the social sector is absent from this council and the way the community participation is engrained into the programme is presented. While there are intentions to integrate them, it can be deduced that the community did not have access to strategic decision-making during the process. In the Partial Programme, planning instruments that constrain the ability of certain groups to democratically participate, through the council formalisation requirements, were found. From this chapter, it can be concluded that the only spaces for informal governance elements within the initiative's plans is the Campana-Altamira Network, which attempts to bring together all social actors working in the area, despite their legal standing. When looking back at the literature, Table 4.18 highlights what Huchzermeyer (1999) refers to as a Government-Initiated Support-Based Intervention. This is the most representative of the Campana-Altamira Initiative due to its components and planning approach.

Classification of Informal Settlement Upgrading Processes and Planning of Campana-Altamira Initiative

Author	Name of Intervention	Central Theme	Initiating Actor	Hierarchical Approach
Huchzermeyer (1999)	Externally Designed comprehensive upgrading	Transformation of living standards in short period	Government or External	Government-Led
	Government-initiated Support-based Intervention	Break down intervention into people-driven components	Government	Government-Led
	NGO-initiated Support-based Intervention	Increase community capabilities and encourage community empowerment	NGOs	Community-Led
Abbott (2002)	Progressive Improvement model of Infrastructural Provision	Physical Improvement	Government	Government-Led
	Physical Transformation through Holistic Plan	Economic	Government	Government-Led
	Community Action Planning	Community Participation	Communities	Community-Led

Table 4.18 Classification of Informal Settlement Upgrading Processes and Planning of Campana-Altamira Initiative , source: author

4.4 Stakeholder Dimension

This chapter presents the stakeholder dimension of the case study. The objective of this chapter is to capture the interests, roles, perceptions, and experiences of the stakeholders that have actively participated in the Campana neighbourhood. These components are extracted from the semi-structured interviews and focus groups that were conducted between March and April of 2022.

First, the key stakeholders working in the area are identified and classified. After this, a power-interest matrix is presented in which the expected versus resulting interests are mapped out. Third, their positions are analysed in three dimensions, namely: stakeholder-initiative, stakeholder–stakeholder, and stakeholder-community. This exercise aims to capture the relationships and power dynamics between stakeholders participating in the area.

Identification and Mapping of Stakeholders

Before capturing the interest and roles of the key actors involved in the area it is first necessary to identify who these actors are. Table 4.19 showcases the actors that were identified during the investigation and are classified into four groups, namely, public, private, civil society., and experts The right-hand side column shows those stakeholders that were interviewed. These were selected based on the proximity and direct relationship they have with the community and people living in the area. Therefore, those actors that have played a more distant role were excluded from the interview process. As shown, the public actors are composed mainly of the Federal, State, and Municipal levels of government. The private actors include a university, a research centre, and the Corporate Social Responsibility of a large corporation. Finally, the Civil Society group is composed of neighbourhood councils , civil society organisations, and local institutions working in the area. The fourth group of actors were those of the academic sphere, it was considered necessary to include this group of actors because of the more critical and expert point of view they can provide. However, it is important to note that, while the UANL and UT Austin actors are included in the academic sphere, they have also been actively involved in the neighbourhood working alongside the communities. This multidisciplinary experience between theory and practice provides a well-rounded perspective.

Further, Table 4.20 lists the organisation and the titles of the actors that were interviewed. The support letter from the Delft University of Technology stating the academic purpose of the research can be found in Appendix B.

Identification of Stakeholders

Stakeholder Group	Function	Description	Status
Public	National Government SEDATU	Drive the sustainable and inclusive territorial development of the country through design, coordination and implementation of territorial ordainment politics, agararian and urban development, and of adequate housing.	-
	National Government SEDESOL	In charge of formulating and coordinating social politics for the Federal Government. Develop the health, education, and nourishment capacities of the Mexican people and provide Social Protection to the most vulnerable sectors of the population.	-
	National Government SEGOB	Attends the political development of the country and contributes to the conduction of relationships between the Federal Executive Power with others of the Union and the rest of the levels of government to encourage harmonic coexistence, social peace, well-being and development of the Mexican people.	-
	State Government Secretary of Citizen Participation	Establish and design mechanisms for direct participation that promote transparency, collaboration in a governance model, and accountability for the solution of public problems.	**Interviewed**
	Municipal Government IMPLANc	Handles Urban Development of Monterrey. Decentralised Public Organism that has as main objective the integral planning for the municipal development, urban sustainability, risk prevention, and environmental care	**Interviewed**
	FOMERREY	Drive the integration of family patrimony and improve the quality of life of socially vulnerable groups through the instrumentation of programmes that facilitate the acquisition of progressive urban plots.	-
Private	ITESM DistritoTec	Urban Regeneration Initiative driven and promoted by the ITESM along with citizens, organisation, and authorities	**Interviewed**
	CSR CEMEX	Building communities through a sustainability model for the solution of important social problemsbased on four pillars: economic, environmental, social, and governance	**Interviewed**
	CEMEX-TEC Research Centre	Alliance between CEMEX & ITESM to collaborate to drive urban and rural communities toward better living conditions, promoting their integral development with a sustainable vision.	**Interviewed**
Civil Society	Neighbourhood Council	Work to build and invigorate networks of coexistence, collaboration, and mutual help., with the aim of strengthening the social fabric. All of this under the premise of making a "City for All"	**Interviewed**
	Civil Society Organisations	Objective is to develop the community, stimulate and support collaboration and dialogue amongst neighbours, work to increase their capacities in order for them to wok to improve their quality of life of the community.	**Interviewed**
Experts	Independent	Critical point of view and has contributed as an consultant formalise a neighbourhood council taking on a facilitating role	**Interviewed**
	Independent	Critical and practical point of view. Consultant for Internation Development Institutions and former director of Barrio Esperanza	**Interviewed**
	UT Austin PhD. Candidate	Investigating the Campana neighbourhood's community participation	**Interviewed**
	IIED	Human Settlements Group Principal Researcher	**Interviewed**

Table 4.19 Identification of Key Stakeholders, source: author

Interview Respondents

Actor Group	#	Organisation Classification	Organisation	Respondent	Code
Public	1	State Government	Secretary of Citizen Participation	Secretary of Citizen Participation	X.P.
	2	Municipal Government	IMPLANc	Urban Regeneration and Social Urbanism Coordinator	J.A.
Private	3	ITESM	DistritoTec	Social Liaison Initiative - Community	V.G.
	4	CEMEX-TEC Research Centre	CEMEX-TEC Research Centre	Urbanism Leader	R.P.
Civil Society	5	Neighbourhood Council	Nuestro Espacio	President	T.R.
	6	Civil Society Organisations	Barrio Esperanza	Operative Team	P.H. X.C. N.C.
	7	Local Support Institution	Food Bank Jesucristo Pan de Vida	Operative Team	J.C.
Experts	8*	Independent	Independent / Nuestro Espacio	Professor & Nuestro Espacio Consultant	C.F.
	9*	Independent	Independent/Barrio Esperanza	Barrio Esperanza Consultant	J.M.
	10*	UT Austin	UT Austin	PhD. Candidate	L.S.
	11*	IIED	Human Settlements Group	Principal Researcher	A.F.

Table 4.20
Interview Respondents, source: author

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Stakeholder Interests

The purpose of this section is to capture the interests and levels of power of the key actors. To accomplish this effectively, it is necessary first to establish the relationship between their interests and power in the context of the interventions for the improvement of AGEB 4197. The method used for this is the development of two power-interest matrices. The first matrix captures the expected positions of the different stakeholders, which are based on initial assumptions and derived from the theory of the literature review, as well as interpretations from the secondary data documentation. Therefore, this power-interest matrix illustrated what one would suppose is the situation of the actors concerning the area of study. The second power-interset matrix is the actual situation and is developed after analysing the positions of the stakeholders in three relations, 1) stakeholder-initiative, 2) stakeholder–stakeholder, and 3) stakeholder-community. When the perspective that is being captured is that of the community, these relations are as follows, 1) community-initiative, 2) community–stakeholder, and 3) community-community.

Power-Interest Matrix

A power-interest matrix is composed of two dimensions. First, is the power to influence the defined objective of the project, or the ability to influence the process, in this case, the interventions regarding the improvement inside AGEB 4197. Second, the level of interest the actor has in the project, which is defined as the expected benefit or loss resulting from the project (Winch, 2010). The intersection of these two dimensions results in the grouping of the stakeholders into four types. The first type is those that require minimal effort and belong to the low power-low interest group. The second are those that need to be kept informed and belong in the high power-low interest. Third, are those stakeholders that need to be kept satisfied and are placed in the low power-high interest quadrant. Fourth, are the key stakeholders which belong to the high power-high interest group (Winch, 2010). The implications of each type are assessed in the following section concerning the case study.

Expected Power-Interest Matrix

Figure 4.37 illustrates the expected position in the power-interest matrix of the public, private, and civil society stakeholders regarding the Campana-Altamira Initiative. As previously stated, their position was based on a series of assumptions based on the literature review and interpretation of the secondary data documents.

Regarding the public group, one of the purposes for the decentralisation of the Mexican political system was to distribute power and responsibility more evenly among the three levels of government. This would allow state and municipal governments to have more autonomy on decisions impacting their territory (Guarneros-Meza, 2009). For this reason, the federal entities of government are placed in the 'Keep Satisfied' quadrant while the municipal level is expected to have the highest power and interest out of all three.

From the private group of stakeholders, both the ITESM and CSR CEMEX are part of the key actors relating to the Campana-Altamira from a governance perspective. However, while they have a great interest in achieving a successful project and are investing highly in the area in the form of social workers, their private nature does not grant them enough power as government actors. For example, they cannot provide basic services or tenure security to the residents, but, they can use their expertise in education or other programmes to help the communities thrive. For this reason, they are placed on the lower end of the high power-high interest quadrant. The ITESM however, is assumed to have slightly more interest in the project due to their geographical proximity, which could highly impact their urban ecosystem. The CEMEX-TEC Research Centre, on the other hand, is a stakeholder that is not so involved directly in the area and was commissioned studies whenever needed. Thus, making them an actor that needs minimal effort.

The civil society organisations, neighbourhood councils, and neighbours, which compose the Civil Society group, are both regarded as having great power and interest in the development of the area. They are regarded as having great interest in the success of the project since their livelihoods are directly impacted by the outcome. Furthermore, the governance discourse of the Campana-Altamira Initiative places them as a key actor in the involvement of the interventions and the Social Liaison of the ITESM mentions that one of the goals of the programme is for it to be community-based (V.G., personal communication, 2022). Further, as mentioned by the CEMEX-TEC Research Centre Urbanism Leader, the community, as a central piece to the development of any urban area, have great power over whether interventions take place or not, disregarding their public or private origin (R.P., personal communication, 2022).

