INTEGRATING
POLITICS
AND
PLANNING:

from the Swedish housing program to Caracas Metro Cable

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ATT INTEGRERA POLITIK OCH PLANERING:
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Preface

"The city awaited. Of the fifteen–year–old boy who had not yet seen any of its delight
– and of everyone else who seeked themselves to it.
It existed in their dreams and offered all possibilities.
But a young boy nor could or wished to see that most of them were dark, that the
possibilities of life and joy were far less than those of death and sorrow.
The boy dreamt. The city awaited."

from "Mina drömmars stad", P-A Fogelström, p. 10 (author's translation)

In the early summer of 1860 Henning walks in through the gates of Stockholm – the city of his dreams. He has left his previous life behind to seek for work and start a new life in the city – in his mind a life full of possibilities. Stockholm is at this time still a small and poor town filled with struggle and dirt, and Henning has to face both defeats and conquests in his struggle of finding the city he has imagined.

The story of Henning and his meeting with Stockholm holds me reading constantly for three and a half weeks. It is summer and I am completely absorbed by Fogelströms suite of novels about Henning, Lotten, the city and all the happenings that fill and change their lives. Time moves as fast as the pages turn, centuries pass, and soon it is hard to get too attached to the characters. My interest wanders on from the personas to something more constant and reliable; the portrait the city, which is always there whatever the destiny of the characters - constantly changing with them or all autonomously. I follow the city on its journey from the winding pit hole that Henning enters, to the paved battlefield of modern and ideological establishments centuries later. It is like the book covers two stories simultaneously – the one of the individual in Stockholm and the other of the collective that is Stockholm; the greater ideology that makes out the common ground for all the physical and psychological matters. After this summer I see the world with totally new eyes. The cities and towns has suddenly been brought to life - they tell a story, the streets and buildings bear memories of hope, dreams and despair, and it is a story that has not ended yet. The previously stiff and dead materials all of a sudden bears a meaning, the street patterns signal a belief, and the roads and railways are telling a history of a past time and different context. It is not only Stockholm - Lund, Malmö, Paris – they all become alive; speaking to me, but are still strangely unknown, and constantly moving, changing.

Years later I am studying to become a landscape architect. Not because of my fascination of nature, but because I want to learn this mysterious language of the city, originated from the clash between culture, ideology and the physical environment. I want to investigate how this mystery works; how the physical surroundings can play such an important role in our mental lives; why the physical surroundings influence our possible choices, interactions and even restrict us from going on with certain things. The culture, ideology and physical environment seem to have a close connection, just like when Per Anders

Fogelström bring grey stones to life through telling a story of what's surrounding them. The story of Henning was what brought me into the city fictionally, but my five years of becoming a landscape architect brought me there for real. Ever since I started the studies my fascination for the city and its organization have been particularly strong. My background in sociology and psychology of course brings its colour to it, and makes the city through my eyes not so much physical material and buildings, as it is the fabric of people's decisions, their movements, interactions and needs; cultural as well as biological and economical. The city is not even a defined object, it is just one of many parts of a bigger society, consisting of physical things and individuals, collectives. The social aspects of the city is what makes the city, and my future role as a planner is to control, or set loose, this sociality through constructing the physical frame for it. But when going into the role of the planner, yet another dimension of the work appears. The physical frame is very much formed and limited by the ideology within the society, represented by politics - through the system of laws, regulations and hierarchies commonly decided within the society. While working as a planner, you soon find that politics and physical planning are two areas highly dependent on each other. The political system in a state clearly permeates the planning process, and in return the physical planning often give rise to new political visions and directions. By successfully combining the two can both popular and revolutionary places be created for the public, that both changes the physical environment and people's way of action on a local, regional and national level. Physical planning can therefore be seen as an inseparable tool for doing politics, and politics as a necessary tool to achieve good physical planning.

After having done my internship at the city planning office of Helsingborg in 2010, my interest for this relation between politics and planning awakened. In Sweden we have a great trust for our political system and we often associate it with safety, transparency and reliability. In a planning process on a municipal level, different aspects are also shown – like bureaucracy, hierarchies and difficulties of controlling the development in a desirable direction. The democracy we believe permeates the Swedish society is not always so clear within the planning process, when despite big efforts the dialogue between the users, planners and politicians is experienced as lost. A previous work experience within the governmental agency Trafikverket [The Swedish Transport Administration] showed me the same thing – the planning of the infrastructure is closely related to political decisions and guidelines, followed by a comprise set of rules, guidelines, permits and investigations. This political system is utterly the foundation of a well-working democratic society built on equality, transparency and security. Sweden is without a doubt a country where we strive for transparency through a standardized process in which we all know the steps and hierarchies - a process which may be transparent, but that is also very time-consuming and inflexible. It is easy to feel limitation from all the bureaucracy and rules instead of feeling privileged and proud of living in a working democratic society. So does a democratic society really need all these rules, bureaucracies and guidelines to be able to work, or have we "overdone" it in Sweden?

Abstract

Political ideology and physical attributes have always been closely connected. Exemplified by 'Folkhemmet' in Sweden and the 'Bolivarian revolution' in Venezuela, this connection is investigated through political organization, physical structures and the civil society. Through the study of the recently executed Metro Cable project in Caracas, Venezuela, alternative forms of community engagement and participatory planning is further investigated.

'Folkhemmet' is the political and physical structure known as the keystone of the current welfare society in Sweden. With the aim to decrease breaches between rich and poor, physical structures were used to express ideological aims of the good society. A political organization was formed, built on the enforcement of the collective, a homogenous population and a prosperous industry, by expanding the state through public sector and institutions. The functional and paternalist approach brought a special focus to the inferior housing situation and social inequalities. Through the great housing program, thousands of houses and apartments were built during three decades to provide the population with equal material conditions.

The 'Bolivarian revolution' aims to create a stable political structure after decades of dictatorships and political repression. The aim is to bring the power back to a local scale through community organization and local development projects. The historical exclusion of the poor population living in the 'ranchos' outside of the cities have created big material, social and economical indifferences within the population. Through creating formal structures within the informal city, social interventions can be launched as a first step towards creating a more equal society.

The Metro Cable project exemplifies the practical implementation of the 'Bolivarian revolution'. Through a process of community engagement and grass root initiatives, a cableway is built to provide the inhabitants of the San Augustín neighbourhood with public transportation and social structures. The project aims for recognizing the historically neglected area of San Augustín, and reinforce the existing informal organization by combining it with formal physical structures. In this process, the use of planning and the role of the planner face new opportunities as well as challenges.

Keywords: Sweden, Venezuela, political organization, planning, ideology, democracy, Metro Cable

Content

1 Introduction

1.1 Background

The individual actions are a product of the collective culture, represented through tradition, manner, history, conditions and ideology. The collective, or the group, is the instance that make the individual belong, or alienate, and it is also the collectives that construct and organize the society as a whole (Giddens, 1994). The collective is represented on many levels, and it is the base for the over-all organization of the world – through different groupings and collectives we can create countries, states, and continents, culture groups, ethnicities, religions. My individual world can be seen as very similar to the over-all world; consisting of collectives, individuals, and agreements and rules between the two, only on a smaller scale. The big difference is of course that in your own individual world you have more control and better understanding of the different course of events, while the over-all world is impossible to fully understand for each separate individual (Giddens, 2003).

Apart from my future profession as a planner, it is as a resident I will experience the society, sharing the national platform of values, rules, laws and culture within it. But when working as a planner, I come across a whole new part of the societal platform, consisting of how to organize the country and form the common collective of Sweden, politically and physically. The issues of my future as a planner are then different from my issues as a resident. Suddenly I as an individual have to understand the needs of the group, or society, and understand the fabric of social actions within a physical and political frame.

Just like the individual, the collective, a state, nation or continent, has its needs and urges. Depending on the contexts and preconditions, a nation can for example have biological needs; such as the need for clean water and access to health care and a social security, physiological needs; like sustainable lifestyles which influence the economy and development positively, or psychological needs; such as consensus or a well-working common ideology. The American psychologist Maslow presented his theory about the relation between need and motivation as a triangle, where the motivation is directed at different things depending on which level of need you are in (Maslow, 1943).

This theory is usually applied on individuals to measure their degree of motivation, but it could be possible to apply this on nations and cities as well. As a planner within a society, this hierarchy can help you understand the relation between, and the effects of, your planning achievements – depending on if you choose to focus on the needs or on the motivation. The needs can here be seen as problems that a society is facing, and the motivation is the intervention you are seeking. The "solution" will differ depending on what ideology and politics the society believe in, and the needs surely differ depending on what solutions you bring.

To become a planner is to understand the society both subjectively and to some extent

also objectively. To reach this understanding I need to study how our common grounds in the society have been formed through time, where we are now, and where to head in the future - through sociology, economy, politics, ideology and culture. One way to understand something is to look upon something else, in reference to find a different way than the yet known. In this way I need to both understand the society I live within, and to find alternatives to it elsewhere, to be able to develop it into the future.
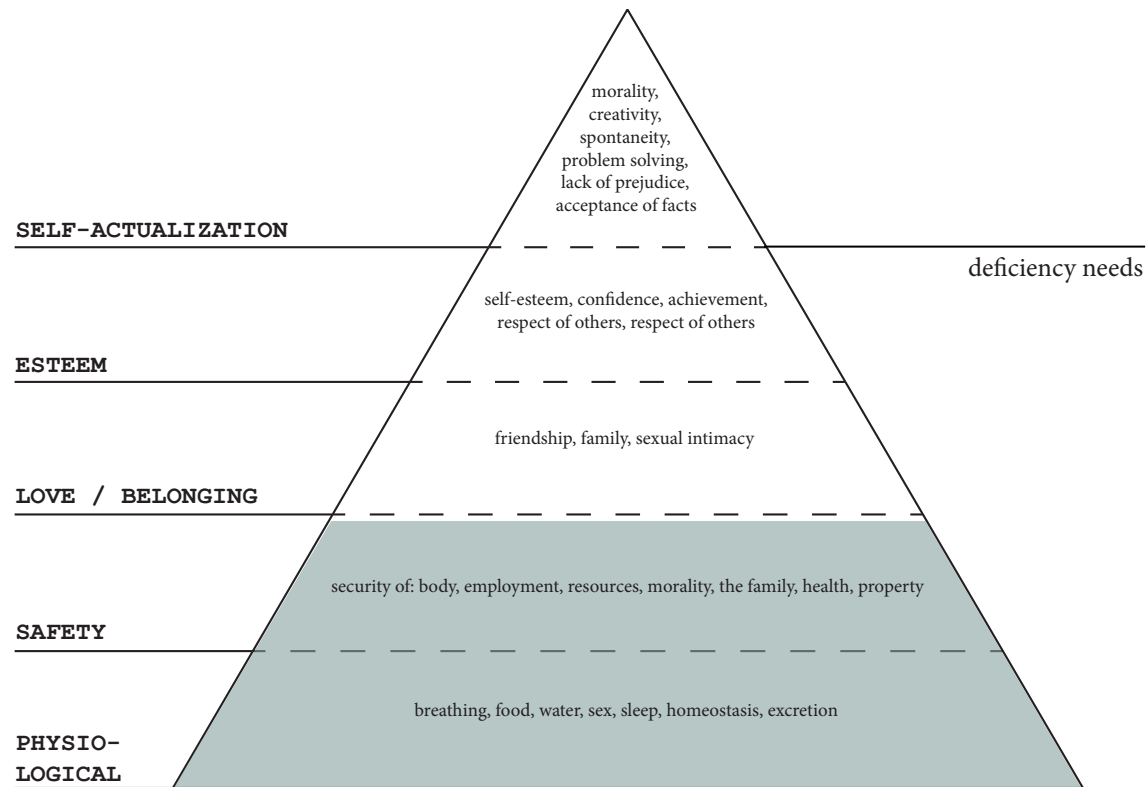
Fig 1. Maslow's triangle of needs (Maslow, 1943)

1.2 Aims

My aim with this thesis is to further understand how the political system of a country influence and rule the physical planning. This I want to achieve in two parts. The first is by studying an era of the Swedish history known especially for its way of turning political ideas into physical interventions; the construction of 'Det Svenska Folkhemmet' [the Swedish People's Home]. The political aim of this era was to decrease breaches between classes and create an equal society by using physical planning as a tool. By studying the political development of the era in parallell to the role of the planner and the planning field, I hope to gain further understanding of how the political development of the time affected the physical outcome in Sweden. Further I wish to use my gained knowledge as a basis for reflections and discussions around the current political and planning situation in Sweden.

Using the example of 'Det Svenska Folkhemmet' as a platform, I will in a second part explore alternative ways of integrating politics and planning by studying an additional example of how to integrate the two, the so-called 'Bolivarian Revolution' currently

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played out in Venezuela. Like 'Det Svenska Folkhemmet', the 'Bolivarian Revolution' has the political aim to decrease breaches and create a more equal society, but the background, strategy and physical result is different from the Swedish example. To gain a more specific understanding of the 'Bolivarian Revolution', I will further study the example of the Metro Cable project carried out in Caracas as a part of the program. By this, I hope to understand both the theoretical structure and the practical implementation of the current political program in Venezuela.

By studying two examples similar in political visions, but with different background, context and conditions, I hope to understand which factors affect the relation between political visions and physical planning. Through studying the Metro Cable project, I want to investigate alternative forms of planning methods than those normally used in Sweden, and discuss how these could or could not be used as a tool to reach political and ideological goals in combination with planning. At last, with the gained knowledge as a base, I want to investigate the role of the planner, planning and the state, and how these structures affect the society in an ideological and physical way. By this I hope gaining perspective upon, and understanding for, the factors shaping the planning field that I will soon personally be a part of.

The investigation will be located in the cross-section between landscape planning and political science, an important combination to understand the relation between political organization and physical outcomes. In addition to my prior aim, I will study the crossover created when studying planning and political science together. By combining the two fields, I hope to gain a broader contextual and societal understanding of the process and effects from physical planning carried out within a certain political organization.

1.3 Issues

A.   How did the political development affect the current planning field within the era of 'Det Svenska Folkhemmet'?

B.   How did politics and planning interact on a local level within the MetroCable project in Venezuela?

C.   What different roles of the planner can be seen within 'Det Svenska Folkhemmet' and the 'Bolivarian Revolution'?

1.4 Method & material

Within my method to reach my aims I have used a heuristic approach rather than a methodological. I believe this approach to be suited for the task since my aim is to investigate both causes and effects from a subjective and contextual viewpoint. The nature of the task presupposes that there is no scientific or objective truth to be concluded, but rather subjective and contextual occurrences, why I have seen a lot of advantages with a heuristic approach. My method of exploring two different contexts and draw parallels

between them aim to widen the validity of my investigations.

As a method I have been using literature studies, interviews, on-site studies and personal experiences to investigate the subjects of matter. Through chosen literature I have studied the political, economical and structural development of Sweden and Venezuela, from historical times up until today. As an example of current day planning, I have investigated the planning project Metro Cable in Caracas, Venezuela, through on-site visits and interviews with people involved in the project. Based on the literature studies, the on-site experiences of the Metro Cable-project and previous personal planning experiences from Sweden, I then discuss similarities and differences between the Venezuelan and Swedish planning context, alternative methods for integrating politics and planning and the different roles of the planner and the state found within the studied examples.

The literature used in the literature studies includes both fictional and academic works from the fields of planning, sociology, psychology, political sciences, economics and architecture. Not only books, but also documentary movies, articles, electronical documents and Internet pages have served as important references. The material have been found through recommendation from supervisors, among previous course literature within SLU, or found through searching of the keywords Sweden, Venezuela, planning process, political system, user participation and transformation in bookstores and libraries. All articles have been found through the database Web of Knowledge available through SLU libraries. Since much material dealing with politics and planning express and support certain opinions or beliefs of the society, I have tried to balance the material to cover different opinions. For example, I have not excluded literature rich in opinions or political positions, but I have tried to find references expressing both leftist and more liberal ideas around social organization to get a more balanced picture. As a part of my heuristic approach I have also tried to challenge my own ideas and opinions by searching for knowledge in sources I normally would have rejected.

The interviews and on-site studies were carried out in Caracas, where I went for four weeks to visit the Metro Cable project and to get an insight into the Venezuelan society. My primary contact in Venezuela was Pablo Siris Seade, employee of the public relations department of the Ministry of Transport and Communications in Caracas. Since not personally involved in the Metro Cable project he provided me with information focused around the Venezuelan society, politics and history. He also provided me with further contacts involved in the Metro Cable project. The second contact interviewed was Alexis Fernandez, employee of the Caracas Metro with responsibility for public relations. In connection to the interview based on predetermined questions around the project, we also visited the Metro Cable project on site. The interview with Mr Fernandéz gave me information of the background, operation, service and execution of the project. The third interview was made with Arturo Gil, vice minister of the Ministry of Management and Infrastructure, who was from the governmental side involved in the planning stages of the Metro Cable project. The interview with him gave me insight to the background, political structure, planning and coordination of the Metro Cable project.

Other important influences within my work have been fictional works, picturing either subjective experiences of urban transformation, for example Fogelström's suite of novels

about Stockholm, or political dilemmas, such as Koestler's 'Dark Side of the Moon'. The architectural exhibitions LIVING: Frontiers of Architecture III-IV at Louisiana Museum of Modern Art in Humlebaek, Denmark, and Small Scale Big Change: New Architectures of Social Engagement at MoMA in New York City have also inspired my work in an experience-oriented approach. The exhibitions have for example given me further insight to and around the field of social architecture that the Metro Cable project is a part of.

1.5 Boundaries and challenges

Since my primary focus lies on the Swedish context, I have chosen to focus on one of Sweden's most political periods during the 20th century, 'Det Svenska Folkhemmet'. During this era the Swedish society underwent large physical transformations due to political organization and ideology. Therefore I find this period suiting for my study of the relation between politics and physical planning. To gain more validity to my explorations, I broaden my investigations to also observe other methods of using "social planning". By studying alternatives, I want to gain knowledge about other contexts and course of events than the Swedish that influence the relation between politics and planning. Therefore I choose a politically similar project but in a totally different context and culture, the Venezuelan 'Bolivarian Revolution'. Like 'Det Svenska Folkhemmet', the 'Bolivarian Revolution' is another great campaign to visualise socialist ideas. The 'Bolivarian Revolution' though originates from a totally different political, cultural and historical background, and is happening now, in the 21st century, when 'Det Svenska Folkhemmet' took place in the 20th century. The contextual variables for the projects are thus very different, but the ideological aim to decrease breaches and strive for an equal society through physical interventions is similar. To understand how the Venezuelan political ideologies are incorporated into physical planning, I will exemplify the planning situation within the 'Bolivarian Revolution', through a study of the Metro Cable-project. This cableway project is one of the best-known modern day projects in Venezuela, and also an illustrative example of how the current Venezuelan politics influence the planning process.

With two as different countries as Sweden and Venezuela, with totally different contexts, history and culture, it is impossible to make a fair comparison of the two. Being Swedish, I am aware that studying the happenings of the 'Bolivarian Revolution' will be from a Swedish perspective. My Swedish experiences and background in addition to my studies of 'Det Svenska Folkhemmet' will serve as a platform for my understandings of the 'Bolivarian Revolution' and the Metro Cable Project. Therefore, I will not make a comparison of the two contexts, but instead try to draw parallels between the countries in order to understand the overall aim; how a country's political system influence the physical planning.

My inherent understanding of Sweden and Venezuela is different, and will influence my investigations. In Sweden I have been a resident all my life and have therefore been brought up within the Swedish culture, tradition and social behaviour. My experiences from Sweden are both as a resident and as a professional planner, and sometimes it is hard to separate the two. Venezuela on the other hand, I have experienced only as a

tourist and visitor, not separated from my Swedish background, and also only for a short period. Therefore my understanding of the Venezuelan society is highly coloured by my background, while my understanding of the Swedish society is more complex and thoroughgoing since I experience it everyday.

The language is another barrier that might have influenced my work. The interviews done in Venezuela were performed in Spanish, English, and French, of which none are my mother tongues. Therefore I might not have met my goals as I would have if they were performed in Swedish. The different rhetoric, context and culture might also have influenced my understanding of the Venezuelan society.

My background from the Humanities together with my landscape architecture education, have during the last years created a special interest in the field of political sciences. This thesis being an investigation in the cross-section of landscape planning and political sciences, I am aware that my knowledge and understanding of political sciences is limited, and not to compare with my knowledge within the planning field. Since I am becoming a landscape architect, I though believe that the planning field include and cross many different sciences and perspectives, leaving it up to me personally to combine them efficiently. My academic education though is in landscape planning, leaving this field more valid and extensive than the others investigated.

At last, my own political standpoints I cannot liberate myself from, even though I have put an effort in trying to understand different perspectives and question my own views. Through discussions and conversations with dissidents during the work I have tried to challenge my own views and opinions. But I have always been and am still a believer of the socialist society before the liberal and surely this has coloured my understanding of things through this work and regarding the society as a whole.

1.6 Structure

The thesis is divided in six parts. After this introducing chapter follow The Mission of 'Det Svenska Folkhemmet', which gives the reader a historic review of the development of the political system and planning situation in Sweden. It also offers an examination of the era named 'Det Svenska Folkhemmet'; how the history lead up to this social experiment, what political visions made it possible, and the methodology used during the time in politics and planning. The chapter then discusses when and why the bubble burst – how this experiment became too controlling and how the roles and context suddenly changed. Finally, the chapter discusses the planning situation in Sweden today, what direction we have for the future, the role of the planner, the value of planning for building social structures and how 'Det Svenska Folkhemmet' changed our society until modern days.

The third chapter introduce the reader to the 'Bolivarian Revolution', which is a societal transformation currently going on in Venezuela and other parts of South America. The chapter reviews the historical context that lead up till today's historical situation in Venezuela, what mission the 'Bolivarian Revolution' want to accomplish, and what methodology that is used to incorporate the revolution into the current society. The

chapter also discusses president Hugo Chávez importance for the revolution and the new type of civil society that is appearing throughout Venezuela. Finally, the chapter discusses the planning situation of Venezuela today, and how this might change in the future.

