Housing towards prosperity
an actor-network analysis of the enactment of an urban redevelopment policy and grassroots vision in the Beetham

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Award date:
2013

Link to publication
Housing towards Prosperity

An Actor-Network analysis of the enactment of an urban redevelopment policy and grassroots vision in the Beetham.

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identity number: 653669

in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Science
in Innovation Sciences

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Housing towards prosperity

An Actor-Network analysis of the enactment of an urban redevelopment policy and grassroots vision in the Beetham, a neighbourhood of Port of Spain, Trinidad and Tobago.

Master thesis for the study Innovation Sciences
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January 18, 2013
Cover picture: Beetham 19th street.
# Table of Contents

List of figures ........................................................................................................... v  
Textboxes ..................................................................................................................... vi  
Abbreviations .............................................................................................................. vii  
Preface and acknowledgement ................................................................................ viii  
Summary ......................................................................................................................... ix  

1. **INTRODUCTION** ........................................................................................................ 1  
   1.1. **PROBLEM DEFINITION** ............................................................................. 1  
   1.2. **RESEARCH OBJECTIVES** ....................................................................... 2  
   1.3. **RESEARCH QUESTION** ........................................................................... 3  
   1.4. **PAPER OUTLINE** ..................................................................................... 4  

2. **THEORY & METHOD** .............................................................................................. 5  
   2.1. **ACTOR NETWORK THEORY** .................................................................. 5  
   2.2. **RESEARCH METHOD** .......................................................................... 11  

3. **BEETHAM PHASE 4 UPGRADE POLICY** ............................................................... 14  
   3.1. **APARTMENTS BEETHAM PHASE 4** ...................................................... 15  
   3.2. **HOUSING DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION (HDC)** .......................... 24  
   3.3. **CONTRACTOR** ..................................................................................... 27  
   3.4. **BEETHAM GARDENS** ............................................................................ 32  
   3.5. **(UN)EMPLOYMENT RELATED ACTORS** ............................................. 37  
   3.6. **CRIME** .................................................................................................. 41  
   3.7. **ETHNICITY** ............................................................................................ 49  
   3.8. **BUREAUCRACY** .................................................................................. 53  
   3.9. **INFLUENCE OF (NON)HUMAN ACTORS AND INTERFERENCE ON POLICY** ..................................................................................................................... 56  

4. **GRASSROOTS VISION IN THE BEETHAM** ............................................................. 58  
   4.1. **HOUSE OF PATRICK** ............................................................................. 59  
   4.2. **SQUATTER REGULATION** ...................................................................... 64  
   4.3. **SOU-SOU LAND** .................................................................................... 66  
   4.4. **INITIATIVES FOR THE YOUTH** ............................................................... 68  
   4.5. **INTERFERENCE OF REPUTATION** ....................................................... 73  
   4.6. **INTERFERENCE OF CRIME** ................................................................. 75  
   4.7. **ENACTING PATRICK’S VISIONS** ......................................................... 75  

5. **CONCLUSION** ......................................................................................................... 77  
   5.1. **INFLUENCE (NON)HUMAN ACTORS AND INTERFERENCE** ..................... 77
5.2. SUCCESSFUL IMPLEMENTATION OF POLICY/VISION? ................................................................. 79
5.3. DISCUSSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS ................................................................. 82

6. REFERENCES ............................................................................................................................. 84

6.1. LITERATURE ......................................................................................................................... 84
6.2. POLICIES AND ACTS ............................................................................................................ 86
6.3. NEWSPAPER ARTICLES ....................................................................................................... 86
6.4. WEBSITES ............................................................................................................................ 87

Appendix A: Interviews .................................................................................................................. 88
Appendix B: Map Beetham Estate ................................................................................................. 89
Appendix C: Ground-floor plan apartments .................................................................................. 90
Appendix D: First floor plan apartments ....................................................................................... 91
Appendix E: Elevation 1 & 2 apartments ...................................................................................... 92
Appendix F: Elevation 3 & 4 apartments ....................................................................................... 93
Appendix G: Figures Beverley Hills ............................................................................................... 94

List of figures

Figure 1: Map Trinidad and Tobago .............................................................................................. 1
Figure 2: Barrack Beetham phase 4 ............................................................................................ 14
Figure 3: New apartments, gallery (front) ................................................................................ 16
Figure 4: New apartments (back) ............................................................................................... 16
Figure 5: Pathway in between the old barracks ......................................................................... 17
Figure 6: Helicopter view, Beetham phase 4. (Photo: Special Police Force T&T) ................... 32
Figure 7: Map Beetham. (Base google maps) ............................................................................ 32
Figure 8: Beetham urban island, left Highway, right Priority Bus Route. (Photo: Special Police Force, T&T) ........................................................................................................................................... 33
Figure 9: Drain ............................................................................................................................. 36
Figure 10: Beetham Highway ..................................................................................................... 38
Figure 11: belt with recyclable materials .................................................................................. 39
Figure 12: House of Patrick, front ............................................................................................. 60
Figure 13: House of Patrick, side, in the back the Bay window in the kitchen ......................... 60
Figure 14: Back of Patrick’s house ............................................................................................ 61
Figure 15: All in One Development Centre ............................................................................. 69
Textboxes

Box 1: HDC versus LSA 26
Box 2: History of the area 34
Box 3: Maxis and other forms of transportation 35
Box 4: Categorising work or employment 40
Box 5: Killings in Trinidad and Tobago 41
Box 6: Beverley Hills 43
Box 7: Hell Yard 47
Box 8: Shocking stories 49
Box 9: Ethnic historical background 51
Box 10: Political parties 54
Box 11: History of Patrick 58
Box 12: Squatter history of Trinidad and Tobago 59
Box 13: Housing types 63
Box 14: The objective of Act 25 64
Box 15: Sou-Sou Land 67
Box 16: Day-care 72
# Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ANT</td>
<td>Actor Network Theory</td>
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<tr>
<td>COC</td>
<td>Certificate of Comfort</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COP</td>
<td>Congress of the People (Political party)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EPoS</td>
<td>East Port of Spain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HDC</td>
<td>Housing Development Corporation</td>
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<tr>
<td>LSA</td>
<td>Land Settlement Agency</td>
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<tr>
<td>NAR</td>
<td>National Alliance for Reconstruction</td>
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<td>NHA</td>
<td>National Housing Authority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PNM</td>
<td>People’s National Movement (Political party)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POS</td>
<td>Port of Spain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PP</td>
<td>Peoples Partnership (current political coalition)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SSL</td>
<td>Sou-Sou land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T&amp;T</td>
<td>Trinidad and Tobago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TTD</td>
<td>Trinidad and Tobago Dollar (10TTD ≈ 1,20 Euro)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNC</td>
<td>United National Congress (Political party)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WASA</td>
<td>Water and Sewerage Authority</td>
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Preface and acknowledgement

Here it is, my master thesis, containing a research on low-income housing in a developing country. The study that I am about to present is what I've dreamed to do when I started the master Innovation Sciences. Therefore, firstly I would like to thank Hebe Verrest for her help and contact with BlueSpace. Without her, I would have never ended up for three and a half months fieldwork in Trinidad and Tobago. Moreover I am grateful to Perry Pollar and Asad Mohammed from BlueSpace for hosting me in Trinidad and Tobago. For their help with my first contacts in Trinidad, my first steps to broaden my network and to become part of a new actor-network.

I loved Trinidad and I hated it. Sometimes people made me so frustrated that I didn’t know what to do. Sending me from one office to the other, redirecting my calls until my call was lost in nothing. But most frustrating of all, I found that all local people I spoke to advised me not to go to my research area by myself because of safety issues. I listened to them and followed their advice until the end, but when I would get the opportunity to do a research like this again, I will follow my intuition.

On the other hand I loved the country. Full of warm welcoming friendly people who took their time for me. Trinidad has a culture and environment in which people take things the way they are and cope and adjust to the situation. I hope I will keep some of the Trinidadian relaxed attitude with me forever. I was inspired by the new friends I made. Special thanks to Ishmael Wharton, who reflected on my findings, gave me some 'back to earth' advice and shared his positive attitude.

I am sure that living in Trinidad helped me to understand the lifestyle a little and to get a better understanding of the complexities of issues in the country. Every day I learned more and got to know more people. I never felt so at home at a place outside The Netherlands. But at the end of the day, I was still the outsider. And people reminded me of that at least once a day, by calling me 'Whitey' when walking in the street.

I am grateful that Saurabh Arora suggested to use Latourian ANT to conduct this research. This method was for me a framework in which I was able to get a better understanding of the problems. It gave me the opportunity to focus on and relate all different important aspects instead of simply focussing on construction policies, planning processes, building quality and the perception of the inhabitants on their buildings. Moreover I am grateful for his guidance, suggestions and discussions while writing my thesis.

Thanks as well for the people who were willing to cooperate with the interviews and guided me in the area, without them this research would not have been possible. One person I would like to highlight is Wayne Jordan. Wayne, thanks for your willingness to show me as much as possible and that you shared your ideas and thoughts with me. And of course I would like to thank all other people who helped me, listened to me, and just have been there for me. Linde van den Brink for her comments and my parents, without their support I would not have been able to go to the Caribbean.
Summary

This research carries out two empirical studies in the Beetham, a stigmatised neighbourhood in East Port of Spain, Trinidad and Tobago. The first case study focuses on an urban redevelopment policy that was framed and implemented by the Housing Development Corporation (HDC), a government body responsible for provision of housing for low- and middle-income households in the country. This area ‘upgrading’ policy consists of the realisation of government housing projects in the area, of which the first pilot project is already realised, an apartment building with six apartments. The second study follows the actor who realised his vision in the neighbourhood, or in other words realised his own grassroots vision. It focuses on Patrick, a community activist, teacher and social worker in the Beetham. He realised two schools in the area and his own house in the squatter area of the Beetham for his family.

The main question in this research is the following: How are an individual vision and an urban public policy enacted in the Beetham neighbourhood, Port of Spain in Trinidad and Tobago? The role of (non)human actors are studied according to the Actor Network Theory (ANT). In ANT, enactment can be translated as realised or materialized in practice, but it bears in mind the influence and performance from other actors that are involved in implementing a policy or vision. It looks at the realisation of a policy or vision in a network of socio-technical relations, the actor-network (Law and Mol, 2008). The concept of enactment together with the concept of interference (Moser, 2006) are used to show how the ‘upgrading’ policy and grassroots vision are materialised.

The study gives in-depth information about the grassroots projects studied (bottom-up) and the redevelopment policy (top-down) implemented in the area. It aims to circumvent the debate between top-down versus bottom-up projects, by viewing the world as a ‘flatland’ (Latour 2005). In a flatland, there are no top-down or bottom-up projects; all projects navigate relational spaces that span what may otherwise be considered as top or bottom levels of a project’s organization.

Enactment ‘upgrading’ policy

Latour (2005) argues that not only humans but also non-human actors can be vital actors in the enactment of a case. In the case of the implementation of the ‘upgrading’ policy different human and non-human actors influenced the materialisation. The six apartments, construction materials, the ‘small building’ law, the rent and allocation of apartments were all part of the enactment of the ‘upgrading’ policy. Moreover the initiator of the ‘upgrading’ policy, the HDC and the government housing history and Act 24, the basis for the HDC influenced the policy materialisation. Just as the background and former taxi business of Akiel, the contractor of the apartments. The Priority Bus Route and Highway, both located next to the area, had also their influence on the enactment of the policy.
Interference with the enactment of crime, race and bureaucracy also affected the upgrading policy, steering it into a certain direction. For example, crime in the area influenced Akiel to include the gang leader in the construction of the apartments. The gang leader involved workmen of the area and made sure that the project was constructed without violence or robberies. Interference of race influenced actors who were part of the actor-network in the policy materialisation. Akiel the contractor called it a lack of mental emancipation, he stressed the trend that people only work when the boss is watching. He wanted to break that trend by giving his workmen responsibilities. Another example, interference of bureaucracy slowed down the construction of the apartments that were supposed to be constructed after the realisation of the pilot project.

Enactment grassroots vision

Patrick, whose grassroots vision is studied, is a community activist, teacher and social worker in the area. He is driven by his ambition to achieve certain goals for himself and for others in his neighbourhood. To achieve his goals, he has had to assemble and re-assemble an actor-network that made it possible for him to realise the large house that he has now and two schools in the Beetham. He started small, but gradually his network grew, and with his larger network he gained funds and created ‘normal’ schools with sanitation and running water. The upgrade of his illegally built house depended on the Sou-Sou land savings, and therefore he was dependent on his friends who joined him in these savings. The government regulation of the Certificate of Comfort (COC) made him more secure about using the land that he occupied illegally, so the certificate made him strive toward an improvement of his home. Other non-human actors that influence the enactment of the vision of Patrick are the construction materials, squatter regulations, the involvement of the Land Settlement Agency (LSA), who is the responsible government body to organise squatter areas and the COC.

Moreover interference of crime and reputation act upon the vision implementation. For instance, Patrick has a good reputation in the neighbourhood, which makes it easier for him to realise projects in the area. Moreover his reputation as a famous child-star broadened his network, bringing him media attention. From that broader network, he gained some funds to realise his schooling projects, which in turn further improved his good reputation in the neighbourhood. However, even for him, crime interfered in the construction work on his own house in a negative way. Construction materials were stolen by the workman and he is always suspicious on tensions in the area.

Conclusion

Both the policy and the vision may be seen as actors that get enacted by other actors. Nothing acts alone, they all attempt to become, and are made to, mutually adjust to each other. This research has shown how mutual adjustments between different human and non-human actors have enacted the grassroots vision and redevelopment policy. This enactment could be viewed as a constant struggle to normalise housing in the Beetham area.
During implementation of the policy or vision, different actors spanning the top and bottom levels of a project’s hierarchy influence the implementation process. Therefore no real bottom-up and top-down projects exists, because the success of both projects is influenced by institutions and by the community in which it is planned to be implemented. The LSA (‘top’) gave Patrick (‘bottom’) a COC, which made him more secure and he started to rebuild. The public policy implementation on the other hand was influenced by the community, by the involvement of Anthony and workmen from the area. Without their involvement, the policy might not have worked, and without the governmental regulations of COC and Sou-Sou land savings, Patrick would have been constrained in the realisation of his vision in the way he did.

Furthermore Patrick stresses in his vision that the only way to successfully implement a project in the Beetham is to do it slowly. According to him, the people in the neighbourhood need time to adjust to new ideas and will generally be suspicious in first instance. He believes that only the passage of time makes it possible to materialise a project that is supported by the inhabitants in the area.

Another important question that follows out of this study: What is good policy? And is “good policy unimplementable” as argued by Mosse (2004). One can argue that other actors in the actor-network influence the policy and therefore an ex-ante good already-drafted policy is indeed questionable. Maybe a good policy is something that is left flexible to be (re)created during the process of implementation. However, one can also stress that a policy, flexible or not, is always adjusted by others in an actor-network, just as these others are influenced by the policy. Policy and practice shape each other. When a policy enters an actor-network, the mutual adjustments that ensue influence both the policy and the practices it is supposed to create or modify.

Overall, when looking at the success factors of the policy and vision implementation, one can conclude for these case studies that it is all about good actor-networks. The right human and non-human actors and networks can influence the policy or vision in the process of realisation for the better or the worse.
1. Introduction

Trinidad and Tobago are two tropical islands that together form a republic in the Caribbean. Trinidad is the larger island of the two (see figure 1)\(^1\) with the capital Port of Spain, which has an estimated metropolitan population of 128,026.\(^2\) The country has a total population of 1,241,296 (Government of Trinidad and Tobago, 2012).

In East Port of Spain lies the neighbourhood Beetham Gardens. It contains low-income government houses and squatters, it has around 933 dwellings and around 3500 inhabitants (EPOS development Company, 2000). The area has been afflicted by a stigma of crime, violence and poverty. There have been efforts to redevelop /upgrade the area, both governmental driven as well as locally initiated. This masters thesis studies the implementation of an urban ‘upgrading’ policy of the government and an inhabitant’s grassroots vision.

This introduction starts by describing the problem definition of this study, followed by the research objectives. This will lead to the main research question, which is divided in two sub-questions. The last section of this chapter describes the outline of the remainder of this report.

1.1. Problem definition

This research contains two empirical studies in the Beetham, a stigmatised neighbourhood in East Port of Spain. The Beetham is classified by the government as a problem area. Violence, poverty and unemployment are some of the problems that are faced by people living in the Beetham. According to different interviewees, inhabitants of the Beetham, and government employees, the area was a former swamp with some houses built on stilts. On the side close to the city centre of Port of Spain a slum area was built, Shanty Town. Around 1970 the government of Trinidad and Tobago decided to develop the swamp into a neighbourhood with low-income government houses. The Housing Development Corporation (HDC), the government body responsible for provision of housing for low- and middle-income households in the country, developed the area. The HDC created infrastructure such as roads, water, sewers and electricity connections, and constructed houses. Also,


the slum Shanty Town, at the side of the city centre of Port of Spain was demolished to create space for a Highway flyover. The area was developed in phases. In phase 1-3 they constructed family houses, phase 4 has some family houses and barracks. In phase 4 more squatter houses were constructed beside the government houses, and phase 5 consists only of squatters (more about the Beetham in sub-section 3.4).

The first case study focuses on the urban ‘upgrading’ policy that started to be implemented in Beetham phase 4. The HDC decided to replace the squatted barracks in the area with apartment complexes. This area ‘upgrading’ policy consists of the realisation of government housing projects, of which the first pilot project is already realised, an apartment building with six apartments.

The second case study focuses on an actor who realised a vision for the neighbourhood, or in other words, realised his own grassroots vision. It is about Patrick, a community activist, teacher and social worker in the Beetham, who put his vision into practice, and while doing this, contributed to the neighbourhood and his personal living conditions. Patrick is living in the Beetham phase 5 since 1984 and tries ever since to create a better place to live for himself and his family, and to help people from the area. He already realised two schools in the area and built his own squatted house for his family in the squatter area of the Beetham.

The academic literature on urban rehabilitation projects is involved in a top-down vs. bottom-up debate, arguing over the successes and failures of each approach (Goetz, 2000; Nijman, 2008 & 2009; Seyfang and Smith, 2007; UN habitat, 2010). On the one hand scholars claim that good policy and blueprint projects are the way to realise large differences and that this can be successfully done only with the expertise of specialists. On the other hand there are the ‘post-development thinkers; who claim that grassroots projects are the only development projects that can really succeed in society. This debate about top-down versus bottom-up projects was already started by Turner in 1978, who devoted his academic career to housing and studying housing rehabilitation projects. He in particular, stressed the importance of dweller involvement in rehabilitation projects. In this thesis both a government policy and the enactment of a grassroots vision are studied. Respectively these can be seen as a top-down and a bottom-up project in development thinking.

1.2. Research objectives

The aim of this research is to contribute to the academic debate of low income housing: government housing (top-down) vs. squatting (bottom-up). This study will provide in-depth information about the urban policy (top-down) and the grassroots projects (bottom-up) implemented in the area. It aims to circumvent this top-down vs. bottom-up debate by viewing the world as a ‘flatland’ (Latour 2005). In a flatland, there are no top-down or bottom-up projects; all projects navigate relational spaces that span what may otherwise be considered as top or bottom levels of a project’s organization.

3 All names used in this thesis are pseudonyms.
By studying the role of (non)human actors this research also aims to contribute to the Actor Network Theory (ANT). The concept of enactment together with the concept of interference (Moser, 2006) are used to show how the ‘upgrading’ policy and grassroots vision are materialised. This study will show the added value of ANT for scientific research in urban policy implementation and grassroots visions. By using this theory and its tools, which are described in the method section 2.2, the human and non-human actors are given a voice in the research and it focus on interference.

Moreover, this study aims at gaining a better understanding of low-income housing in poor and crime related areas, since the Beetham is known in Trinidad and Tobago as a problem area. It shows the organisational strengths of housing in the neighbourhood and the problems or challenges that are faced while implementing a policy or grassroots vision. These insights are valuable for implementing future projects in other stigmatised problem areas in East Port of Spain, or even beyond Trinidad and Tobago. Even though neighbourhoods differ, and as such the outcomes of projects will be diverse. However this case-study, with its in-depth insights in the organisation of individual projects in an informal settlement and the implementation of an urban policy by a government organisation can in the end contribute to the understanding of the organisation of individual projects in informal settlements and the implementation of an urban policy.