With this in mind, the expected position concerning the programme is mapped out in the power-interest matrix, as seen in Figure 4.37.

Keep Satisfied   high power   Key Stakeholder

Municipality

FOMERREY

CSO
Neighbourhood
Councils

Neighbours   State

Federal

CSR CEMEX   ITESM

low interest   high interest

CEMEX-TEC Centre

Minimal Effort   low power   Keep Informed

● Public Group

■ Private Group

▲ Civil Society Group

Stakeholder Relations

This section aims to capture the actual power and interest of actors. This is done by analysing the positions and relations of each group of stakeholders that participated in the interview process in three different relations, as seen in Figure 4.38. The interviews were designed into three main blocks, these are the relationships between 1) stakeholder-initiative, 2) stakeholder–stakeholder, 3) stakeholder-community With this in mind, the three relations of the Public and Private groups are 1) stakeholder-initiative, 2) stakeholder–stakeholder, and 3) stakeholder-community. On the other hand, the relations of the Civil Society group are 1) community-initiative, 2) community–stakeholder, and 3) community-community. After this relationship analysis, it is possible to place the position of the actors into an actual power-interest matrix that portrays a clearer picture of how power relationships unfold between actors.
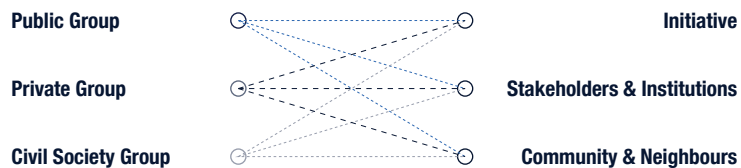

Public Group   Initiative

Private Group   Stakeholders & Institutions

Civil Society Group   Community & Neighbours

Public Group

This relationship was captured from the perspective of the Urban Regeneration and Social Urbanism Coordinator for the organism in charge of the Urban Development of Monterrey and the Secretary for Citizen Participation.

Public - Initiative

In regards to the relationship between the municipality and the initiative, their interest centres around the formalisation of the Partial Programme for the Urban Development of the Campana-Altamira District. The informal operation of the initiative requires the power of the municipality to formalise processes and institutions. However, at the moment, this has presented a series of challenges. The first challenge concerns the number of resources at the disposal of the municipality versus its size. It is currently a team of 25, out of which 15 are truly active, for a municipality of over 1 million people. In his personal opinion, there is a need for a stronger organism that focuses solely on programmes for areas such as the Campan-Altamira and people with the expertise, sensibility and time to conduct these efforts (J.A., personal communication, 2022). Further, the scope of programmes the municipality handles is too wide as they may be promoting investment from international companies on one end to solving basic services provision for vulnerable areas on the other.

The relationship between the Secretary of Citizen Participation and the Initiative is not a direct one. Therefore, there is not a direct interest of the state in the specific area of study, as they aim to solve social problems by facilitating the participation of all citizens, as well as to bridge the gap between the government and society (X.P., personal communication, 2022). Further, this government institution works within the realm of formal participation, which is still in the process of being implemented in the case study.

Public – Stakeholders

The challenge to exercise their power is also present in their relation to other stakeholders, most notably, their relation to the state and federal governments. When asked about their autonomy, the respondent answered *"[...] in the case of the municipality, it is null. We depend terribly on the federal government, if you do not get along well with the federal and state governments, you can't do anything. "* (J.A., personal communication, 2022). The resources collected solely by the municipality account for 1% of the territory, and are 40% of their total budget, the remaining coming from the federal government. With these resources, the municipality must operate their day to day activities and implement emblematic projects.
Further, the equal power distribution that exists amongst the other members of the initiative has made it unclear who is leading. While the intention of involving public, private and civil society groups to participate is to create an equal field and safeguard the programme if one decides to abandon it, this has resulted in a somewhat blurry notion of leadership.

Public – Community

Concerning the community, the interest of the municipality is to formalise the neighbourhood councils. This would allow the councils to participate in dynamics such as the participatory budgeting, and ultimately have a greater say in the initiative. To participate in the participatory budgeting, however, forces neighbours to formalise and work together. A similar observation is made in regards to the state government since this government institution handles formal paths of participation only. Thus, excluding those groups that either want to continue functioning informally or do not want to collaborate with the government. *"[...] in an ideal world, and that is our objective, the Initiative should already exist in an organised way, with its own resources, and developing medium and long-term projects"* - Urban Regeneration and Social Urbanism Coordinator. There is a great lack of distrust from the community toward the government, as historically, administrations have seen these areas as pools for gathering votes.
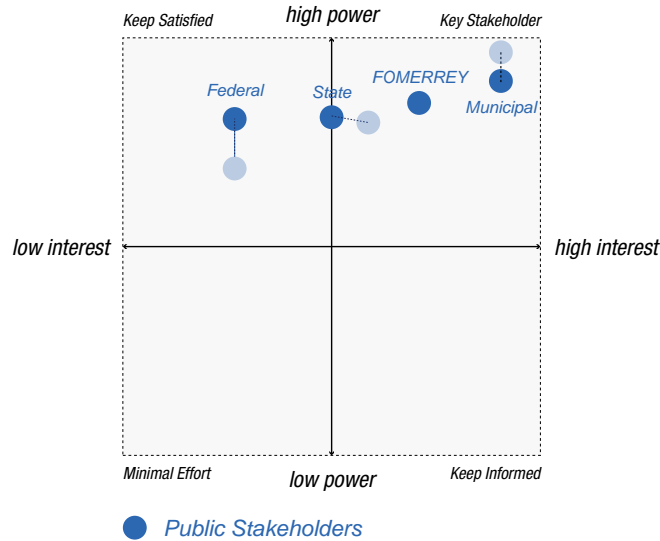
Private Group

This relationship was captured from the perspective of the Social Liaison with the community of the ITESM and the Community Development Adviser of CSR-CEMEX. These two respondents have been working in the field alongside the community.

Private Group – Initiative

In the case of the ITESM, the interest lies in an integral development along with their urban surroundings. This is due to their urban proximity and their social responsibility to the area, as many workers such as gardeners, cafeterias, and janitors of the university live in La Campana. Their power has a different dimension than the municipality. While they cannot provide basic services or land tenure to the residents, their position as one of the main members of the Initiative allows them to negotiate and influence how to conduct the interventions. In addition, they can exercise their power in coordinating and facilitating processes with other stakeholders, as well as networking and engaging with the community through social workers to create a relationship based on trust.

Private Group – Stakeholder

In regards to the relationship with other stakeholders, the ITESM can exert their power in the way the information is released or communicated to the public. As stated by the Social Liaison from the ITESM, *"[...] we have to make sure that governments don't announce projects that have no funding yet. Sometimes we have been able to achieve this, other times we haven´t"* (V.G., personal communication, 2022)". In this sense, transparency plays a significant role, not only in the way that information is shared internally but also with the community. However, this has had its challenges, the ITESM Liaison states that there have been some occasions in which there was a lack of transparency between stakeholders regarding interventions or access to information. "We were told that there had been operational difficulties, and later we find out that there were resources for the Participatory Budgeting [...]at least in the Campana-Altamira, this was not done openly and transparently(V.G., personal communication, 2022)". One of the main ways that the ITESM holds power is through networking. Their work has focused greatly on mapping actors in the area and serving as the link for external parties interested in participating, "[...] we tell them that there is a joint effort, that they should align with us. Not to control what they are going to do, that isn't the idea, but our objective is to align all the actors and that they know what has been done previously. (V.G., personal communication, 2022). Finally, the ITESM liaison also points out that there exists a lack of personnel for a programme of this size and believes that all actors have fallen short in implementing more personnel to work on the initiative.

Further, the CEMEX-TEC Research Urbanism Leader states that the equal level of power between the main stakeholders has resulted in the absence of a clear leader that is pushing the project forward *"there always has to be a leader of the project. Always. If not, it makes things very difficult. [...There is an Urban Development Plan for the area, it is now the municipality and the neighbours' turn to make it happen, and all the other stakeholders involved in this project are participants through invitation]"* (R.P., personal communication, 2022). While the legal framework obligates the municipality to spearhead these efforts, it has been recognised that at the moment, there is a clear lack of overarching leadership. This structure has also resulted in a fragmented way of working, in which everyone is working independently on their things with the hopes of putting them together at the end and having a complete project. Echoing the perspective of the Municipality respondent, she also believes that there should be an office designed specifically for this project.

Private Group – Community

The strength of the relationship between the ITESM and the community lies in the network that has been created in the past years. This network has the power to link the community to different local institutions or services that they may need. Here, the ITESM plays the role of 'accompaniment' with neighbours, local institutions, or CSOs. Accompaniment is understood as the transfer of power, knowledge, or information into the responsibility of the community (V.G., personal communication, 2022). The foundation of this network is the trust that has been created with the community. Trust has been generated by communicating transparently the interests of the institution, meeting expectations, and showing commitment and continuity to the projects that are announced. However, being one hundred per cent transparent has also presented challenges. As the Social Liaison states *"The community is a fundamental part of this effort. In theory, there is a co-responsibility inscribed in the purpose of the initiative. In practice, projects have been carried out with minimum or no participation from the community"* (V.G., personal communication, 2022). He further adds that being transparent is a way of showing weakness or ceding power.
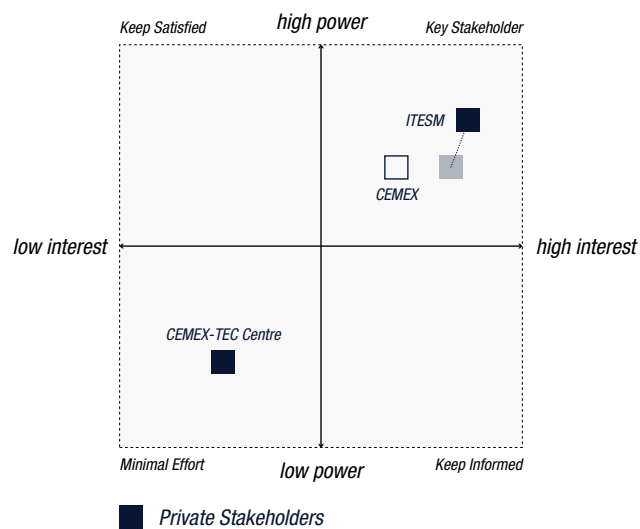
Figure 4.40
*Resulting Power-interest of Private Group
source: author*

Civil Society Group

This relationship was captured from the perspective of the Nuestro Espacio Council Leader and the Barrio Esperanza Operational Team. While the former works independently and is not formally a part of the initiative, they are operating in the same area and know the actors personally, this way, providing a valid point of view. The latter has been working independently since 2015 but has just recently formed part of the Initiative. The commonality of being people that live in the area and are close to each other provides a perspective based on reality. Further, people living on both the top and bottom parts of the hill form part of

these organisations, providing a heterogeneous perspective of the area. The main interest of the civil society group is to improve the living conditions of the residents. Being formalised organisations, their power lies in the ability to participate in formal dynamics and the capacity to organise collectively.