The fourth chapter is a review of the planning project Metro Cable in Caracas, Venezuela, as a specific example of how politics can be integrated with planning. The Metro Cable is a cableway as well as a social project located in the slum areas of Caracas, supporting the residents with both public transportation and important infrastructure such as free healthcare, education and access to cultural activities. The chapter is based on interviews, on site-visits and literature, and discusses both the planning process and the effects of the Metro Cable, as well as the methodology of planning the unplanned and the role of the political oranization within the project.

The conclusion summarizes the previous chapters with focus on similarities and differences within the two examples regarding political strategy, methodology and physical results. Further, the value of culture and history and the role of the planner are discussed.

The last chapter of the thesis is an extensive discussion regarding the union of planning, politics and ideology in society, based on the experiences and knowledge from the previous chapters. Parallels between 'Det Svenska Folkhemmet' and the 'Bolivarian Revolution' are investigated, as well as alternative ways of planning the society, or physically expressing ideological ideas. A discussion about the overall role of the state, democracy within planning and the planner's profession and mission ends the chapter.

Some of the terminology referenced to in the thesis come from different fields than planning or architecture. For those readers not familiar with economic, political or psychological theory some of the terms are explained in the back under the headline Terms.
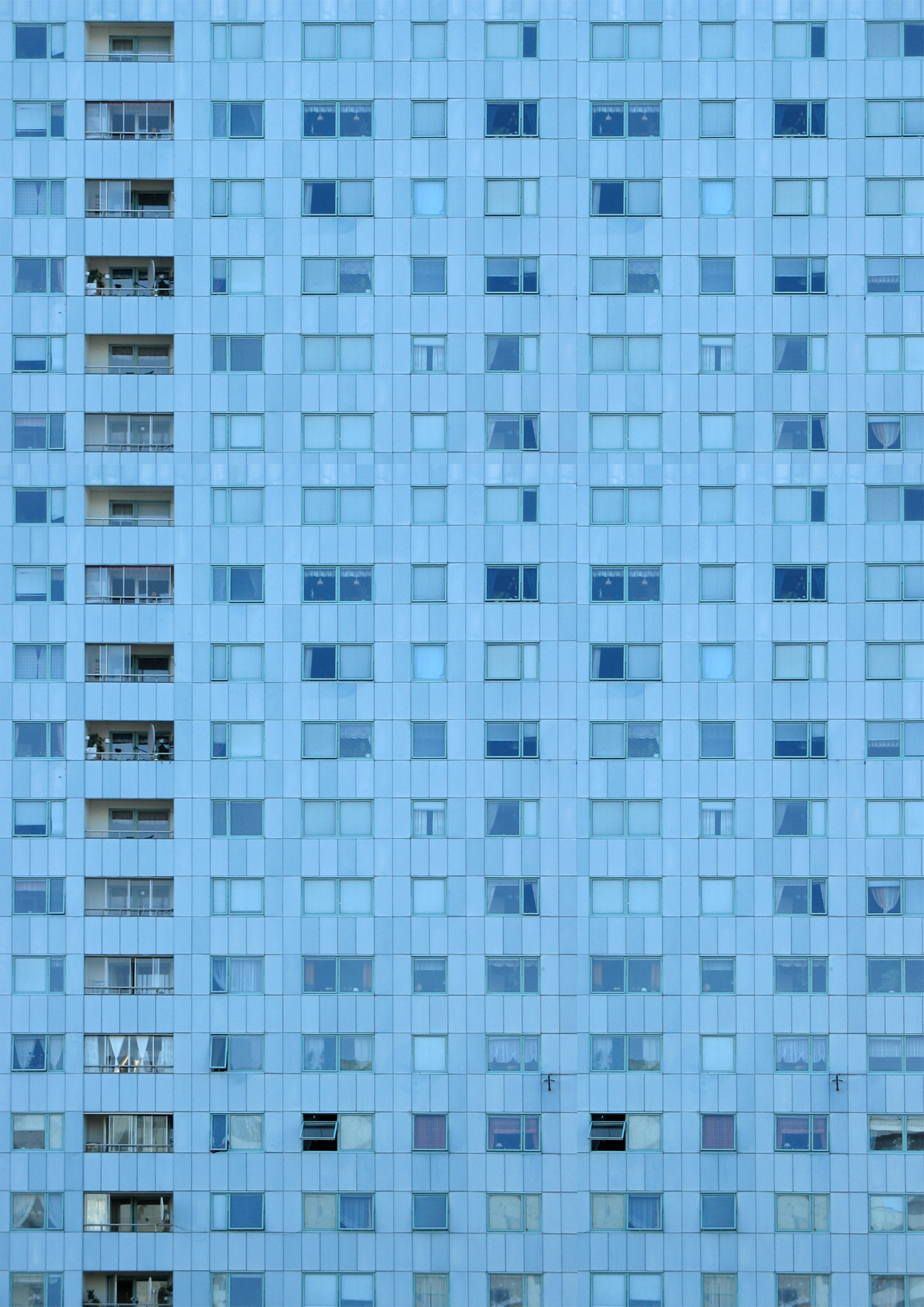
2 The Mission of
'Det Svenska Folkhemmet'

"(…) The frontline between the old and the new is not short and straight but so winding and stretched that we barely know which side of the razor-sharp line of now we are on, if we are living in the past or in the future. (…) Not long ago cow-sheds and piggeries still rested on the ores. Stables and privies filled the yards of the central quarters. A few steps from the office buildings and commercial centres of the main streets were tree-shadowed cottages within sagging planks and set coffee tables in decorated gazebos. Smoking and noisy industries still worked in the city centre and within the city gates lonely apartment blocks arose over tobacco barns and turnip fields.

That city was not an idyll, but it had kept a lot of the mark of the smaller town and if you walked the right streets one could find peace and that sense of security found in the feeling of eternity. One had gotten used to that city, as it was. What you have come to know can be accepted, even that which you really wish to be deliberated from."

from "I en förvandlad stad", P-A Fogelström, p. 9 (author's translation)

2.1 The rustic society, continuity and change

Sweden was for long a quite struggling land, where a large number of the population were poor peasants and development was low. Up until 1870 and the break through of the industrialism, most Swedes lived off the land in rural areas. The individual world was small and brotherhood and collectivism was mainly found in the closest surrounding areas; represented by the family and the parish. These units were therefore also a protected part throughout the community (Rojas, 1999). The Swedish state was though up until the beginning of the 20th century formed through corporative standards above personal - which meant that your societal position brought you a place in the parliament, and not your citizenship. The commonage thus officially was ruled by an authoritarian state, consisting of the higher societal classes. But due to the large number of peasants within the Swedish population, the rustic society had a numerous advantage towards the higher classes, which forced the development of agreement-based forms of government (Larsson, 1994). For example, the first common Swedish law, written in the 14th century, declared that additional tax beyond the fixed rate could only be withdrawn if one had the whole nation's approval, meaning not only the king or nobility, but also the rustic society. This kind of treaty shows both the central position of the commonage, but also that the Swedes for long have believed consensus to be a primary political form (Rojas, 1999). A lot of fields within society were impregnated by these consensus-based agreements, and also the planning field. This way back in history communal planning as we know it didn't exist, but there still were some matters of importance to the whole community; for example access to roads, military defence

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Left picture: Hagalund, Solna. Blue housing built in the 1960's as part of the Swedish Housing program. Photo courtesy Daniel Mott.

systems or the observation and enforcement of communal laws and rules (Sundberg et al, 2011). These kind of matters were often handled outside of the national government by the parishes themselves. Normally, democratic principles were practised within the parishes, where everyone could come and speak their opinion. In local and regional matters it was common to form a coalition between different parishes and work together to solve a common problem – naturally because it was economically efficient but also because peaceful agreements was seen as politically preferred. An early attempt of representative democracy could be seen in these coalitions, when they sometimes grew so big that it was hard for all people to gather for meetings. Instead the parish had to choose a number of persons who could speak for their common sake (Hall, 1998).

The successive development of representative democracy profoundly changed the power relations between the individual and the collective, as well as the state and the rustic society. Within the parishes each individual spoke for himself, but in the representative system the individual was traded for the collective, representing "the common sake". This implied that individual matters had to be shared with a number of people, otherwise they would not count as "common" (Ramírez, 1985). The local representative system also put more pressure on the national government, formed by an income-based voting system – which left workers, poor, women, youngsters, criminals and to some extent also the burghs without a say. On the local level these people thus had much more influence in the matters since the income levels were based on local contexts. This gave room for the civil society to act locally (Sundberg et al, 2011). To widen the political influence from the people excluded from the power, the idea of a public school was developed in the 1830's. On a national level the aim with this idea was also to control the commonage and prevent them from riots to keep the political climate peaceful and strong. The public school strengthened the collective communion, introducing a unified view of society and the world (Wästerfors, 2000).

2.2 Industrialisation and prosperity

In spite of the strong and early political development towards democracy, Sweden was for long still very poor and unable to support itself. It was not until the 19th century that the economy of Sweden boosted, when the introduction of railways led to a large demand for iron. Sweden's greatest natural resources – iron ore, timber and charcoal – turned out to be especially well suited for the upcoming worldwide industrialisation, enhancing the national economy through export (Larsson, 1994). With a growing economy, Sweden already in the beginning of the 19th century started to build up a modern infrastructure in terms of harbours, canals and roads, and in the end of the 19th century even railroads. An extensive nationwide structure for higher education was also developed. Because of the law of compulsory education introduced in 1882, the majority of the Swedes were in the early 20th century literate which pioneered for further education (Wästerfors, 2000). Both elementary and higher educational institutions was developed – the higher mainly in the area of engineering. Due to this, Sweden soon saw another economical boost lift their nation springing from the nation's high degree of engineers. This profession worked extremely well with the developing industrialisation and the 20th century. Soon many Swedish inventions were introduced and became world famous, for example the table telephone, the modern ball-bearing, the dynamite and

the milk separator. The inventions had a positive impact on both the national economy as well as the new Swedish confidence, through the fact that the Swedes now made the inventions themselves instead of having to import them from abroad (Hall, 1998). The great investments in higher education, the industrial development and the success of the engineers according to Rojas, 1999, helped to form a certain rational view within the Swedish society. The Swedes came to believe that measuring and calculating was the rational and most effective way to come to conclusion, and thus the most ideal and best is always possible to construct. This rational approach came to dominate the Swedish society for a long time ahead, and played an important role in the development of the "new" and prosperous Sweden (Rojas, 1999).

With the industrialism, the urbanisation also began throughout the country. Changes of land properties in the rural areas led to technical and organizational development and thus also different kind of chores for the workers. After the great famine in the beginning of the 20th century people started to move from the rural areas into the cities to be able to find work opportunities and improve their life situation (Larsson, 1994). But the rush towards the cities was massive and they soon became crowded, offering poor living conditions and great unemployment. The already poor people took heavy jobs in industries or harbours, which often led to diseases and physical injuries. In addition to that, the high consumption of alcohol was a huge problem throughout the country (Hall, 1998). The urbanisation had made more people depending on others, since they no longer supported themselves from the land. Instead they were dependent on getting a job from someone else, which led to the development of a lower class within the Swedish society. Rojas means that this development soon divided the society into two sides – the rich employers and the poor employees (Rojas, 1999). The difference between the rich and the poor also made the cities physically segregate into two parts - the richer part with its newly built stone houses and paved streets, and the poor part with its townships, muddy streets and bad smell (Fogelström, 2009a).

The successive indifferences in society gave a rise to the interest in politics for the commonage, demanding a re-organization of the power structures. The increasing dependence from others also made people benefit from organizing. From the beginning of the 20th century, workers started to organize into unions and other groups to be able to influence employers and politicians to give the poor better living standards and take responsibility for the social privation, as well as the fight for universal suffrage (Sundberg et al, 2011). The strong and organized civil society put pressure on the dynasts, who chose to meet the demands rather than fight back, to avoid the risk of violence or riots as seen in neighbouring countries. The recent wars going on in a close distance to Sweden – the Finnish civil war and the first world war - also affected the political climate of Sweden thoroughly, by being very yielding regarding negotiations between the state and for example worker's unions, which led to peaceful and stable agreements between the political parties, the state and the people (Rojas, 1999). New political parties also arose from the civil society. The Swedish Social Democratic Party was one of the parties that were formed in 1889 by poor workers to fight against the indifferences in society. The number of members grew very fast in a short time because of its strong roots in the civil society, and its agenda to even the differences in income, and to improve the employees working conditions and living standards (Hall, 1998). It also attracted a large number of people from the upper class with their fight for universal suffrage,

independent of the voter's tax contribution. Larsson means that this civil organization resulted in a historical change of the political structures. The old authoritarian power structure was seen as dysfunctional and unsatisfying regarding equal rights for citizens, and common influence into national politics (Larsson, 1994). In 1913 'proportional voting' thus was introduced, which simplified implicates that majority determines the result of an election. Ramírez claims that this system further strengthened the meaning of the collective over the individual (Ramírez, 1985). After great pressure from the civil society, organized through the formation of political parties, Sweden introduced universal suffrage in 1919, including traditionally excluded people in the power hierarchy (Ramírez, 1985). With this civil rootedness a silent reformation of the state to make it more democratic was launched in 1930. This included the dismantling of the class-based government, removal of privileges of the nobility and the introduction of new municipal laws, which enforced a new order of the citizens 'rights and duties' towards their nation (Sundberg et al, 2011). The power structures were also moved down to a local scale when the municipal assembly became compulsory in every village or city with more than 700 citizens. Larsson means that these interventions towards a modern democratic organization changed both the political climate and the public engagement throughout Sweden. A strong and firm society together with an increasing economy brought bright future prospects throughout the country (Larsson, 1994).

2.3 The rise of 'Det Svenska Folkhemmet'

In the spring of 1928 the leader of the Social Democratic Party, Per Albin Hansson, for the first time launched the term 'Folkhemmet' [the people's home] in a speech within a political debate. More than an outspoken political agenda, he used the word as a generic term for an ideology including equality between classes and the goal to make Sweden a common and equal home for all Swedes (Larsson, 1994):

> "The cornerstone of the home is the commonality and the feeling of belonging. The good home does not know any privileged or neglected, no minions or stepchildren. There one does not look down on the other. There no one tries to get advantages on someone else's expense, the strong does not repress and plunder the weak. In the good home equality, care, cooperation and helpfulness reign. Applied on the great people's and citizens home this would mean the decomposition of all the social and economical faults, that is now separating the citizens into privileged and neglected, in masters and dependents, in plunders and plundered.
>
> The Swedish society is not yet the good home for the citizens. Certainly here is a formal equality, the equality in political rights, but socially the class society still reign, and economically the dictatorship of the few is in power. The inequalities are at times alarming; while some are living in palaces, many others are believing it a great luck to stay in their townships to endure even the cold winter; while some are living in wealth, many go from door to door to beg for a piece of bread, and the poor worries about tomorrow, where sickness, unemployment and other disaster awaits. If the Swedish society is to become the great home of citizens the class differences must be diminished, the social care be developed, an economical equation happen, the workers be given space even in the economical administration, democracy be pursued and be applied both socially and economically."
>
> From "Folkhemstalet", Per Albin Hansson, 1928, (author's translation).

Being one of the fastest growing political parties at the time, the Social Democratic Party won the national elections and took power in Sweden in 1932. They would stay in power until 1976, under an era later referred to as 'Det Svenska Folkhemmet' [the Swedish People's Home] bringing great social and physical changes throughout society. According to Sundberg et al, the original mission for the Social Democrats was to create a socialist nation in a democratic way, influenced by the socialist and Marxist views of society. For long they struggled with the methods for how to implement the socialist ideas into the fairly new political structure. Discussing alternatives of planned economy, 'functional socialism' or economical democracy they finally landed in the social and economical inequalities mainly based on the provocative indifferences between employers and employees (Sundberg et al, 2011). The most urgent issue to handle must thus be the control over the industry and to bring more rights for the workers. To gain control over the industry and decrease the economic differences, they introduced a form of planned economy later on known as 'functional socialism'. By this strategy rules and laws made the state gain more control over the before very liberally held market (Hall, 1998). The government also launched an early kind of social security system including public pension, a yearly two weeks vacation, and later on also the common health insurance. Larsson summarizes the political reform as the state and the workers together providing for economical and social development, in opposition to the historically segregation between the two (Larsson, 1994). The reform itself and its initial interventions made the conditions improve socially and was a founding start for the construction of a modern welfare-society, but physically the society was still strongly divided and caused problems because of bad housing, overpopulation and shortcoming infrastructure (Sundberg et al, 2011).

Hall points out three notable interferences that can be said to conclude the idea and execution of 'Folkhemsprojektet' [the People's Home Project]; the economical transformation from a liberal system to functional socialism, the imposition of a national social security system for the whole population and an overturning alteration in the physical landscape due to a massive housing-project (Hall, 1998). According to Rojas, this successful and almost frictionless change of Sweden from a poor country into a welfare society depended especially on four factors. The first was that Sweden at the time consisted of an ethnically homogenous population, who had the same general needs and desires. The plenteous peasants in medieval Sweden could now be translated in the huge masses of workers, dominating the society in numbers. At the time, immigration was very low in Sweden, which withheld ethnical homogeneity and did not give rise to special needs and desires from minorities. Rojas claims that the ethnical homogeneity is one of the reasons that the Swedish society could be transformed so easily and quick under the people's home-project, since the population acted as one big homogenous group, without differences in culture, language and tradition (Rojas, 1999). According to Larsson the homogeneity also was encouraged by the new patriarchal role of the state, aiming to support a homogenous population with common needs, based on a strong belief in the collective. The organizational core of 'Folkhemmet' was that the state took a more dominant role in Sweden influencing individual lives more than before. The individual mobility and choice was limited in favour of the public, in order to even the class differences (Larsson, 1994). According to Ramírez, 1985, this meant that the state both took more responsibility and became more authoritarian. The individual was diminished in favour of the collective; the society was now seen as made up by a number

of classes (collectives) and their internal hierarchies instead of a number of individuals. While the state was working for the 'common good' and caring for the poor, they also formed a collective from the poor excluding individual fates but promoting collective ones. The 'common good' was executed in favour of the majority, making more populous collectives politically stronger. The collective was the norm and the individual seen as the deviation (Ramírez, 1985).

Rojas second factor of importance was that Sweden for a long time had formed a perception of a strong national state, which became important in the relation between the state and the population. Sweden felt well rooted, unified and not segregated in power between the people and the state, which led to a great trust in the state from the population (Rojas, 1999). Larsson means that the closer connection between the state and the people resulted in a unified view and belief in the collective, which brought both duties and rights for each individual (Larsson, 1994). The third factor of importance according to Rojas was the expanding industrial economy, which helped to fortify the confidence in the national state, and also brought the means necessary to make thoroughgoing structural and physical changes. Hall further explains it as between 1870 and 1950 Sweden had the highest economical growth in the western world, which shows how successful Sweden was as an industrial nation. The industrialism also had deep impact on the movement patterns of the population, like the fast expansion in the cities, and the alternation in organization, structures, politics and culture (Hall, 1998). Rojas fourth and factor of importance for the people's home-project's success was a technological and organizational development, which gave room for new ideas to come into practice. This development is similar to the so-called Fordism, since it mainly brought the ideas about industrial mass-production and its strengthening effects on the overall economy, on an individual as well as a collective level. The strive for equality in living and consumption patterns was according to Sundberg et al the uttermost expression of justice and equality through the participarory principle where each individual was given the opportunity to contribute to further success (Sundberg et al, 2011). The fourth aspect mentioned was very dependent on the first three, because without a homogenous population and a strong belief in the state, this mass-production culture would not be rooted as easily (Rojas, 1999).

Additional historical factors that surely brought wind in the sails for 'Folkhemsprojektet', was the before mentioned belief in consensus, peaceful politics and a rational approach to life. For the social democrats to pursue this huge welfare-project, one condition was that they had both the population's arbitrariness and no influential protesting political opposition. During the initiating of the project, the political opposition in Sweden was surprisingly quiet and did not really set anything against the societal overturn until later, when the break-down of 'Folkhemmet' was appearing. If this depended more on the historical weakness for peaceful politics than a common view of the welfare project as a really great idea remains unknown - though Sundberg et al concludes that it was not only the population that was homogenous at the time, but the whole political organization (Sundberg et al, 2011).

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2.4 Functionalism and rationality

The ideological and organizational development of the surrounding world – especially northern Europe – also influenced the political and social development in Sweden. With the industrialism breaking grounds worldwide with new technological inventions, the belief of a technological revolution created a vision of a bright and new future, where societal problems could once and for all be solved. Nature could be tamed, work could be done and efficient solutions facilitate an easier living – all without being limited by the human factor (Svedberg, 2003). In the 1920's after the First World War, a future without history was imagined. Everything belonging to the past was to be removed, to make room for more efficient and modern solutions. The rational approach to issues thus did not only derive from the Swedish engineers, but the technological revolution and industrialisation itself (Sundberg et al, 2011). The rational and technical approach put new focus on the functions of things or structures, their efficiency and potential for improvement. Reflected in the architectural field, the European architects moved from their previous designing missions into the new field of planning – from which society and its functions would be optimally organized through structure and design. The functionalism was directed towards social and material issues and inequalities, which made the socialist perspective dominant (Svedberg, 2003).