1.3. Research question
The following research question follows from the problem definition and is the basis for this research.

How are an individual vision and an urban public policy enacted in the Beetham neighbourhood, Port of Spain in Trinidad and Tobago?

This question is answered by following the initiator, the person or institute who enacted the vision and the ‘upgrading’ policy, and the actors that were (later) involved. This is done by observations in the field and open interviews with the human-actors involved in the projects. The research question will be studied with Actor Network Theory (ANT). Enactment in ANT can be translated as realised or materialised in practice, but it bears in mind the influence and performance from other actors that are involved in implementing a policy or vision. It looks at the realisation of a policy or vision in a network of socio-technical relations, the actor-network (Law and Mol, 2008). ANT scholars follow the actors involved in projects based on a policy/vision, in order to reconstruct the projects’ process.

Actors are not only human, but also non-human. Texts, objects and visions are actors as well that influence the realisation of projects. All these actors are part of the actor-networks that are the focus of this study. In ANT one addresses collective action, this refers to the fact that no actor exists on its own and that actors are made to act by others and with that they influence others actions. Actors’ actions, how actors do something and how they influence others in a project, and how they
Housing towards prosperity

are influenced by these others in return, is the main focus of this thesis. This focus on human and non-human actors leads to the following first sub-question for this research,

1. **How do human and non-human actors shape the enactment of the policy and grassroots vision?**

Categories such as race, crime, bureaucracy and reputation can interfere with the enactment of a policy or vision, influencing its chances of success or failure. In consistence with ANT, race or crime are not treated as structural categories in this thesis, but rather it’s their relational enactment in specific situations that is under focus. In fact, the thesis studies the interference between the enactment of race, crime, gangs, bureaucracy or reputation and that of the vision or policy. This leads to the second sub-question,

2. **How does interference from enacted categories of race, crime, bureaucracy and reputation influence the enactment of the policy and grassroots vision?**

1.4. **Paper outline**

This thesis answers the research questions, using tools from Actor Network Theory (ANT). The second chapter of this thesis discusses ANT, and starts with explaining why ANT was chosen for this study. This is followed by an explanation of the features of ANT that are used: an actor, network, actor-network, enactment and interference. Moreover it describes the used method that follows from the theory. The third chapter describes the enactment of the urban ‘upgrading’ policy. It will start to discuss the first sub-question, the influence of (non)human actors on the urban ‘upgrading’ policy, such as Legal Acts, construction materials, drains and roads. After that it will show how interference of crime, race and bureaucracy influence the urban upgrade policy, the second sub-question. The fourth chapter describes the enactment of the grassroots vision in the Beetham. First it will show the influence of (non)human actors on the materialisation of the squatter house of Patrick, the first sub-question. This will be followed with a description of the two schools developed by Patrick. Then it discusses the interference of crime and reputation on the materialisation of his vision, the second sub-question. In chapter 5 the findings of the two case-studies will be combined into the conclusion of the research.


2. Theory & Method

This thesis follows the ideas of Actor Network Theory (ANT). The present chapter explains ANT and the concepts of ANT that are used in this study. The chapter starts with a short explanation of ANT and a motivation for the choice to use this theory. After that I explain what an actor is, than I go on with a network and the hyphen. This is followed by a description of the features of enactment and interference that are used in this study and the concept of Latour (2005) of a flatland. The next subsection describes the method of this research.

2.1. Actor Network Theory

This research is embedded in the Actor Network Theory (ANT). An actor-network is the interwoven relations of humans, objects, models and visions and their influence on each other. All actors traced in the projects or policies and visions studied, including policy-makers, are parts of actor-networks.

2.1.1. Why ANT?

ANT is chosen for this study because it is a more holistic approach to do scientific research. Mol stresses in her article that the point of ANT is not to purify a study, “but to enrich it. To add layers and possibilities.” (Mol, 2010. p.257) She questions in her article if ANT is a theory, but in the end she draws the conclusion that it is. Although only if the term theory implies that it is “something that helps scholars to attune to the world, to see and hear and feel and taste it…. The strength of ANT is not in its coherence and predictability, but in what at first sight, or in the eyes of those who like their theories to be firm, might seem to be its weakness: its adaptability and sensitivity.” (Mol, 2010. p.262). Therefore I would say ANT is a method that is sensitive to its research environment in a way that it adapts to the differences of every research. How are actors, networks and actor-networks enacted in a certain case? These questions include many different actors and actions and therefore the context is part of the actor-network in an ANT study.

Moreover ANT focuses on changes, the way in which people and objects are enrolled in networks or projects. This fits housing and neighbourhoods well. Since housing is a verb according to Turner (1972). Housing is not static but always changing to suit the needs of the inhabitants. On the other hand the needs of the inhabitants change to match the housing. Arora et al. (2012) argue that one of the principals in ANT is mutual adjustment. In this case the house changes the needs of the inhabitants, and the house is changed according to the needs of its inhabitants, a mutual adjustment. Arora et al. (2012, p.9) argue that there is a “gradual process of creating a fit”. This can be illustrated in this case of the housing project, between the needs of the inhabitants and the house itself in terms of its physical or technical elements. The inhabitants are the ones who create housing and give meaning to the word. Especially squatting and other forms of low income housing is often seen as housing as a verb (Turner, 1972), since people build and rebuild their house when there is
money available. Therefore Turner refers to the potential and dynamics of squatter settlements, and advises policy makers and other involved actors, to look at squatters areas as building sites. According to Turner (1972) a squatted house is not a finished structure, but housing is for a squatter an ongoing process. The process of change is related to the process of change in the house and the process of change of its inhabitants. This relational change fits well in ANT.

One more reason to use ANT for this research is the dynamics of Urban areas. According to UN habitat: “Cities are constantly changing. They are built, rebuilt, transformed, occupied by different groups, and used for different functions.” (UN habitat, 2010) Here again the constant change fits well in a methodology that underlines changes and studies the actions in a case. ANT focuses on ties and relations between actors and underlines that these relations are always changing and influenced by each other. It focuses not only on the human actors, but it includes the non-human actors as well. The latter are important elements (roads, electricity, running water and other urban infrastructure) of urban living.

2.1.2. Actor
In ANT an actor is not simply a person with a certain voice that belongs to a certain network, it goes further. Actors are embedded in webs with multiple connections with others. Mol claims that ANT does not give a definition of an actor, but instead it plays with it (Mol, 2010. p.255). To give an idea of the concept I will try to explain it in a simple way, but on the other hand I would like to show the broadness of the term in this sub-section.


Mediators and Intermediaries
Latour classifies two features that can characterise an actor in a certain actor-network; a mediator and an intermediary. An intermediary can be seen as an entity that reproduces what it receives from others. Or as addressed by Latour: “An intermediary, in my vocabulary, is what transports meaning or force without transformation: defining its inputs is enough to define its outputs” (Latour, 2005. p.39). On the other hand there are mediators. The input of a mediator is never a good predictor of the outcome. A mediator will mostly change what it receives from others and act to transform it. This unpredictability makes mediators an interesting though complex entity to study.

Latour stresses that all actors are mediators, however mediators can be converted into intermediaries in some actor-networks. This conversion requires effort. A mediator can convert into an intermediary when they are paid to do a certain job in a certain way or when they are overruled by
another mediator and simply made to act in the way that is expected from them without adjustments. Therefore each actor is a mediator in a certain actor-network, but can be converted or can have features of an intermediary.

Thus, Latour (2005) claims that intermediaries are less interesting to study because input will in most cases predict the output. The actions of intermediaries will be less surprising, which makes it easier to predict their actions. Therefore they are important actors to study predictability of the progression of a process. When there are many actors who are transformed in an intermediary in a case it is easier to predict the outcome.

**Human and non-human actors**

Not only humans are described by the term actor. Objects, visions and texts are actors too. They are the non-human actors. Objects are artefacts or physical entities, for example an apartment, a car, a highway and a landfill. Latour gives the following definition of an actor: “anything that does modify a state of affairs by making a difference is an actor” (Latour, 2005, p.71). He refers to actors (human and non-human) as participants in the collective action (Latour, 2005, p.71). He gives non-human actors agency since they exist and contribute to social changes, often in unexpected and unintended ways. According to Latour their actions are not observed by most social researchers (Latour, 2005, p.73).

One should include the objects in a study since they are part of the mutual adjustments that take place in the process of things. In that way humans and other actors can become what they are with the use of certain artefacts. Without those artefacts, they have different possibilities and opportunities. This can be illustrated with the example of a wall. The wall can create a physical border in a neighbourhood and therefore limits the mobilisation of the people living in the area. The people in the area are always confronted with the physical border of the wall. The wall implements a boundary and makes it durable. Verrest and Jaffe (2012, p.1) argue that difference in neighbourhoods “influence levels of fear and this becomes visible in the use and perceptions of urban space, and in the built environment through the erection of physical barriers”. In this case the physical barrier of the wall. Besides this the wall can have unpredicted influence. It is a border that stops people entering the other side of the wall easily, but it can also create a feeling of injustice. Maybe the people who built the wall did it out of protection for something on the other side of the wall. However other people can feel that they are excluded, since they are not able to enter the other side of the wall. The wall can mean different things for different people. The wall not simply acts as an intermediary, but it rather acts as a mediator, it changes the information that it receives from its designers and builders in its action.

Latour (2005) argues that objects as actors are better visible in an innovation study than they would be in other studies. Innovation studies often have objects or artefacts as important actors in the change or innovation that is realised (Latour, 2005, p.80). In this study the urban ‘upgrading’ policy
started with the construction of an apartment complex. The apartment complex is a non-human actor, which automatically follows out of the research questions, whereas in other studies the non-human actors can be less prominent or obvious. Especially the fact that they act and influence other actors involved is often overlooked.

2.1.3. Network
The networks are the collectives of actors. Ideas, visions, projects and actions have their own emergence in a network. Society and the social should be retraced by connecting human and non-human actors (Latour, 2005. p.36). According to Mol (2010) the association between actors make them parts of a network. Different associations create then different networks and one actor may therefore be part of different networks (Mol, 2010).

Everything is part of heterogeneous relationships (Callon and Law, 1997. p.170). Heterogeneous relationships are formed due to heterogeneous engineering. Law (1987) describes heterogeneous engineering as a process that: “seek[s] to associate entities that range from people, through skills, to artifacts and natural phenomena” (Law, 1987. p.129). Heterogeneous engineering focuses on the importance of all these different aspects of a case and also creates a place for the artefacts that are part of a project. In science and technology studies (STS), heterogeneous engineering is a project that seeks stability within a network to make the technology succeed. Law (2001) stresses that all different actors are important players in a network, he focuses on, artefacts or non-human actors. He argues that actors form “an integral part” in his case in the long distance control system of a vessel (Law, 2001. p.2). Artefacts do not “stand apart as means or tools to be directed by social interests” (Law, 2001. p.2). In other words, the network contains different actors with their actions, and together they form the end result.

2.1.4. Hyphen, actor-network
The hyphen, actor-network is where the actors and the networks come together. All actors are networks, in the way that they are black-boxed. This black box refers to all the connections that shaped the actor and influenced the actions of the actor. When you open up the black box, you see the connections of the actor, then the network is revealed.

Callon and Law argue that: “People are networks. Devices are networks. But so, too, are texts” (Callon and Law, 1997. p.170). They stress that no entities are solid, they consist of relations, and these relations can be called networks. Callon and Law define objects as all different entities, from humans to texts. According to Callon and Law: “objects – for instance people and texts – are processes of transformation, compromise or negotiation” (Callon and Law, 1997. p.171). This idea stresses again the importance of the actors and the collective in the shaping of things within a network. The individual and the collective are as explained before intertwined, in the way that an actor is a network and the network is an actor as explained in the next paragraph.
The example of the Portuguese Vessel as described by Law (2001) illustrates an actor that at the same time can be seen as a network. The Portuguese vessel is a boat and this can be seen as an actor. However the vessel is a network in the way that it contains multiple actors that are part of it and realise the action of the vessel. Without those other actors, the vessel would not function in the way it does and will not be the actor that it is. The navigation system was needed, but as well the crew to sail the vessel over the Oceans. The actor, in this case the vessel, is not an entity by itself it is embedded in a chain of actors that influence the actions of the vessel.

ANT stresses that realistic social ties will not only be human to human connections or object to object connections but the both options will also be mixed as just illustrated by the example of the Portuguese vessel. In this research the constructed apartments can be defined as an actor, but they are also a network, which contains for example the actions of the inhabitants, workmen and regulations.

2.1.5. Enactment
As described above, all actions are collective. Actors act, and with their action they influence the actions of others, just as the network influences the actions of the actor. Enactment in this study refers to the way actions are performed and how actors and networks are enrolled in a project and act upon the actor-network. This research studies the enactment of a vision and policy. It studies the material realisation of turning the policy and vision into socio-material practices. These practices can be seen as arrangements to realise the policy or vision. Enactment in these arrangements is about making something or creating something out of this policy and vision. The arrangements convert the policy and vision into materials. In this study it shows the materialisation of the policy, an apartment complex and the materialisation of a vision is the realisation of the two schools and a house.

Moser (2006a) describes the competent normal subject in her article. She describes normalisation in the case of disability. She tells the stories of different disabled persons. Moser (2006a) shows in her stories that disabled persons always strive to the actions of non-disabled persons in their performance. However there “are limits to what is possible within normalisation” (Moser, 2006a. p.387). Moser (2006a) states that “normal implies the un-normal, the deviant and lacking” (Moser, 2006a. p.387). Moser (2006a) argues that disabled persons are always visible and have a problematic feature of not disappearing into the mass. She draws this claim even further by stating that also the technological or material features that enable them are problematic. These technologies will not just fit in the normal environment. “Standards produce their own ‘monsters’; those who cannot escape, who have to relate to them, but do not fit” (Moser, 2006a. p.387). Normalisation as described by Moser, looks at the mutual adjustments that are constantly done in actor-networks, in this case the mutual adjustments of the actors and networks towards normalisation. Normalisation can therefore also be seen as enactment, since enactment is all about the mutual adjustments within the actor-network.
Normalisation in this research focuses on the aim of all different human and non-human actors to achieve normal housing standards in the area. The Housing Development Corporation (HDC) the initiator of the upgrade policy strives to normalise housing for low-income people in Trinidad and Tobago. The basis for the HDC is Act 24, this Act and other policies, but as well for example the construction materials, workmen and inhabitants of the apartments are actors that enact the area upgrade policy. They all strive toward normalisation of housing in the area and since they all have their own objectives and possibilities they have to mutually adjust to each other.

For different actors and within different networks, the same actor can play different roles, this can be called the multiplicity of the actor or the network (Law and Mol, 2008. p.65). Law and Mol (2008) describe the phenomenon of enactment with the example of a Cumbrian sheep in time of the foot and mouth disease. The sheep: “finds itself at the cross-roads of a diverse set of practices. In each of these practices ‘a sheep’ is something different. Each of these practices enacts ‘sheep’ in a different way.” (Law and Mol, 2008. p.59) They describe four versions of a sheep, the veterinary, the epidemiological, the economic and the farming sheep. In different situations the sheep can mean something else, at the lab it will become epidemiological, whereas in the field it is the farming sheep, and can be for some actors an economic asset as well. The different places and situated practices influence the role of the sheep. Multiplicity of an actor is created by the different views, practices and places of the different actors. In this research for all different actors the apartments mean something else. For some it is a job, for others a roof above their head, and within these different perspectives, different networks can be seen, since all actors are networks as described in sub-section 2.1.3.

2.1.6. Interference

So far ANT is explained as a holistic approach that includes the enactment of different actor-networks and follows the process with the mutual adjustments that are undertaken. However, within and outside these actor-networks, certain categories of interference steer the policy or vision in a certain direction. Moser (2006b) introduces the metaphor of interference. To “contribute to move our efforts at conceptualizing and dealing with difference into new directions” (Moser, 2006b. p.543). With difference she refers to differences in class, race or gender. She claims that difference can help to create success in policy and vision materialisation certain situations and can do the opposite in other situations.

By making a difference actors can move from disabled to another category easily in a certain situation. For example Moser went to interview Roger. When she arrived, Roger started to make a joke about that she (Moser) as a lady could do the dishes, while she was arranging her interview necessities in the hallway, which was covered by posters of motorcycles and girls. Roger changed the direction of the relation into a new direction by focussing on the difference in gender, instead of a focus on his disability.
In this study, interference from race, crime, bureaucracy and reputation are studied. The enactment of these categories can change the focus of a ‘not-normal’ area into a focus on an area that strives towards normalisation of the housing standards with normal but different relationship. It can stress another difference between the actors, as described by the example of Roger. Interference influences the enactment of projects, of the policy and vision, since they influence the actors and networks.

2.2. Research method

This qualitative ethnographic research is embedded in actor network theory (ANT). The actors that are involved in this study are the actors that influenced this case. According to Latour, ANT is more a method to study a project than a theory and is based on qualitative research principles, as open interviews and observations. The theory, as described before, can for a large extent be used as the research method for this study. As claimed by Mol (2010), ANT may better be seen as a research method than a theory. ANT tries to give a more holistic framework for studying projects and therefore it gives a more holistic definition of an actor, a network and enactment. In this holistic approach the concepts are not defined in just one sentence, but all concepts and ideas are defined in a broader manner and with many considerations. ANT recognises that nothing can be studied totally. There are numerous actors and networks and actor-networks and it is impossible to include all in a study.

The point of these broad concepts is that a researcher should consider their limitations in a study, in the way that it is impossible to study all the actions involved in a case. The limitations should be clear and one should try to study the important actors in a certain case. This selection should not only be based on the most powerful actors, but as well less powerful actors who are totally interwoven in the case should have an important voice. The research should be open for surprises in the network, for unexpected information about actors, unexpected actions and enactments.

2.2.1. Flatland

In his study Latour (2005) follows the idea that the world is flat. This concept is used to look at the case studies of this research in a different way. Latour (2005) argues that the world is flat and that there is no such thing as top-down or bottom-up projects. In a flatland the ties of projects are studied. According to Latour, in order to study the social we should look at the earth as a flatland (Latour, 2005. p.171). We should abstract it as a 2D world instead of 3D. This abstract form will make it easier to see the different social entities. When the world is viewed in two dimensions linkages are made on one level, whereas when an extra dimension is added links are not so straightforward anymore and within a connection another connection can appear.

Therefore Latour (2005) argues that we should start in the middle of things (Latour, 2005. p.196) since no boundaries are set and actors and their actions move from one place to another, from
local to global. Thus, scale is not a set entity neither; it depends on the reshaping of connections, and the researcher’s perception of it. Interactions and connection go everywhere, therefore they cannot be said to be local or global, they are both. The connections move side by side, the so called ‘local’ connections and on the other hand the ‘global’ connections.

According to Latour it will be more difficult to go beyond the local than to think beyond the global. Since global is already a more abstract term and local interactions seem to be more concrete. They are easier to see and easier to trace. Moreover, Latour (2005) argues that it is important to “learn how to navigate into this flattened space is that, as soon as we become better at focusing on what circulates, we can detect many other entities whose displacements were barely visible before”. (Latour, 2005. p. 205) He explains this with the example of a wood and a desert. One can imagine that it is possible to see more traces in the flat desert than in the 3D woods.

2.2.2. Fieldwork

The fieldwork for this research took place in Trinidad and Tobago, from July 9 until October 21, 2012 and was combined with a literature study in the library of the University of the West Indies. They have a section that contains studies in the West Indies, there they have researches that are conducted in the area. I focused on information about Port of Spain and Trinidad and Tobago, and find literature on squatting and government housing in the Caribbean. This literature elaborates on the findings in the field. Furthermore it gives more information about the programmes that are implemented in the neighbourhood, the history of the country and city, and struggles that are faced when implementing certain programmes and problems faced in squatting and government housing.

The most important research tools are interviews and observations, in order to follow the actors that are embedded in the enactment of the policy and the grassroots vision. The data is gathered in open face to face interviews, participant observation and a study of project and policy documentation and academic literature. I’ve gathered access to policy papers on the internet, and with cooperation of the Ministry of Planning and Sustainable Development. The interviews were left open in order to collect in-depth information about the visions, differing attitudes and views of people on the projects. A topic list was used for the moments the conversation stopped and to gain as much information as possible.