Civil Society – Initiative

The relationship between this group to the initiative is a complex and ambivalent one. The perception of the Nuestro Espacio Council President is that the public and private institutions of the initiative have good intentions overall, but she questions the precedence of these. When asked what the logos of the initiative printed on the walls of the neighbourhood made her feel, she responded *"It bothers me, [...] if you ask them to build a bench without the logos, they won't do it"*. As a result, the perception is that the interests of these institutions are marketing campaigns and there is scepticism of their interest in the area for financial reasons (T. R., personal communication, 2022).   The UT Austin PhD candidate states that there is no relationship between civil society groups and the initiative, but rather a relationship with social workers from the initiative that have been working with the community (L.S., personal communication, 2022). He further states that they are not aware that the initiative is a large-scale urban project in the making and that this has not been communicated to them to avoid creating false expectations. A clear example of this is the purchase of the "El Campo de los Pinos" plot by the ITESM, as this has not yet been communicated to the community. This sets a precedent that should be taken with caution, as it has historically been the main meeting and recreational point for the community. This puts into question the degree of transparency that has been exercised.

Civil Society - Stakeholder

The relationship between this group and the individual actors of the initiative is much more direct and can therefore be distilled to a greater degree. Relating to the government institutions, there is a significant level of distrust. Both actors interviewed in this group agree that political parties have caused a great deal of damage over time. *"Unfortunately, political parties here have done a lot of damage. More than help, they have done damage because they accustomed people to give them a food basket in exchange for their vote"* (T.R., personal communication, 2022). The CEMEX-TEC Urbanism Leader seconds this by stating that, historically, neighbourhoods such as La Campana have been sources of votes for politicians; thus, creating a dependency through a paternalistic relationship (R.P., personal communication, 2022). Another way this paternalistic relationship is reinforced is by the presence of campaigners as leaders of neighbourhood councils. The Barrio Esperanza director states that this has been used by political parties as a strategy to gain control over the votes of the territory and has resulted in structures that are difficult to dismantle. However, the association of neighbourhood councils with political parties can also discourage the participation of residents (C.F., personal communication, 2022). Further, the Barrio Esperanza team states that there has also been a history of false promises from politicians and institutional abandonment. As a result, the perception of the community toward the government is extremely negative.

The relationship with private and other external actors of the initiative is an ambivalent one. Both actors interviewed from the Civil Society group agree that they are open to listening when approached by someone related to the initiative, but, are sceptic about their commitment or interests. The Nuestro Espacio president states that while the intentions of these groups are good, there is a lack of continuity in the area. In addition, both interviewed actors agreed that there is a tendency to provide help without understanding the needs of the community first. *"[...] many times people will come and propose something that we know will not work", "after some time, those people start to create an endearing relationship, they understand the children's needs, the community's needs, because they have spent time on the field and spent time with them..."* (X.C., personal communication, 2022). Further, they recognise a lack of flexibility in the way these workshops are run, they are conditioned to gather a minimum

number of people for them to happen.

Lastly, there exists stigmatisation from the neighbouring middle-class neighbourhoods and other sectors of the population toward the La Campana. This was noted by several actors that were interviewed. The neighbourhood and its residents are often stigmatised as being dangerous and inaccessible. As stated by the Barrio Esperanza team, *"Unfortunately, we have always been thought of as a marginalised neighbourhood, an insecure area in a state of alert, and that it is a very dangerous place."* (X.C., personal communication, 2022). V.G. (personal communication, 2022) confirms this by stating that in some cases, interventions to improve public spaces have been stopped by neighbouring middle-class groups that think these public spaces may bring people from La Campana closer to them and put them at risk of crime.

Civil Society – Community

The relationship between the community itself is perhaps the most complex one. Several factors put at risk the ability to exercise their power to its fullest. First, is the heterogeneity of the neighbourhood in various dimensions. The first dimension of this heterogeneity is the difference between the Campana and the Altamira neighbourhoods, between those who live at the top and the bottom of the hill, and between the different areas of the neighbourhoods. The UT Austin PhD candidate states that this territorial divide has its roots in the chronological order people settled on the hill and is expressed in a series of conflicts between neighbours (L.S., personal communication, 2022). For example, one of the ways this divide is expressed is in how water is accessed. The Nuestro Espacio president states that *"[...] the upper part was the last to be settled here, and they used the water that was ours. But they didn't pay for it. Every time the pump broke down we had to cooperate and pay to repair it. So that was the problem, people didn't want them to use our water because they didn't pay for it and for us it had been a struggle to get it. So that is where I think the separation began"* (T. R., personal communication, 2022).

Another way this heterogeneity is expressed is in the interest between age groups to participate. A recurring issue was the contrast between the high participation interest from older age groups and the aversion from younger groups. This concern was expressed not only by the community member but actors from both the public and private spheres. The lack of youth participation puts at risk the sustainability and continuity of the existing efforts. The actors all agree that the root of this is the difference in interests of the younger community members, but, that they have not yet been able to capture how to enhance their participation.

Moreover, machismo culture has a strong presence in the area. All the female respondents answered that they had exposure to at least one sexist family member throughout their lives and for a long time were subjected to this culture. *"Why do I allow it to happen? Why did I never raise my voice? Why did I always allow myself to be stepped on, humiliated, and denigrated?"* (P. H., personal communication, 2022). Despite this, women in La Campana are the ones that are actively and intensely participating and pushing things forwards. They are leading the change in many ways in the neighbourhood.

Finally, another issue that arose during the interviews is the high degree of atomisation of efforts between community members. This is perhaps the greatest hindrance to the ability to exercise the community's power to its complete potential. The Social Liaison for the ITESM states that within the initiative, one of the goals is to integrate a Council that represents the community as a whole into the Interinstitutional Council, thus, giving them more power in the decisions made (V.G., personal communication, 2022). However, for this to happen, several things need to change in the way these councils function. First, they need to stop depending on people. A recurring issue among the respondents was the over-dependence on one single leader, that, if absent, the council would cease to exist. Secondly, the level of councils is too fragmented, as they exist almost on a street scale. These councils that are working separately

need to be unified. *"It can't be that there is a council on this street and then another in the next."* (V.G., personal communication, 2022). This street-scale level of fragmentation results in small-scale, dispersed efforts since the neighbours are only interested in improving spaces close to them.

The mindset of the people of the community needs to change to be able to act collectively and that, while they may not agree on certain things, they can still work together. However, there are certain indicators of collectivity, cohesion, or recognition, between councils. There exist informal ways of communication between them such as WhatsApp or Facebook groups in which they share their projects and there were also annual report meetings between councils. One of the challenges of coordinating amongst councils is the stage of their development , *"A lot of them are associations that are just starting, and we have been here for seven years, have three centres, and know how to get around"* (X.C., personal communication, 2022). This longitudinal presence in the area has granted legitimacy to Barrio Esperanza and they are seen today as a trustworthy association due to their networking power.
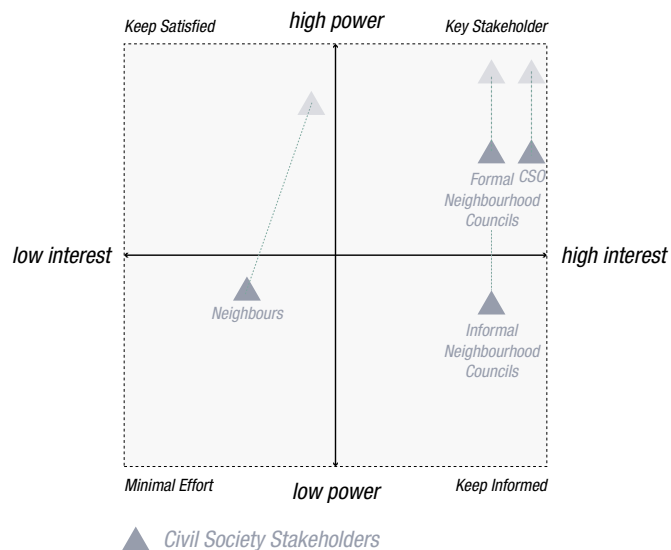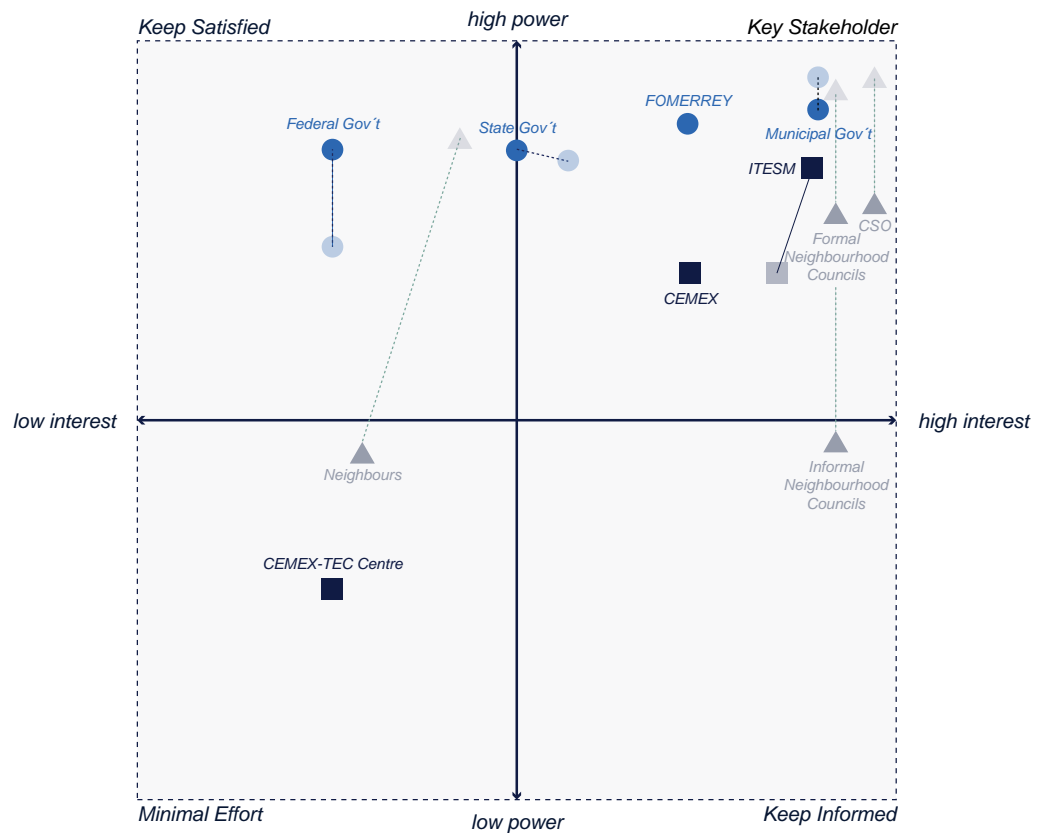
▲ *Civil Society Stakeholders*

Actual Power-Interest Matrix

From this analysis, it is possible to better capture the interests, roles, perceptions, and experiences of stakeholders, as well as gain a comprehensive understanding of the power dynamics between them. When the actual level of power and interest concerning the initiative is overlaid with the expected one, there is a clear mismatch between the two, as seen in Figure 4.42. In this second matrix, the federal government is shown as having more power, due to its ability to determine the level of autonomy of the municipality. Simultaneously, the state government is seen as having equal power for the same reasons, but slightly less interest due to the absent direct relationship in the initiative. As a result, the municipality's level of interest remains high, but its power is decreased. Despite this decrease, the municipality remains the institution with the highest level of power concerning the initiative. This is because of their ability to provide basic services and enforce paths of participation.