The influence of functionalism and the new planning field was reflected also in the Swedish development. The socialistic approach and a strong belief in technology permeated the Swedish society. Adler-Karlsson describes the economic imposition of 'functional socialism' as the previously liberal market, which before the change was in a totally different arena than the rest of society, now got controlled and directed by the state from a functional perspective. This implicated the change of interest from the possession of production means, to the issue of the functions of possession, and how these to a varying degree could be controlled and ruled by the democratic state, employees unions and consumers. The essence of functional socialism was to make the capitalistic approach more functional, through adjusting its power, not through socializing the means of production (Adler-Karlsson, 1967). Together with the introduction of the social security system – known under the parole "from each and everyone according to one's ability, to each and everyone according to one's needs" (Hansson, 1928) including access to education, free healthcare, the imposition of a public pension system and legislation of two weeks of mandatory vacation, the Swedish society was organizationally altered to the ground. Not only in terms of the articulation of one's rights and duties, but also because a whole new societal platform arose – the institutions (Sundberg et al, 2011). The institutions were according to Larsson an important tax-financed tool to maintain the control over both the market and the social welfare, by becoming the intermediary facility between the government and the Swedish population (Larsson, 1994). In true rational spirit, the institutions were characterized by being big, standardized and bureaucratic because of the need to keep them alike and transparent. In spite of the bureaucratic aspect, the citizens knew what to expect from the institutions and the institutions knew their duties towards the citizens. Sundberg et al means that the development of the institutions arose from the functionalist ideas of society, where the functions and machinery of the society would be controlled by the superior state (Sundberg et al, 2011). This sociological implementation of functionalism was built on the experience of society as a number of social structures, individually filling specific

functions to secure continuity and consensus (Giddens, 2003). The institutions were this way structures for maintaing transparence and control from the state (Nyström, 2011). Another explanation to the institutions successful march into society was according to Rojas that a large number of the population became employees of the institutions, which gave them a broad popular attachment and acceptance. They were also a dominant foundation of the welfare state, because of their role as the public sector (Rojas, 1999). Through the institutions, the Swedes had a closer connection to the state and political processes could be handled separately depending on the theme of subject, which was seen as efficient and rational. Larsson means that the institutions withheld democracy through it's way of preventing corruption by promoting transparency and a standardized process, but had it's backside in being neither flexible or efficient due to the set regulations and bureaucracy. Still, the new organization brought a new societal order, which was welcomed since it became clearer for people that they had societal rights as well as societal duties, and the institutions were the facilities where to claim those (Larsson, 1994).

2.5 Physical transformation through the great housing program

In 1934, Alva and Gunnar Myrdal published the book 'Kris i befolkningsfrågan' [Crisis in the Population Issue] in which they presented an inferior housing situation for the Swedish population. With radical suggestions of political reforms in reference to gain public-spirited family politics, they proposed how to improve the social and material standards as a step towards the equal society. As arguments, they used statistical numbers from the latest national census, showing the alarming inequalities in living standards and conditions throughout society. The book created wild debate and changed the welfare focus to the housing situation, which also brought physical planning into the issue. Planning had now become an important political tool close connected to the continuous efforts of creating the Swedish welfare state called 'Det Svenska Folkhemmet' (Rojas, 1999).

The housing issue also related directly to the term 'Folkhemmet' - the family, the home and the communion within it as a metaphorical idiom for the whole societal transformation (Larsson, 1994). Throughout Sweden the poor population in the cities lived in crowded houses. This was a thriving environment for the spread of diseases and vermin, because of the lack of heating, access to water or hygienic facilities. The housing-situation reinforced the eternal loop of poverty and sickness, which put a heavy burden on the social security system. The government thus needed to do something drastic about the housing in order to maintain the welfare society (Hall, 1998). The method chosen for the purpose was planning – the fast expansion of the cities and the need of infrastructural development demanded coordination and perspectives. City planning had already existed in Sweden since the 17th century because the wooden houses would burn down so often, but this time it was another, more large scale planning that was needed, thus the planner was given a new identity beside of land surveyors and engineers (Svedberg, 2003). Nyström describes the urban landscape at the time as shantytowns spontaneously developed along the railway and in a wreath around the inner city cores, in close distance to the industries where the job opportunities were to be found. This made the city a mess – helter-skelter were houses, factories, lakes

and roads without any coordination or inner structure. Thus, in the end of the 30's prognostication was for the first time used as a tool to anticipate the development of the population, which according to Nyström can be seen as the first step towards city planning (Nyström, 2011). The functionalist and rational approach heavily influenced the development of the new planning situation. The approach towards the new city was quite radical where the old spontaneously developed shantytowns and muddy streets would to a large extent plainly be removed and replaced by new and modern housing with hygienic facilities and appropriate infrastructure. The railway and the expansion of roads – due to the introduction of and growing number of cars - were believed to be a necessary framework for the new cities (Svedberg, 2003). With this tabula rasa-perspective, the planning of the cities was large-scaled and unsentimental. According to Rojas, like in the economical field the functionalism was promoted as the best approach also in architecture and planning, and inspiration came from abroad or for example the Stockholm Exhibition 1930 – a show-off in industrial success and valorous modern architecture. Through the housing program 'Folkhemsprojektet' was no longer just a organizational transformation of society – it was an social and physical utopia that could be constructed with the help of careful calculations and knowledge (Rojas, 1999).

The housing issue had already to some extent been illuminated as early as 1926, when the home-croft movement, a self-building programme under the name of the home-croft movement, was introduced. Hall explains the implication of the movement as poor people were given the chance to build their own house outside the city, with the help of subsidized material and building directions from the state. The builders also got a sum of money for "sweat equity". In order to keep down the costs for both the state and the builders, the material was standardized in length and construction, so that the compilation of material would be cheaper (Hall, 1998). Through the home-croft movement as many as 3,500 cottages had been built only around Stockholm in 1939. This way, the most crowded families could get an own house away from the city centre without a large cost. Using the home-croft movement as a starting point, the housing issue further included other initial state interventions such as subsidized rent for urban families with three or more children and the building of coop-apartments that relieved the families somewhat economically (Larsson, 1994). This type of interventions aimed for the state taking more control of the construction field, bringing more equality in the housing market. But despite these state controlled interventions most construction executed in the 1930's was still pursued by private enterprises. The government saw in this an opposing development towards the welfare state, and started to firmly regulate how and who carried out the construction of housing. The government thought that the private enterprises was too small to carry out construction based on demand, and to increase the influence of the state the government decided to give mortgages to municipal and non-profit builders, and for multi-family blocks before single-family housing (Hall, 1998).

Through regulating the housing program, Larsson points out that the state went from organizing society to additionally taking on a paternalistic role wanting to provide for and be needed by the poor and weak collective. The technological and rational approach brought a new centralized and structured societal organization, represented by the institutions, in which collectives and the public were offered continuity, consensus and transparency within the political sphere (Larsson, 1994). Rojas agrees by stating that

Fig 2. Vicinity of Årsta, Stockholm, 1945. (Photographer unknown)

the private enterprises and wealthy population were neglected in favour of the poor and weak part of society. The private market that benefited from the class society had to be regulated by the state in order to manage to equalize the social breaches. The state became the breadwinner, and allowed no competitors in this care for the vulnerable (Rojas, 1999).

In 1946, the government launched a housing policy package, with the intent to eliminate the housing shortage, raising the standards and keeping the rent-levels no higher than 20% of an industrial wage (Sundberg et al, 2011). After the Second World War and the launching of the new master plan of London in 1944, the interest had grown in vicinity units, in which the city was divided functionally after the prevailing ideal. The units would advantageous be connected with infrastructure such as ring roads, railways or subway. This layout requested planning on a whole different scale, and further development of the planning system (Svedberg, 2003). Initiated by these needs a planning and building law was introduced in 1947. The law put the responsibility of the planning at the municipalities, which included land use, the use of prognostication and detailed guidelines for the design and planning of the buildings. These details regarding construction plans and the size of spaces were taken into account to prevent the crowdedness to reappear, and also to make the housing situation more equal through standardization (Nyström, 2011).

2.6 Creating the equal home

Standardization was carefully developed through scientific research in the rational

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spirit. Numerous research projects tried to find out the ideal construction of kitchens, windows, light inlet and positions of the buildings (Sundberg et al, 2011). The most famous example of this rational research to construct the ideal home was executed by 'Hemmens Forskningsinstitut' [The Homes' Research Institute], regarding the ideal kitchen. In a huge research project a researcher observed a housewife when executing her daily domestic work in a 'test kitchen'. The researcher noted the movements between the different elements in the kitchen, to be able to find out the optimal design of the kitchen regarding movement and work. This mapping of the domestic work in the kitchen later resulted in "The Swedish Kitchen Standard" which was measure based kitchen equipment, used extensively in Sweden from the 50's and forward. Thus, it was not only in Sweden that this rational method was used - for example Le Corbusier in the 50's tried to construct the ideal one-man home only based on the measurements and relations within the body. As measure he used the lengths of arms and legs, angles of the knees and elbows and height when sitting or standing, called Le Cabanon (Exhibition LIVING, 2011). This rational approach to life and the home showed the current functional and rational obsession of finding the ideal and optimal solution at all times (Svedberg, 2003).

In the end of the 40's and the beginning of the 50's the construction of Stockholm's subway started alongside a new national focus on and development of roads. The belief in the car and other transportation led to the planning strategy of vicinities including housing, day care, services and work places. The vicinity would connect to the city centre and other parts through infrastructure that made it mentally belong to the city, but still provide the services needed on a local basis (Svedberg, 2003). Rojas explains the extensive preference of vicinities throughout Sweden by its metaphorical similarity with the ideology of 'Folkhemmet', where the caring vicinity provided a paternalist head of family (Rojas, 1999). Built on basis of the tabula rasa perspective the vicinity was its own neighbourhood that neither had to relate to surrounding buildings or contexts. Roads and railroads functioned as the main link where there was no subway. New housing areas
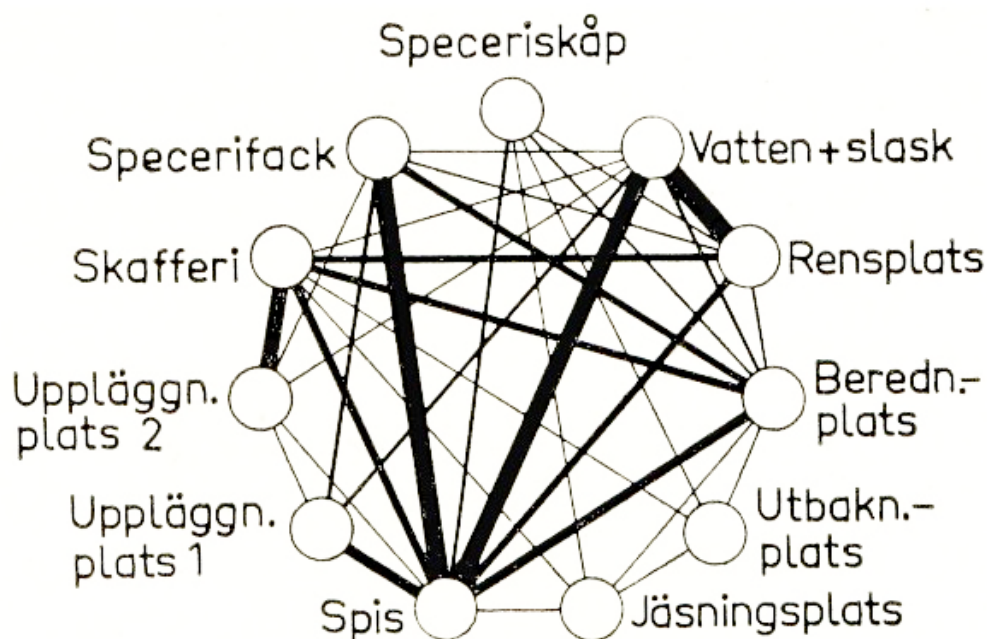

Fig 3. Diagram of movement in a kitchen (Ellgard, 2009).

popped up in pace with the tearing down of the old and bad shantytowns, and the lower class was successively replaced by a new middleclass (Larsson, 1994). Along with he standardization of the home and the new equal thoughts around housing, the industry developed further into mass-produce and quantity measure. Instead of small individually directed industries, bigger industries now entered the stage and produced standardized products that would fit everyone throughout society, caring for the equal distribution of goods, which went in line with the development of the new middle class. This class had more money to spend on consumption, lived in new standardized housing, had access to the common social security system and preferred consumption of standardized products that gave the feeling of belonging and sameness which also was the feeling of security (Hall, 1998). The welfare society finally was getting real and Sweden had a bright belief in the future. With the new standards of life the population would grow, which meant the need for more housing and more service (Larsson, 1994). The housing shortage was still high, and future plans included higher, better and more dense housing, bringing a new focus on highrise multi-family blocks. The housing program to this point had included both single-family and multi-family housing, resulting in a mix of different types of physical structures. The benefits with the new highrise multi-family blocks was that due to their standardized construction and similar blueprints, construction was made fast and cheap (Svedberg, 2003). Being located in green suburban areas the light, air and lush greenery were to complement the density of the houses. The vicinity-structure was still used, only taken further and higher. The so-called million program that had been actual the last decades, was on it's edge, complementing the mixed types of housing with modern and enthusiastic architecture. In all bigger cities of Sweden the 60's was the decade of highrise construction – the municipalities planned the housing areas and then used turnkey contracts for the construction (Moberg, 2009). The result was a boost of big, green suburban areas with high density in standardized apartments. But surprisingly, instead of embracing the new equal housing, the people deceived it. People fled from the apartment block, claiming that they were getting unhappy, felt uncomfortable and wanted to move away to something more personal (Rojas, 1999). The apartments were hard to lease, and due to it's large number a new lower class again evolved within the people who stayed and the newcomers who moved in – mostly immigrants from the wartorned surrounding world. Suddenly, the Swedish society was no longer characterized by the equal, but the longing for the own, and the movement from the standard and the collectivism (Hall, 1998).

2.7 The loss of sensivity

To understand this sudden change, one also needs to understand some structural changes in society that overturned the original conditions for the people's home project. First of all, Larsson claims that when the massive construction projects of the 1960's began, the sensitivity of the planning had somehow been partly lost. The later focus on rational functionalism of the 'million program' had lost it's connection to the people (Larsson, 1994). Hall means that the conformity of the housing appearing in the 1970's might have been the result of the housing gradually transforming from a market good to a social service. The paternalist role of the state had since the introduction of 'Folkhemmet' successively enlarged to provide work, housing and service to the population, while simultaneously decreasing market competition. Between 1936 and 1940 only 13 per cent

of the housing had received state support, compared to the period after 1954 when between 90 and 95 per cent of all housing were state subsidized (Hall, 1998).

Another explanation to the decay of 'Folkhemmet' is according to Sundberg et al that the overall conditions and contexts for the project had changed over time. The ethnically homogenous population was no longer so homogenous – the past decades immigrants had come to live in Sweden, which gave a new heterogeneity regarding culture, tradition and needs. The economical development incited by the 'functional socialism' had turned and was more and more directed to individual consumerism (Sundberg et al, 2011). In addition, the previously expanding industrial economy was no longer growing since the interest for mass-production and standardized products had declined all over Europe. The perception of a strong national state also had cooled off since the differences between the state and the population had increased. Now, the population and the state were two different entities, where top-down interventions and paternalistic approaches from the state removed all responsibility from the population. Rojas also blaims the increasing technological and organizational development that could be seen in the beginning of the century had also decreased, much because more and more people were employed by the public sector and in institutions, which limited the creativity and individual development (Rojas, 1999). This dualistic relationship between the population and the state, where the population felt alienated from the state while still being a big part of it, created a political distrust. At the same time, the money dried up. Starting in the 60's when the before so strong industrial economy started to decline, the state lost its major source of income. Having a majority of the population working within institutions, the tax-based income was in need of external input. In addition with the huge reform programs that the government continued to launch, the money quickly disappeared (Ramírez, 1985). Sundberg et al, 2011, describes the fall of the people's home project as an effect of the so-called 'service democracy'. The 'service democracy' is founded in the transit from ideological politics to material – when different political parties compete of solving problems of different groups in coherence with the passive voters. It is based on the representative democracy system, which makes the realization of the people's will and voters' satisfaction a major indicator on its success. The politics should be characterized by the population's opinions, which makes the service democracy very focused on results (Sundberg et al, 2011). When the Social Democrats won the election in 1932, the focus changed from ideological to material issues. They launched a wide programme of social reforms with both organizational and physical effects, which also made the other political parties try to gain voters by the same strategy, which created a competitive situation. When the money had run out in the end of the 70's, the Social Democrats could no longer gain voters through promising more reforms, which made the population notice cut-backs and passiveness in comparison to the before massive efforts and societal transformations. This led to an under-dog position for the Social Democrats, which lead to further distrust from the voters (Ramírez, 1985).

2.8 Beyond 'Folkhemmet'

According to the previously mentioned Maslow's hierarchy of needs, one can claim that the decline for the people's home project also depended on the birth of the welfare state. When the conditions of the population was improved materially and socially, the

needs changed from the basic aspects of safety, to the more cognitive needs of self-actualization. With the basic needs the collective is of major importance, while the cognitive needs are individual (Passer & Smith, 2004). In this change, the nurturing and controlling role of the state had different effects. In the beginning, the state was the safety line to make the people feel safe and secure, by offering a social security system and other basic services of welfare that the population would not be able to gain without the state and the collective. The collective and standardization therefore also had a big part in this stage, offering the feeling of group belonging that the individual needs. When the material standard improved and the middle-class was formed, people suddenly took security and safety for granted, perceiving the homogenous collective and the controlling state as pressuring. Instead they wanted more freedom in order to actualize oneself as an individual (Giddens, 2003).

Due to the dilemma of the 'service democracy' and the individualistic development, Sundberg and al claims that we can see two new lines of political development deriving in current day Sweden. The first is the mission to regain trust from the population regarding public interventions and publically financed service. In this matter, politicians of today have chosen to focus on the supply of alternatives regarding access to services that has led to greater experiments of privatization and deregulation (Sundberg et al, 2011). Smas means that the same trend can be seen in the national financial deregulation during the 1980's, the privatization of infrastructure in the 1990's, and the reforms and privatization of the tax and pension systems in the recent years. The liberalization of the societal services and foundations can also be seen in the planning field, where the overall society has become more competitive and focused on consumption-based activities. Planning has moved from providing the sheltering home to offering activities in '24-hour cities' which have given the planning field a closer connection to, and increased dependence on, the service market (Smas, 2011). The other line that Sundberg et al recognizes as an effort to balance the dilemma of the 'service democracy', is to put more focus on the democratic process instead of results of the pursued politics. This can be enacted through experimenting with the democratic process – different forms of societal engagement, the institutions openness and reachability and the 'friendly politician' tactics (Sundberg et al, 2011). The trend had oscillated from focusing on individual persons within politics, independent on their party-belonging, to focus on the party as a collective without individual deviations. Now we are back on focusing on the separate individuals, but still not letting them be humans like anyone. Nilsson and Peterson claims that this democracy perspective is shown within the planning field through a growing interest in stakeholder participation and direct democracy, expressed through more interactive planning processes between planners and stakeholders. Many researchers show that this direct form of democracy is very successful because of its rootedness in society and among stakeholders that make the result function better. By not excluding the stakeholders or the planners but letting them work together is much of an investigated planning issue of today (Nilsson & Peterson, 2011).

Much of the current Swedish society – the political system, the culture and planning process – is inherited from 'Folkhemmet'. The era left both physical and ideological traces and still lives on strongly in the Swedish society. Even though the social conviction and engagement is somehow lost in favour of other perspectives and beliefs, many structures from the period lives on as strongly as ever. Ohlsson for example mention the institutions

as still a big part of our society, enforcing the sociological functionalism and employing a large part of the Swedes. The historically strong perception of the collective is also present. For example, we still divide our society in left and right parties, even though the politics is not nearly as leftist as during 'Folkhemmet'. The perceptions bound to the left and right wing politics barely harmonize with the political situation of today. The leftist makes us think about caring for the poor, individual freedom, engagement and creativity. The right makes us think about bourgeois structures, traditions, retrogressivity and conservativity (Ohlsson, 2012). We seem to have a hard time letting go of 'Folkhemmet', even though it fell apart and the context is long gone. Our planning system is still executed through a continuative process, standardized by a massive quantity of rules and regulations providing a guarantee for offering a democratic and transparent planning process, but also making it slow and inflexible (Nyström, 2011).

Although, the political climate of today is more fluctuating, dividing the political field in four-year-terms. This have forced the planning field to be more flexible and focused on short-period projects. Due to a (still) limited budget reforms and large-scale projects often cannot be executed quickly in the public sector planning. Larsson means that due to this, we see a slow but steady change from the public sphere to the private enterprises (Larsson, 1994). A large part of the Swedish population see this change into an individualistic society as frightening, while others mean that it is the only way for Sweden to develop in order to recover economically. The idea of letting people be freer from the public sector services would force more individual creativity and competition and therefore also bring an economically better output, which the whole nation would benefit from. Rojas points out that we see this development happen already by promoting privatization and deregulating public sector fields. The critics of this policy mean that a system of that kind would bring more negative effects on the welfare system, since the competition would have dramatic consequences on individual lives to a larger extent than with the collective and public sector ruled labour market (Rojas, 1999).

No matter what, Sweden currently faces an era of change where the economic growth is the most urgent issue to handle. In spite of the utopia of 'Folkhemmet' declined, the era still is generally reminded with sentimentality and optimism. Both the Swedish people and the government strongly believed in the historical Social Democratic utopia, and it is hard to accept even today that it at some point failed, why we still are positioned in some sort of backwash. Our current position as a welfare society is much thanks to 'Folkhemmet', which on the basis of right conditions transformed Sweden from a poor and struggling nation to a modern welfare state. With the right administration we might be able to use the context and conditions of today to make Sweden develop in an interesting direction.

3 Introducing the 'Bolivarian revolution'

"...other people will conquer this dark and bitter moment... sooner or later the big avenues will be opened anew, and there the free man will walk ahead to create a better society."

Salvador Allende, September 11, 1973

"The people understand that the process is not of one person but of everyone, and we have seen that there are not one or two people who are talking, but the people. The people who will not stay quiet."

Iraida Morocoima in "Venezuela Speaks!", (Martinez et al. 2010)

3.1 Colonialism and the battle of Venezuela

The political history of Venezuela is – briefly - dominated by power-hungry men, overthrowing and succeeding each other in order to place themself better in the political hierarchy. Venezuela's modern history began when Columbus arrived to Venezuela in the late 15th century, according to the myth so struck by its beauty that he called it the "terrestrial paradise". His discovery would be the take-off for the modern political history of Venezuela, when a few decades later the Spaniards invaded the country to make it their colony (Maddicks, 2011). The indigenous tribes living from the land were enslaved in order to search for pearls and gold, grow coffee and cacao, and build Spanish cities where their villages previously had been. A large part of them were killed in the battles over the land when trying to fight back to the Spanish, and as time passed the colonizers saw a need to bring in more slaves from other parts of the world, such as Africa. With the help of the slaves, the Spaniards constructed a Spanish empire supported by large coffee and cacao plantations (Martínez et al, 2010).