The interviewees are selected because they are expected to have a distinct voice in the projects and were instrumental in enrolling others. I’ve interviewed 29 persons (see list appendix A), the interviews varied in length. Some were short, because people had no more time, around 15 minutes. Most interviews took around an hour, and some were a couple of hours. Some interviewees I’ve interviewed a couple of times and many I’ve spoke to occasionally beside the interview or had a telephone conversation with now and then.

Participant observation in the neighbourhood is done to capture the non-human actors’ actions as well as the general housing conditions. Observation makes it possible to go beyond
individual opinions and combine human views with non-human actions (Latour, 2005). In observations one should always question: when, where and according to whom (Emerson et al., 1995, p.14)? See feel and smell, use your senses. Follow extraordinary happenings, what is it that attracts you, that gets your attention and why? (Emerson et al., 1995). I was always accompanied by someone when I went into the area. Those people showed me around and introduced me to (other) inhabitants.

Gray (2004) describes two forms of data gathering in observation, which complement each other; jotted notes and mental notes. I made jotted notes during my observations and afterwards I wrote down some more notes about the observations. During the observations as much information as much detail as possible was gathered. “Who was in the field setting, what did they look like, what did they say?” (Gray, 2004. p.244). Through these tools the enactment of the policy implementation and the grassroots vision is studied. The research is further visualised with photos and maps, and some construction drawings of the apartments are added in appendix C, D, E and F.

2.2.3. Organise data
Four logbooks were used in the research to bundle all the information gathered during the interviews and the jotted notes and mental notes of the observations. The first logbook is an enquiry, which contains appointments with dates and addresses and names of human actors, companies, organisations and government institutions. The second logbook contains the gathered chronological data information. This information is organised in a digital manner, this was important since this is the data I used for the analyses. Categorisation and a timeframe are important aspects of this logbook. The third logbook includes ad libitum writing, generalities, clichés, abstractions and powerful explanations from actors in the field (Latour, 2005. p.134). Moreover this logbook contains ideas and explanations that popped-up during the field study. For example, this book encloses paragraphs of interesting extraordinary items. In the fourth book I registered surprises that emerged in the field (Latour, 2005). For example when I visited the Special Needs School in the Beetham, I was surprised by the question of the children (4-8 years old) if I knew about the good and the bad, and which one I prefer (see section, 4.7 for more information).

This report describes the enactment of the urban upgrade policy and the grassroots vision, by combining the interviews, policy papers, literature and observations in the area. ANT is the basis for this, with a focus on the influence of the (non)human actors enactment and interference, as described in this chapter. All names of interviewees used in the report are pseudonyms, to ensure the privacy of the interviewees.
3. Beetham phase 4 upgrade policy

In Beetham Gardens phase 4, the Ministry of Housing, Land and Marine affairs decided to implement a policy to upgrade the area and the housing situation in this part of the Beetham neighbourhood. Beetham Gardens is an area developed by the government, and the Housing Development Corporation (HDC) and includes different types of low-income housing. The whole area is stigmatised. It is associated with crime and poverty. (More information about the Beetham in section 4 of this chapter).

Beetham phase 4 contains two bedroom family houses, squatters and barracks. The barracks have a galvanised roof and each barrack contains 4 apartments. The barracks are built by the HDC, but are not of modern standards anymore (see Figure 2). The look needs an upgrade but as well the facilities for the inhabitants. The first part of the project on 24th street is the realisation of the first apartment block, with 2 floors and 6 apartments. This part of the project is already completed. The new apartments are built to house the inhabitants of the barracks.

This chapter describes the enactment of the ‘upgrading’ policy and is divided in two parts. The first sections (one till five) focus on the first sub-question: How do human and non-human actors shape the enactment of the policy? Sections six, seven and eight, form the second part of this chapter and focus on the second sub-question: How does interference from enacted categories of race, crime and bureaucracy influence the enactment of the policy?

Latour (2005) argues that not only humans but as well non-human actors can be vital actors in the enactment of a policy or vision. Therefore in this chapter I will tell the story of the HDC and the implementation of their ‘upgrading’ policy with a focus on the role of the (non)human actors involved. The first section describes the 6 apartments, the construction materials that are used, the ‘small building’ code, the rent and allocation of apartments. The second section focuses on the HDC, the initiator of the policy and apartment project. This section discusses the government housing history and Act 24, the basis for the HDC. The third section tells the story of Akiel, the contractor of the apartments. It addresses Akiel’s role in the materialisation of the policy and the role of the non-human actor, his taxi and the history of Akiel. The fifth section gives more information about the

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4 Beetham Gardens is the official name of the area nowadays, mostly it is called the Beetham, those two names are used interchangeably in this thesis. Beetham Gardens phase 4 is unofficially called Hell Yard by professionals and the inhabitants of the Beetham.
area, and discusses the influence of the Priority Bus Route and Highway, both located next to the area, on the enactment of the policy. The sixth section describes (un)employment in the area, and how this influences the policy and how the policy influences the (un)employment.

The second sub-question that is central in this chapter has a special focus in the sections 3.6-3.8. These sections focus on the influence of interference of crime, race and bureaucracy on the policy. It will discuss how crime and gangs are part of the success of the policy materialisation, and on the other hand it shows the struggles that crime and gangs cause. The last section summarises the findings of the chapter.

3.1. Apartments Beetham phase 4

I went to see the new Beetham phase 4 apartments in 24th street with the HDC (Housing Development Corporation) project manager. Nathan is the responsible project manager for the construction of the apartments. He works for the engineering department of the HDC. The engineering department is involved in all new constructions for the HDC, they are responsible for the physical enactment of the policy to realise sufficient low and middle income housing before 2020. Section 3.2 gives more information about the HDC. Nathan is assisted on the project by an assistant and a site officer, both HDC employees as well.

The apartments were finished in the beginning of June 2012 according to Nathan. He explains to me that he was involved from the moment the super structure of the project was already realised. The super structure contained the foundation of the building and the start of the columns and beams. From there it took seven months to construct the six apartments. The Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago handed over the keys to the tenants of the new apartments on the 30th of June 2012 (Newsday, July 3, 2012).

This section starts with a description of the physical aspects of the apartments. It discusses the measurements, layout and construction materials. Then it describes the ‘small building’ code, a new code which sets the requirements a building needs to meet. The next sub-section discusses the non-human actors, the sewer and water. It reveals the problems with these elements that occurred during the construction of the apartments. Then the green plastered wall is described. The green plaster should be outstanding according to Nathan, because it should be an outstanding pilot project.

These sub-sections will be followed by the enactment of the apartments and the role of the above described different aspects on the enactment of the apartments. The sub-sections that follow discuss respectively the costing, rent, enactment of the rent and the allocation of the apartments. The last sub-sections describe the influence of the different described non-human actors on the apartments and the different roles that the apartments have for different actors.
3.1.1. Physical aspects of the apartments

The six new apartments (see Figures 3 & 4) consist of two bedrooms (each 112ft² or 10.4m²), a living room with open kitchen (188ft² = 17.5m²) and a bathroom (31ft² = 2.9m²). The drawings show that the apartment block is 6,765m (22'-2'”) wide and 20,345m (66'-9’”) long (see floor plan ground floor in appendix C and floor plan first floor in appendix D). The apartment block is constructed with a concrete frame and pile foundation. The grid pattern in which the construction is made is according to the drawings: 3,378m (11'-1’”) for the length and 3,404m (11'-2’”) for the width. A construction higher than one storey in Trinidad and Tobago needs a pile foundation according to Nathan and the structural engineer of the HDC. Moreover the area was a former swamp. This asks for a foundation with extra stability and force. Therefore even if the old foundation of the old buildings were in good shape, they were not sufficient for the new two storey construction. The standard foundation is 900x900mm, and enforced concrete beams and columns are standard 300x300mm. The walls are brick work, with plaster and the roof is constructed with iron. This construction is the standard modern building method of Trinidad and Tobago according to Nathan, Ryan and Kadeem, all three construction employees of the HDC.

There are three apartments on the ground floor. They can be entered through the front door, which is located along a concrete outside beam, which is realised around the building. This concrete beam is according the drawings 6” (=15,2 cm) above ground level. From this concrete beam, there are two staircases on each side of the apartment block from which the first floor gallery (width: 3’-2” = 96,5cm) can be entered, this gallery is an outside corridor fenced with a railing on the outside (see Figure 4). Only one of those staircases can be seen in Figure 4, just as there is only one staircase drawn on the construction plan (Appendix C & D). However there is also a staircase constructed on
the other side. At the gallery the laundry facility of two water places is realised and the front doors of the apartments are realised here. This gallery is tiled just as the apartments. There is a small overlap of the roof hanging over the gallery (2’ = 61cm). On the drawing this is the only overlap above the gallery. In reality (see Figure 3) there is as well a shed above the gallery, which covers the total gallery. However when it is raining, the water flows freely into the apartments from the gallery on the first floor, since there is no slope on the gallery or drain to regulate the water when raining. The tiles of the apartments are levelled with the tiles on the gallery, which make it easy for the water to flow in the apartments. On the ground floor this gives no problem since the apartments are higher levelled than the tiled beam. The rainwater will stay on the beam, and will not flow that easily into the apartments.

The standard measurement of the site, construction and drawing is done in feet and inches. People switch between the imperial system and the metric system, especially if materials come from metric countries. However the imperial system of feet and inches is still used in speaking and thinking terms by the people I met. Many materials and equipment originate from the USA where the imperial system is used as well.

3.1.2. ‘Small building’ code

When I was in Trinidad and Tobago, the country was drafting its own ‘small building’ code. The drafts of these codes are in the metric system. According to Ryan, the structural engineer of the HDC, it will be a combination of the British and USA construction requirements, which were always used as building rules in the country. These rules will be combined with the climate and country specific requirements. No snow as in Britain but earthquakes and tropical storms. The structural engineer of the HDC gives the example of quality differences of the paint needed in Trinidad and Tobago. He explains to me that because of the heavy rains the paint that is used must be extra strong. Nathan explains that the minimum distance between buildings is 6 feet (around 1.83m), according to the small building code. This distance is not reached in between the old barracks (see Figure 5) that are planned to be replaced, but this will be included for the new buildings.

Not only is the pathway in between the old barracks not in line with the new ‘small building’ code, since it is too small, and the distance in between buildings need to be at least around 1.83 meter

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According to Nathan, HDC project manager. According to Kendra and Dinel from the HDC, people moved in the phase 4 barracks before the construction work was finished by the HDC. They started to live there and finished the houses themselves. Because they illegally occupy the barracks they have no official electricity connection, the citizens illegally tap the electricity from the wires in the area.

Patrick, a community activist and schoolteacher in the Beetham, describes the risks of fire when the electricity is tapped illegally. This is for him the main reason to consider the new apartments a great improvement for the people and the area, besides the more modern look of the new apartments. Trinidad and Tobago TV six news showed the moment that the residents of Beetham phase 4 were cut off from the electricity net. According to the TV station the residents are squatters and they were warned to upgrade their houses to make it better suitable for safe electricity. However when they didn’t upgrade their house the electricity was cut off. According to Patrick they put back their illegal connection as soon as the electrical company was gone. The new apartments are officially connected to the electricity net. The tenants need to pay for the electricity in their new apartments, but in exchange they don’t need to worry about the electricity company cut them off from the electricity net. Moreover they don’t have the higher risk of fire because of badly constructed electricity connections.

3.1.3. Sewerage and water

The sewerage and water connection of the apartments was problematic to realise. WASA, the Water and Sewerage Authority is the responsible company for the water connection and the sewerage. When they started to construct the apartments, WASA did not have the drawings available with the locations of the water pipes and sewers in the area. Stefan, senior project manager HDC and former WASA project manager, explains that documentation of water and sewerage is done badly for a long time. Before he joined the HDC he worked for WASA. He tells me that the original blueprints of the water and sewer connections were not found by WASA. He is not sure who built the old sewer and water pipes, but he explains that often the original drawings are stored in site offices. There was no central documentation or archive. They are changing that now.

In the Beetham it was not clear where exactly the central water pipes were situated. They are located below the ground and since they were old pipes they were able to find them with metal detectors. This would not have been possible with new pipes since these are made from pvc. Therefore Stefan argues that it is necessary to realise good central document control. WASA now also started to realise softcopies and put all drawings in Autocad, a computer drawing programme, to overcome these problems. This clearly shows that the sewer is an actor, but at the same time it is a

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A sewer is a non-human actor, but at the same time the sewer contains a network of actors, without whom it would not function as it is functioning. Without the people who realise and use it, it has not the function as it has now. Moreover besides the physical appearance the location of the sewer and water pipes are documented on paper. WASA is documenting its pipelines, so they will have an overview of their sewer and water network. Without the documentation, WASA does not know about the existence of the pipes.

3.1.4. Green painted plaster

The plaster of the building is painted green. When I first saw pictures of the construction of the building I saw a pink painted apartment complex. First the building was painted pink. Nathan, the HDC project manager, explains that it had to be an outstanding project, therefore they repainted it in green. When I react surprised he tells me that pink is not an outstanding colour in Trinidad and Tobago, since many houses are pink and not so many are painted green.

For me this stresses the importance of the HDC and the government, who was represented by the Prime Minister by the opening of the apartment complex, to show off with a new apartment building in the Beetham. It had to be outstanding in a positive way, therefore they choose a different colour. Besides that, a basic, modern building construction, designed according to the ‘small building’ code is outstanding in Beetham phase 4, where most people live in squatted barracks or in other squatted self build houses. Another outstanding aspect of the apartments is that it is the first apartment building in the area, until now the HDC has only built family houses and the barracks in the Beetham.

3.1.5. Enactment of the apartments

The modern look of the green building, which is especially painted green to make it look outstanding. This look and the opening by the Prime Minister gave the area positive media attention. Together the positive media attention and the upgrade of the area, worked positively on the image of the area. Not only physically, but as well the mental ideas that are present about the area, the stigmatisation of the area were positively influenced. The ‘small building’ code formalised modern building standards. These laws need to be followed in the future and already the construction engineers know about them and implement some of the features. These implemented modern construction standards also influenced the image of the area in a positive way. The physical changes that followed out of the ‘small building’ code give the neighbourhood a modern appearance. The modern construction materials and construction methods promise better precautions in case of an earthquake. The roof construction of steel makes the apartments less vulnerable to weather conditions and termites, which was a problem in the older wooden roof constructions. These are all advantages the tenants face while living in the new apartments. Although the modern look, laws and construction materials, could not overcome the design error, the gallery that is levelled with the apartments without a slope, which causes that rain water flows into the apartments on the first floor apartments when it is raining.
Housing towards prosperity

The implementation of the ‘upgrading’ policy may be considered as steps towards standardization or normalisation. In a way the stigmatised image of the area is countered, with a special paint colour and the Prime Minister who attracted the positive media attention. For the inhabitants the new apartments also influence their living standard in another way, it helps them normalise their housing standards.

As addressed in chapter two, Moser (2006) describes the competent normal subject in her article. She claims “that the mode of ordering disability at work here is geared towards normalisation”. (Moser, 2006. p.383) When looking at stigmatisation in the Beetham as a disability. The argument of Moser can be translated as the people in the Beetham striving to live a normal life. Moser claims that disability “is undermining the capability to act” (Moser, 2006. p.383). In the case of the Beetham, standardized, modern housing creates an area that looks like any middle class area. Although the area will not lose its stigmatisation automatically, only the new apartments will show a normalised appearance. The new apartments, part of the upgrade policy of phase 4 can help to overcome stigmatisation, but after realisation of the first apartment block, the area stayed stigmatised. In the area the new apartments create a more modern society, but when the people leave the area, they are still stigmatised. Just as Jarle, the disabled person described by Moser (2006a). He has all the freedom in his technically advanced home, but when he goes outside, he is excluded from many places again. Stigmatisation of the area will be further discussed in section 3.8.

3.1.6. Costing

According to the Chief Engineer and Senior project manager of the HDC, HDC low-income apartments cost approximately 200,000 to 300,000 TTD (Around: 24,000 Euro – 36,000 Euro, October, 2012) each. Nathan tells me that the cost of the finishing of the project after the superstructure was finished was around half a million TTD (Around 60,200 Euro). While I am interviewing Nathan at his desk in the HDC office the Chief Engineer instructs Nathan not to forget to mention the 15% to me. When I ask him what he is talking about, Nathan explains that all construction work in high risk areas like the Beetham have a total construction sum plus 15%. This 15% is used by the contractor to cover the extra risk, to pay for security and robberies. The calculation of 15% above the construction sum, underline the problems of the area and the stigmatised image. The stigmatisation of the area is materialised for the contractor who will get the tender, because he gets extra money since the HDC assumes that it is a higher risk job, than the jobs in other areas. It contradicts the idea of striving towards an upgrade of the area and normalisation, where the initiator of the project and upgrade policy themselves explicitly stigmatises the area.

3.1.7. Rent

The people who qualify to live in the new apartments must have an income lower than 5000 TTD a month (around 600 Euros, October 2012). This is the low income border according to the head of the Rental department of the HDC. According to the statistics that the East Port of Spain development
company has derived from the Central Statistics Office in the year 2000, 78% of the people in the Beetham had an income lower than 5000TTD. For all the new apartments the tenants need to pay a monthly rent of 350 TTD (around 40 Euro, October 2012). Dinel, the head of the rental department of the HDC, gave me the overview of the applicable rents. They are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rent/ month</th>
<th>Requirements</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>100 TTD</td>
<td>For all traditional apartment units built in the 50s and 60s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>150 TTD</td>
<td>If family income is around 1500 TTD a month</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>250 TTD</td>
<td>If family income ranges from 2000- 2500 TTD a month</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>350 TTD</td>
<td>If family income is around 3500 TTD a month</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rent ranges between 150-350 TTD (19-40 Euros, October 2012) for units constructed after the 1970s. Interestingly Dinel declares that the new apartments are 350 TTD a month for all tenants. Therefore the old rules are not applicable for the new apartments. According to different HDC tenants the rent of their HDC apartment depends on the time you have been living in an apartment and the size of the apartment or house.

Lia is living in an HDC house in 19th street in the Beetham and tells me that they pay 100 TTD (12 Euro, October 2012) rent monthly and besides that they need to pay 200 TTD every two months for electricity. She is living in the house with her husband and three children. She has a job, just as her husband and her two oldest children. Only the youngest boy (18 years) is still going to school. The applicable rent of 100TTD that she tells me she needs to pay every month does not correspond with the HDC policy, as explained by Dinel. Especially not since the houses in the Beetham are built in the eighties and are not the traditional apartment complexes she was referring to, Lia is living in a two bedroom family house.

Neither does the rent of Jack fit in the rules Dinel gave me. Jack is living in Maloney another area with many HDC houses, situated east of the Beetham. He tells me that he moved from a non-governmental, market based rental apartment where he had to pay 2500 TTD (around 300 Euro, October, 2012) rent a month to the HDC apartment in 1990. In which he only pays 100 TTD, therefore he can save money now. He explains that it is all about the people you know. This is as well his answer when I react surprised by the 100 TTD rent a month. I thought this was only applicable for the old HDC apartments and the Maloney apartments are from around 1985 according to the head of the Maloney HDC office.

The inhabitants of the old barracks in Beetham phase 4 don’t pay any rent. According to Dinel and Kendra of the HDC, people moved in the barracks before they were finished. The HDC left it like that at that time and ever since. The construction of the barracks happened in the eighties, just as the houses in the other phases of the Beetham. According to the study of Anthony (2008) one of the reasons people didn’t like the slum upgrading programmes in the old days was because of the rent or
mortgages people had to pay for the houses constructed by the upgrading programmes. This made them not want to live in these realised areas (Anthony, 2008. p.40). However this is not the voice that I’ve heard in the area these days. Tamara, a young lady, is living in the Beetham by herself, in a one room apartment without running water. She is not paying rent in the place she lives. However she is hoping for one of the HDC apartments in the second phase of the Beetham phase 4 project, although she needs to pay rent there. She sees renting one of the apartments as an upgrade of her living- and housing standard. Her mother is now one of the tenants of the new apartments. According to Tamara she likes the apartment, however she find the apartment very small compared to the old barrack house. Before moving into the new apartment she had to dispose some of her furniture. She lives in the apartment with Tamara’s stepfather and youngest brother.