In the case of the private actors, the ITESM maintained its level of interest and gained considerable due to its ability to influence the inner functionings of the Initiative and control how information is communicated and transferred through their networking power. Thus, indirectly impacting the level of intensity with which the community can participate. CSR CEMEX is in a similar situation, but due to their recent abandonment of the initiative, have

been placed as greatly losing interest. While the CEMEX-TEC Centre remains the same as they have no direct involvement with the community or influence in the initiative.

Regarding the civil society actors, both the formalised councils and the CSOs maintained their interest but lost a significant amount of power relating to both the public and private groups. The reason for this is twofold; first, the municipality establishes the rubrics of participating in dynamics such as the participatory budgeting. Second, the level of atomisation, and lack of a collective mindset, reduces the ability to exercise their power to its full potential. An additional group stemmed from the Neighbourhood Councils composed of councils that maintain their informal status. Their power was diminished to a greater degree due to being excluded from formally participating in the initiative. The interest and power of individual neighbours, on the other hand, were negatively impacted due to the low levels of several demographic groups. While the actors of the initiative, in theory, are equal, the new positions reveal that it is the public and private actors who hold the highest level of power. Through the initiative's mechanisms of participation, the social society group's agency is significantly decreased.

Figure 4.42
Overlaid Expected and Actual
*Power-Interest Matrix*
source: author

● *Public Stakeholders*

■ *Private Stakeholders*

▲ *Civil Society Stakeholders*

Stakeholder Dimension Conclusion

As seen in this section, the Campana-Altamira Initiative is a multisectoral effort in which public, private, civil society, and expert groups converge. An initially expected matrix, based on the literature review and secondary data documentation, was produced that maps out the actors' power and interest relating to their involvement in the initiative. Through an analysis of the relationships between the different groups, an actual power interest matrix was derived. It was concluded that there are considerable mismatches between the two. While the municipality still maintains the most power in the Campana-Altamira Initiative, the most impacted actors are those of civil society. This is due to restricted access to certain participation instruments such as participatory budgeting. An offspring of this group are those informal neighbourhood councils that, while they retain their power to continue their activities, cannot influence the process of the initiative. Furthermore, this analysis revealed relationships that have structural and contextual implications on the ability of the groups to limit, exert, and transfer their power over and to others.

Chapter 5
Synthesis & Conclusion
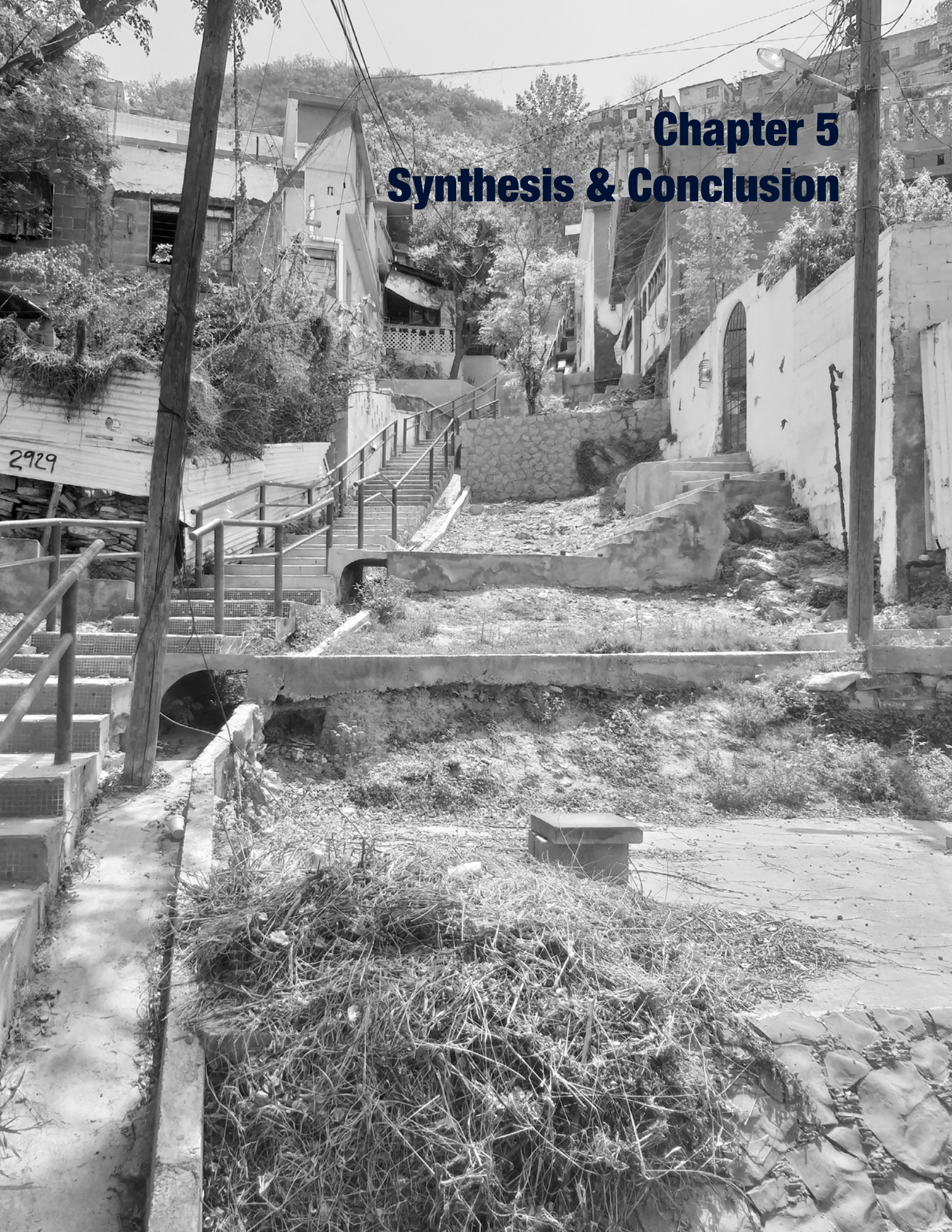
Before presenting the key findings of this research, the main topic, purpose, and methodology are revisited. This thesis aims to answer the question *"What factors of informal settlement upgrading processes in Northern Mexico enable community participation to promote community empowerment?"*. To this end, the case study investigated is the Campana-Altamira Initiative in the city of Monterrey, with a territorial focus on AGEB 4197.

To answer the main question, it is unpacked along the lines of the governance structure of the case, the stakeholders involved in the project and their relationship to the community, the power dynamics between them and the impact of the context on the process. The components of the main question are translated into a conceptual model, which captures the different aspects relating to the research, and that can be applied to context-specific situations.
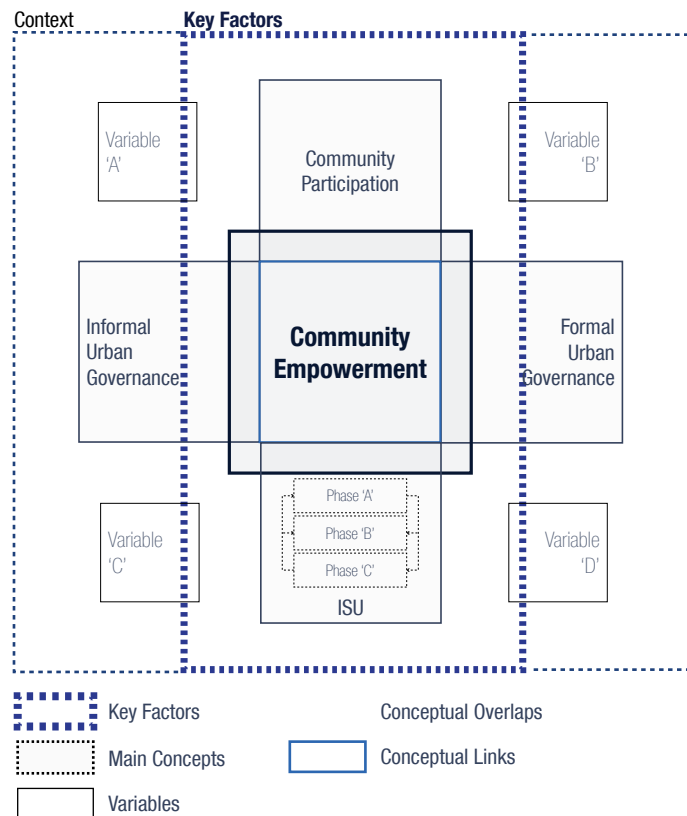
The main objectives of this thesis are to 1) understand how contextual situations impact the ability of the urban poor to participate democratically, 2) capture the interests, power dynamics, and means of various stakeholders concerning community participation during upgrading processes, and 3) understand the role of urban governance in dictating the arenas for formal and informal urban systems and spaces for participation.

Chapter 2 of this research is a literature study focusing on the concepts of Informal Settlement Upgrading, Urban Governance and Community Participation and Empowerment. Chapter 4 consisted of empirical research divided into the Contextual, Sociospatial, Planning and Stakeholder Dimensions of the Campana-Altamira Initiative. This was conducted mainly in Monterrey, Mexico through primary data collection in a series of interviews with key stakeholders and secondary data analysed in documents relating to the case.