Already decades after the colonization, descendants from the original Spanish felt distant from their original roots – a lot of them had never even set foot in their home country of Spain. Compared to natives and blacks the white descendants were high in social ranks, but in comparison to the real Spanish they were not as good and Venezuela's political leadership was therefore imported directly from Spain. With the economical development in the 18th century, a national bourgeoisie was formed - based in the capital Caracas. Feeling increasingly disconnected from Spain, they started to identify themselves as Americans instead of Europeans. As most of them were born in Venezuela they affiliated with the country, and personally experienced the great inequalities and repression from the Spanish towards the slaves (Holmqvist, 2006). The Americans sought to disconnect from the Spanish and found inspiration abroad through the French Revolution and the

Left picture: The informal 'rancho' of San Agustín, in background central parts of Caracas. Photo courtesy Marlene Thelandersson.

declaration of independence in Northern America and Haiti. But not only the white population of Venezuela sought for restitution. Due to the inhumane conditions and repression of the slaves, numerous uprisings were seen from the slaves through the era of Spanish colonialism. Both the slaves and the Americans thus wanted Venezuela freed from the Spanish rule, and in the 19th century the Americans, supported by the slaves, gathered to deliberate Venezuela under the guidance of Simón Bolívar (Maddicks, 2011). The young Bolívar led the armies against the Spanish and met both defeats and victories. In 1821 he finally forced the Spanish out of Gran Colombia, consisting of present-day Venezuela, Colombia, Panama and Ecuador. Bolívar's dream was to also liberate Peru and Bolivia from colonization to form a great, united South American union (Martinez et al, 2010). The success of Bolívar's conquests was much thanks to his search for support not only from the white aristocrats, but also from the civil society, claiming that South America belonged to the same people, independent on the colour of one's skin or religion. When freed from the Spanish repression, this belief led to a number of reforms being introduced in the conquered provinces – including redistribution of land, interdictions against racial discrimination, equality to the law, the separation of the church from the state and public freedom of press. Even a discontinuation of slavery was started (Maddicks, 2011). But although Bolívar's dream of a unified South America started strongly, the years after his conquests was imprinted by divergence within the provinces and between the leaders. After Bolívar's death in 1830, no one no longer retained the anticipatory dream, and Venezuela fell in the hands of the oligarchy where further inner divergence regarding the leadership of the country developed into numerous coups and military governing succeeding each other for decades (Holmqvist, 2006).

3.2 Oil opportunities

In 1914, discovery of oil in lake Maracaibo totally changed the political and economical conditions for Venezuela. The before self-supportive agricultural economy was suddenly stepping into the international business market, enticing interest from North American oil companies which closely tied together the Venezuelan power elite and USA. Venezuela's oil-boom began; in 1920, Venezuela was the largest oil exporting country in the world, and by 1935 oil export counted for 91.2 per cent of Venezuela's total export (Trinkunas, 2010). The agricultural export increasingly phased out in profit for the development of the oil industry. But it was the power elite that held power over the oil reserves, and the majority of the Venezuelans therefore did not get any share of the profits when at the same time being heavily affected by the loss in agricultural export. The oil boom made the Venezuelan society segregate into an upper and lower class with great inequalities, and the influence from USA went far beyond the oil business (Martinez et al, 2010).

Moving from oligarchy and coup d'états, the 20th century and the oil boom led Venezuela into a century of dictatorship. The history of violence and repression was again revived under the majority of them, where oppositional were thrown in prison and a secret police frightened the Venezuelan population to obedience. Despite the oil assets featuring a never-ending cash desk, little physical and political transformations were made for the public (Holmqvist, 2006). A military president succeeding the first dictator Goméz was the first to introduce of a series of civil and political reforms such as legalising labour unions and political parties. But before these interventions had a thoroughgoing effect in

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the Venezuelan society, he was forced away from power by a military coup led by Marcos Peréz Jiménez, who declared himself dictator in 1945 (Trinkunas, 2010). Although the interventions might have had some effect, because only two years after Jiménez entry as dictator the socialist Rómulo Betancourt succeeded to organize the first democratic elections in Venezuela, where also women were allowed to vote. The popular novelist Rómulo Gallegos and his social democratic party Acción Democrática (AD) won the historic election with 74 per cent of the votes, and Venezuela now hoped for a democratic rule and public material together with social improvements. But the democratic victory did not last long – eight months later Jiménez again took power by leading a military junta against Gallegos, again declaring himself dictator of Venezuela (Martínez et al, 2010). This time Jiménez held power for ten years, using the oil money to pursue his personal vision of modernizing Venezuela. This included for example the construction of an extensive net of highways, concrete housing blocks, race-tracks, five star hotels and the cable-car systems in Mérida and over the Ávila mountain. The construction package was the first physical change carried out in Venezuela since the colonizers transformed the original landscapes. Although the physical changes somehow was perceived as a modernization of an underdeveloped country, Holmqvist, 2006, claims that the interventions rather strengthened the capitalist influence and consumer culture than dealing with social divergence and inequality - making the social situation remain acute throughout the country (Holmqvist, 2006). In addition, Jiménez dictatorship was

Fig 4. Map of Venezuela (Moberg, 2012).

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also manifested by extended corruption and an infamous secret police, responsible for thousands of disappearances during his years in power (Martínez et al, 2010). The worsening social situation led to massive public protests, and Jiménez was finally forced away from power and fled the country in 1958.

3.3 The 'Punto Fijo Pact'

After Jiménez left, a second democratic election was held in 1959. This time Rómulo Betancourt was elected for president, after having agreed to a power-sharing deal between the two dominant political parties - AD and the Social Christian Party (COPEI) – through an agreement called the Punto Fijo pact. The nation was excited to see the development of the new democratic Venezuela under the shared governance and hoped that the social changes for long fought for would finally be realized. The new government started with bringing Jiménez to court for misusing public funds, and managed to put him in jail for two months (Holmqvist, 2006). Except for this, the government fell short from expectations. Although some freedom returned for the population they never managed to adjust the acute societal problems, much due to their inner divergence regarding the methods. Poverty was increasing, and the lack of social security kept Venezuela a diverged country with great inequalities. The poor lived in misery without access to education or proper healthcare, while the elite thrived in oil money and material luxury. Private mansions were built by the foot of the Ávila mountain, creating gated communities closed for the public. The physical development of Caracas was determined by private enterprises or commercial chains, leaving the city physically segregated (Seade, pers. com. 2011). The Punto Fijo pact was critiqued for being passive and unsympathetic, and since it consisted of the two major parties in Venezuela there was not much of an opposition. Even Jimenéz infamous secret police force remained in power, and a large part of the population saw no societal improvement compared to the previous ten years of dictatorship under Jiménez (Martinez et al, 2010). Due to this political doldrum and the event of the Cuban revolution in 1959, Venezuelan leftist movements were inspired to organize in order to form an alternative political development to the Punto Fijo pact. A left-wing group under the name of Movimiento de Izqierda Revolucionaria (MIR) broke free from AD with the goal to overthrow the increasingly repressive government. The visible increase of guerrilla groups and leftist parties as well as their attempts to overcome power made the government feel threatened, and decided to forbid certain especially strong parties such as MIR and the Communist Party. This repression of freedom of organization and expression made the democratic foundation shake and the corruption thrive within the political sphere. The societal development was in a stand-still since the state seemed to lack power to control any development (Trinkunas, 2010). The disability to control anything from above was seen throughout the whole Venezuelan society – the planning of the cities was non-existing, since the few regulations of land use and building permits set up was just ignored or solved by bribes and money exchange. The increasing capitalist sector of private enterprises ruled the physical and social development in the cities, by building for the rich and pushing away the poor from the city centres. That way, they did not have to deal with the social problems or poverty within the cities (Brillembourg, 2004). This type of planning also generated very scattered cities, without any cohesiveness or conclusion. The infrastructural backbone built by Jiménez ruled the development of the

cities, which became centred on highways and encouraged a high degree of car use due to the low prices on oil. No ideological strategies could be found within the planning, why the cities in Venezuela was randomly built and transformed based exclusively on individual decisions and private funds (Seade, pers. com. 2011).

Due to the lack of an opposition, the Punto Fijo pact remained in power. In 1974, Carlos Andrés Peréz from AD was elected new president, and his entry correlated with the international oil prices suddenly rising to record levels. This oil-boom made Venezuela's BNP rise rapidly, and Caracas soon became one of the world's most expensive cities. To gain from the boom the oil and steel industry was nationalised in 1976, creating a growing state capitalist sector and better working conditions for the oil industry workers. After the nationalisation, the industrial wages in Venezuela were the highest in all Latin America and the workers also had union rights. The over-all consumption increased with the capitalist sector, making use of the commercial structures (Martínez et al, 2010). But despite the nationalisation and access to more state funds, it was only a small part of the society that benefited from the oil since corruption kept the money in the elite classes and the state hadn't yet developed proper methods to make lasting social interventions. The political power remained closely connected to the rich and wealthy, excluding the poorer from any influence. With the great social inequalities and the improved working conditions within the oil industry, peasants from the rural areas pilgrimaged to the cities in order to benefit from the oil flow. Due to high rents and inappropriate housing in the city centre, they settled outside the cities creating shantytowns enlarging the cities twice the size. But many did not acquire jobs, and the shantytowns became places characterized by poverty, crimes and diseases (Holmqvist, 2006).

3.4 The 'Caracazo'

A few years later the economic bubble burst and the oil prices fell drastically. The national currency decreased almost five times in value, erasing savings overnight. The new president Luís Herrera Campins of COPEI had to face astronomical foreign debts and was forced to devaluation in 1983, with extensive consequences (Maddicks, 2011). In 1989, oil prices and income levels in Venezuela had fallen by half, and the before flourishing national economy was in a bad state. When having less money to spend within the state, the social interventions were not at all prioritized. The population started to realize that the great inequalities were due to the oil money going direct to the elite, instead of being invested into the people, who this natural resource really belonged to (Martinez et al, 2010).

In 1989, Peréz was re-elected because of promises of social improvement reforms. But instead he launched a reform package of increased oil prices, leading to further increased prices on transport and food, together with a series of shortages and an end to subsidies, which hit the poor population hard. The people answered to this with rage, storming and plundering the streets of Caracas in the riot known as 'Caracazo' (Trinkunas, 2010). The government responded to the uprisings with military resistance shooting a large number of people, simultaneously with Peréz restraining the democratic rights of the population. The freedom of press and expression was confined, and a prohibition of

arranging political meetings was introduced. Although democratically elected, Pérez accession to power and the more powerless population seemed to be the agenda more of a dictator than a president (Holmqvist, 2006). The majority of the Venezuelan population was deeply disaffected with the situation. The 'Caracazo' and the troubled political development in Venezuela only seemed to deepen the inequalities and poverty throughout the country. But the unstable political situation instead brought a new rise of the civil society with the formation of numerous counter movements to the government. Due to the recent dramatic turns in society the people learnt that changes could come overnight, without any warning. The lower classes felt increasingly isolated from the political power and decision-making, and therefore started to organize themselves in order to take back the popular power. With the social organization, people started to take personal responsibility for their lives and communities, developing neighbourhoods on a local scale. For example, the material standard in the 'ranchos' was improved by hacking into water supplies and hot-wiring electricity lines instead of waiting for the government to provide such standards for them (Sokol, 2010). Many leftist guerrilla movements were formed to fight against drugs and delinquency in their neighbourhood, since they thought that the government would never improve the situation from above (Martinez et al, 2010). The 'ranchos' thereby developed parallel to the formal cities, creating an informal urban structure and organization from within.

3.5 The arrival of Chávez

Uprisings against the government were being planned not only within the poor, but also in groups within the military. The Venezuelan army always have had a broad public rootedness because many militaries originated from the lower classes, and because of this they saw and shared the increasing discontent with the government. One of the organizations formed within the military was the secret formation Movimiento Bolivariano Revolucionario, MBR-200, inspired by Bolívar the movement wanting to fight the corruption, make room for real democracy and break the dependence from USA (Holmqvist, 2006). Lieutenant Hugo Chávez led MBR-200, which in 1992 led a coup against the president palace to make Peréz resign. But the coup did not go as planned. For it to succeed, the movement needed the help from the civil society to surround the presidential residence and force Peréz to decline from presidency. But according to Martínez et al, 2010, the people were not at all prepared to make a revolution like this. For example the MBR-200 wanted to hand out weapons to the population in order to fight against the governmental military, but no one wanted to accept those (Martínez et al, 2010). The coup ended with Peréz managing to escape in the confusion, and Chávez being imprisoned. In prison he aquired the guardians allowance to speak to his allies through television, in order to make them resign. In his speech he declared defeat but also used the term "for now", or "por ahora", which made people believe that he had not given up trying to force away the government in power. Due to his effortless attempts to overthrow the disliked government, Chávez was celebrated like a hero throughout the population (The Revolution Will Not Be Televised, 2003). After the attempted coup, the broad dissatisfaction with Peréz presidency made the parliament suspend him the following year. The growing mistrust of the Punto Fijo pact changed the political map in the following elections, when an independent candidate with support from different leftist parties took presidency. He was not seen as radical, but approached as non-corrupt

and more independent from the old malfunctioning two-party system in the previous Punto Fijo pact (Holmqvist, 2006). With the new president, Chávez was pardoned from jail because of his popular support just two years later. With Chávez freed from prison, the MBR-200 was reformed to a political movement under the name of Movimiento V República (MVR), with the aim to overthrow the old system and form a fifth new republic in Venezuela. Chávez started to travel around the country, talking directly to people and building up a broad political support. This type of campaign was something completely new in Venezuelan politics - before no politician had set foot in the poor rural villages or talked directly to the broad public the way Chávez did. The strategy responded well to the local organization that was again brought into the political field. The majority of poor people, who before had been totally excluded from the political power structures, now joined Chávez, which soon made him the politician with the broadest popular support (Martinez et al, 2010).

In 1998, Chavéz and the MVR entered the national elections for presidency, where it was clear that he was different than his opponents. Traditionally, the politicians of Venezuela had been white, wealthy men from the upper-class, dressed in pressed suits and educated in economy. Holmqvist describes Chávez as the complete opposite – a chubby native American dressed in his old uniform or a track-suit, without higher education and speaking with a rural accent. This appearance made him as unpopular with the wealthy as he was popular with the poor (Holmqvist, 2006). Chávez won the elections with striking 56 per cent of the votes. Although the majority of his supporters were from the poor population, he also had support from liberals, intellectuals, artists and environmentalists, who hoped for a change with this new type of leader (Maddicks, 2011). But Chávez also had many opponents. The wealthier and highly educated upper class worried about the popular involvement in politics. How would those people without proper education be able to understand the society they had been excluded from? Many saw Chávez public popularity simply as a successful strategy to recruit the naïve and untaught part of population, happy to have been made visible at all (The Revolution Will Not Be Televised, 2003). The realisation of MVR's Fifth Republic described in the documentary film 'Venezuela: Revolution from the Inside Out', 2008, was to be realised through a Bolivarian Revolution, inspired by Simón Bolívars success in changing the society from colony to an independent state. The Bolivarian Revolution was aiming at making Venezuela more democratic by sharing the oil profits equally throughout society, in order to even the inequalities between the classes. This was to be made by social interventions and an equally distributed material access. The physical landscape was to be freed from the private hands and independency from liberal forces would be re-established through breaking the independence of USA. With an outspoken socialist agenda, Chávez believed that the focus for the societal change had to be on the poorer population, and to launch social interventions in order to even the class differences (Venezuela: Revolution from the Inside Out, 2008).

3.6 Launching the 'Misiones'

One of the first interventions to realise the Fifth Republic was to form a new constitution – aiming to give the people more equal and democratic rights and overthrow the old system polluted by corruption. The new constitution would be the basis of the democratic

Mission	Year	Objective	Supervisor
Mision Alimentación (MERCAL)	2003	To ensure the supply of food for the economically disadvantaged in Venezuela.	Ministry of Nutrition
Mision Alimentación (FUNDAPROAL)	2005	Free meals to poor people.	Ministry of Nutrition
Mision Barrio Adentro (I, II, III and IV)	2005-2007	To guarantee access to health services for excluded groups, using a model of comprehensive health management and apprenticeships, and the creation of clinics located within the poor communities that do not have access to hospitals.	Ministry of Health
Mision Cultura	2005	To develop and consolidate a national identity within a decentralized and democratized Venezuela.	Ministry of Culture
Mision Guaicaipuro	2003	To restore the rights of indigenous peoples.	Ministry of Indigenous Peoples
Mision Identidad	2003	To provide anyone with national ID cards and facilitate access to other social services.	Ministry of Internal Affairs and Justice
Mision Madres del Barrio	2006	To provide support to mothers/housewives and their families facing extreme poverty.	Ministry of Labor and Social Development
Mision Ribas	2003	Ensure the continuity of education for all Venezuelans, primarily those who had failed to enter or complete a third degree education, and to those seeking secondary or professional level education.	Ministry of Education
Mision Robinson (I and II)	2003	A mass literacy program aimed at teaching reading and writing to all Venezuelans.	Ministry of Education
Mision Sonrisa	2006	Ensure dental services to all Venezuelans.	Ministry of Health
Mision Sucre	2003	Ensure access to college education to all high school students.	Ministry of Higher Education
Mision Villanueva (formerly Habitat)	2007	To redistribute population and improve living conditions of Venezuelans.	Ministry of Housing and Habitat
Mision Zamora	2005	The reorganization of unused lands with agricultural potential in order to promote rural development and ensure food supply through sustainable agriculture.	Ministry of Agriculture and Land

Fig 5. Examples of launched 'Misiones' in Venezuela (Gomez, 2008).

and free society, where equality and civil rights were promoted. The creation of the constitution involved the population directly through demonstrations, negotiations and popular votes. When finished, the new constitution was accepted through a popular vote, and it passed with 71,8 per cent of the votes (Holmqvist, 2006). A package of social interventions was also formed directed to the poor population; by the time of Chávez entry as president 80 per cent of the total Venezuelan population. The interventions, called 'Misiones', were launched from 2003 and are still a current tool for social improvement in Venezuela. The 'Misiones' aim to provide for social security and welfare issues, and are directed towards healthcare, education, illiteracy, land rights and subsidized food, but are also directly related to the rights inscribed in the new constitution. Together with the launch of the 'Misiones', Chávez declared free national access to education and healthcare or all Venezuelans (Martinez et al, 2010) The 'Misiones' are executed directly in the neighbourhoods and include the use of physical structures for example temporary schools, healthcare centres and food markets. The direct form where for example doctors go out into the neighbourhoods instead of the population going to a centralized clinic, aim for the 'Misiones' to reach out to more people directly, without the risk of corruption or administrational problems connected to the execution (Gomez, 2008). The local attachment also hopes to promote the care for the neighbourhood, and involve the habitants to engage within the 'Misiones'. The 'Misiones' focus more on social and ideological aims than material improvement, which means that the people's engagement and use is more important than proper physical facilities or infrastructure (Martinez et al, 2010). To manage to carry out the 'Misiones', the government under Chávez early on started cooperation with Cuba, who in exchange for oil sent doctors and teachers to participate in some of the 'Misiones'. Since Venezuela lack higher educated doctors and teachers, the Cuban cooperation provide resources for direct implementation, as well as possibilities for development through apprenticeships and training (Seade, pers. com. 2011). The initially temporary structures made within the 'Misiones' are supposed to become permanent with the help of apprenticeships, practical training and local engagement. This means for example that the neighbourhood healthcare centre, now run by Cuban doctors in temporary structures, in time will be run by the inhabitants themselves in more permanent facilities (Maddicks, 2011). This means that a physical organization also is connected to the social interventions, providing permanent facilities and structure to withhold the arrangements made within the 'Misiones'.

3.7 Rhetoric for higher aims?

In addition to Chávez's efforts to transform the Venezuelan society, his special personality, outspokenness and possible higher aims of power are debated throughout the world. His rhetoric is said to be recognized from leaders acclaiming themselves dictators, and the heroic aura around him often bring doubts on weather he has a hidden political agenda (Maddicks, 2011). International and domestic observers knowing the political history of Venezuela – dominated by dictators, military coups and violence – treat this sudden fighter for democracy and popular power with mistrust and suspiciousness. Though, the elections held have been ascertained democratic, which means that his popular support is what keeps him in power. In the documentary film "Venezuela: Revolution from the Inside Out", an inhabitant of one of the 'ranchos' outside of Caracas explains Chávez rise: "It is not the people who are Chávez slaves, it is Chávez who is a slave to the people.

If he stops making the difference that we ask for, we will kick him out" (Venezuela: Revolution from the Inside Out, 2008). The year after Chávez entry as president, he started his own weekly TV and radio show Aló Presidente, in which he features chats with his supporters, attacks on his enemies, folk songs, jokes and serious discussions of new policies. His chats with supporters have been claimed to often lead to personal promises of interventions that later on are hard for the government to prosecute. His candour gives him a lot of enemies, which he does not seem to mind. In his efforts to decrease the independence of USA he has been anything but diplomatic, creating a chilly climate between the two nations. Even the neighbouring Colombia mistrust him after having accused him of providing shelter for members of the FARC-guerrilla, something that Chavéz himself denies (Maddicks, 2011). This fearlessness of creating opinion makes him as hated as he is loved, and the last years a development toward a political dualization is seen in Venezuela, with the 'Chavistas' on one side and a growing opposition on the other. Traditionally, the wealthier part of the population has not been fans of Chávez at all, but recently they seem to have been adjoined by people from the increasing middle class that want to see him go. Media has been used ruthlessly in efforts of taking power, perhaps most remarkably in the 2002 coup d'etat in which Chávez was forced from power for 72 hours by the opposition, who used media to spread false information and snipers to shoot down protesters who did not believe the information given in media (The Revolution Will Not be Televised, 2003). The opposition has also been accused for receiving funds from USA to launch anti-Chávez-campaigns, since USA does not like Chávez after having been cut off from the Venezuelan oil resources (Robertson, 2011a).