Another example of a Beetham resident who describes moving to a government house was an upgrade is Gonzales. Gonzales was born in Shanty town, the informal settlement that after regularising was called Beetham Gardens. He grew up in a one room shack with his father, mother and eight brothers and sisters. His father was working for the HDC and they got a two room’s mortgage house in the Beetham phase 1 in 1972. This was the first phase of the realisation of Beetham Gardens, the slum upgrading programme of Shanty Town. He describes their move to the HDC house as an upgrade of their living standard. The total mortgage of the house in 1972 was 2500 TTD (around 300 Euro, October, 2012). The house had two bedrooms and a living room, this meant more space than in their old house. Besides that, the mortgage houses had arranged infrastructure like: running water, electricity and a sewerage system. Gonzales stresses this and the extra space as an upgrade of their housing standard at the time.

Enactment rent

As addressed in this sub-section, Anthony (2008) describes in his book that many slum dwellers did not like to move to government houses, since they have to pay rent or a mortgage then. This contradicts the ideas of Moser (2006a) and her concept of normalisation. When following her ideas of people striving to normalisation, it underlines my findings that the people in the Beetham preferred to live in the new apartments although they had to pay rent then and had to move to a smaller living space. The stigmatised people in the Beetham strive to normalisation. Paying rent and being part of the legal housing system, and modern housing facilities is part of that. Normalisation also contains more security, since the electricity company cannot just cut the electricity off, as they did before, or the HDC cannot just tell them to leave their house. By paying rent and following the rules of the HDC, the tenants get rights as well. They are allowed to live there and the HDC will provide the maintenance of the houses. Those housing rights are mediated by the subsidised housing market.

The example of Gonzales who moved from a shack to an HDC mortgage house in the Beetham and the story of Tamara who hopes she gets one of the apartments that will be built in the next steps of the upgrade project of the Beetham, both show that not only the neighbourhood has
been normalised. People in the neighbourhood strive to normalisation, and want normal housing. Their identity and aspirations are formed inside and by the actor-network, or in other words their identity and aspirations are influences by the arrangement of the housing upgrade projects or in the case of Gonzales the slum upgrade scheme.

3.1.8. Allocation procedure for apartments

The new apartments in phase 4 were constructed for the inhabitants that were living next door in the barracks. The four families living in the old barracks were located in the new apartments and two extra families from the area got an apartment. Their old barrack is destroyed now, to make place for the next phase of the project, two more new apartment blocks, to upgrade the entire area and to continue implementing the policy for the area.

The HDC has policies for the allocation of tenants of their houses. The following requirements need to be met in order to get an HDC rental unit: “Be a resident citizen of Trinidad and Tobago; Be twenty-one (21) years and over; Not be owner/part owner of property/land in Trinidad and Tobago; Be in possession of a Board of Inland Revenue tax file number; Be able to provide evidence of a reliable source of income.” Moreover, according to the website: “Applicants are selected for an interview using a random computerised selection system whenever rental units become available.”

The latter was not used or necessary for the new Beetham apartments, since it was clear that the people from the barrack next door would get an apartment.

When I ask Dinel, the head of the rental department how the allocation works. She declares that they mostly work with urgent requests. People who need a house very urgently get a house first, and mostly there are many people in this category. According to Dinel an urgent request is for example applicable to people who lost their house by a fire or a landslide. When I ask tenants of HDC apartments and houses how they got the house they tell me that they knew someone. If you are active in a certain political party or if you know the right people you can get an apartment, or in the case of Beetham phase 4, when you live close to one of the houses that become available. When you have the right network you can arrange an apartment.

3.1.9. Influence of other non-human actors on apartments

The non-human actors described in this section, from modern construction materials to the rent for the apartments, all influence the apartments or the construction of the apartments and with that the materialisation of the upgrade policy for the area. They influence the area and the policy’s materialisation in the way that they create a more normal area. A mutual adjustment of the non-human actors can also been seen, for example the non-human actor the costing of the apartments. The costs include an extra 15% because the contractor needs to work in a high risk area. In this way the area influences the costs. The costs also influence the neighbourhood, since the HDC stress with

calculating an extra 15% that the area is indeed a bad, complicated, stigmatised area. The Prime Minister, who is part of the same government as under which the HDC functions, came to hand over the keys of the apartments to the new tenants. This and the success story stressed in the newspaper of the construction of a project in the Beetham without any problems are good publicity for the neighbourhood and help the neighbourhood to go beyond their stigma. The 15% risk money contradicts all the positive sounds. Although the extra money spent is part of an upgrade policy, it underlines the opposite.

3.1.10. Different roles apartments

The new apartments act as different things for different actors, or as addressed by Law and Mol (2008) the apartments are enacted in a “diverse set of practices” (Law and Mol, 2008). For the HDC (see section 3.2) it can be seen as an investment in their housing stock and for the government of Trinidad and Tobago as a prestige project in a stigmatised problem area. For the new tenants these are modern apartments to live in. They give them more security. They not only become legal tenants, the apartments are also better protected and adequately built in case of an earthquake. They are officially connected to the electricity net, which makes them less vulnerable to electrical fires and they cannot just be disconnected from the net anymore. For other actors the apartments mean work, employment. Anthony, the gang leader in the area, is one of the persons who earned money out of the project, more about Anthony in section 3.3 and 3.6.

For Akiel the contractor (more information in section 3.3), the project contained a totally different set of practices. For him it was the possibility to help the people who live in the same circumstances as he once did. To give something back and to put it in Akiel’s words, it helped his mental emancipation, in the way that it was a challenge for him to realise a project in a deprived area. Although at first I thought before interviewing Akiel, he would construct the project for the money, especially since the HDC pays 15% extra for contractors working in a high risk area, as they call the Beetham and most areas in East Port of Spain. The different meanings of the apartments show their multiplicity, the apartments and their different materiality for different involved actors, in the different actor-networks. They entail a challenging project for Akiel, a secure home for the tenants, a prestige project for the government, and an investment in the housing stock for the HDC.

3.2. Housing Development Corporation (HDC)

The six apartments in Beetham Gardens phase 4 are constructed by the Housing Development Corporation (HDC), one of the agencies at the Ministry of Housing, Land and Marine affairs. This corporation is the government body that is responsible for realising and maintaining government houses in the country and they are the initiator of the ‘upgrading’ Beetham phase 4 policy and the housing project that is part of it.
This section first discussed Act 24, the bases for the HDC. It will highlight the vision and mission of the HDC. This sub-sections is followed by a little history of the low-income housing in Trinidad and Tobago. These sub-sections lead to a description of the enactment of the HDC.

3.2.1. Act 24, government of Trinidad and Tobago

Act 24 from 2005 is the bases for the HDC. This act mandates the HDC to: “Provide affordable shelter and associated community facilities for low and middle income persons and; Carry out the broad policy of the Government in relation to housing.” Their vision is: “To provide every citizen with access to an adequate and affordable level of housing by the year 2020.” Within this perspective they construct low income houses in all different parts of Trinidad and Tobago and upgrade the existing housing facilities.

The mission according to their website is: “The HDC will implement the Government’s housing policy in a cost effective and efficient manner. Therefore, it will examine the need for and facilitate the provision of affordable housing solutions, especially for low to middle income citizens of Trinidad and Tobago. Consequently, it will effectively manage its resources, create an environment conducive to employee development, organizational efficiency, and responsiveness to its authorized publics. It will develop a cadre of highly trained and motivated staff, capable of providing quality service and customer satisfaction.” In summary the HDC aims to provide low and middle income housing for all people in need in Trinidad and Tobago. Their aim is to realise this by 2020, with respect to the Government housing policy or Act 24.

3.2.2. History of HDC

Low income housing came on the agenda of the government of Trinidad and Tobago with the slum clearance bill. This bill was ready to use and available since 1935 (Anthony, 2008. p.37 & p.296). The government identified slum areas and the plan was to demolish the slum dwellings and realise “suitable homes” instead (Anthony, 2008. p.37). In order to implement this policy in 1939 the Planning and Housing Commission was realised (Anthony, 2008. p.39).

Anthony (2008) describes in his book the importance of Arthur Andrew Cipriani, a captain in the First World War. After returning to Trinidad in 1919 he started the organisation of the Trinididian workforce and he “fought hard for better housing for the workers” (Anthony, 2008, p.290). He organised the first strike in Trinidad in that year (Anthony, 2008. p.278). Eventually he became the mayor of Port of Spain and he was the one who introduced the Slum Clearance Scheme to Port of Spain (Anthony, 2008. p.290). This Scheme aimed to demolish all slums in the area and to realise new houses and better living conditions for the people at that time living in the slums. In

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August 1944 the government passed a law to “the removal of insanitary conditions in the City” (Anthony, 2008, p.289). The city of Port of Spain started to improve sanitation and realised a sewerage system in the centre of the city. Moreover they started to replace the slums by government houses.

Despite the good intentions of Cipriani to help the workers, many people were against the slum clearance bills, not only politicians but as well slum dwellers and slum landlords (Anthony, 2007. p.289). The Planning and Housing Commission realised a project to solve the slum problems, the lack of running water, sewerage systems, electricity and proper roads. In 1945 many government housing projects were realised around the city centre and many buildings without sanitation were demolished to realise government flats (Anthony, 2008. p.296).

However, during the construction period of government housing, new slums appeared, so it was a hard job to realise slum clearance. According to Anthony (2008) in this time a lot of effort was made to help the poor. This made the housing conditions in slums even worse, since the inhabitants mostly felt that they should get government housing soon and didn’t do anything themselves about their housing situation (Anthony, 2008. p.40). However, only some households were provided government housing and many more had to stay in the slums. Squatting is nowadays organised by the Land Settlement Agency, see box 1 and section 4.4 for more information.

According to Crumplin (1994), Trinidad and Tobago recognised the problem of housing in the country and launched the Housing act, Act No.3 of 1962, only after getting independence from Great Britain (Crumplin, 1994. p.93). This Act stressed the importance of low income housing that should be organised by the government. Out of this act and because of the high demand of Government housing the National Housing Authority (NHA) was established in 1962. This Act No.3 of 1962 was the basis for the Act 24, in which the NHA was changed into the HDC. What Cipriani started was followed up by introducing Act 3 out of which Act 24 was established.

**Box 1: HDC versus LSA (Land Settlement Agency)**

One of the “functions and duties of the corporation”, the corporation refers to the HDC, is: “the clearance and redevelopment of slum areas” (Act 24, p. 704). This is still in line with Cipriani and his slum clearance act, although it contradicts Act 25. Act 25 is the basis for the Land Settlement Agency (LSA) (More information about the LSA in sub-section 4.4.1). The LSA is an agency also working under the Ministry of Housing, Land and Marine Affairs. In this Act the LSA is mandated to improve squatter settlements and give Certificates of Comfort (COC) to the inhabitants of informal settlements who are living on state land. These certificates give the people the right to live on the state land and the government cannot just remove them. When the government needs the land they are obligated to provide alternative housing for the people with a COC (for more information on COC, see sub-section 4.3.2). Whereas the HDC has the aim to provide government housing and still has the duty of slum clearance, the LSA on the other hand aims to regularise the squatter settlements or slums.
3.2.3. Enactment HDC

All these recent and historical Acts are non-human actors that strive to achieve normalisation of housing in Trinidad and Tobago. These Acts stress sanitation, better housing quality and proper roads as important factors for normal housing conditions. Moser (2006) claims in her article that people with a disability are always made to strive and are striving towards normalisation. In this case, the concept of normal concerns normal housing standards. Act 24, and its historical precursors, strive to normalise housing for all low-income people in Trinidad and Tobago. This act is the bases for the HDC. It is enacted by the Acts that existed in history and the ideas of Cipriani. Moreover the existing ideas (for example the ‘small building’ code) of normalisation from different actors influence the current Act, which is the basis for the ‘upgrading’ policy of Beetham phase 4.

3.3. Contractor

The contractor of the Beetham phase 4, apartment complex was D&A construction. I’ve interviewed Akiel the owner and project manager of D&A construction. We met in the air-conditioned Grand Bazaar for lunch, far away from the heat and dust of the Beetham. He got the tender for the Beetham phase 4 apartments. He explains to me that he wanted to gain this tender since he wanted to realise a project in the Beetham or in another problem area like the Beetham. He grew up in a similar area in Guyana and came at the age of fifteen to Trinidad and Tobago. He arrived with nothing more than the clothes he was wearing. Besides that he had a ring, he decided that if he didn’t find prosperity in Trinidad he could sell the ring and buy a flight ticket back to Guyana. During our interview he proudly shows me the ring, still on his finger.

The story of Akiel below shows how his actions were influenced by other human and non-human actors. How they were part of the actor-network and how mutual adjustments were incremental in the arrangements to realise the apartments. The first sub-section describes the history of Akiel, how he became a contractor and his actions in a tender. This is followed by the example of the taxi of Akiel, and how this taxi (non-human actor) makes things possible. The next sub-section discusses the risk compensation that Akiel received for the project, since it is located in a so called high risk area. This influence is discussed and then it describes the collaboration with the gang-leader of the area, his business success, and how he reached this. The last sub-section will discuss the enactment of the contractor, Akiel. In this last part the different aspects of this section are combined.

3.3.1. Tender and history of the contractor

In order to gain a project with a tender Akiel starts to calculate the materials from the drawings. Then he calculates enough people and he always calculates some extras. The extras are for unforeseen circumstances, for example rain, when people don’t show up, or when he is not paid in time. For this tender he made a low price. It was a challenge for him to realise a project in this area and he wanted to take this challenge. Therefore he didn’t make a lot of profit from this project. However he
describes it as a “wonderful” experience. He grew up in poverty and now he was able to help. During the realisation of the project he reflected on his life. He tells me that during the construction of this project he was seeing himself where he was 20 years ago, in a stigmatised area in Guyana. The history of Akiel influenced his actions and Akiel’s actions now, form his history in a certain direction.

Not only the history of his youth influenced his actions, also the story of Akiel after he arrived in Trinidad and Tobago had their influence. When he arrived in Trinidad he worked in a supermarket, packing bags and walking trolleys. He had a special relation with his boss. Akiel assumes this special relation had to do with his attitude and honesty. They became close friends. The supermarket boss went to Tobago, and then Akiel decided that he didn’t want to work for anyone anymore. He started his own business. He bought a car and started to drive a taxi. In the morning and evenings he had to bring and pick up people who were working in construction. After a while he found it strange that he went to the construction site twice a day but that he wasn’t working there. So he asked for a job on the construction place for himself. He started to do simple work in construction and was bringing the people to the spot and back home as well, with his taxi. After a while the contractor started to give him sub-contracts. Then he went to his friend of the supermarket to ask him to go to the bank with him to ask for a loan, since he wanted to start his own construction company. He needed money to pay the people who were working for him. The friend did not want to go to the bank but lent him the money he needed. This worked out well and now he has two companies, his Construction Company and a Hardware Company. Through the latter, he sells construction materials. In total he has around 40 employees.

Influence of taxi on construction and the contractor

The taxi of Akiel is an example of how materials or non-human actors make things possible. Akiel bought a taxi, this provided freedom and mobility for him. It made it possible for him to start his first own company as a taxi driver and he realised new contacts. Moreover, this mobility made him see new opportunities. He worked as a taxi driver and he earned money as a construction worker. From there he started his own construction firm. This is an example of upwards mobility through a taxi and heterogeneous engineering. Heterogeneous engineering as stressed by Law (1987) “seek to associate entities that range from people, through skills, to artifacts” (Law, 1987. p.129). In the case of the taxi of Akiel, the taxi was the artefact that helped create entrepreneurial skills for Akiel. Through the connection with the people he moved to the construction site, he saw the opportunities of working in construction himself and combining this with his own taxi business. The taxi helped him create a larger network, which created the action to start working on the building site. Akiel started to work as a constructor and influenced the construction work on the building site with his own ideas, through his sub-contracts. On the other hand the work on the building site influenced Akiel’s actions. Akiel changed his business from taxi driver, to start working in construction and start a new construction
Housing towards prosperity

business. Not only the financial support of the supermarket owner, but as well the enlargement of his network, his taxi and financial situation influenced the arrangements of his company. The company with which he won the tender to build the new apartment in Beetham phase 4.

3.3.2. Risk compensation

Akiel tells me that he didn’t make a lot of profit with this project. I ask him about the 15% extra high risk compensation on the total construction sum that he got according to the HDC. He stresses that he had to use this extra money for security. Moreover he set aside 1% of the total sum, to give a dollar, food or drinks to people in the area that asked for it. He did that to create goodwill, but he also tells me that the people in the Beetham are suffering and that they are stigmatised. According to Akiel, they cannot find decent jobs and most youth use drugs and have a lack of education. He explains that education should come to them, since they wouldn’t seek for it. The newspapers elaborate on the success of the Beetham phase 4 project and the plans of the Ministry of Housing and Land and Marine affairs to further upgrade the area. The Prime Minister handed over the keys to the new tenants, and the newspaper even stresses that the money saved for the security of the new building will be used for other community projects in the area (Trinidad Express, June 30, 2012). However Akiel stresses that he used the extra risk money for working in a high risk area, for security.

But how did he use the 14% that was still left of the extra high risk money? Akiel tells me that after he gained the tender for the project he drove with his car into the area. He decided to involve the ‘boss’ of the area, since high risk areas like the Beetham, always have a ‘boss’ according to him. The ‘boss’ is the gang leader of the area. A man asked him what he was doing in the area. He told him he was looking for the ‘boss’. The man who approached him told him that he was the ‘boss’. But according to Akiel, the boss will never be in front in gangs. Only after persuading the persons that he would only speak to the ‘boss’, he met Anthony, and he just knew that he was the ‘boss’. He made arrangements with Anthony. Akiel talks about the negotiations with Anthony that he offered him to pay a certain amount of money and in return he asked Anthony to make sure that nothing got lost or robbed. Moreover he asked Anthony to arrange guys for the construction work. Anthony couldn’t arrange the technical staff or the experts needed in construction. Therefore Akiel worked with his own technical staff, his own electrician, plumber and roofer. Anthony arranged that Akiel’s staff could enter the area and work without problems. Anthony told me the same story, that he arranged guys to work on the project, but that Akiel arranged the technical staff. The guys arranged by Anthony to work on the project are the workmen with less expertise in construction, whereas the technical staff of Akiel has a technical background in a specific construction field.

Influence of risk compensation

The 15% risk compensation is underlining the stigma of the area as described in section 3.8. Akiel tells me that he saved 1% to give food or drinks to people in the area. This underlines the poverty that
is present. Akiel tells me that he spent the other 14% to avoid violence and other criminal activities in the arrangements of realising the apartments. This underlines the crime that is present in the area. Akiel included poverty and crime in the project, to manage them in a way that he would not encounter any problems with it. Akiel strived to normalise the building site. He did this by using the money to include the gang leader and to help the people in the area when they asked for it. In return for peace and quietness on the building site, he gave Anthony, the gang leader of the area, responsibilities for some arrangements on the building site. Anthony was earning money with these responsibilities and he was able to get some workmen from the area hired. Employment is one of the major problem issues in the Beetham as described in section 3.5. By arranging jobs for people in the area, Anthony can help families in the neighbourhood financially. Most likely this will give him a popular image of a helpful, useful man in the area. On the other hand he is still a gang leader who most likely is involved in criminal activities. Then fear will be the dominant factor in his leadership (more about crime, gangs and stigma in section 3.6).

3.3.3. Collaboration with ‘boss’

For this project Akiel worked closely together with Anthony, the gang leader of the area. He had a good working relationship with Anthony and he stresses that Anthony wants the best for the neighbourhood. He describes Anthony as a good partner in the work. Nathan the project manager also stressed that he had no problems working with the contractor, Akiel, neither with Anthony. Akiel argued that the only way the project can succeed, is once the boss is comfortable. According to him, this was where it went wrong with the first contractor of the project. Akiel is the second contractor on the work. He tells me that the first contractor wanted to be part of the gang, but didn’t know how to work with them. Akiel explains that it is not possible to join the gang for the work, because when you are an outsider you will not become an insider. You can work with them, but never become part of them. However, according to Nathan, the HDC project manager, the first contractor encountered financial problems. Therefore he couldn’t finish the job.