5.1 Key Findings

In this chapter, the main research question is answered, which was built upon five subquestions which structured the research process and resulted in the conclusions. A discussion on the research process is also developed, which includes limitations to the research, recommendation for further research and a reflection on the process.

The question that is answered is 'What factors of informal settlement upgrading processes in Northern Mexico enable community participation to promote community empowerment?'.

In this case, factors of informal settlement upgrading is applied to the Campana-Altamira Initiative in Monterrey, Mexico to identify those that impact the way processes of informal settlement upgrading influence community participation. Through the five subquestions that structured the research, seven key findings were identified. They are:

1. The Planning Process and Policy
2. Transparency and Reliability
3. Networks and Support
4. Leadership
5. Stakeholder Collaboration
6. Community Collectivity
7. Contextual Implications

These factors are presented and elaborated on individually below.

The Planning Process and Policy

The first factor identified in informal settlement upgrading that enables community participation to promote community empowerment in the process is the planning and policies involved in the upgrading process.

This process unfolds in several areas and dimensions. A starting point is the alignment of objectives and understanding of what community participation entails and how it is defined. This allows the governance structure to adequately incorporate community participation into the planning process. In this step, several aspects of community participation must be determined. In the literature, these refer to the four questions of community participation raised by (Moser, 1989), namely, why, when, whose, and how will participation take place. Based on the Integral Plan and Partial Programme of the Initiative, the 'why' for community participation is the sharing of responsibilities and empowerment, aligned with Moser's (1989) objective of participation. However, until now, the participation from the community has been limited to consultation and viewed on the lower tier of intensities in Paul's, (1987) model. In some cases, especially during the implementation phase, V.G. (personal communication, 2022) states that not even information-sharing with the community has been a part of it. This leads to 'when' participation takes place. Once the Partial Programme is legally approved and a neighbourhood actor is invited to the Interinstitutional Council, this will raise serious questions as to 'when' exactly the community has had power over the direction of the programme and level of inclusiveness, as many of the strategic and important decisions in the Partial Programme have already been made, reducing community participation to a consultation and legitimisation process. (White, 1996), associates this with a nominal form of participation in which the interests of top-down approaches are to legitimise and only serve as a function to display. Guarneros-Meza (2007), states that while participation in top-down approaches is built into the planning through the promotion of formalised councils, it is not inclusive of all groups, such as non-formal ones. In the case study, 'whose' participation is sought after, relates to the promotion of formalised councils by the CAI to form part of the absence of the IIC, in charge of the strategic decision-making of the CAI. At the same time, there are organised informal groups that have no interest in collaborating with the initiative

and that prefer to continue to function independently. While informal councils have the right to not participate and continue to act independently, their agency and power are diminished, as they are placed in a lower tier of participants and their ability to make claims and requests to authorities is weakened (Frediani, 2010; Ibrahim, 2006). Finally, 'how' participation takes place refers to the means used to allow the community to participate. In the case study, this is linked to the instruments such as the participatory budgeting and the Campana-Altamira Network, which are associated with the formal and hybrid modes of governance mentioned by Suhartini & Jones (2019), respectively. While all the different perceptions of power proposed by Eyben (2004) can relate to the planning process, the power structure of the process is mainly determined by it as it defines the rules of the game on how power relations unfold.

Transparency and Reliability

Through the analysis of the Campana-Altamira Initiative case study, one of the factors in determining participation from the community that promotes community empowerment is transparency and reliability in the relationships between actors and the community.

Throughout the interview process, transparency was analysed in four dimensions. These are transparency from the initiative toward the community, transparency amongst stakeholders, transparency between stakeholders and the community, and transparency between the community actors. These four dimensions have an impact on how the process of community participation is conducted. It was recognised by several respondents that transparency and reliability set the foundation for a relationship built on trust.

First, it was found that there is a disconnect between the large-scale intentions of the Initiative as an entity and the community's understanding of it. During the interviews, it was stated that the Initiative has not wanted to communicate these large-scale intentions. An example is the purchase of the plot "Campo de los Pinos", one of the largest open spaces in the area that has yet to be developed and is already a meeting point for the community, to avoid creating expectations and later not being able to meet them (V.G.; L.S., personal communication, 2022). This provides an interesting perspective, as the 'networks' approach, represented by the inclusive discourse of the CAI, is characterised by the dependence on stakeholder trust and reputation, as stated by (Adams & Tiesdell, 2012). This raises questions as to how the trust that has been gained by networking closely with the community will be impacted, as the information relating to such intentions has not been shared, serving as an example of information sharing under the intensities of community participation in Paul's, (1987) model. The consequences of this may result in a loss of trust between the community and the actors who have been working in the area to develop a close-knit relationship, especially since there is already initial speculation from the community on the intentions of the institutions, such as those that the ITESM has purchased plots in the neighbourhood (V. G., personal communication, 2022), and, that the intentions of the ITESM in the neighbourhood are limited to a marketing campaign (T. R., personal communication, 2022).

Transparency and reliability among stakeholders involved in the upgrading process were also shown to cause an impact on the opportunities available for the community to participate. While the omission of communicating certain projects from one actor to the rest may make the design process more effective and expedite its implementation, it can simultaneously become a catalyst for the erosion of a trustworthy relationship. Once again, this example can be found in Paul's (1987) Spectrum Approach, under which the objective of participation, or lack thereof, is for project effectiveness. This was present in the case study in which actors requested for information to be communicated, but the project implementation had already begun (V. G., personal communication, 2022).

Further, several respondents noted the importance of transparency as an entry point with

the community and the reliability of the different stakeholders through time to increase trust. C.F.(personal communication, 2022), states that all actors involved in the process should be open to their interests and intentions being questioned, and that, by communicating these transparently, everyone's interests are known and a more levelled playing field is established. However, this can bring about clashes between stakeholders, as not all actors have such a transparent disposition due to underlying interests. This statement reflects the networks approach theory, in which Klijn & Koppenjan (2012) state that it is often characterised by conflict, but that trust can reduce strategic uncertainty and enhance information sharing. In addition to trust, networks approaches are dependent on the reputation of stakeholders (Adams & Tiesdell, 2012). In the case study, the high level of distrust from the community toward institutions was found to be due to a history of false promises and that to dismantle this relationship and rebuild it, reliability is key to improving the institutions' reputation. In practice, this translates to seeing continuity in the actions and finishing projects that have been started, *"...if you set the first stone, finish the building, then we will be convinced you are willing to do something, but if you set one stone and leave, that means nothing. So it is continuity, continuity."* T.R. (personal communication, 2022).

The final relation is amongst the different community actors in the area. The distrust in external actors, especially governmental ones, has impacted the way the community relate to each other. The strong territorial structures built by political parties in the area have resulted in suspicion of the community toward the political affiliation of neighbourhood councils. Guarneros-Meza (2007), states that this form of political clientelism has resulted in a fragmentation of participation, in which the ruling parties can dictate how it takes place. The initial suspicion toward new neighbourhood associations in the area is whether they have governmental precedence. For Barrio Esperanza, there was a lack of belief that their words would turn into actions, as they were initially compared to governmental institutions that had fallen to false promises; as they began realising changes in the area and have now been present for seven years, the community now sees them as a trustworthy association (X.C., personal communication, 2022). Therefore, transparency and reliability once again play a significant role in harnessing a relationship of trust.

From this, it is apparent that transparency as the foundation for a relationship and reliability as the factor to show will and commitment to the actions are factors for establishing a relationship built on trust. For this relationship to enhance the durability of participation from the community in programmes such as the CAI, or participation between community actors, it must be constantly maintained and transparency throughout the process accounted for. From this research. it can be concluded that continuous transparency and reliability engage and maintain the community and other actors active in the process and allows them to have access to information, promoting empowerment by allowing them to become more critical and conscious of their reality.

Stakeholder Collaboration

The third factor identified during the research was that collaboration among stakeholders is necessary to allow community participation to promote community empowerment. For this, several aspects need to be considered. The first is a clear division of tasks and responsibilities that each stakeholder can carry out and successfully fulfil. This clear division of responsibilities reflects the complexity of tasks mentioned by Thompson et al. (1991) as characteristic of the efficiency of a hierarchical approach to governance in which a top-down structure is needed due to the gradation of the complexity of tasks and capabilities required to carry them out. However, the complexity of the relationship, especially between government entities and the community, reflects those found in networks approaches, as the Initiative states that it follows a model of horizontality and equality, echoing the characteristics stated by Adams & Tiesdell, (2012).

The division of responsibilities is important because it sets the foundation for what is expected from each organisation to contribute to the upgrading efforts and enhances the accountability for each actor. For example, the governmental actors are responsible for providing basic services and tenure security to the area, while the civil society groups are only capable of requesting them. Conversely, the community is capable of participating actively and identifying areas of opportunity that do not require government approval. An example of this is the transformation by Barrio Esperanza of a former trash deposit into a small park, or, the paving of a former dirt alleyway in the higher parts of the neighbourhood. These two examples serve as ways of formal and informal governance mentioned by (Suhartini & Jones, 2019). The collaboration between stakeholders can also be seen as part of the discourse of community co-responsibility found in the governance model of the Initiative which aims to break away from assistance-based intervention models and paternalistic relationships.

In addition to transparency and reliability, sensibility and willingness were two more factors identified that contribute to establishing a relationship built on trust. While transparency and reliability are associated with the institutional transfer and communication of information and the process of intervention, sensibility and willingness relate to the personal characteristics and treatment amongst individual stakeholders. These two components are capable of enhancing collaborative attitudes from the groups of stakeholders. Actors from the private and civil society sectors recognised that the personal sensibility with which social workers approach the community is paramount to the response they get from the neighbours. Throughout the interviews, a recurring theme was the approach from external actors that, rather than listen and sensibilise to the community's needs, attempt to impose projects or programmes in the area. This is a determinant of the willingness of the community to collaborate and take on a role of co-responsibility. In the literature, Silvonen (2021) states that informal settlement dwellers in Mexico may be averse to participating in or collaborating with top-down programmes, as the process for building the neighbourhood involved a high degree of collaboration and dwellers may be impatient with more bureaucratic processes. Simultaneously, willingness to collaborate can be seen as a sign of healthy relationships, especially between government actors and the community. C.F. (personal communication, 2022), emphasises the need for multidisciplinarity in this collaborative process, however, she attributes the personality of those working directly with the community as a resource that can determine how collaboration unfolds. From this. it can be concluded that collaboration amongst stakeholders promotes the empowerment of informal settlement dwellers as it can enhance a spirit of co-responsibility between actors, involving and making the community key actors in the process and attributing more accountability to them.