Despite Chávez well known character, Maddiscks means that Venezuela's approach towards a democratic society is not all owing to him. Important preconditions for the development was settled before his entry, such as the economic growth through the nationalization of oil (Maddicks, 2011). The statistics though clearly show that ten years after Chavéz entering as president, poverty has dropped to roughly 30 per cent. The acute poverty has dropped by half, the infant mortality has decreased and the Venezuelan economy has steadily grown for 22 quarters (Martínez et al, 2010). But crime rates have soared, especially in Caracas, despite governmental efforts to build a new police force, implement community-based neighbourhood watch programs, and address the roots of crime by interventions directed towards reducing poverty (Golinger, 2010). Although, one important effect of the arrival of Chavéz, is that the people have begun to organize and get involved actively in politics. The 'Bolivarian revolution' is therefore not the new politics initiated by Chávez, but the considerate change of the broad population (Martinez et al, 2010).

3.8 The rise of the civil society

Under the colonialism and dictatorships, the Venezuelan population was repressed in different ways in order to stop revolts. During the two-party rule in the 80's, the population of Venezuela first got extended democratic rights, but still was limited in freedom of expression and organizing (Maddicks, 2011). The majority of the population in Venezuela have thus felt excluded from the political sphere, and although there have been guerrilla groups formed and revolts through time, those could not be said to have

spoken for the broad majority. Chávez government has certainly brought a new frame for changes to happen with the help of a new constitution and democratizing the political structures, but it is really the involvement and passion from the grass root communities and Venezuelan population that are the driving forces towards change (Martinez, 2010). The political development reflects the new engagement from the people. Izarábal means that a system of representative democracy often tends to generate passivity, since the power within the system is removed from the people into the hands of representatives distanced from the ordinary people. A system of participatory democracy can though increase the feeling of inclusiveness, create engagement and encourage direct activity from the people on a grass root level (Izarábal, 2010). What is seen in Venezuela today, is a revival of political interest from the broad masses because it has been made accessible to them. The civil activity was for example seen during the rewriting of the Venezuelan constitution right after Chávez entry in 1998. During the process, a wild debate started all over Venezuela to discuss what should be included in the new constitution. Chávez himself described this demonstration as:

> "I don't think it has ever been debated as much in Venezuela as in 1999. Everyone participated. I remember the black people coming with drums to the assembly, bringing demands of rights for the blacks and the afro-venezuelan society. I remember the native Americans coming from the jungle in their breechcloths and with their bows, choosing their own representatives for the assembly. The homosexuals organized demonstrations to claim their rights. I remember that all were participating, all. Children gathered outside the assembly to demand rights."
>
> From "Venezuela och drömmen om ett nytt Amerika", (K. Holmqvist, 2006, p. 24.)

The result of the assembly, the broad debate, the demonstrations and public involvement was a new constitution including basic rights, such as freedom of expression and press, allowance of organizing and freedom of religion; and also some social rights, like the right to proper education and healthcare (Holmqvist, 2006). By recognizing the population and its rights through law, the political process could be changed by giving away the power to the civil society. With support from the constitution, local communities or organizations could get help from experts to execute local development-projects, such as access to sufficient infrastructure, acquiring land for building permanent housing or funding to start a business or cooperative. The new constitution could this way be used as a tool for the minorities to develop their own societies with help from the government (Martinez et al, 2010). Although this development required a new and more extensive role of the state, the new process also transformed the political system, by introducing participatory democracy. The popular power is practised out of local initiatives, instead of through top-down interventions coming from political representatives (Holmqvist, 2006).

The developing social welfare system in Venezuela thus is based on providing the people with the means and support for individual development, rather than a paternalistic approach. The state is still very present, but act on a national level by providing the population with preconditions for individual development such as national re-distribution of land and funds (Martinez et al, 2010). But it has been shown that the local organizing is more complex than it appears. Many local initiatives suffer from a lack of knowledge and understanding of group dynamics, project leading and economical management, which have caused great troubles for permanency. The value of investment and project

planning is a knowledge need to be learned before receiving funding, which otherwise is just perceived as an anonymous sum of money. In comparison, it have been shown that if the money invested come from the people involved personally, the more understanding for the value of the money and importance of the right investments is found (Venezuela: Revolution from the Inside Out, 2008). To face these problematic aspects, the government have tried to implement more knowledge into the process of local participation, through educating cooperatives in group dynamics and project planning with the help of study circles and the involvement of professionals. Organizations dealing with land-use could for example get help from professional planners or juridical experts to be able to understand and negotiate in land-use issues (Martinez et al, 2010).

3.9 Planning in Venezuela

The political history of Venezuela has translated into the physical reality of the country. Brillembourg means that the colonialism started with bringing a top-down implementation of a traditional square-grid pattern to the Venezuelan cities to declare the church's supremacy over the native people. Just a minority of the Venezuelan cities still have the colonial structures left, but often they have been overtaken by the surrounding physical development (Brillembourg, 2004). The most striking physical element throughout Venezuela is roads, both due to Jiménez regime building an extensive net of infrastructure and due to the high degree of car-use. In Venezuelan cities, modernist buildings also created by the Jiménez regime, have created a basis for the service sector. On this foundation capitalist forces have continued to form the cities, bringing a majority of private corporations and enterprises to occupy the city spaces (Seade, pers. com. 2011). Due to the non-existent communal planning, even the public places have become appropriated by the private sectors, where enterprises invested in the constructions. To this is added the spontaneous settlements outside of the cities, called the 'ranchos', where poor rural people came to build their own houses out of left over material. With these developments combined, a random urban landscape have appeared - steered not by an ideology; but by market fluctuations and vanity from individuals wanting to show off their status - or desperation from individuals without a choice (Brillembourg, 2004). Based on this chaotic city made up by a number of different developments residing next to each other, the planning of today is trying to organize the different developments into one cohesive structure. The overall planning have recently become more influential and used throughout the Venezuelan society, changing not only the physical landscape but also the role of the planner (Irazábal, 2010).

Because the planners in Venezuela for a long time have been a part of the well-educated upper class, they have historically also served the upper class interests more than having dealt with social interventions. A state controlled planning agency has never had a lot of influence because of the late history of democratic rule, why the planners often have been dealing with private interests. The physical and social division between classes have made the planners reluctant to deal with broader issues including the poor or needing part of the society, why the planners often have taken the role as the traditional designing architect held outside of social aspects (Brillembourg, 2004). However, with the turn towards a political socialist approach and the implementation of direct democracy, the planner is faced with a new role in the Venezuelan society –

the intermediate role as a communicator and translator more than a designer. In the change towards a participatory democracy, the planner plays an important role. By being allied with the grassroots communities, the planners could have the knowledge and tools to drive the process of empowerment and self-determination needed in the local communities. In the 'Local Planning Councils Law' of 2002 is inscribed that the local participation in public decision making is the very root to the development of a large-scale public participatory democracy. The Venezuelan intervention towards improving the standards of the materially poor presupposes the importance of working from and with the local communities, where Irazábal, 2010, suggests the planner to be the tool needed in the dialogue between the local and the national levels (Irazábal, 2010).

The change of a political system also affects the planner. To be considered within the process are the challenges inherent in moving from the system of representative to direct democracy, including longer and more complex processes of decision-making – the changing of regulations, methods, organizational structures and procedures, and the resistance needed towards bureaucratic and economic opponents to the change. Due to the corruption in Venezuela, the political resistance operates from within the administrational processes, making it hard to introduce a new well functioning procedure of work methods (Fernandes, 2008). Another challenge is the dominance of the traditional rational planning-paradigm, which can work against the political regime change wished for. The rational tradition is an obstacle, because the current Venezuelan cities have not developed from rational ideology, which makes it hard to analyse them from a rational perspective and seeking for rational solutions. The problem can also be seen in the transition of the political system, where the trouble lies in implicating a socialist system within a previous capitalist society. According to Izarábal, 2010,

Fig 6. The random urban landscape of Caracas (Moberg, 2011).

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there is a danger in building a new system on top of an old while keeping some of it intact, because of the resistance from within. The rational approach of the tabula rasa-perspective is neither implementable in the Venezuelan society, since it would be seen as an intervention from above rather than from within. Irazábal further means that in order to transform the current capitalist system into a socialist economy, a transitional period is needed – from the government over the people; through government with the people; to at last land in the government from the people (Izarábal, 2010).

With regards to the planning field, the strategy of successfully moving from above to within could be managed by letting the local communities successively handle the planning of their neighbourhood themselves, with the help of professional planners, economists and architects. The temporary settlements could for example become more permanent and sustainable if a long-term development perspective could be applied to the areas. By involving the very inhabitants aware of the needs and desires in their own community, place and project attachment would be created (Martínez et al, 2010). In addition to local processes within the Venezuelan cities, the regional planning perspective might be successful in correlating different development to each other.

The current Venezuelan planning field is much affected by the economic output from the oil. The easy access to money has helped to realize projects although the new political climate is unstable and the methods of implementation not all rehearsed. The challenge lies in constructing a planning process that is stable also when the economic aspects is not as self-evident as today. Since participatory democracy is more economically demanding and time consuming, Trinkunas, 2010, wonders if the system is as effective when the oil does not bring in as much money. The experience tells us that when the money runs out the political criticism also rises. The future challenge for the planner might thus be involvement in land-use, re-distribution of land and how to use the land for production (Trinkunas, 2010).

Still in Venezuela, the class differences between the planners and the population is troublesome, but with the increase of higher educated people in Venezuela this might be about to change. Today, the planners are active participants in the political transformation by being consultant experts in different cooperatives, where the organizations seek for advice regarding land use or planning issues to be able to build functional settlements (Martinez et al, 2010). The currently biggest challenge in the Venezuelan planning field seem to be how to construct a new, more direct planning system free of corruption, which is still economically and time efficient. And the planner has an important role in this development.

4 Example: The Metro Cable project

"We are not the slaves of Chaávez, but he is our slave. If he do not succeed to fulfill our demands, he is out."

Iraida Morocoima in "Venezuela Speaks!", (Martinez et al. 2010)

4.1 Preconditions

The San Augustín area of Caracas is one of the city's poorest and socially most challenged neighbourhoods, inhabiting around 40.000 people. It is located south-west of the city centre, in the mountain slopes descending towards the old colonial city centre of Caracas. Together with numerous other similar neighbourhoods around Caracas, it fulfils the identity of being a shantytown, or a 'rancho'. Inhabiting 40.000 inhabitants, the density is high, the houses many, and every time a rain comes, the inhabitants are worried for losing their homes because of landslides. Due to a high degree of unemployment and a low degree of education, crime and violence rates are high (Lepik, 2011). The neighbourhood was formed during the oil-boom when people from the rural areas around Caracas pilgrimaged into the city to search for employment and better living. Most people did not find a place in the city centre, and therefore they settled in the slopes around it, creating a dense tissue of sheds, temporary buildings and small-scale infrastructure:

> "The contemporary self-built and urban housing system (ranchos) currently houses half the population of Caracas and exists on land that is topographically challenged. These sites begin around the edges on a natural element such as a dry creek or in terrain that cannot be used for urban or agricultural systems: unstable slopes, dried-up creeks, spaces in between highways and ravines. The horizontal car-based urbanism of the 1950's is replaced by a vertical pedestrian system that is adjacent to highways or existing urban centres. Public space is minimised, and the major public circulation paths are stairs that continue at 45 degrees for hundreds of metres without any landings. The material of choice in these slums is the hollow clay tile within a reinforced concrete frame."
>
> From "The New Slum Urbanism" (C. Brillembourg, 2004, p. 80)

Access to electricity, water and proper hygienic facilities has been organized by the inhabitants themselves, often by illegal and dangerous means like hacking the water pipes or electricity lines going to downtown Caracas. Access to the city centre has been made by foot or sometimes by car. Due to the steepness of the neighbourhood, a large number of stairs are included in the pedestrian paths, making it inaccessible for

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Left picture: The San Augustín neighbourhood, where a cableway system recently have been built. Photo courtesy Marlene Thelandersson.

elderly or disabled people. On average the inhabitants walk 39 floors each day to get to communal services or transportation (Urban Think Tank, 2007). The petrol prices are low in Caracas and therefore also a low pressure on the public transportation system – until recently just a small subway through the central parts of Caracas, accompanied by various bus lines. Although the subway has been in operation since 1983, this have not been stretched out of the central valley, partly because of the height differences, but also because developers have not been interested in providing the outside areas with proper communications (Seade, pers. com. 2011).

Traditionally, the 'ranchos' in Caracas have not been recognized by the authorities, and have simply been excluded from the rest of the city. A clear marker of this can be found in the official city maps, where the 'ranchos' still today are excluded and replaced with blank areas. Despite the launch of the 'Misiones' in 2003 have put new focus on the 'ranchos' because of the large number of people benefiting from the missions reside here - few tries have been made to connect them to the rest of Caracas. The informal organization of the settlements is hard to see from outside. The spontaneously built 'ranchos' have not been planned, but the neighbourhoods still have an informal inner structure well known by its inhabitants (Sokol, 2010).

4.2 Conflicting development plans

In the early 21st century, the Venezuelan government introduced a program of renovation and reinforcement of the current road infrastructure in Caracas. The current highway-system built by the Jiménez regime in the 40's had since its construction been extensively used and had too low capacity for the increasing transport situation. Additional highways were being planned to connect to the original system, and one of those were planned to cut right through the San Augustín neighbourhood, removing it not only from the maps, but also from reality (Sokol, 2010). The planned highway raised interest throughout society, since the government recently had launched the Misiones-program, putting new focus on the ranchos where the majority of the people benefiting from the programs were found. Many saw the double moral standards in these conflicting projects, where the San Augustín rancho on the one hand was about to improve socially, but on the other removed physically. Discussions started around the highway-extension – the reason for the high use of roads and highways was due to the low prices on petrol, but also the lack of other means of transport. If an efficient public transportation system (but not by bus or car) was developed the pressure on the highways would ease, and as many additional roads would not be needed. The public transportation would also be a more sustainable and capacity efficient transportation since Venezuela's roads of today are always are hit by tailbacks (Lepik, 2011).

One of the leading debaters opposing the government's plans was the architectural office Urban Think Tank, who strongly opposed the highway through the San Augustín neighbourhood. To keep the debate alive, and start a discussion about alternative ways of dealing with the problem, they invited the public and politicians to a seminar held at the Central University of Venezuela. Besides the previously discovered problem with the high use of highways, cars and the need for extended public transportation, the focus of the seminar was on the neighbourhood San Augustín. It had been revealed

that the implementation of the 'Misiones'-programs was harder than expected in the 'ranchos', due to the internal hierarchies and informal structure of the neighbourhood. For example it was hard to find proper facilities for health care centres and schools, and temporary solutions often had to be made through using someone's living room or a place outside for school lectures or examinations. Without formal structures it was difficult to reach out to the whole neighbourhood, and in addition meant a lot of extra work to circulate between facilities while implementing healthcare or education. To be efficient, the 'Misiones' thus demanded some degree of structure and formality (Sokol, 2010).

After having convinced the government to change their plans for the San Augustín community with the help of seminars and extensive campaigning, the state owned Metro of Caracas was assigned the task of developing a new plan for the San Augustín area. The metro company turned to Urban Think Tank, asking for their help to solve both the communications and structural issues within the neighbourhood. The office, together with community leaders from the San Augustín neighbourhood, started to discuss possible ways of giving structure to the unplanned area together with implementing public transportation into the neighbourhood with connection to the city centre of Caracas (Lopez, 2010). The most dominating conditions to consider were the problematic terrain and the density of the housing. Leaning steeply with narrow winding roads it was not suitable for bus lines, trams or a subway, because it would take an exhaustive remake of the area for this to work. The goal had to be to change the area as little as possible, because if there were too big interventions people would feel excluded from and not recognize their own neighbourhood (MoMA, 2010). Inspired by the tourist Téléfèrico over the Ávila mountain in Caracas, the task force started discussing the possibilities of building a cableway in San Augustín, connecting it to the existing subway system. A cableway could fulfil the goals of public transportation

Fig 7.   Aerial view of Caracas, with San Augustín to the
          right, and Caracas city center to the far left.
          Photo courtesy Urban Think Tank / Alfredo Brillembourg.

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and a structuring element, but also make little impact in the neighbourhood because it would mainly be in the air. In addition, according to Sokol 2010, the system would be sustainable and flexible, promoting the small-scale city and pedestrian life style, as an inspiration for the rest of the country. The different stations could be placed at strategic points within the neighbourhood, where the least impact regarding housing was made, but it still fulfilled the need for communication. Above this, a cableway through the ranchos would be a characterizing element in San Augustín, which could bring more attention to the life within it, and help them get recognition from the rest of Caracas (Sokol, 2010).

4.3 A participatory process

In regards to the overall political development towards local scale engagement, Urban Think Tank thought the cableway project could be an interesting way of trying to involve the inhabitants into the development of the project. The public involvement was expected to be positive for the result both because the inhabitants have a better understanding of the inner structures and needs of their own neighbourhood, and because being involved from the start would create a stronger attachment to the project overall (Golinger, 2010).

Urban Think Tank together with planners and architects employed by the Metro of Caracas led the project, employed by the government to act the experts. The assigned

Fig 8.   Model of San Augustín Metro Cable. Stations from the right: San Augustín, El Manguito, La Ceiba, Hornos de Cal and Parque Central.
Courtesy of Urban Think Tank / Alfredo Brillembourg.

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Fig 9.   San Augustín Metro Cable, station located within the neighbourhood.
Photo courtesy of Urban Think Tank / Alfredo Brillembourg.

task force also included representatives from the neighbourhood of San Augustín, chosen directly by the inhabitants. The task force was assigned to form the framework under which the project was to be executed (Sokol, 2010). The funding of the project was initially uncertain since the development was different from the government's original plans, but as soon as the government accepted the project, the funding was nearly unlimited since the money was received from state oil produce. By the government, the project was seen relating to the 'Misiones', which made it a prioritized project on the political agenda (Gil, pers. com. 2011).

With the aim to involve the inhabitants of San Augustín as much as possible, the community representatives were included in the project group with the mission to help finding

1.   the best locations for the future stations
2.   investigate how to develop the neighbourhood in connection to the stations
3.   how to delegate the service and maintenance issues (Urban Think Tank, 2007).

The project was met both with positivity and mistrust from the residents in the area. The main arguments from the opposition within the neighbourhood to execute the project was that it came from above, without the government knowing the life situations, community needs or desires within San Augustín. The long history of exclusion from any social or physical development made suspicion rise from the suddenly attended poor inhabitants. The understanding of the project as a whole – how a cableway could help improve the area socially and economically – also needed further explanation. Despite

a number of protests, the majority of the residents believed the project to be fruitful, hoping it to improve the situation in the neighbourhood (Seade, 2011).

Starting with mapping the area, central nodes appropriate for development of stations were suggested. Aspects considered when deciding the locations were the height of the location, the need for community access, its qualification for pedestrian circulation patterns and the future station's minimal impact on existing housing structures (C.A. Metro de Caracas, 2007). A community analysis was also carried out to map structural, technical and social needs in the neighbourhood. In addition to schools, healthcare
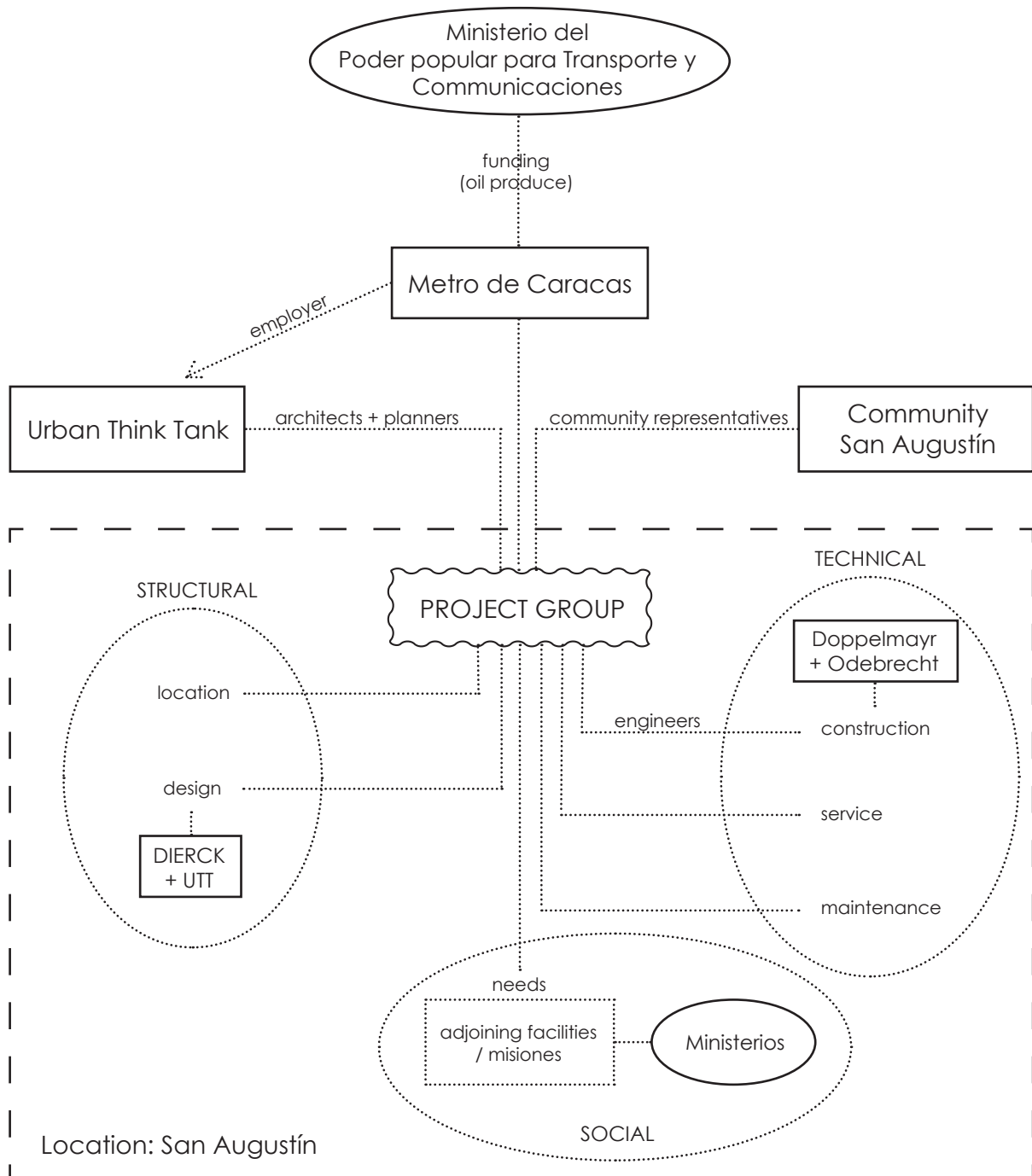

Fig 10. Schematic map of Metro Cable project (Moberg, 2012).