Akiel first faced a negative response by his workmen to work on this project. They didn’t want to go to a construction site in the Beetham and work there, since they felt it was insecure. Akiel tells me he convinced them to go, and after finishing the project, they had a more positive thought about the area, since they encountered no problems while working there. Anthony the gang leader kept the peace and quietness in the area during the construction work. The workforce of Akiel knew that the area had a negative stigma, but when they experienced the area in a positive way this changed. They used their expertise to construct a normalised apartment complex and in return they encountered that the working arrangements in the area as normal without crime. This gave them a different view of the area.
3.3.4. Business success

Akiel works often for the HDC and knows Nathan and the other project managers well. He delivers in time, this is also what Nathan confirmed to me. Akiel explains that the key to success in his work is threefold: First, good management skills, secondly financial capability and third examination of everything before the start of the project. Akiel tells me that he is always on the field, since good management starts with setting a good example, he works hard and knows what needs to happen. Moreover he gives his workers responsibility. He makes them responsible for their own work. It took some time until this worked for his own employees, but now this works according to Akiel and this will create better quality. The labourers know now that they do it for themselves. Akiel gives the example that when they realise good work, they will be hired for other jobs more often.

His second key to success is financial capability. He always makes sure that he calculates enough to provide and pay for materials and that he can pay the people that work for him. Even when he does not get paid in time, he has made sure that he can cover his financial responsibilities. Therefore when he started his own business he made a financial agreement with a friend to make sure that he could cover the costs of the project, before he got paid from the principal.

Thirdly he tells me that he examines the location and project thoroughly before calculating and joining a tender, so he can adjust to the situation and project he needs to realise. In the Beetham he did this by changing his construction approach by not using only his own workforce but including Anthony and local workmen in the project. Akiel adjusts the arrangements for his working strategy according to what he assumes best fits the area.

3.3.5. Enactment of the contractor

If Akiel had not started his own taxi business, he probably would not end up working on a building site and would have never begun his own construction business, maybe he would never be mentally emancipated as he describes it (see sub-section 3.5.5). All different actors had their part in this, and actions of different actors (human and non-human) influenced the actions of Akiel and made his actions possible. Many different actor-networks worked upon Akiel’s actions and he affected them as well. His history in Guyana, the taxi that he owned, but as well the reputation he already had as a responsible trustworthy construction partner. This was all part of the actor-network that influences the actions of Akiel in a certain way. He decided to include the gang leader or the ‘boss’ in the project. This was probably one of the success factors of the project. Without his involvement, it is questionable if the project would have been evolved without any robberies or other forms of crime and safety issues.
3.4. Beetham Gardens

The Beetham phase 4 is the location of the HDC upgrade policy and the apartments that are realised as part of the policy implementation. The Beetham area is divided in 5 phases. Phase 1-3 are mainly government houses with 2 bedrooms built along a grid system. This grid contains of streets ordered in a pattern of straight lines that cross each other to form squares. Those streets are numbered, the numbering starts in phase 1 and goes up along the phases. In Phase 4 the grid continues, and government housing is present, but here more squatting starts to appear at the side of the area and the family houses with two bedrooms make place for barracks with four apartments. The barracks are officially owned by the HDC, and can be recognised by the gray roofs (see Figure 6). However, according to Kendra and Dinel, the head of the HDC Beetham office and head of the rental department of the HDC respectively, the barracks were occupied illegally before they were finished. Phase 5 is not built along the grid system and is the informal settlement of the Beetham (see Figure 8, in front of the picture the green with some houses is phase 5). It contains squatters, mostly shacks, but as well standard houses. Box 2 gives more information about the history of the Beetham.

This section first discusses the location of the Beetham and the grid pattern of the streets. The next sub-section will discuss the Priority Bus Route that is located next to the area, then the drain that creates a border between the Priority Bus Route and the area is described. The last sub-section discusses the Highway. All these sub-sections stress the enactment of the different non-human actors.
3.4.1. Urban island with a grid pattern

The Beetham can be described as an urban island in the city, not surrounded by water, but the Beetham Highway on one side of the neighbourhood and the Priority Bus Route on the other side (see Figure 7&8). Moreover in between the Priority Bus Route and the area is an open drain and in between the Highway and the Beetham a wall.

The neighbourhood is constructed on a narrow long land stroke in between the two roads, with only few entry roads that go into the area. The easy grid system (see map in appendix B) makes the houses easily reachable, when you have entered the area. Moreover the houses in phase 1-4 have addresses which make it possible to receive mail at the house.

The access road to the new home of the gang leader in phase 5 is blocked by large rusty things. Jeren, project manager from the East Port of Spain Development Company, explains to me that he could enter if he wants, but he must put the things back on the road after entering. This will slow down the police and other people who like to enter the area but are not welcome. The road block stresses the power of the gang leader, who according to Jeren decides to put the rusty things on the road. Non-human actors as rusty materials change from recyclable material, with which people can earn a little money (more information about recycling in sub-section 3.5.1) to a road block. You can drive easily through the area, when avoiding the holes in the road, except for the road that gives access to the home of the gang leader. Road blocks create a physical border to the area. Jaffe (2012) describes them as one of the features of a ghetto or stigmatised area (see section 3.6).

In phase 4 the barracks are constructed along the numbered roads, they are built perpendicular to each other, with the side of a barrack at the street side. The entrances of the barracks are not at the main numbered street. The entrances are in the small traces in between the barracks. The barracks sometimes have little building extensions at places where space allows this. This creates a maze of little pathways in between the barracks. The new apartments created a wider pathway in between the apartments and the barrack at the side. Although the apartments are one floor higher than the barracks, it creates more light and space to move. Moreover it gives people the opportunity to lime.\footnote{To lime is an often used term in Trinidad and Tobago, which means hanging around together with others. In Port of Spain this is done in all different forms: having dinner together with friends, go to the bar to lime but as well sitting together somewhere in the street. You can have a birthday lime or just a lime after work.}
in between the buildings. That is also what I have observed on my visits, whereas I never saw people liming on the small dark pathways in between the barracks. Then they were liming on the main streets.

The materialisation of the roads in the neighbourhood and the chosen grid pattern, makes the houses in the area easily reachable. This is an advantage for the construction work, since access to the construction site is not that difficult, for delivering materials and going there to work. The advantage of the easy accessibility by the clear grid pattern of the roads for outsiders and insiders is considered a disadvantage as well. The disadvantage of a neighbourhood with street signs and a clear road network with a map, is that it won't give the possibility to easily disappear in the neighbourhood. Without an address it is more difficult to trace people and with roads that are difficult to access it is difficult for the police to go into an area or for other people that are not wanted into the area, by the inhabitants and it is easier to hide in the area when there is no such clear map.

3.4.2. The Priority Bus Route

The Priority Bus Route is realised on an old train track after the train stopped running. Nowadays maxis, buses and licensed people can use this road. The maxi is a small bus which is one of the major transport systems in the country (more information in textbox 3). The maxi drives over the Bus Route and therefore it can avoid the traffic jam of the Highway or the other main roads. The maxi mostly

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**Box 2: History of the area**

The Beetham is part of East Port of Spain and often similar particularities are given to the Beetham and the other East Port of Spain areas, with the major difference that most of the area is situated on the hill and the Beetham is constructed on a flat swamp. The east of Port of Spain started to grow as a living area in the 1850s. The main function of the area in that time was coffee and cotton farms. Many former slaves moved to Port of Spain after emancipation. Housing in the city centre was and is very scarce and therefore expensive. Poorer migrants went to the hills on the eastside, they arrived in 1900. There it was possible to occupy land and construct houses ‘illegally’ or hire a house at a very low rent. To the west, the rich enclave expanded (Goodenough, 1976. p.50).

Before the HDC started to realise houses and infrastructure in the area the neighbourhood was called Shanty Town, a squatter area or slum. Gonzales who was born in Shanty Town, tells me how the area started its existence. According to him many people who arrived from other Caribbean islands, to find prosperity in oil rich Trinidad, with its large port, came to live in Shanty Town. They built their own houses close to the river. In the river they washed their clothes. He describes this as a dirty river, and not a nice environment to live in. According to Gonzales, Shanty Town was situated close to Port of Spain, just opposite the river that separates the east with the centre (see Figure 7). The settlement was located where now the flyover of the Highway is located and the Beetham market. He tells me that the Beetham where it exists nowadays was 50 to 60 years ago only a swamp or mangrove. According to Gonzales, some people were living in the swamp, mainly fisherman and hunters, but the area was not urban at all, only some houses on stilts were located in the area. The area became developed by the HDC. They started to build the pensioners’ quarters in phase 1, and after that family houses. The father of Gonzales was working for the HDC and he got one of the first mortgage houses in the Beetham on 7th street.
drives from east to west. When you need to go more north or south there are shared taxis that can transport you. Patrick, community activist and schoolteacher in the Beetham, explained to me that shared taxis drive from the east side of the independence square, in the centre of Port of Spain, to the Beetham. Many of the children use this transport system to go to his schools in the Beetham.

The Priority Bus Route is easily accessible from the Beetham since it is located next to the neighbourhood (see Figures 7&8). The only difficulty is to cross the wide drain, but therefore different footbridges are built in the area (see Figure 9 and the next sub-section 3.4.4). The drain forms a border from the Priority Bus Route to the area, whereas the Priority Bus route is as well a border between the Beetham and the north side of East Port of Spain. It isolates the area. On the other hand, the same road mobilises the area by giving access to the maxis. However fear, violence and crime make people afraid to move out of their area. Therefore the transportation freedom has its limits. According to Daniel, police inspector, people do feel fear when leaving the area, because they enter a place where others are in charge. Therefore one of their social programmes in the area is to transport people to different government agencies to arrange for example their pension or other official documents. However I question if people need to feel fear when moving out of their area when they are not involved in criminal activities. The often heard comment is that if you don’t need to go into a certain area, you shouldn’t risk it. On the other hand people feel fear to go to the Beetham, because of the stigma of the area, although the area is easily reachable.

3.4.3. Drain

In order to enter the Priority Bus Route, one should cross a drain (see Figure 9). This drain is too wide to cross normally without a bridge. This is one other barrier that underlines the identity of the Beetham as an urban island. Besides this, the drain is one of the major causes for floods in the area. Lia, an inhabitant of the Beetham, stressed during our interview that when she lived closer to the Bus

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**Box 3: Maxis and other forms of transportation**

Maxis are an easy and commonly used transportation system in Trinidad and Tobago. There are plenty, so in peak hours there are several every minute. The costs of a ride varies between 3-6 TTD (0.35-0.70 Euro). I always took maxis to my appointment in the Beetham, my ride from St. Augustine around 12 kilometres East from the Beetham took around 20 minutes and cost 3 or 4 TTD.

Many people in the Beetham don’t own a car. According to the research by Cambridge (2003) only 12% of the inhabitants of the Beetham own a car. Moreover she states that 71% of the people don’t have any form of private transportation (Cambridge, 2003. p.30). The easily accessible transportation system of maxis makes it easier to reach jobs outside the area. The possibilities to travel mobilise people in the area. Moreover their world is larger, in the way that they can cover a larger area when looking for work or when visiting friends or relatives. Furthermore it makes the area easily reached by outsiders. The labourers for the construction work for the apartments could easily access the area as well if they didn’t have their own car.
Route she suffered from floods regularly. Now she lives closer to the side of the Highway, and this is better. The floods were one of the reasons for her to move more to the Highway side of the Beetham.

Stefan, senior project manager of the HDC, with a specialty in water and sewerage systems, stresses that the area suffers from floods with heavy rainfall. The area is situated down the hill on a flat piece of land. When the rain falls all the water runs down, and remains in the Beetham. Stefan claims that the capacity of the drains is not sufficient. Moreover he argues that when the drains are flooding, the inhabitants of the Beetham open up the manholes of the sewerage system, to get rid of the water. When I question the problem with that, since it helps the Beetham citizens to overcome the floods to some extent, Stefan explains that the sewage system is constructed to filter the water on a certain place, and is not built to cope with these peak capacities of relatively clean rain water. Moreover he stresses the problems that emerge due to open manholes related to garbage. Garbage will flow into the manholes into the sewerage system and often this causes stopped up sewerage pipes. When I ask Stefan how the flood problem can be solved, he tells me that it is complicated. The Beetham was a former swamp and lies around sea level. Stefan explains that because the area is situated on sea level, there is always water in the drains that will never flow away easily without interference. The only real solution is installing water pumps, to pump the water out. However he expects that the government officials who need to decide on these types of projects find this is too costly and therefore it will never be done.

The Drain sharpens the borders of the area, and limits the access roads into the area. This is a disadvantage for people who like to enter the area. When combining this with the rusty road blocks (see sub-section 3.4.2) in the street of the gang leader. It can be seen as a possibility for the gang leader to control the area easier. The non-human actor of the drain can be seen as a physical border in a negative way, but for some people in the area it can be seen as a physical border which make it easier to keep unwanted visitors out.

3.4.4. Beetham Highway and a wall

The Beetham Highway (see Figure 7&8) on the other side of the area was improved in 1978-1979. In a document of the Government of Trinidad and Tobago, Ministry of works, highway division (1978), they describe that they realised extra lanes at the highway. Therefore they had to demolish buildings next to the road, from Piccadilly Street until Curepe junction. This included some of the Beetham area. Later a wall was built in between the Highway and the area. People I spoke to question if the wall in between the Highway and the Beetham is built to keep the traffic, or noise of the traffic out of
the area or that this wall is built to keep the people of the neighbourhood out of the Highway. To overcome that people will rob cars. I never heard from the people I spoke to about the advantage that little children will not run on to the Highway because of the wall.

The Guardian newspaper stated that the wall was built just before President Obama visited Trinidad and Tobago in 2009. President Obama travelled over the Highway and the Guardian article stresses that the wall was built to cover the poor appearance of the Beetham. Government officials call it in the newspaper “a beautifying touch”. However the article articulates the meaning of the wall for the people who live behind it: “It’s a symbol of years of broken promises, government neglect and the widening gap between the have and have-nots”(Guardian, April 16, 2009). The article stresses that the wall is 5 feet high (=1,52cm). On my visits to the Beetham I saw the wall, which is around one and a half meter high, with some openings in between. The openings make it possible to enter the service road next to the Highway.

The wall materialises the stigmatisation for most people. This non-human actor is in that way an important player in the enactment of the stigmatising of the area and making it more isolated from the rest of the city. Not only the view of Obama, but as well the view of people in their cars on the Beetham highway will be covered from the area. It can be stressed that the wall has different roles. It keeps the noise out of the area and overcomes that children will run onto the Highway. On the other hand it encloses the neighbourhood and for the inhabitants it feels like they are kept out and made invisible to the world of Obama and other people who use the Highway. According to the newspapers, it underlined the backwardness of the area, whereas in a different area, people might not be frustrated when they are excluded from a Highway. Moreover the construction of the wall enacted the negative relationship between the citizens of the Beetham with the government institutions. This is an example of an object or artefact that acts as a mediator, it does not simply do what was intended, and for different people it does different things. It shows the multiple materiality of a non-human actor.

3.5. (Un)employment related actors

Employment for people in the area is an issue of concern. According to Tristan (East Port of Spain area councillor), Patrick (Beetham community activist, schoolteacher), Ann (wife Patrick, running Day-care in the Beetham) and Akiel (contractor), the major problem in the area is unemployment. According to Tristan, unemployment creates many different spinoffs in the area, one of them is crime (crime is further discussed in section 3.6). Cambridge (2003) stresses in her study that 30% of the head of the households in the Beetham were unemployed. The CNC3 news reported on the 30th of October 2012, that the Beetham has an unemployment rate of 60%.13 Cambridge (2003) claims that 43.5% of the head of the households were employed in the formal sector and 26.5% were self-

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employed (Cambridge, 2003, p.18). While walking through the area I see different small scale businesses. Verrest (2007) refers to these small scale businesses as Home-Based Economic Activities. Mostly parlours selling household necessities, but as well houses where you can buy lunch or home brewed wine. Thus there are different forms of formal and informal employment in the area. Moreover Adam, environmental planner at the Port of Spain Town Hall, stresses the difference between work and employment, this difference is discussed in textbox 4.

In this section I will argue that a landfill, the rum factory and CEPEP are all employment related actors that influence the area, or at least the people in the area. The first sub-section discusses the landfill and the scavengers working on the landfill, collection usable goods. Secondly the Angostura Rum factory, which is located in the area, is described. Thirdly CEPEP (Community Environment Protection Enhancement Programme) a government employment programme, is discussed. That is followed by the HDC as an employer and last the (un)employment issues in the area.

3.5.1. Landfill

When you are in the Beetham, on the other side of the Beetham Highway you see big black birds circling behind the trees, this is where the landfill is situated. Many people in the Beetham make a living by collecting recyclable items or useable goods on the landfill. They are the so called scavengers. They created some small paths to cross the Highway, to go to the landfill (see Figure 10). Beetham phase 4 is situated just across the entrance of the garbage belt. People go to the landfill to

![Figure 10: Beetham Highway.](image-url)
collect iron and plastic, but they also find food and some other things they can sell or use. At the side where the Beetham borders the Highway, many belts with recyclable goods can be found (see Figure 11). The smell of the landfill is noticeable in the Beetham all the time. A documentary from 2008 shows the hard life of the scavengers on ‘the dump’, as they call it. They stress the health issues when working on the dump, the smell, the dust and mud. According to Patrick, schoolteacher and community activist in the area, people who work on the landfill earn very little money. The Landfill has different roles in different situations or for different people, for many it is the very dusty and filthy place for garbage, for some it is a very dusty and filthy place where they work.

3.5.2. Angostura rum factory

At the side of the Priority Bus Route, the Angostura rum factory is situated (see Figure 7, map area). According to Patrick some people from the area work in the rum factory. According to Ann and Patrick, who live opposite the rum factory, the factory often dumps waste in the drainage. This kills all the good life in the drainage and kills all the fishes and creates a harmful disease making drain. Ann stresses this as one of the reasons many children have asthma in the area.

3.5.3. CEPEP

Besides working on the landfill or in the Rum factory, many people in the Beetham I spoke to work for CEPEP (Community Environment Protection Enhancement Programme). This is a government programme that provides jobs to clean and upgrade areas. Tamara, one of the ladies I’ve interviewed, also works for CEPEP. I interview her around 10 o’clock when she was liming with some friends beside the new apartments in the Beetham. That is one of her breaks while working for the CEPEP. Mostly she cleans the drainage and they cut the grass at the side of the roads. Every day the CEPEP manager in the area tells them what to do. CEPEP is one of the initiatives of the Unemployment Relief Programme (URP). By many people also called the 10-day jobs, since it started as jobs for 10 days. This programme is realised by the political party People’s National Movement (PNM), but still exists in the ruling government (more about political parties in section 3.10).

3.5.4. HDC as an employer

Akiel the contractor of the Beetham phase 4 project arranged the project and workmen for the project in collaboration with Anthony, the local boss. In that way the construction of the apartment project gave employment to (some) people in the area. Just before I left Trinidad I met Anthony and spoke to him shortly. He explained that he arranged some workmen from the area, but he also arranged people from other areas, since not all skills needed, could be found in the area.

When I ask Nathan the HDC project manager if there is a certain arrangement of HDC projects and local employment? His response is that HDC projects are done by locals. But when we are talking about it we realise that we talk about different locals. He interpreted local by Trinidad and Tobago contractors and labourers, whereas I was thinking about local neighbourhood labourers. He explains that large projects are often realised by foreign constructors, but the Beetham type of projects are assigned to a local contractor. They have no rules about hiring labourers from the area the project is situated in. The East Port of Spain development company has arrangements with people in the area. When they realise projects in East Port of Spain, they hire 70% of their workforce from the area the project is situated in.

Box 4: Categorising work or employment

Adam, environmental planner at the Port of Spain Town Hall, stresses the difference between work and employment. According to him when a person is employed, one may get paid for doing nothing. He tells me that often people in areas like the Beetham look for employment and not for work. This is the opinion I hear from more outsiders, not working or living in the area. It contradicts partly what I see in the area. People are carrying a big bag on their back, their findings from the dump, into the Beetham, I see people who work. However they work in the informal sector of searching for recyclable materials on the dump. Possibly they will describe people who are formally employed working behind a desk as employment, getting paid by doing nothing. Employment and work can therefore mean different things for different people. Always when I walk around in the Beetham I see people liming on the streets, maybe they are interested in employment and not in work.