Networks and Support

During the research, the role of networks and support was found to be a factor in promoting community empowerment through participation. The actors that were interviewed emphasised the importance of networks as being key to effective participation from the community. From a governance perspective, networking plays a key role in the Campana-Altamira Initiative since it allows all actors to identify and acknowledge each other, be informed of what each can provide for the benefit of the programme, and find support in this network. This is an example of what Klijn & Koppenjan (2012) refer to ask network management, which is the component of networks that facilitates processes or interactions between actors.

The Social Liaison of the ITESM for example, states that networking is a crucial ongoing process as it allows external actors (as they were at some point) to establish contact with local institutions and have access to more information. As the network expands, the actors involved in it can then transfer the information found in it to the community. This can be seen as a transfer of power from one actor to another *"...and the other thing is that we must transfer the knowledge that we have [...] into the hands of the community."*(V. G., personal communication,

2022). The civil society organisations in the area have also highlighted the importance of networking as part of their main tasks by seeing themselves as a point of contact for the community through which they can then be pointed in the right direction to solve the problems or questions they may have. Barrio Esperanza recognises that the power of networking structures in the area can solve both individual (e.g. medicine) and collective needs (e.g. basic services) by providing tools, information, and support to the community and thus allowing them to choose and exercise their power (N. C., personal communication, 2022). Therefore, networks and support can be seen from two perspectives of power under Eyben (2004) approach. First, networks can be seen as certain actors having 'power over' others, as they allow other stakeholders access to information that they have gathered, such is the case of the CAI's network to the community. Secondly, networks can be seen as 'power with' when they are used to achieve common goals between different interests by developing shared values, such as the Barrio Esperanza using their networking power for collective problems.

Once again, the three different modes of governance (formal, informal, and hybrid) mentioned by Suhartini & Jones (2019) take place, as these community-based networks currently function outside of the formal governance model of the initiative and the channels of communication take place informally through messaging services or other online platforms. This implies a need for hybrid models that allow the convergence of formal and informal modes of governance to coexist as a way to take advantage of the already existing and functioning community structures, such as the Campana-Altamira Network promoted by the CAI. In addition to this, actors recognise that networks and support structures can function as a way to avoid assistance-based models and, instead, focus on facilitating access to information that empowers the community to exercise their agency. This serves as an example of how power relations between different groups can impact their agency, or one's ability to define their goals and act on them (Pigg, 2002). Therefore, it can be concluded that networks and support promote the empowerment of the community by allowing them to access a wide range of tools and information, seen as a means to transfer power from one actor to another, thus, expanding their ability to choose and act as they wish.

Leadership

In addition to networks and support, which deal with the relationship between different institutions, a factor found in the research is the need for effective leadership in the context of upgrading efforts, relating to actors who push the process forward. In the CAI, leadership played out differently between different parties. First, the horizontal governance structure of the Initiative has reinforced an equal distribution of power amongst members of the Interinstitutional Council, responsible for the strategic direction of the programme. This council then delegates power to the operative team in charge of the different workgroups aligned to the Lines of Action. This collaboration between the public, private, and other actors most represents a 'networks approach' to the urban governance literature, as defined by Adams & Tiesdell (2012). These authors state that a theoretical characteristic of the 'networks' approach is its ability for networks to organise themselves and function without one main leader.

This was found to play out differently in practice, as it was mentioned by several respondents from different urban sectors that there is a lack of clear leadership required to move the efforts of the CAI forwards as an integrated urban development (V.G.; J.A.; R.P., personal communication, 2022). It can be deduced that a factor contributing to this void in leadership is the equal understanding and distribution of power between the actors, which in theory is designed to make the governance structure more resilient to administrative changes. In contrast, however, those interviewed agree that the municipality should be the one spearheading these efforts and this is supported by the Law for Urban Development for the State of Nuevo León which transfers the obligation to municipalities to develop, approve, manage and execute municipal urban development plans or programmes.

When comparing leadership of top-down and networks approaches found in the literature review (Figures 6 & 7) to practice, two conclusions can be drawn. First, while the integration of actors in networks can open up paths for sectors to communicate with each other, a technocratic leading nature in this approach may persist, as noted by (Klijn & Koppenjan, 2012). An example found in the case study is the required minimum number of attendants established by the institutions for workshops to happen, that, if not reached, are cancelled. Secondly, from the interviews, it was found that actors were naturally inclined to seek clear 'big picture' leadership, reflecting the posture of Thompson et al. (1991), who state that top-down approaches are the most natural and efficient ways of coordinating large organisations due to the complexity of the tasks found at each level.

On the other hand, leadership within the neighbourhood councils and civil society organisations has played out oppositely. While there exists a void for leadership in the initiative, these organisations are overly dependent on one leader, usually an external strategic director in charge of acquiring funds for the organisation or a member of the community that is well-known and respected by the neighbours. During the interview process, a recurring statement was that nothing would get done and the councils would cease to exist if the current leaders of these organisations were to abandon their positions (T.R.;C.F., personal communication, 2022). This is troublesome for two reasons. First, to have more power regarding the initiative and be part of the Interinstitutional Council, civil society organisations must stop depending on people and, rather, function as organised groups that collectively promote the interests of the group (V. G., personal communication, 2022). An example of this is the leader of 'Nuestro Espacio', who organised fundraising events for the purchase of a plot of land in which they plan to build a civic centre. Second, throughout the interview process, it was mentioned by different actors that the hardest age group to engage in participating was the youth members of the community. For this to happen, this dormant group has to be met by a leader whom they can identify with, such as respondent J.C., who is an acknowledged community leader by several organisations in the area and has been successful at targeting youth groups. Viewed through Olson's (1965) collective action theory, these examples provide the following insight. Selective incentives, such as the purchase of the plot of land, serve to mobilise large 'latent' groups (the community or youth groups). For this to happen, clear leadership and clear objectives have to be communicated effectively to the latent group. These clear objectives are also in line with the idea of the purpose of an organisation as the basis of its existence.

Therefore, clear and effective leadership can enhance community participation in informal settlement upgrading since, as seen above, it is key to mobilising resources that may currently be stagnant (latent) and promoting the collectivity of group interests. As the previous examples have shown, it can facilitate control over resources, such as plots of land, and allows the community to decide what to do with them.

Community Collectivity

The sixth factor identified during the research was the need for collective action from the participating community in achieving objectives. During the process, it was found that there is currently a high level of atomisation of efforts from neighbourhood councils, neighbourhood committees, and civil society organisations, as they function at almost a street-scale level. Atomisation implies a large number of dispersed efforts, whether territorial or organisational. The territorial atomisation found was due to the division between those living at the top and bottom of the hill and on different sides of it. It is worth noting that collective action has taken place previously in the area, the clearest example being the existence of the neighbourhood itself and the provision of basic services and legal status of the majority of the dwellings (T.R., personal communication, 2022).

Relating to the Initiative, however, for neighbourhood councils to ultimately have more power over the strategic decisions, it has been recognised by several actors that these organisations will have to perform more collectively and that this is one of the largest challenges and threats to their development. Once again, Olson's (1965) theory of collective action can provide insight into this by taking into account the difficulty in achieving organisational objectives as group size increases. In the case study, small councils have been acting at a street scale, and for them to act collectively, individual benefits will need to decrease as their interventions may not directly impact them. The same can be said of taking part in participatory budgeting, which requires groups to think collectively and put group interests before individual gain. Olson (1965) states that this decrease in individual gain is one of the main difficulties for larger groups to come together. Another point to consider is how the convergence and coexistence between neighbourhood councils that have been present in the area for some time now and those councils promoted by the initiative will unfold. Respondent L.S. (personal communication, 2022) points out that the introduction of new community actors may disrupt the existing ecosystem of councils in the area. Silvonen's (2021) input regarding aversion to collaboration from informal councils with top-down initiatives also serves as a point of discussion that may impede a collective mindset to be accomplished between these two groups due to the historical and current relationship between some actors belonging to the initiative and those who have a historical presence in the area. Concerning collectivity and power, Eyben's (2004) 'power with' is most at play here, in which the different interests are aligned to reach a common goal through collective organisation and the development of shared values.

From this, it can be concluded that collective action promotes community empowerment as it places group benefits over individual gain. A clear example of this is how collective action in the origin of the neighbourhood increased control over resources. Conversely, the lack of collective action has become one of the largest threats to community empowerment in the initiative.

Contextual Implications

This factor aims to implications of the context that directly or indirectly affect participation processes and the lives of informal settlement dwellers in La Campana neighbourhood. To this end, this factor is unpacked on three different levels, namely a national level, a city level, and a neighbourhood level.

On a national level, it is important to recognise the political and economic shift in Mexico during the 1980s and 1990s towards democratisation, decentralisation, and neoliberal ideologies. International Financial Institutions influenced the shift from a hierarchical model of urban governance toward a 'networks' approach by introducing mechanisms that promoted this change. It is important to note the change to the status quo that this implied, changing the way the government related to civil society, changing its role from a provider to a facilitator, mediator, or collaborator in the process. This change also promoted grassroots groups and citizens to participate more actively in efforts such as upgrading processes.

On a city level, Monterrey presents several contextual characteristics that have strongly impacted the lives of informal settlement dwellers and their ability to participate. A starting point is its fast-paced urbanisation and industrialisation between the 1940s and 1980s. The result of this on the built environment was blatant socio-spatial segregation between the urban rich and poor. Today, there is an idealisation and distorted perception of the wealth and poverty of the city. The reason behind this is twofold. On one hand. Monterrey is often placed as one of the Mexican cities ranking highest in economic and social development. On the other, through time, inequality has increased in the city, with Nuevo Leon ranking as the most unequal state in the country in 2016. These two factors have socially and institutionally marginalised, stigmatised, and invisibilised poverty found in neighbourhoods such as La

Campana. Further, it is worth noting the importance of the significant recent drug-related violence in the city. During the empirical research, it was mentioned by all actors that the degree of violence in the city affected how La Campana's social fabric, public spaces, and everyday life were lived. While the subject of the interviews was never initially about drug-related violence, it was a recurring theme, and in this sense, most of the inhabitants of the area were direct or indirect victims of the wave of violence that had its peak a decade ago and is still ongoing today. As a final point to the city-level, it is worth noting the extremely low degree of a culture of citizen participation found in Monterrey. While there is no single answer to this, it does raise the question of how strategies and policies promote a change in the social capital of the city.