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centres and cultural centres bound to the Misiones-program, the need of public and green space, playgrounds and technical structures such as running water, electricity and hygienic facilities was noted. Having mapped certain needs, the task force decided that the station buildings must include or connect directly to public areas and space for healthcare, cultural centres and schools. In the surroundings of the stations or in relation to them playgrounds, green space and public technical facilities would be provided with the "pocket park method" – using left over areas to create new functional spaces (Fernandez, pers. com. 2011).

The process of the task force was based on dialogue; meetings, interviews and surveys, all with a focus on place attachment. This implied that the whole process took place within the neighbourhood, accessible and open for the inhabitants to engage within it. This way the project got a unique attachment to the residents, closely bound to the site. The process was physically reachable during the whole time, ready to change depending on the context and discussions coming through. This open process also meant that it was a time consuming project, since proposals were sent back to the drawing table many times, and discussions went on also during the design phase (Lepik, 2011).

In the design process, Urban Think Tank office worked with the sketching and rendering, based on requests and suggestions from inhabitants of the area. Interviews and surveys were carried out with people involved in the social activities to find out the optimal physical solutions within the context. Teachers, doctors, community representatives and children were interviewed with different methods to make the design correlate to social needs. Concerning the playgrounds and green spaces, drawings and models made by children were used to find out the most lacking, and most wished for, types of spaces. Through the drawings and models the design group could distinguish which elements was most current, and thereby tell what structures was preferred in the new design (Urban Think Tank, 2007). The children wanted playgrounds with sports facilities, such as basketball hoops or soccer fields, climbing structures, and open space suitable for play. To correlate to the existing structures of the neighbourhood, small-scale solutions in already existing spaces were proposed. The surveys concerning the public and green spaces showed the desire for meeting places with a lot of activity, opportunities for sitting down and views over the surrounding areas (Antonio, 2011). Out of the information received, Urban Think Tank started the design of the station areas. In cooperation with the German design office Dierck, a light design program was also made to be implemented within the stations (Sokol, 2010).

4.4 Construction and service

For the cable car stations to respond to the neighbourhood, cheap and non-technological materials were used in the construction such as concrete, chequered sheets and glass. To ease the construction and make as little impact as possible, pre-fabricated modules were brought to the site, which made construction quick and easy. The interior of the stations were made out of concrete and glass with different textures, in a design inspired by airports or railway-stations (C.A. Metro de Caracas, 2007). In regard to the technical aspects of the cable car system, the Austrian company Doppelmayr and the Brazilian company Odebrecht were engaged in the project to help out with the technical

construction. Previously involved in the construction of numerous other cableways throughout Venezuela, they were experienced in the area (Fernandez, pers. com. 2011). Continuing to strengthen the local bonds and perceive a participatory process, local inhabitants were during construction involved to work as carpenters, construction workers and electricians under apprenticeships, making both the construction cost lowered as well as providing local job opportunities for the San Augustín inhabitants (Gil, pers. com. 2011). Together with the Caracas Metro, a trainee-program of two years was started to educate inhabitants of the San Augustín area to operate the cable car system on a local basis. The program meant that the Caracas Metro educated a number of San Augustín inhabitants how to operate and service the cable car system, with the aim of it being completely locally controlled. By anchoring it as a facilitating, marketing and social structure together with being a job opportunity, the system was expected to generate both attachment and engagement from the local inhabitants by seeing the Metro Cable as their own (Sokol, 2010).

4.5 Result of The Metro Cable project

The three-year process of local involvement and participatory process finally resulted in Metro Cable San Augustín, a 2.1 kilometre long cableway containing five stations spread out in the poor San Augustín neighbourhood in Caracas. Its two end stations are located in the valley, connecting to the existent subway system. The remaining three are located on the summit of the mountain, making them easy to access for large parts of the community. The cost of riding the cableway is 1 Bolívar Fuerte, which is about 1.50 SEK or 0.16 Euro. Open daily between 6 am to 10 pm it has the capacity of transporting 1200 persons per hour on the route between Parque Central and San Augustín. The aim with the Metro Cable is both being a public transportation system as well as a social structure providing activities and welfare programs to the inhabitants of the area, why a social programming of the stations give each of them social and economical importance within the neighbourhood (Golinger, 2010). From every 1 BsF brought in by the Metro Cable, 50 % goes directly back to the neighbourhood to support the schools, the local police force and healthcare centres connected to the different stations. The other 50 % goes to the maintenance of the system, including salaries and service costs (Fernandez, pers. com. 2011). In addition to the technical system, the social and commercial programs of the stations provide for more job opportunities and services for the whole community. The Metro Cable is, beyond a transport structure, a formalization of the informal and unplanned city, organizing a spontaneously up-risen settlement in order to reach social and economical improvement (Lepik, 2011).

4.6 Social programming

The five locations chosen within the San Augustín neighbourhood differs in context and approximity to existing services, why the task force within the Metro Cable project

Left pictures: San Augustín Metro Cable after dark. The heights of San Augustín give a good view over the city. Photo courtesy of Urban Think Tank / Alfredo Brillembourg.
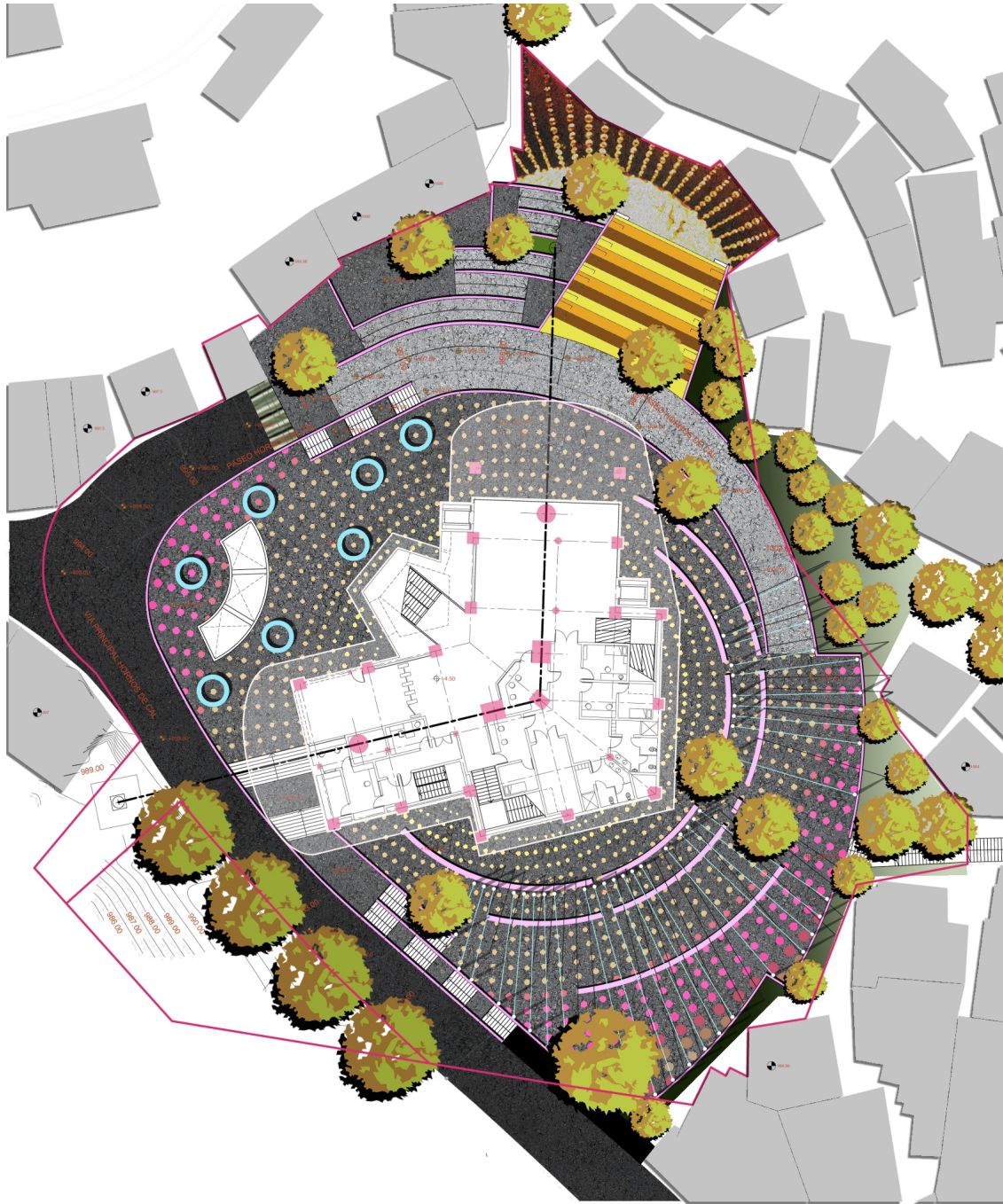The Metro Cable hover over San Augustín neighbourhood (Thelandersson, 2011).

Fig 11. Plan for Hornos de Cal station. Asphalt with pieces of glass and concrete surfaces gives the station an urban character. Additional elements are urban furniture, an amphitheatre and a marketplace. In the surroundings is a school and a healthcare centre.
Courtesy of Urban Think Tank / Alfredo Brillembourg.

concluded that they would be differently suited for certain social themes and activities. The choice of dividing the activities into clusters divided between the stations therefore seemed to be a successful idea (MoMA, 2010). All five stations have the same structure – the two-level design based on two elements; the platform and the program – but the program has different themes depending on the location of the station. The task force together with the San Augustín community identified the two end-stations Parque
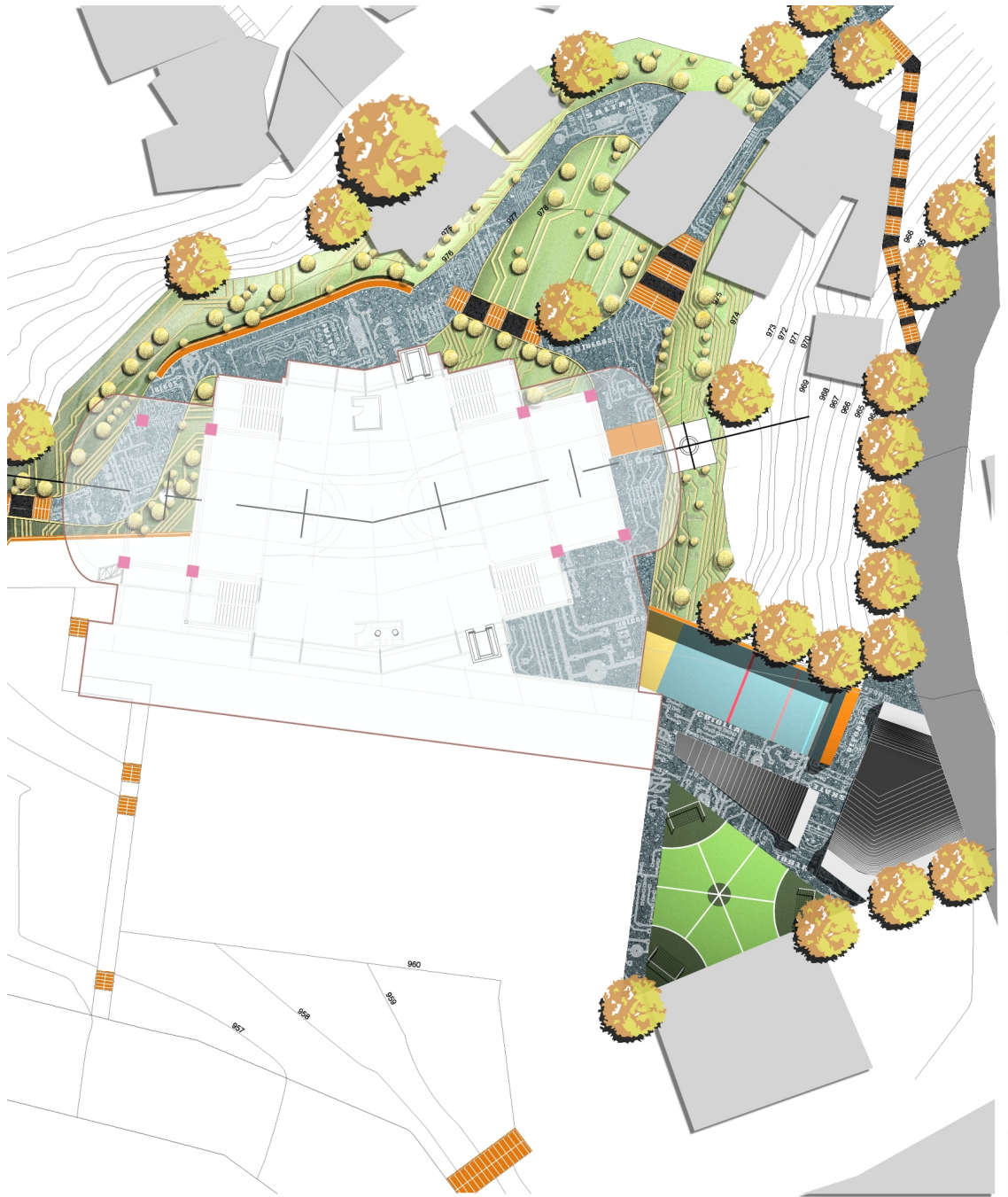
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Fig 12. Plan for La Ceiba station. The design promotes the practise of sports with sports
fields, greenery and small scale actvities. The station building house ocial services
such as police, library and supermarket.A vertical gymnasium is to be built in
direct connection to the station.
Courtesy of Urban Think Tank / Alfredo Brillembourg.

Central and San Augustín as connection nodes, connecting the Metro Cable to two different subway lines. Due to its accessibility and character of terminal station, the San Augustín station was to be devoted to culture and tourism, meaning the station would in its program level house social activities, shops and a multipurpose room to be used for meetings, workshops or training. The Parque Central station would function as a technical and service centre for the system. It also connects to the one of the biggest

Fig 13. Plan for El Manguito station.The housing identity is strengthened by coloured asphalt and elements of greenery. Social housing is constructed in surroundings. Courtesy of Urban Think Tank / Alfredo Brillembourg.

subway stations of Caracas, why it is an important entrance to the system (C.A. Metro de Caracas).

The three middle stations – Hornos de Cal, La Ceiba and El Manguito – all are situated within the neighbourhood, why they are appropriate for responding locally to the site, providing social programs and different physical characters Urban Think Tank, 2007). Hornos de Cal has a unique setting, being located the highest of all stations. The surrounding environment is the least dense in the area offering a good view over the

surroundings. The station is located where an old water tank used to be, literally and symbolically replaced with the new landmark with a lookout platform. The surrounding site around Hornos de Cal station will include a large open space and landscape improvements giving it an urban character [see plan next page]. This will be a meeting place offering views and an urban feeling on top of the San Augustín area. In addition to the station, a school with a larger schoolyard, and a healthcare centre provided by the Mision Barrio Adentro have been set up, providing the San Augustín area with formal and organized social services (Urban Think Tank, 2007).

A social character identifies La Ceiba station, placed in the middle of the San Augustín area. The program level of the station is connected to social services such as police, library, information centre, a supermarket and sports grounds. In direct connection to the station is constructed an additional building containing a vertical gymnasium, a facility with additional sports facilities on a dense area [see picture next page]. The sport and movement is promoted also in the surroundings, where the lush and green character provides for sport and play opportunities (Lopez, 2010). The promotion of sports is also a way to handle the high crime rates, by offering peaceful and unfolding ways of leisure as an alternative to fall into crime (Sokol, 2010).

El Manguito station focus on the living, providing new housing opportunities connected to the station. The government-launched program 'Sustitucion Rancho por Casa' [House in Exchange for Rancho] has settled in the area, slowly trying to substitute the homebuilt shacks with more dense and secure social housing structures. The housing program was started when houses removed due to construction was substituted by a housing block with apartments. In addition to the new housing, technical and hygienic facilities such as water tanks and dry toilets are also found in connection to El Manguito station (Lopez, 2010).

4.7 Effects

The Metro Cable project is an example of how to transform a political ideology of the welfare society into physical form, and increase local prosperity. The main ideology behind the project was to even the class differences and to bring in the before invisible 'ranchos' into the formal structures of society. A project like Metro Cable help fulfil these political goals by offering a physical structure with opportunities for inhabitants in the San Augustín area to find ways to support themselves. This can be done both within the system or the services linked to it by getting get help from social programs directed by the state (Sokol, 2010). By providing access to free education and healthcare, the most basic needs for local development can be met. The Metro Cable will help to transform the social structures of San Augustín, hopefully providing a frame for social, cultural and commercial initiatives to grow. The system implicates a local form of self-support, where the neighbourhood entity is providing job opportunities and social services within itself (Lepik, 2010).

The Metro Cable project is a way of combining the formality of the cableway system with the informal structure of the San Augustín neighbourhood, without trying to change the one or the other too much. The perspective that the city is not static, but that

formality and informality can exist at the same time, has influenced the Metro Cable project to a high degree. The flexible nature of the Metro Cable system is an important aspect of this duality. Because the system although its formality is not supposed to interfere with the existing social and economical structures, but mainly reinforce and prolong them, the informality can be respected (Lepik, 2011). But the project has also brought an unwished change to the San Augustín neighbourhood. By providing the area with formal structures, it has been shown that top-down interventions are easier to implement into the neighbourhood. This means that the local attachment and prosperity is threatened by governmental interventions coming from above rather than from within. The political development worked for through local attachment this way is gone, and replaced by a traditional paternalist strategy of social and economical improvement (Robertson, 2011b). Exemplified by the housing programme started at El Manguito station, interventions of this kind could reinforce the state by stimulating a growing public sector. The risk is that people feel distanced from their neighbourhood if they are not part of its construction (Sokol, 2010). The community organization and participatory process in implementing a project into the community is necessary to make people feel that the project is both for them and by them (Lopez, 2010). According to one of the main participants in the Metro Cable project - Alfredo Brillembourg of the Urban Think Tank office - the strategy of public involvement was one of the most important factors for the Metro Cable project to work (MoMA, 2010).

The participatory model used within the Metro Cable Project though have some inhabited problems. One important aspect that defines the method is the inhabited hierarchy where the "experts" (planners and architects employed by an office or the governmental ministries) receive a salary during the project, which the involved inhabitants don't. The method might work in areas like San Augustín because of the high degree of unemployment, leaving people much "spare time" in which to engage in community projects. Although in other communities with different conditions it is not sure that this type of process would be as successful (Irazábal, 2010). Venezuela in general struggle with the problem of implementing an efficient and just public participatory process, where tries have been made to pay a salary even to the volunteering community representatives. The experiment showed that when the representatives were paid, they also tended to distance themselves from the community, being less respected by the inhabitants and excluded from the community, leaving their valuable knowledge unreachable to the project (Martinez et al, 2010). Thus, it is ascertain that the context is important for the effect of the participatory process model.

The participatory method also has the tendency to make a process longer and more complex, leading to a higher cost for the overall project. The Metro Cable project officially started in 2007, being completed and opened to the public in 2010. Although the Urban Think Tank - including the initial political and ideological fight towards the highway and search for alternatives - witness of a project period for about ten years (Small Scale Big Change, 2010). The Metro Cable project cost landed on 262 million USD, but only a fractional part of the sum was for constructing the very system and the majority the cost for the developmental process (Lopez, 2010). Although the cost for this project seems to be of astronomic proportions, one should have in mind that the Metro Cable project was one of the first of its kind to be executed in Venezuela, leaving it to be a tentative and experimental process. The cost of future similar projects would not

have to be as big, since the framework for the participatory process now have been tried and therefore could be more efficient in future trials. But the Venezuelan government who provided the funds for the project don't seem to be intimidated by the cost. After the completion of Metro Cable San Augustín the government have plans to build nine additional Metro Cables in 'ranchos' around Caracas (Fernandez, pers. com. 2011). The political opposition though feels that the Metro Cable projects are a waste of money that could be better invested to make social change (Seade, pers. com. 2011).