Akiel the contractor for the apartment complex has a theory why the labourers in Trinidad are not ambitious in their work. He tries to make his workmen responsible for their work. According to him this is also part of his success as a contractor, since his workforce therefore works harder and delivers overall better quality. He tells me that often labourers only work hard when the boss is watching. According to Akiel, this mindset of workers goes back to the old days of slavery and Indians working as labourers on the plantations. He explains to me that the people in Trinidad and Tobago and other former slavery colonies are emancipated physically, but mentally still not. His viewpoint is that the Indians and Africans always had a boss. He stresses that they were often only working when the boss was watching. He tries to change this mindset. He has a good crew now, who want to enhance themselves, but according to Akiel it took some time to create this crew with a different mindset. In a different way he is referring to what Adam calls work or employment. Akiel changed the attitude of his workmen from employment to work.
3.5.5. (Un)employment issues

The East Port of Spain development company describes the employment issues as follows: “Discrimination in employment and social stigmatisation exist on the basis of address and further disadvantage residents of these communities.” (EPOS development company, 2007). Getting a job can be extra difficult when you live in the Beetham. In the Newsday, a local newspaper, they cite a girl from the Beetham: “When we go and look for a job and they ask where we live and we say, ‘Beetham’, they will say ‘no can’t get any job’. I know so many youths in Beetham looking for jobs. A boy told me he put his aunt’s address in Chaguanas because he knew if he put his real address, he would not get through with the job.” (Newsday, July 24, 2012) The same problem was stated by Miss Trinidad and Tobago 2012, born and living in East Port of Spain, who spoke at a police meeting. She said in her speech that when living in East Port of Spain people had to work harder to achieve goals, but like her, wishes can be achieved if you really want to. She worked hard, with help of people from the community, but without the help of officials who normally help the misses in Trinidad and Tobago. She had a limited actor-network but because of her hard work she achieved to become Miss Trinidad and Tobago.

Jerry, 20 years old, is an example of a young man who is looking for work, he argues that it is difficult to find it. Jerry finished secondary school, he explains to me that you need connections to get a job. He works in construction. He tells me that he can do different things in construction, for example masonry and plumbing. He got a contract for an HDC project, but the project didn’t start yet, and therefore he is still waiting to start the job. His mother is working for the HDC and LSA and through her network he arranged the job.

3.6. Crime

People are murdered almost every week in East Port of Spain (see textbox 5). After a while in the country, reading the newspapers and talking to people, I realised that there were always gang related murders or incidents. The definition of a gang is according to inspector Daniel: 2-3 persons who gather for non-legal purposes. Therefore I couldn’t believe the warnings that it was dangerous for me to go into those areas. My thought about these issues for a long time was that nobody will shoot

**Box 5: Killings in Trinidad and Tobago**

In the year 2009, 508 people were murdered in Trinidad and Tobago, 31% in East Port of Spain and 10 of those killings happened in the Beetham. In 2008, 552 people were murdered in total in the country, 32% in East Port of Spain and 6 of them happened in the Beetham (East PoS dev. Company statistics, 2010). To put this in perspective of the Netherlands, a country with a population that is 13 times larger as Trinidad and Tobago and where a much lower murder rate of 176 persons was observed in 2008. ([http://www.cbs.nl/en-GB/menu/themas/gezondheid-welzijn/publicaties/artikelen/archief/2009/2009-2857-wm.htm](http://www.cbs.nl/en-GB/menu/themas/gezondheid-welzijn/publicaties/artikelen/archief/2009/2009-2857-wm.htm), retrieved October 28, 2012.)
someone without a reason. Richard who is born and grew up in the Beetham and is still living there, tells me what he thinks about living in the Beetham. ‘Certain things take place’ in the area. He refers to the shootings and murders that happen. Lia, tenant in Beetham 19th street also addresses the problems of killings. She tells me that she sometimes lay on the floor of the house together with her children, because they are afraid of the shootings that take place. Her neighbour was robbed of all his belongings in his house, except for his bed. That happened according to Lia by people from the neighbourhood. She is taking care of him together with some other women of the area. They bring him food every day. As almost all people I spoke to who live in the Beetham, Lia dreams of a bigger house in a quiet area.

This section discusses the interference of crime on the policy implementation. The first sub-section discusses a police-community meeting that I’ve attended. This meeting stresses the stigma of the area and the attempt of the police and the community to upgrade their area, and make it a safer place. The second sub-section addresses the different roles of the gang leader and his influence on the project and other actors. The third sub-section stresses the stigma of the area, followed by my experience with crime in the area. The latter shows how crime interfered with my research and with future HDC projects run by Akiel the contractor. The last sub-section will combine these aspects and elaborates on the interference of crime.

3.6.1. Police-community meeting

In September 2012 I’ve attended a police meeting in which the police tried to start the conversation with the East Port of Spain community. The meeting was held at the basketball court in John John, another neighbourhood of East Port of Spain. I was there with the police, I went together with Patrick, the schoolteacher of the Beetham. We were wearing the grey polo of the police, since we were invited by the police and they gave us the polo. I asked Patrick if I should wear the polo to the meeting. His answer was simple. Of course we had to wear it, why would the police officer give us the polo’s otherwise? The police decided to wear polo’s to be more open and approachable for the citizens. Patrick supported the police with this action, and since he is a community activist he knows many people in the area, the police asked him to join the programme, in order to reach more people and gain trust.

When the meeting started it was only us, some more sympathizers of the police and the press. But when Minister Warner of National Security started to talk, the basketball field, was all in a sudden full of people from the community. Minister Warner addressed the importance to work together and stop the crime in the area, he also stressed that he was not willing to cooperate with the gangs, but that he would fight against them. After the official talk of the minister, the community people got the stage to speak to the crowd and many took that opportunity. Many mothers spoke and stressed that they wanted a better area for their children to grow up, an area without crime, a safer place. The
overall atmosphere was positive, towards peace and quietness. Everybody agreed that something needed to be done to make their neighbourhood a better place to live.

The words of a young man were the telling story of the evening and were positively received by the audience according to their reaction. His story was also cited in the newspaper, he was especially speaking to the Minister and other officials at the meeting. “I am telling allyuh big man thing [here he refers to Minister Warner and the police officials attending the meeting]. It not going to work [to stop crime] because at the end of the day a man is just a man, especially if he is not comfortable with the area. We have to defend ourselves. We respect the law, you know, but all I am saying is that a man is just a man and on top of that they painting us all as criminals. But what I want to know is which police living next to me to know that I is a criminal…allyuh could answer that?” (Daily Express, September 15, 2012). For me this really stressed the stigma the people in East Port of Spain live in. Moreover it addresses their feeling of powerlessness, to normalise the area, and

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**Box 6: Beverley Hills**

Nathan, the project manager of HDC, took me to one of his other construction projects. This project was located in the neighbourhood Beverley Hills and contained 7 apartment buildings, each with 12 apartments (see Figures in Appendix G). The area is, just as the Beetham located in East Port of Spain. The apartments on the higher levels had a wide view over the city and the sea (see Figure appendix G). Three room apartments with an open space in between the complexes. I was impressed by the spacious apartments with the beautiful view and imagined myself living in one of them. Close to the centre of Port of Spain (POS) in a nice apartment with a first class view. Interestingly these apartments are not built for the fortunate people in POS. These apartments are low-income apartments in a stigmatised area where no outsiders want to live or according to Nathan, no outsiders will be accepted and therefore no outsider can live there. To enter the area the people need to know your car’s number plate, according to Nathan since some inhabitants of the neighbourhood don’t want strangers in the area.

The week after our visit, a woman was shot in her apartment, just there. According to the Daily Express, she “was murdered by gang members who believed she was “informing” the police about their activities.” (Daily Express, September 10, 2012). Journalists tried to investigate the murder and entered the area, but they were shot at as well. According to the newspaper, the reporters left and were not hurt. After this incident I was totally dejected and couldn’t understand why people would kill a mother of eight in her own house. I started to think that the stigma of the area was maybe based on some objective reality and that I shouldn’t go there by myself.

I only read about the murder in Beverley Hills in the newspaper. Two weeks later I’ve interviewed Hannibal of the special police force. He is involved in mapping the gangs in the area and tries to stimulate the youth to not enter gangs, but go to school and live a legal live. He tells me his version of the story of the mother who was killed in Beverley Hills. According to Hannibal all her five sons are involved in a gang. The oldest ones are second and third in command in the local gang. He tells me that the bullet was not for her but for her sons, but she was the unlucky one. The oldest son had already talked to the possible killer of his mother. He wants to stop the killings in the area. According to Hannibal, he realises that it has no reason. He is around 40 and Hannibal argues that if a man grows older, he becomes more reasonable. Often older gang members want a better future for the youngsters, but the youngsters are attracted by the gangs.

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overcome the stigma.

The police told me that after the meeting some of the gang leaders spoke to each other and with the police. They promised peace and agreed on allowing others to enter the different areas without problems. The gang leader of the Beetham was not attending the meeting. However this meeting gave me a positive impulse and after this meeting many more police community meetings in East Port of Spain followed, which were attended by even more people according to the police. After the meeting there were no shootings for about three weeks, which was already a very impressive achievement.

3.6.2. The role of gangs

Anthony is the gang leader of Hell Yard (see textbox 7 for more information) according to the police, Patrick, Nathan, Akiel, Jeren and Steph (Respectively working at the East Port of Spain development company and the City Hall). However the police explained to me that he is the second in command in the Beetham, the real gang leader of the Beetham is more quiet and living in a big new house in Beetham phase 5. He is also called the (unofficial) community leader. However in my research I describe Anthony as the gang leader of Beetham phase 4, since people stress that he is the ‘boss’ in this part of the Beetham.

Jaffe (2012) studied the role of gang leaders in neighbourhoods in Kingston, Jamaica. She argues that the gang leaders, or dons as she calls them, started a form of “informal privatization of security” (Jaffe, 2012. p.188). She claims that whereas in rich enclaves gated communities are secured by private security services, poor neighbourhoods are secured by gang leaders. She also describes the road blocks to physically create a gated community. But besides the physical distinction, there are also psychological borders involved. Jaffe (2012) describes the psychological border in the way that: “any outsider entering such a neighbourhood will be subject to suspicious, if not hostile, gazes.” (Jaffe, 2012. p.193). In the Beetham these are the psychological borders as described in section 3.4.

Jaffe (2012) describes that citizens see the usefulness of a gang leader, since he keeps the peace and quietness in an area, and because he will act when something happened that is against the law or more precisely, his laws. She also describes that the gang leaders often arrange or provide jobs for inhabitants. Whereas the police often disappoints by not undertaking action when something happens. Minister Warner tries to overcome these arguments of Jaffe (2012), by realising a police force closer to the people, a police force that also engages in social projects and helps in the area. A police force that starts the conversation in the East Port of Spain area, and knows what happens and who are living there.

Jaffe (2012) also describes the collaboration of the gang leaders with the governmental institutions. According to her, many institutions use the gang leaders, because through them they can reach the community. This is exactly what happened in the Beetham. The gang leader was involved
to keep the peace and quietness in the HDC project. With that, the gang leaders’ rules to keep the peace and quietness are tolerated by the government officials of the HDC.

Jaffe (2012) claims that “neoliberal emphasis on participatory development, decentralization and public-private partnerships – promoted in Jamaica through World Bank loans, bilateral donors and NGOs – can be understood as framing this redistribution of power” (Jaffe, 2012. p.194). The upgrade project was financed by the HDC and was a government programme without a World Bank loan. However Akiel the contractor, made it a participatory project for the community. Because he was sure that that was the only way the project could succeed without crime and robberies. In this way it was a redistribution of power. Jaffe (2012) stresses an important change that is happening in governing state projects. However Nathan, of the HDC, stressed that they normally do not involve the gang leaders in their project. The construction of the Beverley Hills apartments for example, was a project in which they encountered problems with crime and robberies. However this project is finished now, without government support to the gang leader or support from the gang leader to finish the project, as far as I know.

Community involvement is a trend, but in the case of the deprived areas of East Port of Spain, it will most likely give a large role to the gang leaders, who can include the community in the project. Without the support of the gang leader, the success of a project in a neighbourhood of East Port of Spain is questionable. Anthony, the gang leader, made sure that there were no robberies or other forms of crime and violence involved in realising the upgrade project. On the other hand it is questionable, if involving a gang leader will automatically lead to involving the whole community. Anthony stressed in our short conversation that he not only hired people from the Beetham, but as well people from other areas he knew.

The HDC cooperated with a gang leader. By doing this, they are part of or even stimulating the informal rules that are present in the area. This contradicts the ideas of the Minister of National Security who stressed that he will never cooperate with the gangs. At the moment I was in Trinidad and still now while writing my thesis, the government of Trinidad and Tobago is discussing a Gang-Act. They have a Gang-Act, with which they want to fight the gangs in the country and make it easier to protect the country from the gangs. However there are still discussions about the legal aspects and the practical implementation of the Act (Gang Act, 2011). Therefore the Gang-Act is still not in use. However the Minister of National Security, Jack Warner, stated in the police meeting, just as often cited in the newspaper, that he wanted to fight crime, and the gangs. On the one side the government fight crime and gangs, on the other hand the HDC, the government body involved in social housing, tolerates the gang in their project to get things done.

As argued by Latour (2005) all actors are mediators, however they can change into an intermediary in a certain actor-network (see section 2.2). Or they can get some features of an intermediary. Anthony is an example of an important actor in the chain of relations. Akiel (contractor) started to involve Anthony the gang leader in the project. By paying him for securing
safety during the construction process, Anthony became an intermediary in this case. He acted as asked. Whereas without his involvement in the project by Akiel, it is more unpredictable how Anthony would have acted on the project and how the project would have enacted Anthony. The inhabitants of Beetham phase 4 also got features of intermediaries, since their actions will most likely not contradict the actions of Anthony the gang leader. They will most likely follow his ideas because of fear or because they agree with him.

3.6.3. Stigmatisation of the Beetham

The previous sections discuss some of the problems that the people in East Port of Spain need to deal with, and where the stigma of the area comes from and the fear of the people. The way the areas, including the Beetham, are ruled and that nowadays the areas are more lawless with their own rules. The stigma was one of the dominant actors that popped-up all the time. When I told people what I was doing in Trinidad, they immediately warned me or praised my courage. Not only outsiders and professionals, as well the people from the area itself mention the stigma. This stigma can be seen as interference in the materialisation of the policy.

Hooks (1989) stresses in her article “Choosing the margin as a space of radical openness” that exclusion make things possible. She describes that marginality contains more than deprivation, although this is what one hears the most. It is also “the site of radical possibility, a space of resistance” (Hooks, 1998. p.206). Moreover she claims that “It offers one the possibility of radical perspective from which to see and create, to imagine alternatives, new worlds” (Hooks, 1998. p.207). The latter can explain the emergence of gangs in marginalised areas and for instance the rap culture in the USA that is founded in the ghetto (Jaffe, 2012). Or it can explain the organisation of the community, for strikes and riots.

Patrick, community activist and teacher in the Beetham stresses the organisation of riots as the strength of the area. The latest riot was organised in December 2012. In the Trinidad and Tobago newspapers they describe riots that happened on Wednesday the fifth of December, 2012. The residents of the Beetham blocked the Highway and the Priority Bus Route, because during the police-community meeting on the Beetham basketball court, they were promised jobs before Christmas by Minister Warner. They didn’t get any, and they felt that this was the only way to reach the government with their complaint. The newspapers talk about well arranged riots, organised by the unofficial community leader. They created an enormous traffic jam, but according the newspapers nobody in the cars was threatened or robbed (Express, December 6, 2012; Newsday, December 6, 2012). According the Newsday the people who attended the riots also expressed their dissatisfaction about how the work of projects in the Beetham is distributed (Newsday, December 7, 2012). According to the article construction work contracts in the area are “only given to one man, who not even remotely is giving back to the community” (Newsday, December 7, 2012). When this is true, and refers to Anthony and the involvement in the construction work of the Beetham phase 4
apartments, it shows that involving the gang leader can secure a project from robberies. However it is questionable if he includes many labourers of the neighbourhood in the project or that he hires his (gang) friends.

In the Beetham, you often hear the voice of deprivation but less strong is the voice of resistance. Although the community meetings of the police opened up a dialogue, between the oppressed and the oppressor, at least that was what I’ve sensed during the police meeting (subsection 3.7.3). In that way the police organised what Hook (1998) advices, to meet in the space on the margins. From there the possibilities can be revealed to solve the problems in the area. Although it is the Minister of National Security who organised the meetings together with the police he is not only looking at safety, his approach is more holistic. He promised jobs, but after people did not get jobs, they started to speak up, to show their resistance.

3.6.4. My experience with crime

One of the friends I made while I was doing my research told his colleague who is living in the Beetham about my research. According to my friend, she was totally frustrated when she heard that everybody was telling me not to go into the Beetham by myself. According to her the Beetham was quiet and perfectly safe. Her reaction, although I didn’t hear it myself, was a real relief for me. I was all the time wondering how it was possible that people living in a certain area would not be frustrated if outsiders would not dare to go to the place they live. This was the last push that I needed. I called some people who I would have liked to meet in the area, to arrange my first visit on my own, but all of them were busy. Only Patrick, the schoolteacher, community activist and social worker, asked me to call him again the next morning before I wanted to go. If he had time I could meet him. However like most things in my research, this went not as I’ve planned it.

The morning before I left to take a maxi to the Beetham without an appointment or company to guide me, I almost called Anthony the gang leader of phase 4 to make an appointment with him, but I didn’t. I first called Patrick the schoolteacher instead. My plan was to go to the area, speak to Anthony if he was there and if people saw me speaking to him and see me by myself I figured they would speak to me as well. On the phone Patrick asked me where exactly I wanted to go in the Beetham and to whom I wanted to speak. I told him the HDC project in Beetham phase 4. He told me there was a shooting the evening before around nine in which Anthony was involved. It happened in

**Box 7: Hell Yard**

The six apartments are located in Beetham phase 4, also called Hell Yard, in 24th street. Nobody could tell me why the area is called Hell Yard, but all the respondents to the interviews assumed it had something to do with crime. In my opinion it is also possible that it has to do with the bad living conditions in this part of the Beetham, since in this part the barracks are located, whereas the first phases contain family houses. Another possible reason for the name Hell Yard is perhaps because it is located very close to the entrance of the landfill.
or close to Anthony’s house and he lives next door to the new HDC apartments. Patrick didn’t know the details as yet. However he advised me not to go, since he was not sure if there were tensions in the area. He expected “police and things” and for sure I couldn’t talk to Anthony.

After I heard this I’ve decided not to go. I’ve called inspector Daniel from the police. He confirmed that Anthony was shot. He considered this to be a minor incident between people that know each other. Anthony was in the hospital according to inspector Daniel and was only shot in his leg. He assumed that the area would be quiet soon. The day after that I had telephone contact with Patrick’s wife, Ann. She told me that they heard shootings again and that there were still tensions in the area. She advised me not to go to the Beetham. The day after that I’ve read in the newspaper that on the morning of my telephone conversation with Ann, a young man was killed in Hell Yard. Inspector Daniel and Patrick assumed this was the young man who shot Anthony in his leg. Anthony was still in the hospital because of the wound on his leg, and according to Patrick the area was full of police officers again who were turning the area upside down while investigating the area and going into the houses searching for evidence and he stressed that a lot of tension was present. This left me still sitting in my quiet student complex in St. Augustine, trying to plan a visit to my research area. (St. Augustine is a relatively quiet area around 10 kilometres east of the Beetham where the campus of the University of the West Indies is situated.)