On a neighbourhood level, the context impacts the ability of the dwellers to participate in two dimensions. The first dimension is the complicated relationship between the community and government actors. During the empirical research, an extremely high level of distrust from the community toward government actors was found. The roots of this are historical since the institutional marginalisation, stigmatisation and invisibility of the neighbourhood are heartfelt in the area to this day. Further, this relationship has been historically characterised by political clientelism and false promises, resulting in an assistance-based and paternalistic relationship, subjecting the dwellers to be beneficiaries of programmes rather than collaborators in the process. This political relationship is also present in the structures of the neighbourhood councils in the area. Parties have commonly viewed La Campana as a source of votes, affiliating the neighbourhood councils to their political organisation by placing campaigners as the leaders and resulting in a way of politically controlling the territory. The affiliation between political parties and neighbourhood councils has amplified the distrust between the government and the community. Today, there is a high level of scepticism toward any external actor, disregarding their background or organisational affiliation. Secondly, the relationship between economic status and interest in politics in the area needs to be taken into account. C. F. (personal communication, 2022) states that in the planning process of programmes, certain characteristics of the context are often ignored or forgotten. In La Campana, for example, a high number of household incomes depend on remittances sent from family members living in the United States. Therefore, the independence of government entities on their monthly incomes is one of the reasons that there is such a low degree of political interest in the area and could explain one of the facets for a low interest to participate as well. Finally, in La Campana, a culture with clear gender roles and machismo thrives. During the interviews, it was mentioned by all the women that they have been subjected by a family member to a submissive relationship in which the man dictates their everyday life. Once again, the purpose of the interviews was never to steer them toward this topic. However, the commonality between all the women interviewed points to a significant factor that affects how they can participate. Despite facing this adversity, it is worth noting that in La Campana, those driving the social and physical change in the neighbourhood are the women. The leaders and operative teams of the neighbourhood councils and civil society organisations are mainly composed of women. The women of Barrio Esperanza have attributed their empowerment to their participation in these organisations and working to improve their community. This is reflected in their household in a more equal relationship with men and the community as being recognised as a trustworthy point of contact for help through their networking efforts.

From this, two main conclusions have emerged. First, at a city level, the main challenge is the reduction of the inequality gap and a need for a higher human and social capital that can battle classist stigmatisation and promote a culture of citizen participation. This capital can also be applied to the neighbourhood level to tackle preconceived gender roles and machismo culture that has prevented women to participate and be heard. Simultaneously, while the turbulent relationship between the government and community is not unique to this location, the empirical research of this case points to an urgent mending and rebuilding

of this bond around the principle of trust if the Initiative's plans are to be accomplished.

From this, it can be concluded that the context impacts how community participation is conducted from many angles. However, in this specific context of informal settlement upgrading, it has significantly constrained the opportunities of the community to participate. However, an indication that participation can empower its communities in this context is the personally recognised empowerment of the women of Barrio Esperanza. Through participation, they have both collectively and individually been empowered by knowing their value as community leaders and balancing power inequalities within their households. Therefore, through participation, these women have become conscious of their reality and have more control over their lives.

Conclusion on Key Findings

When synthesising the theoretical lessons found in the literature review with those of the Campana-Altamira case study, it can be concluded that the findings of the latter confirm the knowledge found in the literature. In the Mexican context, the convergence and coexistence of elements of both hierarchical and networks approaches to urban governance found in the literature was also found to be present in the case study. While top-down approaches persist, there is an increased demand for citizen participation. However, there is still broad room as to exploring how participation plays out in practice and with what end in mind. This is not only related to urban development practices, such as informal settlement upgrading, but at a broader institutional level as well. While on paper an increased involvement of civil actors in decision and policy making may be called for, the case study confirmed that, at times, it has been used as a way to legitimise strategic and important decisions that have been already established by government actors.

The study of the Campana-Altamira case provided enough insight to answer the main question of this research 'What factors of informal settlement upgrading processes in Northern Mexico enable community participation to promote community empowerment?', which is the as follows:

Community participation that promotes empowerment during informal settlement upgrading is heavily dependent on a series of contextual factors that not only impact the ability of citizens to truly participate, but that shape the planning process and determine the policies for opening or closing spaces for community involvement. The planning process and policies determined for informal settlement upgrading, or other urban development practices, set the stage for how actors and institutions relate and communicate with each other, and more importantly, how the community is allowed to influence important decisions that impact their lives. While the interests of the actors involved may vary, the alignment of the objectives of participation is key for determining its outcome. By having a clear understanding of this by all parties, a real discussion which involves the community directly in the process from the outset can unfold, in which power asymetries and interests can be openly discussed, placing the common good as a priority over individual interests.

5.2 Recommendations for Practice

This section presents five recommendations for practice extracted from the key findings of the research. These recommendations are aimed at the initiative as an entity and the actors involved in the process with the objective of reinforcing the aspect of community participation in the area.

First Recommendation

The Campana-Altamira case calls for the increase in capacity of the institutions working in the area. Building on J.A.'s and R. P.'s (personal communication, 2022) comments, the vast size

of the municipal territory and broad scope of the municipal responsibilities implies a need for a specifically designated organism in charge of attending to vulnerable sectors of the population and carrying out upgrading programmes. While the municipality does possess the autonomy to establish this organism, at the moment this does not seem feasible due to the municipal dependency on federal funding, which has in large part determined how resources are leveraged to attend to the problems of the population.

Second Recommendation

The Campana-Altamira case calls for greater exploration of more flexible and adaptable modes and methodologies of participation in its planning processes. This can lead to more context-specific needs and requirements being met and a higher reach into the community. L.S. (personal communication, 2022) suggests exploring participation dynamics throughout different times of the day and different days of the week, as well as experimenting with different paths of communication and activities to achieve greater penetration into the different groups and sectors of the community. However, to accomplish this with the currently available resources, a meticulous resource management strategy has to be designed and implemented by the technical and operational team of the Initiative.

Third Recommendation

The third recommendation is for the continuation of networking with informal institutions and neighbourhood councils found in the area to incorporate them into the strategy of the initiative. With this in mind, innovative ways to give more responsibility to the informal groups working in the area can be explored. Furthermore, these networking efforts can help identify actors who are capable of activating dormant age or sex groups, mainly the youth and men who are more resistant to engaging in participation. J. C. (personal communication, 2022) mentions that he has been successful at mobilising youth groups since there he can reach out to them and they identify with him. This serves as an example of the diversity of leadership and heterogeneity in the area that, if properly engaged, can enhance participation from the community.

Fourth Recommendation

The fourth recommendation that is put forth is the mending of the relationship between the government and the community. There is a need for programmes that aim to dismantle, mend, and reconstruct this historically turbulent relationship. Based on C.F.'s comment (personal communication, 2022), the purpose of this is to build trust between the community to the government by removing any indication of political affiliation inscribed into the neighbourhood councils. Removing this element of political clientelism can open paths for a new engagement with the community and collaboration between these two groups.

Fifth Recommendation

The fifth recommendation presented is for a clear leader of the Campana-Altamira Initiative to be established. R. P. (personal communication, 2022) states that any urban development project always needs to have a leader. While the interviewed actors and the legal framework of the initiative state that it is the municipality's obligation to conduct and lead these efforts, the equal power inscribed into the governance structure and discourse of the programme has resulted in the lack of a clear leader. Furthermore, this structure aims to increase the flexibility and adaptability of the programme to stakeholder changes but has hindered the leadership role of the municipality.

5.3 Contribution and Future Research

This research builds upon the existing body of knowledge regarding informal settlement upgrading, urban governance, and community participation and empowerment. A significant portion of the research focused on relations between actors involved in informal settlement

upgrading. Therefore, one of its main contributions to the existing body of knowledge is the insight gained relating to the interests, power dynamics, and perception between actors, and how these impact the spaces for designing and allowing a form of participation and transfers power over to the community. While context-specific factors should not be taken lightly, as they heavily influence how certain processes take place, the links found between the theory of the literature review (which concerns a broader context) and the empirical research, allow the lessons learned in the northern Mexican case study to be applied to greater contexts, such as the Latin American one, and prove the findings to be valid for contributing to the body of knowledge.

During the research, several elements were not explicitly addressed or included in this thesis. These elements were encountered during the literature review stage and the empirical research, and provide lines of thought for expanding and building upon this research.

First, other Priority Polygons (areas of intervention identified by the federal government) similar to the Campana-Altamira in the city, such as San Bernabe and La Independencia, can be analysed through the same lens. Thus, providing ground for comparative case studies within the same national region and city. La Independencia, in particular, presents an interesting situation due to the resistant response from its communities towards the interventions being conducted by the Campana-Altamira Initiative and the attempt from previous administrations to introduce invasive urban infrastructure into the area. The Independencia's geographical proximity to the Campana-Altamira can provide interesting insight into the factors that may be at play that yield opposite reponses towards external interventions. It is worth noting here that an attempt during this research was made to conduct interviews with community groups working in La Independencia, as a comparative case study was initially pursued, but was not successful at engaing these groups.

Second, future research can be focused on the monitoring and evaluation stage of the Campana-Altamira Initiative after the Partial Programme is legally approved. While this research focused on the aspect of community participation, which until now has been limited to an informal process, the long-term nature of the project provides a solid foundation for examining how participation will play out in future phases of the Campana-Altamira Initiative. This is especially the case when instruments such as participatory budgeting are put into action and as an increasing number of councils are formalised. This last point proves interesting, as new formalised councils promoted by the initiative and existing informal councils will be forced to coexist, providing ground for exploration into another facet of participation in the Mexican context.

Third, a quantitative and longitudinal approach can complement the findings of this research. Through Sen's Capability Approach, this research can also provide meaningful insight by capturing what people of the neighbourhood find to be of value and be able to identify how participatory capabilities can be expanded to address these findings. This theoretical framework provides the opportunity to expand the research from a different lens, focused on a process for a different, but meaningful, outcome.

5.4 Reflection
Limitations & Challenges of the Research
When conducting the research, a series of limitations and challenges were faced. The logistical limitations and challenges were mainly during the interview process as it proved difficult to get in touch with certain stakeholders. Of these, the group that proved most difficult to get in contact with was on the strategic end of the Campana-Altamira Initiative and private institutions. Therefore, the research lens had to be adapted to the perspective of people working directly in contact with the community. Second, it was sometimes difficult to

filter out speculation or hearsay found during the interview process. Although some of the statements could provide interesting insight into the process, they could not be validated and had to be left out to only include factual data. A third challenge relating to the process was a series of interviews that were much longer than initially planned, extending up to three-and-a-half hours long. While this was not an ideal situation due to the arduous coding and analysing process that would follow, it did help get a much deeper comprehension of the situation at both a theoretical and practical level. Finally, a key limitation to the research was the inability to enter the area of study as often as wished due to safety concerns, and, therefore, the site visits had to adjust to the times and availability of the social workers and neighbours; impairing a deeper immersion process during the empirical research. Regarding the research process and design, one of the main challenges was the difficulty in structuring the empirical part into a linear timeline divided into the phases of the programme, as initially intended. This proved to be difficult due to the non-linearity of the phases when related to the participation inscribed in them. Second, there is not a clear linear development of the neighbourhood councils, as they are working and evolving independently from each other, making it difficult to truly capture how this plays out in a single timeline. Finally, the translation of document and concept terminology extracted from the secondary data documents was at times difficult to capture and some information could have been lost in translation.