According to the information I was able to achieve in this short time the Metro Cable project seems to have been a success both for the San Augustín inhabitants and for the government. The inhabitants now have direct access to healthcare, education and public transportation, providing the communal base of social security needed to get oneself out of poverty or struggle. The government have more insight into the informal city of the 'ranchos', understanding the inhabitants needs and desires better. The formal structures also help to introduce social interventions into the neighbourhood in a more efficient way, although the previously discussed inhabited dangers of urban formalisation (Fernandez, pers. com. 2011). The Metro Cable also has brought local job opportunities in an area afflicted with a high degree of unemployment, as well as a landmark characterizing the neighbourhood. But although the Metro Cable system itself correlates well with the San Augustín neighbourhood, a tendency of an unrestrained process of formalization is present within the social programming connected to the system. The kind of formality brought by the Metro Cable system thus seem to open up for a top-down planning perspective, losing the original idea of consolidating the informal structures with a necessary formality (Lopez, 2010).
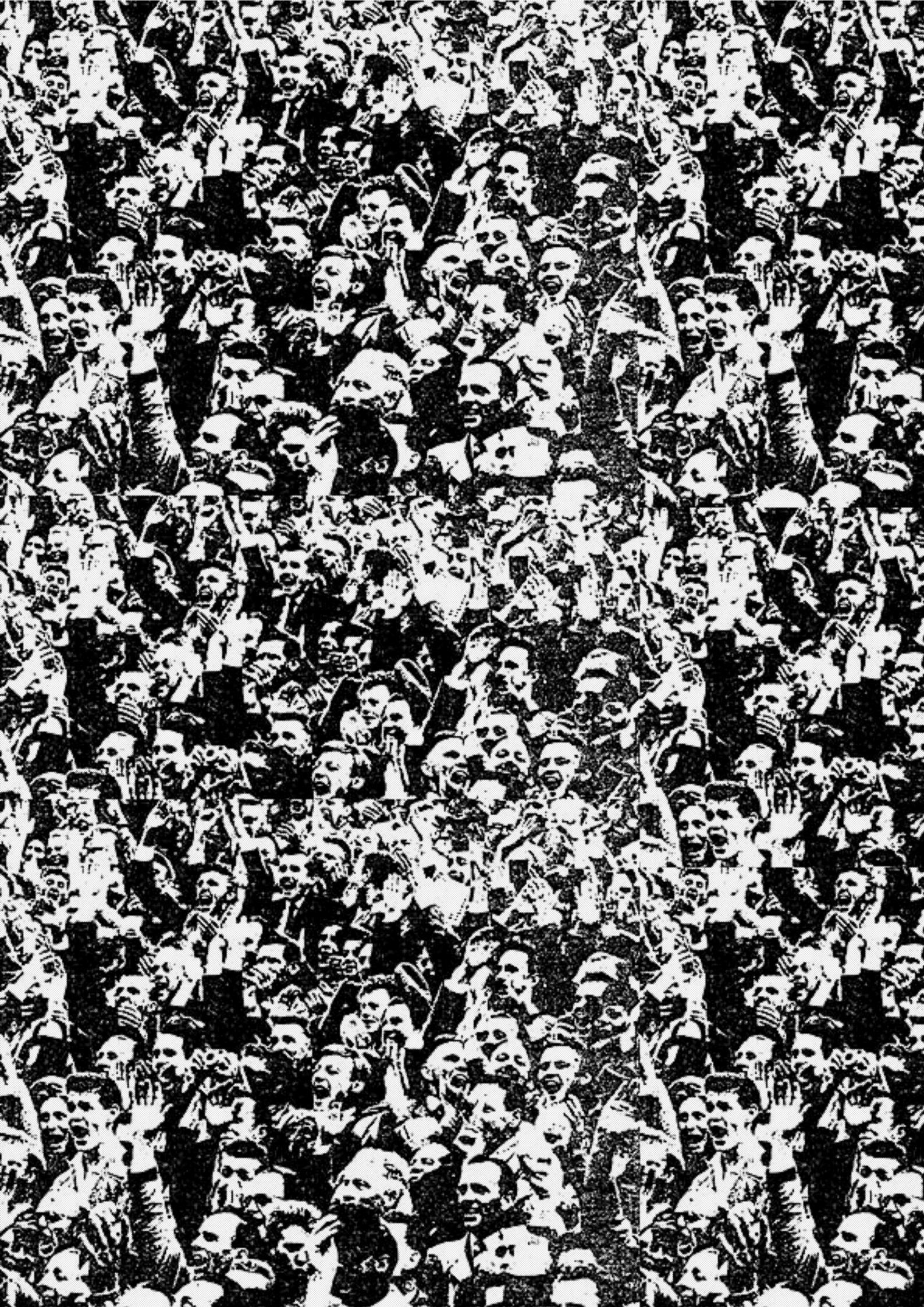
5 Conclusion

5.1 The role of the state

With deep differences in context, history and strategies, the main political ideology behind both 'Folkhemmet', in Sweden and the 'Bolivarian revolution' in Venezuela, can be seen as similar; the aim to decrease class differences and provide inhabitants with a stable societal basis from which to provide the people with necessary needs. With the shared starting point of a large amount of the population living in poverty without social support, the strategy to reach the equal society in both cases has been to use social interventions, and increasing the presence of the state. Both in 'Folkhemmet' and the 'Bolivarian revolution' the implementation of social interventions revealed a deficit in formal structures supporting the strategy, political as well as physical. The connection between political ideas and its physical form is exemplified by the case of Metro Cable or the Swedish housing programme, where physical structures are constructed to reach economical and social improvement. Similarities can to this point be found between 'Folkhemmet' and the 'Bolivarian revolution', but the method of implementations and the power structures differs a lot between the movements.

The state, translated as an organized political community (see Terms, p. 84), implies that the population is structured in a hierarchy where every individual is a part of the state itself. The internal organization often includes a government, which can be more or less connected to the inferior state levels (Giddens, 2003). In Venezuela, a governmental hierarchy constructed independently from the state has led to a great division between the people in power, and the inferior population. The separation implies that the organized political community does not involve everyone. In this context, the political organization comprises solely the government, which thus can be claimed to be the state.

In Sweden, the state was during 'Folkhemmet' extended through institutions and the public sector, with a great part of the population involved in the structure. The expansion of the state also affected the private sector, which was increasingly regulated and controlled by the state. The development was independent from political divergences, but originated in the Social Democratic Party taking power in Sweden. The expanding state revealed the need for a transparent political structure, which spawned a political system based on continuity and consensus. This system responded well to the current context with a developing industry and cohesive population, making it an efficient tool for implementations. Current European ideals of functionalism and socialism also affected the development of 'Folkhemmet'. The modernistic approach where buildings and structures were valued in functions before aesthetics led to a tabula-rasa perspective of society, which was connected to the introduction of planning. The development of the planning field was characterized by architects moving from their traditional designing field onto planning, which was the new and rational way of handling development (Svedberg, 2003). The introduction of planning into the Swedish society created a trial run for objective planning strategies such as vicinities, suburbs and communities

of single-family cottages. The housing became a social service next to education and healthcare, and in the end of the 70's the public sector controlled the great majority of new construction. Due to the political system based on consensus, continuity and transparency, together with the belief in rationality, most housing was homogenous and standardized apartment blocks. Due to the static and anonymous system, a dualistic relation developed between the power and the people, separating them into two different entities, caused by the population's increasing feeling of disconnection from the power. The homogenous and static political structure influenced the society and made its structural processes anonymous and inflexible, which did not relate to the people directly affected by its power (Ramírez, 1985). 'Folkhemmet' was also a product of a political development emphasizing the group and the majority, which had made the individual inferior and deviant. Thus, the system itself out-ruled the people, making the Swedish state and its actions become a separate product from the population.

Thus, the political organization (the state), the method of organization and current beliefs and ideals directly affected the physical outcome within 'Folkhemmet'.

There is a direct relation between the political system and the physical structures originating from 'Folkhemmet' even today. Currently, we are going towards more liberal forms of government in Sweden, with more influence the market and private enterprises than of the public sector. Still, the political organization remains from 'Folkhemmet', encouraging a homogenous, continuous and transparent process. Though, the conditions have changed, making the system respond worse to the implementations made. Many Swedes experience the current system to be slow and unflexible, promoting standardization and collective action. With a current development towards individuality, multipurpose structures and a population sensitive to trends (implying changes often) the system inherited from 'Folkhemmet' seem to be unwieldy in relation to the social development (Smas, 2011). Instead of changing the very system, we long for the conditions that efficiently fit together with the system. This way, 'Folkhemmet' lives on strongly as a model in current day Sweden, reminding of our ability to create an efficient and organized society.

On an ideological scale one can see the relation between the political development and physical structures also in Venezuela. The Venezuelan state has historically been exclusive and repressive, leaving a large number of the population outside of the political organization. The Venezuelan city centres are dominated by high-rise and market-
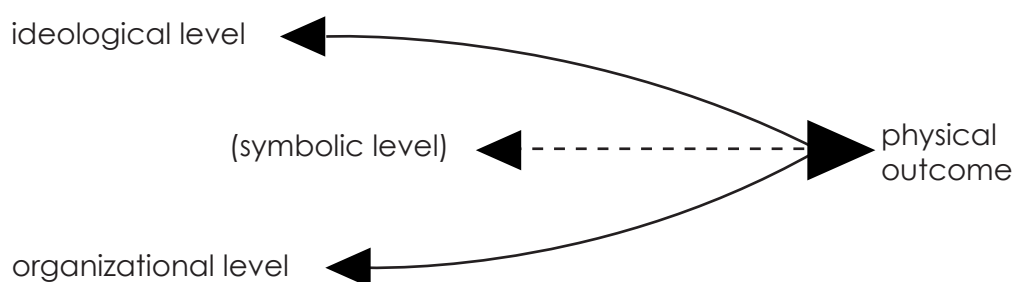

Fig 14. Scheme of the relation between ideology, organization and the physical outcome (Moberg, 2012).

oriented physical structures, such as malls, office-buildings, hotels and skyscrapers, leaving little or no room for public space. Outside of the centre lies a massive fabric of 'ranchos' trying to connect to the city centre. The ranchos are way larger than the centre itself, but are almost nowhere connected to the city physically by infrastructure. The neglect of the poor inhabitants of the ranchos is this way reflected both politically and socially (Sokol, 2010).

Like Sweden, Venezuela's Bolivarian Revolution also deals with a systematic transformation of the political organization. It is implied that it is the unstable democratic system itself that is the very origin to the widespread social inequalities. Recently, a development towards an expanding state can be seen also in Venezuela. The aim of a more present state is to create structures within society able to strengthen and withhold the democracy and public inclusion in the political organization. Due to corruption and administrational problems the implementations are often started on a local scale, supporting the rational method. The structures made are both socially oriented – like the creation of cooperatives and working opportunities – and physical – like the improvement of infrastructure, permanent housing and service facilities (Robertson, 2011b). Despite the efforts to establish a local scale political organization, the Venezuelan government is still very present as a structure clearly separated from the population. The development seen is characterized by a number of different political organizations competing with each other. The use of grass roots organization to fight corruption and administrational problems is proved efficient, but the physical and social development of society is still actively controlled by the superior government (Irazábal, 2010).

5.2 The physical outcome

The political organization and its implementation support certain physical structures. 'Folkhemmet' generated a rational and objective planning field and a number of standardized houses constructed by functionality, which bear witness of the political organization and process behind it. Since the political organization from 'Folkhemmet' to a large part still remains within the Swedish society, one could conclude that it still in favour of easily constructed and repeated architecture. The conclusion is reflected in the current boom of for example module houses or 'villa fabrics' stretching out of the cities (Nyström, 2011). When trying to gain another result from the same process (for example mixed used cities with individual architecture) many examples witness of a longer and more complex process, where many of the administrational steps can be experienced as preventing rather than allowing. The development of the Western Harbour in Malmö is an example showing that it is possible to reach other physical results than housing out of an "assembly line", but the current political system might not be optimally adapted to alternatives, making the process longer and more expensive.

The political organization reflected in the Metro Cable Project, is that of an emerging process. Initiated and operated by voluntary architects and a grass root community, the strive towards a new organization is shown. The historical separation between the population and the state is also reflected in the difficulties to launch the project at all. Now, the Metro Cable project is one of the Venezuelas proudest moments, maybe

because it bear witness of a the progress towards a new political organization.

Moving from the methodologic scale, the current beliefs and ideologies can also be directly reflected in the physical landscape. In the Swedish urban landscape, the increasing presence of service and consumption-based structures is noticed. The current planning terms frequently used are for example '24-hour-cities', where activities and services can be reached 24 hours a day (Smas, 2011). The political system is more and more dealing with complex planning issues, where the public sector process is not efficient enough. Although private enterprises also need to adapt to the political organization, the alternative can be creative and new thinking. The private sector is though more dependent on economical produce, which makes the service and consumption culture a rewarding field.

In the Swedish case, the ideological background also took a more material approach when dealing with social inequality. Since the social inequality was traced to insufficient housing, the physical planning became an ideological goal in itself. The relation between politics and planning are thereby clear in this aspect. With the superior aim to construct housing and facilities a natural place for the planner appeared within the political process, as an important player in the transformation of Sweden into a welfare society (Nyström, 2011). The political system permeated even the role of the planner, who introduced large-scale and top-down perspectives and methods.

The physical results from the 'Bolivarian revolution' can also be important on a symbolic level – the presence of physical development in the 'ranchos' can be translated as a recognition and integration of these areas into the 'official' city. In Venezuela, the transformation of the democratic system reveals the need of physical structures helping to withhold it, but it is not as obvious how these structures appear or function. Some basic material aspects are needed to provide social security; such as sufficient housing, transport infrastructure and hygienic and service facilities (Robertson, 2011a). The physical as well as political aim for the physical structures is though that they are flexible and locally attached in order to strengthen the new political system. This changes the role of the traditional planner when instead of implementing solutions and physical structures from a top-down perspective, the planner need to be involved locally within the community and within a context. Instead of belonging to an elite supporting the historical system, the planner could be a link between the reality and the system (Sokol, 2010).

5.3 Passivity or activity within the civil society

Within the two examples from Sweden and Venezuela, two different approaches of handling the civil society is shown in the political system. In Sweden, the political strategy of 'Foklhemmet' mostly promoted a passive population, correlating to the political organization. The standardizations and regulations seen in for example the institutions have been political tools efficiently combined with a homogenous and passive population, which also promotes the collective before the individual (Ramírez, 1985). With social and material improvements the role of the collective have changed. The better material and social security, the more individually oriented population, asking for

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more freedom of choice and flexibility within social structures. The collective is still encouraged by the Swedish political system, but simultaneously the Swedish population is experiencing increasing alienation from the state which creates distrust and resignation of political engagement (Rojas, 1999). The challenge in this dilemma is thus how to make the inherited static and paternalistic system more flexible and implementable, and also encourage and adapt to an active and heterogeneous, multicultural population with different needs.

In Venezuela, a neglected and excluded population has historically dominated the political sphere. This has its background in the very heterogeneous population, consisting of many different minorities, which means that the ideal of a homogenous collective is not applicable to the Venezuelan population, since there are too many 'deviations'. The collective might unite in poverty or ethnicity, but still differ in terms of living standards, consumption patterns, health and education. The political organization therefore encourages a minority of the population, historically the white upper class. When implementing a new political organization, the active and inclusive population is one of the prior tools for progress (Maddicks, 2011). Due to this repression, the political activity within the excluded population has been focused on a local scale, creating alternative organization, since its influence on the ruling national power structures have been minimal. Community organization has been an efficient political form when acting outside of governmental matters, why the sudden inclusion in the central power hierarchies has changed the overall political organization (Martínez et al, 2010). The already established local organization could be an advantage in the current political development, where many alternative methods and strategies are available.

A passive population is sometimes easier to implement into a strategy than an active, revealing more alternative strategies needed with the latter. The passive population could appear initially in a socializing process, when the basic needs of the population are not yet fulfilled. It is seen in 'Folkhemmet', and also in the 'Bolivarian revolution' where the people suddenly see a chance of being cared for by the state, or a system. The basic needs of a population are almost always the same; social security through safety, access to education and healthcare, freedom of movement and individual democratic rights. It is not until the collective needs are satisfied that the individual needs appear, differing in both direction and extent. By referring to Maslow's hierarchy of needs in the introduction of this thesis (page 3), one can claim that the deficiency needs shown at the bottom of the pyramid are collective and homogenous needs, while the upper ones are more individualistic. This is also reflected in the fact that most of the basic needs directly include the relation to other individuals. Safety and security of living through proper housing, employment, friends and family comprise involvement of others while the individualistic needs and desires are cognitive, aesthetic and self-actualizing which puts focus on oneself. The typical 'socialist' approach appearing in both the Swedish and Venezuelan projects – where the state introduces a system for social interventions and equal distribution of material access – seem to be more efficient with a homogenous and passive population. The different approaches of 'Folkhemmet' and the 'Bolivarian revolution' – both with an openly outspoken socialist agenda – thus become interesting in relation to each other.
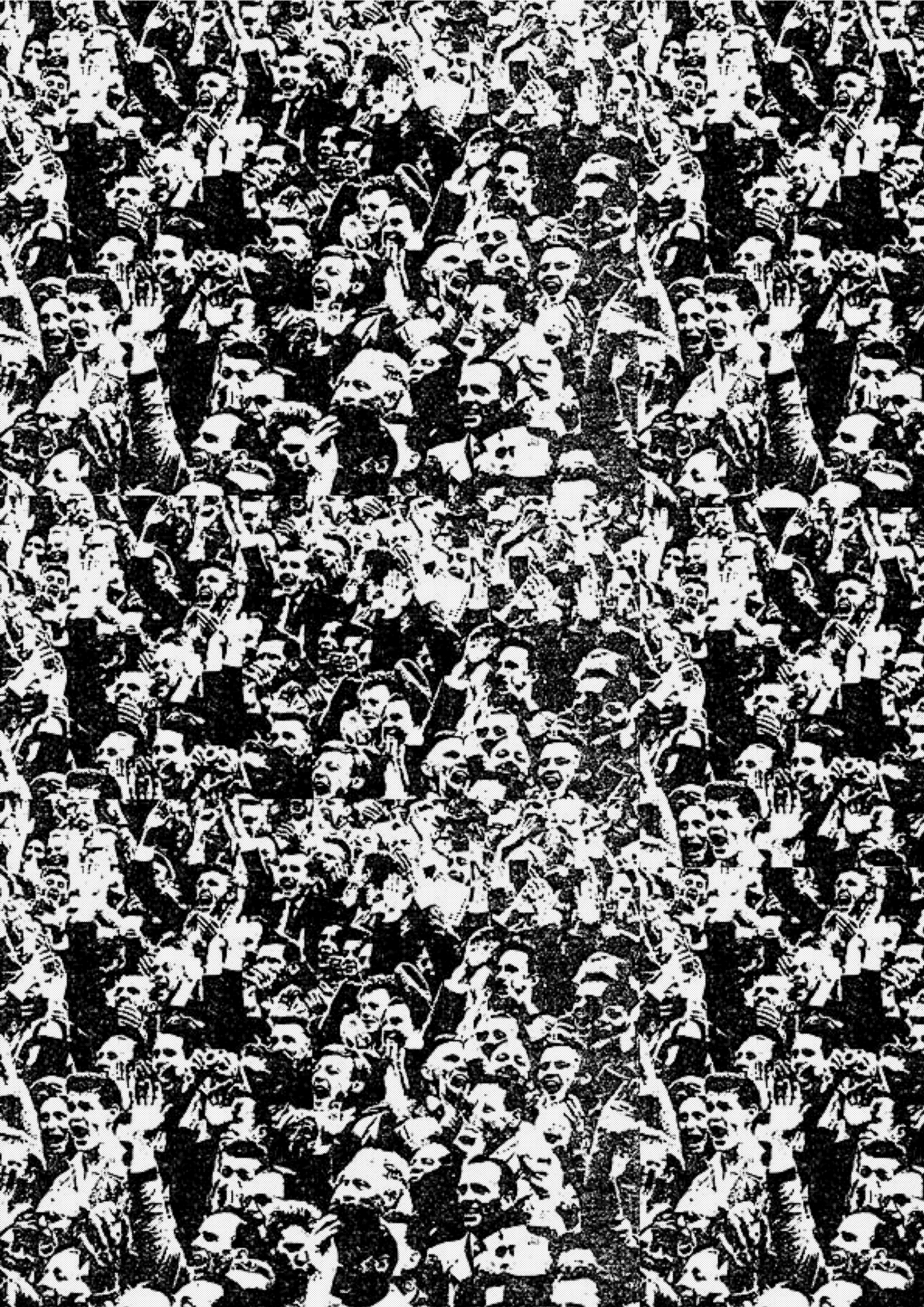
6 Reflections

6.1 Using planning as an ideological tool

Physical attributes and political ideologies have a special connection. Most people relate the Russian communist era to homogenous and stereotype apartment blocks and concrete, the English Arts and Crafts movement to nature obsession and creativity, and the neoliberal and market oriented societies by infrastructure and sprawl. Political standpoints and organization is thus often directly translated into the physical landscape. In Sweden, the housing built under the million program is a strong symbol of 'Folkhemmet' – it's greatest peak as well as its final failure. So what to do when the physical landscape no longer corresponds to the topical political ideology?

The Swedish million program, partly manifested by dense and homogenous housing blocks or single-family housing in lush green urban suburbs, started off as a success but turned out to be a social failure in the end of the 70's, much due to the successive movement towards more standardization and patterned construction. People finally abandoned the areas, leaving them standing as a reminder of a confident and collective project that finally reached its end. Especially the highrise suburban areas from the 60's have since then been both forgotten and excluded from societal development. Many of these areas are today associated with great social problems, unemployment and crime. Efforts are made to improve their status and living standards from within, but have not really succeeded to include them into rest of the city. Often the design and architecture of the areas have been blamed for its misfit into society. In Paris, where similar housing structures have been hit by the same social problems, the authorities have given up – instead of trying to develop the areas to improve them socially and physically, the inhabitants are being evicted and the housing structures blown up (exhibition LIVING, 2011). But do the social problems reside in the physical structures, or are they enforced in ceratin environments? Isn't it the political ideology that is reflected in the physical landscape, which leaves architecture take the blame for the ideological mistakes? In Milano, a parallel city modelled from the Swedish million program have been built in Milano 2. Although built in the 70's, just like the Swedish model, Milano 2 have developed completely different from the Swedish or French origins. Here, the vicinity is a haven of lush greenery, spacious apartments and car-free yards, just like the original Swedish idea. A great difference is the social structure, which in Milano consist mostly of wealthy middle class citizens, which affect the status of the neighbourhood (Nilsson, 2010). In Sweden, the low status of certain areas of the million program often make them home to immigrants and socially troubled persons, who don't have the choice to live anywhere else. Though, when the housing was built it was directed towards the new middle class, similar to that in Milano, which soon fled the areas due to unhappiness. In Milano 2, they stayed. Could the different experiences be culturally rooted? Or maybe embedded in the political organization?

The Swedish political system earlier described, developed during 'Folkhemmet' a certain affection for the standardized and homogenous solutions. This development was both

due to the rational approch and because of the continuous and extensive political process. The character of the system increasingly brought a feeling of alienation to the population, because of the technical and unpersonal approach. The late housing within the million program, characterized by high-rise standardized apartment blocks reflected this approach, which made people avoid them. The housing structures in Milano 2 are probably not connected to the same methodology, which have made them more popular and higher in status. The same effect can be translated into other parts of the million program, for example the earlier single-family housing executed in any Swedish city – which never became abandoned like some of the later high-rise areas. It is also important to mention that it is only certain areas deriving from the million program – for example Rosengård in Malmö, Tensta and Rinkeby in Stockholm – that is until today connected with a lower status, while many other areas with similar architecture have been integrated better into the urban fabric. Still, a large part of the urban residents of Sweden are directed to the suburbian life; for example almost 80% of the inhabitants of Stockholm reside in the suburbs.