I wrote down my reaction on the shooting of Anthony in one of the logbooks I kept for the research. “Frustration, not because I am frightened. I am not, but because I really want to go there and talk to people and they (all the people I spoke to) made me not do that. I wish this would have happened a couple of weeks later so I could go there, speak to ’Anthony’ and people of his community. Maybe that is how this works, if you live in a certain area, and if you are exposed to shootings and crime all the time, you are not worried about it anymore. So maybe my ‘anthropological’ research is working. I am not shocked that the person who I wanted to interview today is in the hospital because he was shot, since it was only in his leg (!). He is involved in criminal activities, so in a way it’s part of his ‘job’, or at least the risk of the job. Although, I was a little bit shocked that I almost called him in the hospital to arrange an interview.” Afterwards I was surprised by my reaction, I definitely felt sorry for the people living in the area, who had to encounter crime on a regular basis, but I was not upset by the fact that the person I wanted to speak to was shot. I was only frustrated because I wanted to add his voice to my research. I can imagine now that crime, violence and robberies become a different issue when you are exposed to it all the time. It becomes more normal. In this way normalisation as stressed by Moser (2006) is an enactment as well, since it acts on its surroundings, while being acted on (changing) by the same surroundings. However I would like to point out that it remains a problem for people living in an area, and that fear shouldn’t be part of a standardised or normalised area. However, for the people in a stigmatised area it will become part of their ‘normal’ everyday life.
3.6.5. *Interference of stigmatisation and crime*

I have studied people in poverty, in poorer circumstances than I can ever imagine seeing in Trinidad and Tobago, but this was the first time that I was so aware of criminal issues in an area. Often I knew that an area was stigmatised and poor and that it had a reputation of crime. However by entering those areas and speaking to the people, most of the stigma went away in my mind and actions. The opposite happened in the Beetham, the more I found out, the more I stigmatised the area, instead of going beyond the stigmatisation. I always assumed that when you live in an area or know more about it, you would see the positive aspects more clearly and the negative aspects that create the stigmatisation would move to the background. However this did not happen to me in the Beetham. Crime always popped up in one way or another (more about this in textbox 8).

Problems are present in the area and one can stress that the area is stigmatised. Multiple reasons are stressed for this stigmatisation. How to overcome the stigma? A stigma acts upon a neighbourhood and the ‘upgrading’ policy that started to materialise in the area. One thing becomes clear in my research, the stigma and the problems to overcome this stigma, is at least a problem of a small, not fitting actor-network. Without the right connections it is difficult to overcome the stigma.

One of the interfering enactments in the area was thus violent, crime and fear that followed out of that. These could have been major problems in implementing an ‘upgrading’ policy. However, by including the gang leader in the project, the project was made possible by the gang leader and the community which is part of his network. He got the opportunity to realise security for the project and in return he earned some money and he was involved in creating jobs for local people. The interference with crime, which could have been a major problem, and frustration, turned into a factor contributing to the project, and its success.

3.7. *Ethnicity*

Trinidad and Tobago is a country with a mixed population, different skin colours, different religions, different religions,

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**Box 8: Shocking stories**

Sometimes people shocked me by the things they told me especially when they told me things off the record that I was not suppose to use for my research. A person with whom I felt comfortable with and whom I’ve trusted tells me at a certain moment that he used to be part of a gang. He went out of it because of his wife who didn’t like it. However he still has many influential contacts from that time and he can go everywhere (in all high risk areas) because he knows the right persons. Another conversation that shocked me was on one of my first visits of the summer school of Patrick. The little children (from five to eight years) asked me, after I spend not even half an hour there, if I knew about the good and the bad. They explain to me that on one shoulder there is an angel and she is the good and on the other one the bad, and you can always make the decision which of the two to choose. They tell me they prefer the good, but they know many people in their neighbourhood who choose the bad. They ask me which one I prefer.
different historical backgrounds and different living standards. Colonisation, slavery, emancipation, cheap labourers from India, independence from Britain, these are just some important historical aspects that created the society as it is nowadays. Racial differences were an important social factor in history. But did the society of Trinidad and Tobago grow over this, and is it really the multicultural society other countries can only dream of? Even if you only stay for three and a half months you realise it is the opposite. Discrimination is alive, maybe not in the same way as the extremes of history. But for sure, people feel discriminated by their African background or black skin colour, the latter also refers to the Indian population, according to some Indians. When I tell that to some African blacks, they laugh, don’t believe and understand this. They assume that especially they are the ones who are discriminated by for instance governmental institutions. Therefore I cannot avoid describing ethnicity as an important actor. Many of the interviewees and also by most of the friends I made during my period of stay and many other persons I spoke to, mention discrimination as something that is alive and people are very aware of. Even I couldn’t avoid being aware of the ethnical minority I belonged to in Trinidad and Tobago and my white skin colour, since at least once a day someone in the street called me whitey. As argued by Moser (2006), race can interfere in the existing relations. In this section I describe the interference of race on the materialisation of the policy. It starts with describing the ethnical background in Trinidad and Tobago and the Beetham. Then I argue that race interferes with the policy materialisation, I will illustrate this with examples out of the field, related to the neighbourhood and the ‘upgrading’ policy.

3.7.1. Ethnical background in Trinidad and Tobago and the Beetham

Most people living in the Beetham and in East Port of Spain are African-Creole. The population of the Beetham contains of 77% Afro-Creole people, this is the largest group, 15% are mixed and 8% of Indian origin (statistics EPOS dev. Company, 2000). The ethnic background of the Trinidad and Tobago population is almost 40% African-Creole, almost the same percentage of people identify themselves as belonging to the Indian group, while around 18% of the population is mixed and only a small amount of people belong to other groups (Premdas, 2007. p.18). (More information about the history of ethnicity in Trinidad and Tobago in textbox 9).

3.7.2. Interference of race

Many racial issues were raised by interviewees during my research. People in the ‘ghetto’ expressed that they felt that their skin colour made it difficult to get a job and education. In the HDC office the head of the engineering department introduced me to Nathan, the project manager of the Beetham phase 4 apartments. During our introduction the chief construction engineer made the joke that

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15 African-Creole people are also referred to in chapter as Afro-Creole, Africans, Blacks and Negros. Different actors use different terms, although the term I mostly heard was African. Indian-Creole, are also simply called Indian, or sometimes Asian.
Nathan has a very dark skin colour, just as black as the people living in the areas he is working in, therefore he was selected for the job. I was unpleasantly surprised by this ‘joke’ and had the feeling Nathan was not pleased by it either.

Another example of racial difference was expressed by an inhabitant of the ‘ghetto’ of Maloney. In the beginning of my research I had not enough contacts to take me to the Beetham, therefore I’ve visited Maloney an area close to Arima more to the east of Trinidad, since people told me that many people from the Beetham moved there. So I thought it would be interesting to speak to them. I didn’t speak to many former Beetham inhabitants, however the community councillor of

**Box 9: Ethnic historical background**

Slaves were working on the (mostly British) plantations in Trinidad and Tobago until emancipation in the 1840s. After emancipation Indian labourers started to arrive in the country. The arrival of the Indians was according to Wood (1968) not seen as competition for the former slaves, but more as labourers who could do the heavy, dull jobs that they (the Afro-Creole) did not want (Wood, 1968. p.5). The Indians were welcomed according to Premdas (2007) as “part of a larger programme of labour recruitment” (Premdas, 2007. p.30). This larger programme was not only for Trinidad but as well for other British colonies. Most Afro-Creole people were working on the oil fields and the Indians on the sugar cane estates (Premdas, 2007. p. 38). He gives a possible explanation for that. According to him, the African-Creole has a better physique to do the heavy work that should be done in the oil fields, which contained the construction work and heavy machinery (Premdas, 2007. p.38).

Goodenough (1976) describes some of the discriminating white laws in 1900. For example, after 9.30 p.m. coloured people were not allowed to gather in public places in Port of Spain and they were only allowed to walk in the streets with a light. Moreover coloured people had to pay a tax to organise a ball (Goodenough, 1976. p.131) and they were not allowed to play musical instruments from 1810 onwards (Goodenough, 1976. p.132). Even after emancipation, discrimination continued, and people preferred to live close to people from the same race (Goodenough, 1976. p.140).

Goodenough states in her work: “In a society stratified by race, among other things, access to high-class residential districts was determined by lightness of skin and other phenotypical attributes; it was also, however, determined by wealth and status which were both dependent on colour.” (Goodenough, 1976. p.8) The labourers of the rich lived very close to the rich areas but in different neighbourhoods. Often just across the bridge on the other side of the river in what is now called East Port of Spain. They lived as squatters, without infrastructure like running water, electricity and paved roads, whereas those facilities were available in the centre of Port of Spain. According to Goodenough, East Port of Spain was created by the former slaves on the plantations who moved to the city after emancipation (Goodenough, 1976).

However I also met many people who moved from other Caribbean islands to Trinidad. Trinidad was one of the wealthier Caribbean islands for a long time. According to Gonzales, born in Shanty Town (more info see sub-section 3.4.1) and still living in the Beetham, most families in Shanty Town came from other Caribbean islands, just as his parents. An urban redevelopment council, East Port of Spain, social survey report, stresses that around 12% of East Port of Spain came from one of the other islands of the West Indies (Ministry of planning, 1988).
Maloney took me around in the area and introduced me to different people. He introduced me to people liming in one of the yards of one of the apartment blocks in Maloney.

One man I talked to made it particularly clear that he feels discriminated. He blames different people (from the prime minister to the head of the university) for whatever he does not have. He is my age and has three children. He tells me he cannot study like me, since he has children. Moreover he stresses that I have more opportunities because I am white. He argues that the blacks are not able to go to university and that they (people on top, with high positions) wouldn't listen to him, a guy from the ghetto. Therefore I should talk to them and tell them that they should allow more black students from Maloney. I am a bit shocked at first, about his harsh statements. But when I tell him the university head is black and that most students I see are black at UWI (the University of the West Indies) he is not really listening.

The community councillor and Jack, the local basketball coach in Maloney, both from African origin stress the opposite. They explain that if you are doing well in school, you have the opportunities to study wherever you come from in Trinidad. However they tell me that many young people prefer liming on the street instead of studying seriously.

For me those comments stress racial differences and the feeling of discrimination people have. The racial comments showed me that the society is not that multi-cultural as most people told me in first instance. Moser (2006) describes how difference can change the relations in a situation. In the case of my introduction to Nathan, he was not just the construction project manager, but also a Trinidadian of African origin, with a very dark skin colour, who could easily live in a deprived area in East Port of Spain. It labelled me as a European with a white skin, and the head of the engineering department and the senior project manager, light skinned from Indian and mixed origin. It changed the discussion and placed the project in a different light. Instead of the Beetham phase 4 upgrade project it became a project to help the Africans in the East of Port of Spain community. The positive side of this interference was that it moved the focus from the stigma and poverty that is present in the area. Race became an important actor. Maybe African black people are discriminated in Trinidad and Tobago. However the situation described above makes it more likely that racial issues are a distraction from other problems. Maybe it is class, maybe it is just bad luck, or maybe it is the place you are born.

In the police community meetings (described in sub-section 3.6.1) racial differences were never stressed as a problem. This would also be strange since Jack Warner the minister of security is from African origin himself. Just like him there are many successful Trinidadian from African origin. This is another way in which race is enacted. If you are black but privileged, like Jack Warner, race does not seem to matter.

Nathan the project manager is from African origin, therefore when he manages the project race will not be an issue, just as stressed before with the meetings with Jack Warner. Although it was stated as a joke and I felt uncomfortable with that joke, the race of the HDC project-manager indeed
Housing towards prosperity

influences the policy, and its implementation. Moreover there is Akiel the contractor of the apartments. He introduced the idea of ‘mental emancipation’. According to him many people in Trinidad are only physically emancipated but they are still acting in the way as they did during slavery. They only work for a boss, and when the boss is not watching they are not working. In his projects Akiel tries to change the mindset of his workforce, just as he did for the construction workers of the apartments in the Beetham.

3.8. Bureaucracy

The policy for Beetham phase 4 is to upgrade the entire area. The construction of the 6 apartments was the pilot of the upgrade planned. According to Akiel (contractor of the apartments) and Patrick (community activist and schoolteacher in the Beetham), this is all a political statement. Political parties in Trinidad and Tobago are always looking for votes. The government and ruling parties like to realise physical projects, to show what they did for the country and leave their marks after leading the country.

This section discusses the interference of bureaucracy on the policy materialisation. The first sub-section addresses the governmental development influence. It describes the problems of mandate, changes in high officials with their own programmes. Moreover I argue that it is difficult to realise long term projects, since projects change with the change of government. The second sub-section discusses the bureaucracy and transparency of governmental institutions and the materialisation of the policy. The last sub-section combines the different aspects and goes into the interference of bureaucracy on the policy materialisation.

3.8.1. Governmental development influence

According to Steph the community councillor of Maloney and an active member of the political party PNM, the people in power prefer power over development. He claims that at the moment a person becomes minister, they forget the development goals they were striving for when they were still on campaign and they will start to aim for their own gains.

The HDC started to enact the policy to upgrade Beetham Gardens in 2011. Kendra the head of the Beetham Gardens HDC office explained to me that they changed their policies one year ago after new people took over management of the HDC. One of the changes is that they now started to do the maintenance of the housing stock more pro-actively. The HDC Chief Engineering tells me that there was an enormous employee change almost 2 years ago. He himself, the Divisional manager of Estate Management and Senior manager, all started around one and a half year ago at the HDC. In 2010, just before the new managers were hired at the HDC, the People’s Partnership (PP) won the elections and got the majority of the seats in the parliament from the political party Power National Movement (PNM). The PP chooses the prime-minister and forms the government of Trinidad and Tobago. (More information about the political parties in textbox 10).
Remona a high official of the East Port of Spain development company argues that the changes in government are the main obstacle for the redevelopment plans of her development company. They realised a redevelopment plan for East Port of Spain, including the Beetham, with participation of the inhabitants. According to her the new government first did not understand the aim of the plan and she still doubts if the government understands what it is all about. She stresses that it is a fight to redevelop. Only small projects seem possible, but no comprehensive redevelopment of the area. When governments change, the political agenda changes and therefore it is difficult to realise large developments and programmes that take more than a few years to realise.

Moreover she argued during our interview that the East Port of Spain development company lacks the mandate. They got a budget to realise projects in the area. However all payments and projects need to be approved by the government. As a result, payments for the construction workers are often late, because it takes time to get everything approved. This sometimes even leads to contractors who cannot continue the work, since they need money for materials and paying their

**Box 10: political parties**

In the Beetham the People’s National Movement (PNM) is the dominant political party. The PNM was established in 1956 and can be described as an Afro-Creole political party (Premdas, 2007, P.26). This political party was the first to focus on post-colonial development plans (Goodenough, 1976. p.10). One of their focus points was free secondary education for all (Goodenough, 1976. p.10). Moreover, this party paid a lot of attention to Government housing and established the development programme of the government housing in the Beetham. According to Patrick, who votes for this party as well, the people in the Beetham and East Port of Spain, would even vote for this party if ‘a frog’ would be the candidate. It is embedded in their history to vote for the PNM and they stick to that.

The PNM ruled Trinidad and Tobago from 1956 until 1986 (Potter and Conway, 1997. p.155), when the National Alliance for Reconstruction (NAR) took over the power. After this change the housing policies changed as well. The change was mainly in the direction of the Sou-Sou Land (SSL) thinking. According to Griffith-Charles (2004) the Sou-Sou land thinking is focussed on communal funds, in which the participants put small sums of money. A participant can use the loan for a year and needs to pay it back without interest (Griffith-Charles, 2004. p.108). More information about Sou-Sou land in section 4.4. Mohammed (1990) stresses that: “The NAR housing programme based on the SSL concept illustrated the technical, political and economic problems of translating an opposition programme into government policy (Mohammed, 1990. p. 186).” Many houses were needed at that time and the plans were there, but only a few projects were realised (Potter and Conway, 1997. p.157). In 1991, some squatter households received a loan to make it possible to buy government houses (Potter and Conway, 1997. p.158).

The other dominant political party in Trinidad is the United National Congress (UNC). This is the more Indian-based party (Premdas, 2007. p.26). At this moment in 2012, the Coalition of the People’s Partnership is ruling the country. This coalition consists of the UNC, the Congress of the People (COP), Tobago Organization of the People (TOP) and the National Joint Action Committee. From which the UNC has most seats in the parliament.
workmen.

### 3.8.2. My experience with bureaucracy and transparency

In order to research the enactment of the HDC policy in the Beetham, I needed the HDC to collaborate with my research. However, government institutions in Trinidad and Tobago have a policy that restricts them to just share their information. After numerous phone calls to the HDC and rejections to speak to people, they told me that I had to write an official letter to ask for permission to speak to people from the HDC. I’ve sent a letter to Jearlean John, the highest manager of the HDC and after a month and many phone calls later, I had my official permission to contact the Chief Construction Engineer and the Divisional Manager of Estate Management. Both were according the letter “instructed to contact you” (letter, August 10, 2012) and I was free to communicate with both managers. From that moment I have tried to contact both managers by phone, without any result. Therefore I decided just to go to the office and ask to speak to them.

After waiting patiently in the waiting room, the Chief Construction Engineer welcomed me on my surprise visit and introduced me to Stefan, a senior project manager and to Nathan the project manager of the Beetham project. Unfortunately all my efforts to interview the Divisional manager of Estate Management were without any result. Although I expected her to be the one who could tell me more about the decisions that were made according the policy. And give answer to the question: How the policy came into existence? This information would have opened up the black-box of the making of the policy. However, I mostly gathered information about the materialisation of the policy, on the ground in the Beetham.

Waiting for permission and a blurred view of the enactment of the policy is not only a problem I faced during my research. The first apartment complex in Beetham phase 4 was a pilot project. After finishing this project they started to demolish the old barracks next to the new apartments. On this spot and on an empty spot opposite, two new apartment blocks should be constructed. According to Nathan they were finishing some improvements on the design of the apartment complexes. They were already delayed, they were supposed to start the project halfway in September. However, when I left Trinidad at the end of October, the project hadn’t started yet. According to Patrick and Nathan, there were problems with the arrangement of the finances.

As described about the rents and allocation of the apartments in sub-section 3.1.7, nothing seems well-aligned. According to HDC officials the rules and policy are different from what interviewees tell me that happens in the field. The rents they pay didn’t match the policy as stressed by the head of the rental department and the allocation of apartments and houses happens according to HDC tenants because you know someone.

### 3.8.3. Interference of bureaucracy

Enactment of bureaucracy and change in governments interferes with the enactment of the upgrade policy in the Beetham phase 4. It slows down projects and sometimes it stops the development of
projects. According to many interviewees, every Minister likes to realise her or his own physical project, to show his contribution to the country and all political parties like to gain votes. During my interviews people argued that political parties often favour areas in which they have many votes and are a large party. When they develop programmes in other areas it is often said that it is just to win new votes, but that the real development only takes place in the districts in which they are large, since citizens mostly vote for the same political party anyway.

Just as the bureaucracy I faced doing research, the East Port of Spain Development Company has no mandate and their payments and development projects face the problems of bureaucracy. When a project is approved, the payments often slow down the project materialisation and this creates problems with the contractors. It is also reasonable that the next apartment complexes, that are supposed to be constructed after the pilot project, are also facing bureaucratic problems. That all the parties involved need to agree and that it therefore takes time to organise the finances.

Combining the different forms of interference one can stress for example that most residents of the Beetham are from African origin. They mostly vote for the political party PNM. The Coalition of the People’s Partnership (PP) is ruling the country, this is a coalition without the PNM. People in the Beetham are stigmatised, and some feel discriminated. The PP coalition enacts the inhabitants in the Beetham, by supporting the implementation of the upgrade policy, the Prime Minister handed over the keys to the new tenants. On the other hand people don’t vote for the parties that are part of the coalition and they will assume that the PP will not realise programmes for them. However, according the people I spoke to, people in the area feel left outside and forgotten by the politicians. The trust of the people will be lower in the PP than in the PNM. This will influence the success of implementing programmes in the area. Most people are likely to be more suspicious, and less cooperative.

On the other hand, the Prime Minister was involved in the opening of the new apartments. The government stressed the success of the project that was constructed without any robberies or other safety issues. This was a start to overcome the stigmatisation of the area, in which they showed the world some positive aspects of the area. According to Moser (2006) interference is a way to change a focus in relations between actors, networks and actor-networks. This is an example of that, by showing a different side of the Beetham.