On Research Topic

For this thesis, I decided to understand an urban sector that, while always present in my city, had always been invisible to my reality. For this reason, I selected to work on the topic of informal settlements in a case study in my hometown. While the problem proved to be much more complex than previously thought or anticipated (perhaps out of naivety), the literature eventually helped narrow down the scope of community participation in informal settlement upgrading. Further, the case study was selected on personal experience, as I passed by it daily from 2008 to 2014 while I was in architecture school and by happenstance, an upgrading programme is underway in the area. This, in combination with the matching of the programme with the selection criteria, resulted in the Campana-Altamira being an appropriate case. The case study perhaps provided the most insight, as it materialised the concepts of the literature review into reality. Not having visited in person the Campana and Altamira neighbourhoods would have made it nearly impossible to truly understand the complexity of the problem, the relationships between stakeholders, and the reality of the people living there.

In regards to upgrading programmes and community participation, my position is that they are complementary concepts that can ultimately lead to community empowerment. However, the methodologies must always be adapted to participation by who, how, and for what, in addition to context-specific needs. Without defining and aligning with all actors what the objective of community participation is, it will end up as a buzzword in the planning documents and policies. Furthermore, my position is that there is a need for innovative ways to allow informal elements of the city to provide input into how urban development takes place. After all, the city is a shared space in which all should have a voice.

On Research Approach and Process

The approach used for this thesis was a literature review and empirical research conducted in a single case study. The methodology included analysis of secondary data documents and primary data through interviews with key stakeholders. The main concepts of the thesis are informal settlement upgrading, urban governance, and community participation and empowerment.

Literature Review

Regarding the literature review, it would have been preferable to have a better initial

understanding of the problem beforehand, rather than delving into it with little notion of what it entailed. Personally, the literature review was the most challenging aspect of the process for me, as I struggled to connect these concepts with reality. The review went through community empowerment, capacity building, Sen's capability approach, capability space, and conversion factors; discarding one after another to ultimately result in community empowerment once again. This was due to the difficulty I had with connecting the theory to practice.

Empirical Research
Case Study
On the other hand, the empirical research was initially focused on community-led upgrading programmes, and by getting in touch with the correct people I was provided with the documents regarding the Campana-Altamira Initiative. Looking back, it would have been better to know of the existence of this initiative beforehand, but, it never came up during desktop research due to its lack of publication. Second, towards P2 the focus of the research shifted from pursuing comparative case studies to a single case study. The reason for this was twofold. First, the groups that were initially contacted were not willing to participate in the research. Looking back, a reason for this may have been a lack of clarity in the objective when approaching to these groups. Second, there were asymmetries in existing secondary documents for the areas, resulting in an unequal starting point for pursuing a comparative case study method.

Interviews
The identification of interview respondents was most effective through snowballing, as this method put me in touch with the majority of the actors due to the networking already present of actors in the area. An interesting group that resulted from this snowballing was the group of experts that not only provided a critical and academic point of view, but also have experience in working with community groups that are in the area. The main challenge was getting in touch with actors that played a more strategic role in the initiative rather than working directly with the community, which could have provided a more holistic perspective on the upgrading process. The actual interview process did not present any serious challenges, as all the respondents were more than willing to speak transparently about the subject. However, the interviews were able to build on each other as themes began to emerge, and the interview questions subsequently became more focused. The interviews from different disciplines and groups provided the most insight into the process, as the experiences from actors working directly in the field shed light not only for the academic purpose of this research, but impacted my perception of the complexity of urban development practices.

Field Work
In late February, the decision to fly to Monterrey for field work was made. I am certain that without being in the field and walking, hearing, and seeing the area and listening to the people working there, this research would not have been concluded. The connection of theory to reality proved extremely enriching and helped understand the concepts at play and the true complexity of the problem. However, during my time spent there, challenges were also encountered. The main one relates to the slow start of the interview process. By the end of March, only three interviews had been conducted and two had been cancelled. Furthermore, some stakeholders initially answered and did not respond after this initial contact. For this reason, the time in Monterrey was extended for another month, and during April the interview process moved along more smoothly. Another challenge encountered in the fieldwork was serious safety concerns, as organised crime is still prevalent in the area. This meant that the area could not be entered whenever desired and the site visits had to adapt to the actors' time availability. Looking back, while at certain times I did feel slightly unsafe, the site visits helped me understand that there is still ample room for studying urban areas such as these, and that a possible starting point for dismantling the stigmatisation

from the rest of the city towards them is in academia.

Data Analysis

The data analysis was also a key phase of the process. For the primary data from the interviwes, an initial attempt was made to code in Atlas TI but this method was abandoned and a manual coding process was adopted. The reason for this is the better-fitted process to the workflow and felt more natural to code manually. Regarding the secondary data, the amount was adequate to be analysed and studied, but the translation of certain elements proved difficult as to not lose any true meaning of the concepts. Looking back, the time available for the analysis of both primary and secondary data was sufficient, but it would have been preferable to have some more time for the synthesis and conclusions, as it felt somewhat rushed towards the end of the process.

Relation to the MBE Track

In regards to the relationship between the topic and the MBE track, this research is strongly related to urban governance and urban development practices. While there is a strong social element to the research, the presence of stakeholder relationships, planning instruments and policies and their impact on the built environment relates to the management aspect of the master track. When deciding to study the Management in the Built Environment track at TU Delft, I hoped that the lessons learned during this time would serve as the future backbone for smarter design decisions that would not only benefit the project from an architectural perspective, but achieve results that add value for all teams involved and that create more economically, socially, and environmentally successful cities. At the end of these past two years, and especially this research, my perspective and understanding of the architectural profession has been amplified and a more holistic approach has been acquired after experiencing first-hand the complexity that creating successfuil projects entails. As this research comes to an end, it is now my turn to responsibly put these lessons to practice, regardless of the place I find myself to be.

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Appendix A - Interview Protocol - C.F.

Antes de iniciar, el entrevistador pedirá el consentimiento de grabar el audio de la entrevista y el nivel de confidencialidad que sea de preferencia del entrevistado. Una vez iniciada la grabación, el entrevistador volverá a pedir de nuevo el consentimiento para grabar.

Introducción

Introducción del entrevistador y mencionar el propósito de la entrevista. Un resumen de los diferentes temas que se discutirán

Antecedentes del entrevistado y la organización

¿Cuál es el rol de la organización, que funcion tienes dentro de ella, y cuanto tiempo llevas ejerciendolo?

Participación Ciudadana

Esta sección tiene que ver con la relación con la comunidad. Las primeras preguntas son un poco más generales respecto a participación ciudadana.
¿Cuál es el principal objetivo de la participación ciudadana en iniciativas o programas de mejoramiento urbano y cual deberia ser el rol de la ciudadanía participante?

Durante mi investigación varios temas recurrentes han surgido. Uno de ellos es la necesidad de recursos (e.g. tiempo, dinero) que son requeridos para una participacion eficaz. En tu experiencia, ¿Qué recursos son indispensables para asegurar una participacion eficaz?

Otro de los temas recurrentes ha sido la (des)confianza. ¿Cuál ha sido tu proceso para aborar esto con grupos que históricamente han sido marginados, segregados y excluidos institucional y socialmente?

Barrio Esperanza

¿Que etapas puedes indentificar en la formacion de Barrio Esperanza y como ha cambiado tu rol a traves de ellas?

Me parecio muy interesante escuchar que pasaron de una participacion 'informal' a una 'formal' a la hora de consolidarse legalmente como asociacion. ¿Puedes contar un poco el motivo del porque decidieron esto y como fue el proceso para lograrlo?

En varias entrevistas ha surgido el tema de que el grado de participación mas alto es por parte de las mujeres. En la visita del 13 de marzo se menciono que en Barrio Esperanza la apuesta es a la mujer. ¿Puedes comentar al respecto sobre porque es esto?

Por otro lado, se ha mencionado que el grupo mas dificil de atraer es el de los jovenes (15-30 años). ¿Cuales son los principales retos en lograr interes de su parte y qué potencial ves en esta generacion y la comunidad inactiva?

Relación a la Iniciativa Campana-Altamira y Otros Actores

Durante mi investigacion, he notado que hay muchos actores en la zona y he percibido cierta fragmentacion en cuanto alineacion de objetivos o prioridades. ¿Puedes contar un poco sobre su relacion con la Iniciativa Campana-Altamira y otros actores?

Participación entre Comunidades

Durante mi investigación ha surgido el tema de que hay un alto nivel de atomizacion entre los comites vecinales. ¿Qué fuerza existe en la accion colectiva de comites y como puede lograrse?

Conclusión

¿Qué necesita cambiar en Monterrey para que la vida de los ciudadanos en situaciones vulnerables como los asentamientos irregulares mejore?
Conclusión y agradecer al participante por su tiempo
Preguntar si hay información adicional que debería consultar
Preguntar por otros actores que recomiende contactar
Preguntar si puedo contactar para preguntas de seguimiento

Appendix B - Support Letter

Date	05-04-2022
Our reference	MBE 22 008/DC/jb
Your reference	
Contact person	Dr Darinka Czischke
Phone	+31 15 27 82716
E-mail	d.k.czischke@tudelft.nl
Subject	support letter Mr.Xavier Gonzalez

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Dear Sir or Madam,

I am writing to support Mr Xavier Gonzalez's request to conduct an interview and collect data for his graduation research project at the Delft University of Technology in the Netherlands. Mr. Xavier González (Student ID: 5270693) is a master's student in Management in the Built of Environment at the TU Delft Architecture Faculty. I am supervising his graduation research project regarding Community Participation in the Campana-Altamira Initiative in Monterrey, Mexico. Mr González is seeking access to meet and interview committee members in order to support his Research.

I would appreciate your support to facilitate communication with these community members. Mr. González will treat the gathered data and other provided information with confidentiality. His research project will be a contribution to advise in regards to urban upgrading programmes and other urban development practices in Monterrey and the greater Mexican context.

Should you require any additional information, you can contact Mr González directly through x.gonzalezsanchez@student.tudelft.nl or by phone number: +31642653656 or +5281

Yours Sincerely,

Dr Darinka Czischke
Associate Professor
Delft University of Technology
Faculty of Architecture and the Built Environment
Department of Management in the Built Environment

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