If originating from the socially excluded areas of the million program, a similar relation could be anticipated in Venezuela, where the 'ranchos' for long have been subject to social and political exclusion. With the current political and organizational transformation the 'ranchos' are the subject of interest. Standing as a symbol for the historical organization, the 'ranchos' now are transformed to fit into a new context –

Fig 15. A common structure from the million program.
Fittja, Stockholm. (Ellgard, 2007).

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both by simply removing it, like demonstrated in the 'Sustitucion Rancho por Casa'-mission, or physically and organizationally developing it, like the Metro Cable project stand model for. By recognizing the 'ranchos' and integrating them into a new political organization, the societal transformation is believed to be more efficient.

The planning is used as an ideological tool also in today's gentrification of the urban landscape. Seemingly 'useless' areas of a past ideology are transformed to fit into the current context and politics. Harbours and industrial areas which originated from a specific historic and societal context are re-made into housing, commercial facilities and restaurants. The physical heritage is transformed to fit into a new ideology, making it useful and even 'invaluable' in its new context (Smas, 2011). The current transformation especially is blaimed for promoting neoliberalism and consumerism as the modern ideology. It might be a prolongation of the once by 'Folkhemmet' changed direction from a ideological agenda to a material. The Swedes are extremely sensitive to trends and development, which might be traced back to our rational belief. Mirrored in today's technological obsession, or interior decorating trends, one see the constant hunt for the most up to date version. Our political structure encourage rationality, why the Swedes are especially recipient to fast changes (Smas, 2011). But the gentrification is also an example of how the rational approach is not always ruling, and that it is possible to bring flexibility and spontaneity into a traditional static political organization. With the right tools the system can even be supportive of the change. The gentrification is an important counterforce to the rational approach, which does not always have to be the best.

The translation of ideology into physical structures can also be the other way around – where physical structures are used for ideological purposes. One example is the land use regulations, where the state regulate the physical influence of private enterprises and the public good. If this type of regulations did not exist, political aims would be hard to implement, since they would have nothing to attach to (Nystöm, 2011). Physical planning often has been used as a tool to determine a certain social security throughout society, controlling the supply and demand for public versus private service. In the Venezuelan example, the lack of physical planning have made the social security inferior, since there have been no controlled structures to attach those social services to. This is an effect of the previous market based economical system, which did not favour social security before market competition. This made the physical structures house commercial instead of social services, excluding a large part of the population. Physical planning is used as a tool both in social and liberal directed politics, acting as a visible link between the state and the population (Rojas, 1999).

The use of physical planning as an ideological tool can be a successful strategy to implement political ideas within the civil society. Controlling physical structures is one way of interfering with ruling habits and lifestyles within the population, both those wished and unwished for. The material focus brought by the physical structures could though be both positive and negative. The positive aspect might be that material interventions often are more visible than ideological or organizational ones, and can therefore be perceived as societal progress and reflect an active political field (Irazábal, 2010). The population of a state often wants to see a material response to political standpoints, to have the ability to interpret its effects within society. From the

governmental point of view, the material realisation of an ideology often is necessary to control and govern the societal development wished for. The physical planning can especially provide a framework for greater societal changes – for example mobility, healthcare and education. The material result of ideological standpoints can be useful for the civil society, creating a direct attachment to the means and goals of a certain political ideology.

6.2 The neoliberalist impact

In the liberal context, physical structures often encourage individual development and creativity, as does as a free market based on competition. In this type of politics, the state can encourage or dismiss the ideological development with physical structures, providing facilities and opportunities for enterprises and commercial services or promoting public sector activities. Although, letting go of the public sector often means a less developed social aspect, because it has less competitive advantages compared to the commercial services. The Venezuelan cities reply to a material approach by being the very result of neoliberalist forces. Previous social improvements have often focused on facilities or material infrastructure instead of the meaning of 'invisible assets' such as education and health care. The material focus in the 'ranchos' might be seen as a way to be included in the external liberal power hierarchies set by an liberal ideology (Martinez et al, 2010). In the Venezuelan case we see that a freely held market often excludes a large part of the population, without means to take part in the commercial system. In every society, there will always be a part of the population unable to support themselves, why the state needs to control the most basic needs and rights to withhold a democratic system (Feinberg et al, 2006).

The in Sweden well rooted promotion of the collective, can be seen as both strengthened and reduced with the liberalism. The political organization still favour the collective in the administrative field, but a shift towards a more flexible and individually directed process can be anticipated. Through increasing focus on consumption and competition, the individual become an important target in society. At the same time, the material focus raise the collective as an important object because without the collective we are not as recipient to trends, which is a keystone within the consumer-society. Historically, the collective was strengthened through the urbanisation, when the dependency on others increased. The labour market of today moves towards an increasing separation, where the individual become the stronger part in competition.

6.3 Is democratic planning possible?

The real challenge of any economic system is to use the physical tools to not only promote an ideology, but also to promote democracy. Every democratic system needs a certain degree of good will in order to survive. It is easy to conclude that the repressive political history of Venezuela or the oligarch power hierarchies of historical Sweden was reinforced by a lack of good will, but it seem to be a too simple explanation. If the essence of democracy is translated as the power of the population, or the equal right to express, influence and change power systems, the good will and collective care need

to be present. Another formulation used by Feinberg et al to describe democracy is "a society which has a high level of inclusiveness and competiveness as well as strong institutionalization of civil and political rights" (Feinberg et al, 2006, p. 26). This explanation opens up the field for various economic systems, which all are democratic but imply differing structural ideas of political organization. But for a system to withhold democracy, it needs to ensure that everyone has the same possibility to be included in power and competition, and therefore the system has to be equal in terms of power, living standards and social hierarchies – aspects that are seldom all fulfilled at the same time (Feinberg et al, 2006). The dualistic nature of the democratic term seems to make it very difficult to combine democracy with political ideology, since all political ideologies promote certain fields of society more than others. Can physical planning be both democratic and ideological?

All economic systems are in their purest form bound with ideological problems, as for example in both socialist and liberal societies. It seems like an impossible task to create a totally equal society without any social breaches. Due to differences in ability, different people contribute in differing amounts to the construction of society. The democratic perspective establishes that independent of one's ability, all have the same political and social rights. The initial inequality must therefore be balanced with social interventions so that inclusiveness and competition become equally accessible for all (Rosenberg, 2008). The democratic perspective thus presupposes a certain degree of socialism, where the Swedish Social Democratic term "from everyone by ability, to everyone by need" formulated by Per Albin Hansson (Hansson, 1928), could be applicable as a democratic formula independent of the specific economic system.

The physical structures formed within an ideological context thus do not always support democratic principles. Political ideology can as well be non-democratic, and support repression, violence and physical segregation, supported by physical structures. Exemplified by Venezuela's dictator Pérez, physical interventions were made under his rule to promote his personal ideology of the modern Venezuela, and not essentially by democratic principles. In the current development in Venezuela, physical planning is used essentially to establish and withhold a democratic system, but also to promote socialist ideas (Martinez et al, 2010). This is one example of the coexistence of democracy and ideology within the physical structures - not saying they sometimes also oppose each other. The societal physical structures relate both to an economic system and to a power principle.

The choice of democratic structure also influences the degree of democracy. The Swedish model of representative democracy has for example been criticized for alienating people from power. Although the population is very present within the power structures through the institutions and public sector structures, the degree of political influence is experienced to be limited. The universal suffrage is limited to voting every four years, leaving everything between in the hands of the elected politicians. The general difficulty of finding volunteers to the municipal assemblies creates further limitation to influence the political process, where there might be no appropriate candidates (Ramírez, 1985). In Venezuela, numerous elections give possibilities to influence the power structures to some extent at least once a year. The political platform is thus constantly changing, giving a great scope for the population to command their local agenda and putting more

pressure on the authorities (Seade, pers. com. 2011). By remodelling the representative democracy towards an ideal of direct democracy, one can also increase the popular influence within the structure.

Direct democracy as political structure is possible only within certain limits. Direct democracy to some extent needs to be representative, as showed for example in the Metro Cable project where the aim for a direct planning strategy still is in need for a group of representatives speaking on behalf of the whole community. It is impossible to pursue a direct form of democracy on a national level, and even on a local, because the process would be so extensive and slow that the result would be unsatisfactory. Even so, representative democracy systems always need to have direct democracy as a model and strive towards involving the population as much as possible. The more inclusive elements that are removed from within the process, the more alienated from power the population become (Ramírez, 1985).

The degree of democracy and inclusion is often dependent on the state. In Venezuela the political organization have for long been inaccessible for the poor population in the 'ranchos' while still meeting the demands of a 'democratic' structure. One could claim that the 'Bolivarian revolution' have brought a new kind of exclusion, namely the previously high ranked rich people, who now have to step back for the social interventions directed to the poor. This development is not greeted happily throughout the richer population, who feel neglected by the new government, blaming them for stealing their acquisitions. In Sweden, the alienation from power is another expression of the state exclusion. Although many people are a part of the state apparatus, few feel that they really control the power. The democratic measure is though regulated around the universal suffrage, while in reality a lot of factors decide the degree of real public influence.

6.4 Strategies for political organization

The political organization, or the state, in most societies has the role of coordinating national economical, social and ecological resources. The influence of the state creates and regulates the civil societies, the power hierarchies and the development both politically and socially. When having confirmed that supporting a democratic system implies to provide for some degree of social security; such as access to health, education, shelter and transportation, there are several possible strategies to do this. One is the by 'Folkhemmet' demonstrated way of increasing the presence of the state, making it active and coherent on any level. This strategy implies that the state turns into a breadwinner with the responsibility to provide a political organization suitable for physical, social and economical interventions. Another governmental strategy demonstrated within the 'Bolivarian revolution' is trying to remove power from the government into the hands of the population directly, making the population itself act the breadwinner but provide it with a proper framework supporting equal distribution and conditions. Like before discussed, the increased power of the state seem to be more efficient when handling the public good, a homogenous population and within a society with stable democracy. The efficiency can be explained through the experience that representative democracy creates passivity of the population, since they are removed further from the source of power, and have limited influence. This passivity makes the population easier to control

as one entity, making the political interventions applied more static and one-dimensional. The development in Sweden under 'Folkhemmet' created this double effect where the increased state control also led to a stronger collective. But when the democratic system due to indifferences or violence no longer can be withheld, the extended state power can easily be misused and inefficient. This has for example been showed in Venezuela under the Punto Fijo Pact, where the extended state control resulted in political passivity and repression. The representative democracy also implies more bureaucracy, and due to this, longer processes. This can be seen for example in the Swedish Planning field, where the four-year elections divide processes into equally long periods of changed contexts and conditions (Nyström, 2011).

The strong state is a great resource if successful, implying a stable political organization. The state has good opportunities to make long lasting and sustainable interventions on local, regional and national levels. Sometimes the strong and representative state is also a more economically efficient type of government, since the nationally controlled finances are kept within sight (Nyström, 2011). However, the strong but unstable state can also result in economic collapse, or a mutual conflict between the political organization and the population involved within it.

With a system of direct democracy the civil society become very powerful, using inhabited knowledge and assets to lead development. The state [political structure] has a more reserved role, acting coordinator of funding and structural frameworks. The power lies within the population and society, creating stronger attachment to projects and development handled on a local scale. The direct democracy though has its problems on the national and regional scale, where the lack of coordination or input makes it diminished. The direct democracy is more flexible, but could also be more unfair and excluding. It also demands more economical resources, since the processes often are longer, more detailed and adapted specifically after the context and the place (Irazábal, 2010).

6.5 The civil society as water breaker

It is a risk to speak about the civil society as one entity, when it really consists of many different groups, held together by ethnicity, culture, economy, business or interests. As many differences there is within the civil society, as many voices can be heard from it. The type of power structure highly influences the organization and action of the civil society. Within the representative democracy the civil society is perceived as passive, since they have relatively little influence in the taken politics. If the civil society is homogenous, the representative democracy is more suitable since the needs and desires from the population can be formulated collectively. However, the result of the representative political system is that interventions designed for the collective are often seen as too blunt and common, hard to adapt to individual circumstances. In Sweden, the civil society has adapted to the political organization and learnt that the bureaucratic system stands for transparency keeping the democratic system accurate and current. The bluntness of the interventions is a sign of right, since it has then been done through the institutionalized power structures (Nyström, 2011). In Sweden's case, one can though see an outdistancing to the political development because it is

directed to the common instead of the individual. The Swedish political system until today promotes and encourages the usual, coherent and continuous within society, where centralizations and national standards are used to point out and strengthen the 'normal'. The individual influence is therefore limited to the collective participation and suffrage (Ramírez, 1985). The model have for long influenced even the planning field where public influence thus have been restricted. With the recent development from the collective focus to the individual, a more flexible and adaptable political organization is asked for, also within planning.

In parallel to Sweden, Venezuela's political climate generates a very active civil society, where interventions are more adaptable to different circumstances due to the political organization in progress. Interventions can for example imply that an organization receives funding free to use within a certain context. One can see that this type of super flexibility does not always generate positive or useful interventions, because of the lack of knowledge and strategic planning. Also, the absence of a controlling instance makes it hard for the state to evaluate the process and the result (Martinez et al, 2010). The move towards a direct form of democracy does not bring about a quality control of the interventions made, and the capacity of the civil society differs. The demand for organization before being able to benefit from social interventions does not presuppose a democratic development, since it is only those who express themselves who gets help, which is yet another inequality.

The political dualism seen in Venezuela, brought about by the political transformation, strongly divides the civil society into defined groups, clearly separated from each other. This separation creates an antagonistic effect, where the indifference itself is a higher aim than the actual development. The use of media and Chávez strong personality helps to enforce this antagonism, where the politics circle around personal appearance and separate objects than an ideological standpoint. The opposing development was seen during 'Folkhemmet' where the population was organized into one homogenous entity, lacking any kind of opposition. This made the state governed 'Folkhemmet' an easy project to manoeuver and to also establish the cultural conception of the collective to be the primary social form. Although highly involved in the political structure, the political engagement was low, trusting the state apparatus to generate the best possible interventions.

The mission to keep political engagement, but still keep focus on the ideological and political development instead of personalities behind the politics, is proved to be a challenge. By getting the population politically involved, there is a greater chance of keeping the political landscape closely attached to reality, and making interventions where they are really needed.

6.6 The reactionary heritage

The historical political system and development highly influence the present society. Although Venezuela has moved from colonialism to democracy via dictatorships, the violent and repressive history is still present in the political organization of today. The presence of military coups (the latest executed by Hugo Chávez himself) violent

fight-backs of oppositional, and the threats within the political process witness of an unstable political system. The political violence historically has been an efficient tool for gaining influence and power used by military, dictators and the people. The Venezuelan population of today is visibly permeated by the violent history, which is demonstrated by the distrust in authorities and self-supportive strategies (Sokol, 2010). The inhabitants of the 'ranchos' rather hack the water supplies than ask the government for help, because traditionally there have been no use in doing do. The structure of self-support is enforced by community organization, and today, with the 'Bolivarian revolution' the progress might make this organization visible. The government however still is superior to the population exercising its power openly, despite the development of the civil society (Urban Think Tank, 2007).

Venezuela historically has been a nation of minorities, and still is today. The minorities have learnt through repression and exclusion to claim their own history and rights, which make them hard to organize into bigger collectives. The difficulties of serving all minorities have been a true political challenge in Venezuela, why the result often has been exclusion of the large part (Martínez et al, 2010).

In Sweden, the representative democracy have become normative, and leave little or no room for individual or direct influence. From a planning perspective this is concerning, since it means that the planners become a group of experts planning without connection to the users. Today, this field tries to find alternative strategies to involve the public, since the traditional public meetings in the end of the design phase is seen to be insufficient. Although, the planning field still is regulated and practised through the traditional model of the strong state and in favour of the normal, why new approaches must adapt to this context.

6.7 Planning for the future

The role of the planner is multifaceted, having the ability to adapt to the context and conditions of a project. As well as working for the state, the market or the common good, the planner's mission is both to translate ideological means into physical form, but also to act as a provoker and always strive for thinking outside the box and find new solutions to problems. As demonstrated in the Metro Cable project, the planners can act social activists, demonstrators, inventors, coordinators, planners and translators, all within the same project (MoMA, 2010). This kind of multi tasking is what the future planner stand for – claiming both a personal as well as an official agenda. The planner is a part of the power structure itself, given unique chances to influence the kept politics. The planner is no longer the single mastermind, like in architectural tradition, but is as shown more and more demanded to handle mediations, adaptations and communications of different kinds. The new planner is a surveyor coordinating the different aspects of a problem to clash. Of course the planner's architectural expertise and knowledge matter, but also the ability to bring out change from the very object of process itself, like the inhabitants or participants of a place or a project.

The traditional top-down perspective of planning today has competition of many more perspectives, such as the participatory, direct and representative methods. When

representing a power structure such as the state, the planner's mission is to implement a strategy to find physical structures that represent the overall political structure and ideology. This often means to take on numerous different roles and acts. The planners have a great influence in developing the political system (Irazábal, 2010). In Sweden, the first steps towards decreasing the top-down interventions and state regulations have been made in the planning field. Planners in the role of officials have a unique opportunity to try new forms of public participation and planning methods. Working on commission from the politicians, the planner has both insight and knowledge about the political sphere, and the tools to translate this freely into society. Besides the right to vote, the processes mediating between the political structure and the public good are the structures where the public could influence their society.

Architects and planners are often the prominent figures of a past ideological era, maybe because the physical translation of the ideological standpoints is easier to grasp than the economical, cultural or political development of the same. Although the physical attributes are highly dependent on contexts and conditions, they form a static representation of an abstract context. The future planning structures thus need to be static AND flexible, in order to adapt to changing conditions and contexts. From what have been shown in this thesis so far, the situation is always fluctuating, creating only moments of right conditions where it is possible to act – and the planner is the one who should find those moments.

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Terms

Bureaucracy
The structure of rules made by an institution to rule a greater organization. The structure relies on the belief that power, position and career advancement is to be based on competence and clear rules. Signs of bureaucracy are the categorization of customers, and the presence of forms. Often used in a negative way about an administrative apparatus that is perceived as too big or inefficient.

Capitalism
An economic system based on private ownership of the means of production, which are operated for profit in competitive markets.

Civil society
A term that refers to the totality of many voluntary social relationships, civic and social organizations based on the citizens of a society boundless of political, market-based, or criminal organization. Together; state, market and civil society constitute the entirety of a society, and the relations between these components determine the character and structure of it.

Clientelism
The structure of rules made by an institution to rule a greater organization. The a term used to describe a political system which is based on the principles of take here, give there, which allows both givers and takers to gain advantage from the other's support.

Collective
A group of entities, such as individuals, that share or are motivated by common issues and interests, for example attempts to share and exercise political and social power. The decisions within a collective is often made on a consensus-driven and egalitarian basis.

Corporatism
A system of economic, political, or social organization that involves division of the people into corporate groups, such as agriculture, business, ethnic, labour, or military on the basis of common interests.

Feudalism

A system based on legal and military customs for ordering society around relationships derived from the holding of land in exchange for service or labour. The system was used during medieval times in Europe.

Folkhemmet

Translated: "people's home". Originally, the term referred to a place where the low-income workers could go to access civic information, newspapers and literature. In modern times the term refers to the era between 1932-1976 that the Social Democratic Party was in power in Sweden, making throughgoing changes in the social welfare system and housing politics.

Fordism

An economic and social system based on industrial mass production. In a Fordist system the worker is paid relatively high wages in order to buy large quantities of products turned out in mass production. Named after Henry Ford.

Freedom of contract

The freedom of individuals and corporations to form contracts without government restrictions, such as minimum wage, competition law, or fixed pricing.

Functional socialism

A term used within the Swedish Social Democratic Party. To within a lucidly perspective achieve lasting structural changes within a socialist frame. Characterized by the change of interest from the means of production, to the ownership's functional aspects and how these can be regulated by the democratic state.

Hegemony

An indirect form of imperial dominance in which a leader state (the hegemon) rules sub-ordinate states by implicate power rather than military force. From the greek word 'hegemonia', leadership.

Institution

A structure with a social purpose and permanence, that with the making and enforcing of rules govern cooperative human behaviour. Institutions are important tools for the political state to reach consensus in intentions and a national identity, and can be exemplified by governmental institutions and public service.

Market economy

An economic system in which the free market directs the economy through competition

and a free price system. In market economy, the resource of goods and servces are determined by supply and demand.

Maslow's hierarchy of needs
A model of the stages of growth in humans, made by the American psychologist Abraham Maslow. The theory is based on the human's innate curiosity, and is categorized under developmental psychology. In the model, the hierarchy of the human needs can be expressed as a triangle, with the largest and most fundamental needs in the bottom, and the need for self-actualization at the top.

Mixed economy
An economic system in which the state controls the prices to some extent, but where there is also room for competition. The mixed economic system is the most commonly used economic system since it is more flexible than the sheer planned or market economies.

Oligarchy
A form of power structure where the power rests with an elite, distinguished by royalty, wealth, family ties, commercial and/or military legitimacy. From the greek word 'oligos', a few, and 'archos', to rule, govern, command.

Planned economy
An economic system in which the state directs the economy. In planned economy, the government controls industry and its distribution of goods and services due to the belief that the free market system does not distribute services and products ideally for the society.

Planning
A psychological process of thinking about the activities and requirements to create a desired goal on some scale, and the organizational process of creating and maintaining a plan. The counterpart to planning is spontaneous order. Planning has different meanings depending on the context in which it is used.

Politics
A process by which groups of people make collective decisions through regulating public affairs within a political unit. The term is generally applied to the art or science of running governmental or state affairs, but also within institutions, fields and interest groups such as the corporate, academic or religious segments of society. It consists of social relations involving authority or power, and the methods and tactics used to formulate and apply policy.

Rationalism

A view appealing to reason as a source of knowledge and justification, where the truth is not sensory, but intellectual and deductive. Architectural rationalism is based on architectural theory, and is seen as a science that can be comprehended rationally based on estimation.

Socialism

A political system based on the economic organization where the means of production are either state owned or commonly owned and controlled cooperatively. Socialism is based on cooperative social relations and the reduction of hierarchy in the economic and political sphere. In a socialist society, the income is based on the principle of individual merit / individual contribution.

State

an organized political community, living under a government.

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