3.9. Influence of (non)human actors and interference on policy.

Latour (2005) argues that not only humans but also non-human actors can be vital actors in the enactment of a case. All together the non-human actors play a role in the enactment of the policy and in particular the enactment of the first physical part of the project, the six apartments. They enact human and non-human actors and are acted upon as well. This chapter stressed the importance of including non-human actors when studying the enactment of an urban policy. The non-human actors won’t act alone, but they are part of the heterogeneous networks in which all different actors together
Housing towards prosperity

have their own role. The six apartments, construction materials, the ‘small building’ law, the rent and allocation of apartments were all part of the enactment of the ‘upgrading’ policy. Moreover the initiator of the ‘upgrading’ policy, the HDC and the government housing history and Act 24, the basis for the HDC influenced the policy materialisation. Just as the background and former taxi business of Akiel, the contractor of the apartments. The Priority Bus Route and Highway, both located next to the area, had also their influence on the enactment of the policy.

Crime, race and bureaucracy are described as interfering aspects in the enactment of the policy. They interfere in the materialisation of the policy, sometimes they slow down the process of materialisation, like shown with the interference of bureaucracy. The interference of crime is included in such a way in the project materialisation that it helps to create a successful project. Here I refer to the involvement of the gang leader, which was part of the reason why the project was realised without problems like robberies, or other criminal actions. Interference of race influenced actors who were part of the actor-network in the policy materialisation. Akiel the contractor called it a lack of mental emancipation, he stressed the trend that people only work when the boss is watching. He wanted to break that trend by giving his workmen responsibilities. Interference of bureaucracy slowed down the construction of the other apartments, after the realisation of the first pilot project.
4. Grassroots vision in the Beetham

Patrick (a pseudonym) is 53 years old and an inhabitant of Beetham gardens since 1984 (more information history of Patrick in textbox 11). Patrick wants a good place to live and for his children to grow up, therefore he upgraded his house. Moreover he aims to help people in the Beetham and Sealots, the neighbouring area across the Beetham Highway in between the sea and the landfill. He claims that helping people in the area is the reason that he is still living in the Beetham. He helps the inhabitants of the Beetham as a social worker and he realised two schools in the area.

Patrick’s grassroots vision is studied in this thesis. This chapter will stress the influence of (non)human actors on the enactment of his vision. It discusses for example the influence of the construction materials and the Certificate of Comfort (both non-human actors) on the actions of Patrick and his vision. Moreover this chapter stresses how interference of crime and reputation act upon the vision’s implementation. The chapter starts with a description of the squatter house of Patrick, the physical aspects of the house are introduced, the construction materials, flexibility and the influence of these actors on the materialisation of Patrick’s vision. The second section will focus on squatter regulation. It discusses the role of the Land Settlement Agency (LSA), which is the

Box 11: History of Patrick

When I first met Patrick I was surprised by his extraordinary personality. I saw a small man, who looked fashionable in his own style. He is wearing glasses because he likes the look and wears rings and bracelets and sometimes a cap for fashion. He talks a lot and very fast and is very friendly, welcoming and willing to help. Patrick told me his history. He grew up in an orphanage, St. Michaels home for boys, in San Fernando, the second city of Trinidad. He stayed there from twelve until eighteen years. When he was eighteen he had to leave the orphanage and went to Barbados. After returning to Trinidad he went to stay with a friend from the orphanage who lived in the Beetham. Patrick explains that he was more ambitious than his friend and he didn’t want to stay with his friend the whole time. He wanted his own house. He tells me that his friend was ‘using drugs and things’. His friend died eventually. Patrick saved his money and started to build his own house in the swamp, Beetham phase 5, on the same spot as where he is living now.

As a child he won many singing contests in the country. When he was starting to join the singing competitions he didn’t tell anyone about his background in the orphanage, since, according to him, the orphanage had and still has a bad name. Only after he won the contest he told the media that he was living in the orphanage.

In the Beetham he started to teach children, and he realised two schools in the area. In one of his schools copies of the newspaper articles of the young Patrick are still showing the success story of the little singer from the orphanage and an older Patrick receiving an award from the prime minister. He lives together with his family in a squatter house in Beetham phase 5, the squatter area of the Beetham. He has a wife, Ann, and they have three children together, the youngest boy is 12 years old, a girl of 16 and their oldest son of 20 years. Patrick also has an older son of 22 years, but he is not living with them in the house. The two youngest children are going to school, the older ones are working.
responsible government body to organise squatter areas and supplies the Certificate of Comfort (COC). The fourth section discusses Sou-Sou land and the Sou-Sou land savings that are used by Patrick. Then the initiatives of Patrick and his wife (Ann) for the youth will be discussed. The two schools of Patrick, the All in One Development centre and the Special needs school.

Sections five and six focus on the second sub-question of this thesis: How does interference from enacted categories of crime and reputation influence the enactment of the grassroots vision? Section five discusses the interference of reputation on the grassroots vision and section six addresses the interference of crime on the materialisation of Patrick’s vision. The last section discusses the enactment of Patrick’s vision. It will combine the influence of the (non)human actors and interference of reputation and crime.

4.1. House of Patrick

Patrick is living with his family in a home that he built illegally on state ground (see Figure 12 & 13), a so-called squatter house (more about squatter history in Trinidad and Tobago in Box 12). His home is located in Beetham phase 5, just beside the Priority Bus Route (see Figure 7 & 8 section 3.4). This section describes the house of Patrick. The first sub-section discusses the physical aspects, the

**Box 12: Squatter history of Trinidad and Tobago**

Andrew, a researcher at the Land Settlement Agency (LSA) just wrote his master thesis on squatting. His thesis is not yet approved and therefore I cannot use it for my study. However he showed me a presentation of his study and told me a lot about the history of squatting. According to Andrew, in 1839 land owners were in charge. People couldn’t buy land, or they should buy at least 100 acres. Only from the 1860s on, smaller 5 acres plots were allowed to be sold by law. He explains to me the concept of adverse possession. When you live in a certain place for a certain amount of time, you are the entitled person to the land. This rule was created when the white land owners left the country, so people could use their land. For private land you are a landowner after 16 years, for government sites after 30 years. Andrew stresses that these laws encourage squatting in Trinidad and Tobago.

In line with what Andrew tells me, Wood (1968) describes that squatting in Trinidad and Tobago started on a large scale when former slaves started to live by themselves, leaving the estates they were working on and looking for a place to live, after emancipation in the early 1840s. Griffith-Charles (2004, p.99) claims in her study that land prices were kept high in these times to try to keep the slaves as labourers on the fields, because the plantation owners and the government were afraid of labour shortage in the countryside. Moreover the former slaves mostly did not have any money, therefore they were not able to buy land. Whereas the Indian labourers were paid for their work and were able to buy some land. Griffith-Charles describes that this made it difficult for the former slaves to get access to the formal land tenure market and made them squatters on unoccupied land. Since the possibility of eviction was always there, they realised their houses with temporary materials and they had no incentives to construct permanent houses (Griffith-Charles, 2004. p.99). Those informal squatter settlements are also referred to as slums or simply informal settlements or squatter settlements.
measurement, the layout and the construction materials. The second sub-section discusses the implications of the construction materials, of Patrick’s house and other squatter houses. The last sub-section addresses the flexibility of the house. Squatter houses are often built very flexible since they are built illegal and constructed that they are easily moved.

4.1.1. Physical aspects of the house

The house is approximately 10 meters wide on the front and 9 meters in length, with some extra bedrooms in the back, which is approximately an extra 4 by 5 meters. The house has four bedrooms and a large open kitchen area with living room, a toilet and a gallery or entrance room. The construction of the house is from wood and is built on stilts, approximately half a meter above surface level. The area is a swamp, this means that there is water and mud everywhere, especially in the rainy season, therefore all houses are built on stilts, reached by a small stair outside the house. Sometimes there are pathways realised to reach the houses. Patrick has one of the largest houses in the Beetham squatter area that I’ve seen, except for the concrete house of the Gang leader located in Beetham phase 5. Houses in Beetham phase 5 are mostly built from wood. This is in contrast to the houses in the other phases of the area, those houses are mostly made of concrete, constructed by the HDC.

The walls are made from plywood and the roof is constructed with galvanised sheets on top of wooden roof beams. Patrick stresses that he does not know a lot about construction, but he knows what he wants and he likes to design. He designed the house himself, no drawings or whatsoever. He discussed his ideas with the builders, and together they came to the way it is build now. He wanted a lot of light in his house, therefore they have a lot of glass and windows.

A remarkable detail I found was the kitchen. The kitchen sink is realised in a sort of bay

![Figure 13: House of Patrick, side, in the back the Bay window in the kitchen.](image)

![Figure 12: House of Patrick, front](image)
window (see Figure 13). The bay window is constructed out of wood and a small galvanised roof. From the outside you see the plughole going out and the water pipe going in. Another remarkable detail Patrick points out to me is the ceiling. He had no money for construction material for finishing the roof on the inside, to cover the galvanised sheets. He decided to buy silver foil and he attached that to create a nice looking ceiling. He tells me that sometimes he needs to attach the foil again, when it gets loose. But he can do that himself, whereas the real construction work is always done by workmen that he needs to hire. He is not able to do the construction work himself.

In front of the house a concrete terrace is realised. Patrick explains that the concrete is the only way to regularise the swampy area into a usable space. However this is an expensive solution, therefore it is only done on the terrace in the front of the house. The shower is located outside on the terrace. They had a shower inside the house, but Patrick explains that they wanted to have more space inside, therefore they moved the shower out. Other ways to use the swamp according to Patrick is by putting stones in the area. First he thought the small stones were the best, but from experience he realised that the bigger the stones the better they function to make the place usable. The smaller stones still let the water through, the bigger stones give a more solid surface.

The yard in the back of the house is green and there are left over construction materials stalled (see Figure 14). At the border of his parcel is a little stream running and behind that more green and swamp. Ann tells me when she moved in with Patrick the area looked different. She tells me that when she came it was more swamp and more trees. It was more nature and bush.

Before entering the house you need to cross a drain. This large drain is going through pipes before the house of Patrick, but is open on all other places. A little road on top of the drain pipes gives access to the white iron gate. Ann explains to me, that this is one of the improvements Patrick made to the house. Before this improvement they had to enter the house over a small wooden bridge.

The sewage is realised with a sceptic tank at the back of the house. This was one of the things that was always there from the moment Patrick built his first shack. The electricity is organised with the electrical company. Patrick gives his neighbour electricity illegally and at the end of the month they split the bill. According to Patrick he only does that because his neighbour has kids and otherwise they would not have light in their house.

Patrick organised a water project in Beetham phase 5. Before he organised that, there was no running water in the houses. He organised five water standpipes. These standpipes are the main water pipes to which the houses can be connected. One is in his yard and the others are situated scattered.
Housing towards prosperity

around the area. He refused to pay for it and most people in Beetham phase 5, tap water illegally from the standpipes.

I am surprised by the size of the house, for me it is a really large house. Moreover I feel the floor waving as I walk the floor is not levelled. When I am in the house it feels very spacious, especially the kitchen area, the other rooms are quite full with furniture. Moreover the new part (3 years old) with the kitchen has a higher roof and with all the glass it gives an open feeling.

4.1.2. Construction materials and their implications

Most homes that were visited for the case study on squatter settlements by Griffith-Charles (2004) were constructed with galvanised iron roof sheets, just as the house of Patrick and most other houses I see in the squatting area of Beetham phase 5. According to Griffith-Charles (2004, p.107) this is a cheap option and often found second hand. Moreover this construction enables the inhabitants to move the house easily. If occupants feel more secure about their land tenure and have a higher income, they construct more permanent houses, often with bricks. Cambridge (2003) states that 97% of the roofs in the Beetham are from galvanised sheets (Cambridge, 2003. p.27).

Patrick started to live and built one room as a squatter. The construction materials that he used to upgrade his house were the usual, he stuck to plywood for the walls, a wooden construction frame and galvanised sheets for the roof. These building materials ask for replacement every now and then. According to Patrick, the roof needs to be replaced about every 10 years. This is one of the downsides of using these construction materials. The positive point is that the materials are easily usable in construction, since they are light. These light construction materials make it possible to move the house fast if necessary, when it is still small. A concrete construction is heavier and more durable and lasts longer and is more expensive. However when built in concrete the construction need to be well-calculated: the amount of reinforcement, the quality of the concrete and the sizes of the beams. When constructed with wood, one can change and replace construction and walls easier than when there is a concrete frame construction with masonry walls. Improvising and realising changes and adjustments are therefore easier in wood, replacing a plywood wall is less work than replacing a masonry wall. Moreover problems can be greater with a concrete construction when the concrete is not used properly. When a concrete construction collapses this is much heavier than a wooden construction, therefore the problems can be bigger. This can happen when the foundation is not designed well or when there is not enough reinforcement in the concrete calculated, or connections are not constructed properly. For some people concrete can have a more modern look, at least that is what I hear about the apartment complex in Beetham phase 4. The concrete construction and masonry walls need less maintenance and last longer.

Patrick, did not upgrade his house by constructing it in concrete, but one of the features that show the upgrade in comparison to the shed, is the size of the house and the large windows. Furthermore the large windows, the size of the house and the electricity, water and sewerage
connections make the house difficult to move. Therefore it lost the features of a house that is constructed with light materials so it can be moved in one night, the original construction method of squatters. (More about housing types in textbox 13).

**4.1.3. Flexibility of the house**

Patrick and Ann are planning on reconstructing the rooms in the back. Since the roof is leaking above the bedrooms of the children that are located in the back of the house. This part is already 10 years old and Patrick stresses that this needs to be replaced. Moreover they would like to realise a large room for their oldest son. He is working and according to Ann he needs more space now, so he can buy his own TV if he wants. Another change they like to realise is moving the shower to the back of the house.

According to Turner (1984) this constant planning of changes on the house is a typical aspect of squatting. Turner refers to the potential and dynamics of squatter settlements to look at them as building sites (Turner, 1984). Moreover Turner introduces the concept of housing as a verb. This constant change on the building site, refers to squatters and housing as a verb, constantly on the move. Patrick is constantly rebuilding or he is planning construction work, outside and within the house. Whereas the HDC apartments are ready to use, people get a key and can start living in them. The possibilities for building activities are minimal and if there is construction work realised this will most likely be inside the apartment. Squatters are responsible for the quality of their own house and

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**Box 13: Housing types**

Andrew of the Land Settlement Agency describes five housing types generally found in Trinidad. First he describes a shack, this is a very basic house, constructed with galvanised materials. Secondly the sub-standard house, this is a house that is already a bit improved. Thirdly a standard house, this house has all facilities that are necessary. Fourth a modern house, this is a concrete house with brick walls and lastly, an exclusive house. When I ask him to explain how they determine what exactly is what, it seems not to be determined by strict rules. However it is an indication. He shows me some pictures to show me the different house classes. According to Samantha, fieldworker of the LSA, all different types of houses are found in squatter areas, although most squatters are shacks, sub-standard or standard and some are modern houses or can even nudge to be exclusive.

Describing the house of Patrick in these terms, I would say he started living in a shack. He rebuilt this into a sub-standard house, and although he did not use any concrete or bricks for the house, I would say he has a standard house now, with all facilities they need and a lot of space in the house, although the roof is leaking in the back, the floor is not levelled and the shower is situated outside. The standard house has all the facilities as electricity, sewer, running water, shower and toilet available. However because of the quality of the materials and the construction method, the house asks for constant care and rebuilding. It is never finished. The house of Patrick is constantly under construction and when there are no construction works going on they are planning changes on the house. They first need to save money to realise a change and then they can start reconstructing again.
the use of that, whereas tenants of government housing use their house, without the responsibilities to improve it. On the one hand the squatter house shapes the needs of its inhabitants, on the other hand the house (both on the outside and inside) is formed by the needs of the inhabitants to a certain degree, also depending on the housing situation. Housing ideas and needs are constantly changing in time as shown in the case of Patrick.

**4.2. Squatter regulation**

Patrick and his wife tell me that Patrick has a Certificate of Comfort (COC) for the house. This non-human actor is a tool to ‘regularise’ squatting in the country. It entitles the squatters to live on the land, and if the government needs the land they have to provide new accommodation for them. The Certificate is available for people who occupied state land before 1998.

This section first introduces the Land Settlement Agency and the amount of squatter sites in Trinidad. Then it discusses the squatter regularising process and the impact on squatters of the regularising process. The last sub-section discusses the influence of the COC on the materialisation of the vision of Patrick.

**4.2.1. Land Settlement Agency (LSA)**

The Land Settlement Agency (LSA) is the government body that issues the certificates and is responsible to regularise squatting in Trinidad. In Tobago the regularisation of squatting is the responsibility of the Tobago House of Assembly.\(^{16}\) Just as the HDC, the LSA is part of the Ministry of housing, Land and Marine affairs. In 1998, Act no.25 was realised to regulate squatting in

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**Box 14: The objective of Act 25**

“WHEREAS the Government of the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago (hereinafter called “the Government”) is committed to the goal of improving living conditions, so that everyone in this society will have access to adequate and affordable shelter, with security of tenure: And whereas the Government is further committed to the objectives of promoting security of tenure and facilitating access to land, bearing in mind the need of the population for serviced land, but at the same time recognising the inability of the underprivileged to afford serviced land: And whereas squatting is recognised as a phenomenon in Trinidad and Tobago for well over one hundred years: And whereas in furtherance of its commitment to improving living standards and to fostering healthy development, the Government is undertaking a programme to regularise certain squatter settlements and to prevent further squatting by providing an alternative solution in the form of land for the landless, with the intention of developing sustainable human settlements.” (Act 25, 1998. p.5) Whereas the Trinidad and Tobago policy was for a long time to demolish squatter settlements and provide sufficient low income houses, with this act they recognised the existence of squatter settlements and realised that it is impossible to provide sufficient government housing. Therefore it was necessary to ‘regularise’ some of the squatters.

Housing towards prosperity

Trinidad and Tobago. Out of this act the LSA was formed to take care of the squatting policies (more information about Act 25, see textbox 14).

According to the website of the Ministry of Housing, Land and Marine affairs, there are over 250 squatter sites located on state lands. Andrew from the LSA tells me that they started to map squatter sites through GPS. They have mapped 380 sites already, around 40,000 structures and 25,000 households. He estimates that this is around 75% of all squatting settlements in Trinidad. Most of the sites are old, but he assumes that there are around 50-60 relatively new sites.

Act 25 is supported by the International American Development Bank (IADB). According to Andrew and the website of the LSA, the IADB gave a second loan to the LSA. This loan is especially to upgrade the squatter sites and regularise squatting by organising the COCs. Besides the loan of the IADB, the LSA is supported by the government.

4.2.2. Process of squatting regularising

According to Andrew, the first step of the LSA is to realise a development plan for the area and infrastructure, like roads, water, sewer and electricity, then the squatters are given title. Andrew prefers it the other way around. Because, according to him, if COCs are given first to the people, they are encouraged to change things on their living circumstances themselves.

Andrew and Samantha of the LSA, tell me that the LSA not only issues COCs but also upgrade the squatter area. According to Samantha, they also do something to physically upgrade the site. She stresses that they make infrastructure, for example; proper drainage, water, electricity and roads. They transform an unplanned settlement into an organised area. The LSA not only regularise squatting but also develops the entire area by realising infrastructure.

Andrew explains the politics of their development work. Mostly they realise gravel roads in the areas, especially just before elections. The government can easily decide then to pave the road, according to Andrew they realise many roads like that. Often the pavement of the gravel roads happens just before the elections. Thus, the LSA only pays for gravel roads, and the government decides and finances a project to pave those roads. In this way the LSA is able to realise more roads with the money they have available. For the government it is a cheaper project then, since the roads are already created and only need to be paved.

Samantha is one of the fieldworkers of the LSA, she is responsible for all applicants of COCs in the Beetham. According to Andrew, there are ten to fifteen fieldworkers employed by the LSA. Samantha explains her work to me. She goes into the area and visits the squatters or applicants as she calls them. She answers their questions and does a survey, from that moment she is the contact person for the applicants at the LSA. If some people have been living on state land before 1998, she will organise a COC for them. According to Samantha a COC gives them security. They can stay on the land if they need to move, the government needs to give them another spot. Moreover it provides the squatters more security so they will feel more secure to upgrade their house.
When people are not entitled to a COC she tells them that they need to arrange something with the owner of the land they are living on or that they are not entitled to get a COC since they are not occupying the land before 1998. The legal department of the LSA keeps track of who is living on state land and who not, they also keep track of squatters who are not entitled to receive a COC. In this way ACT 25 legalised some squatters in the country and it recognises that even more people are living in squatters and need basic facilities as infrastructure.

COC is only the first step in getting entitlement to the land, but this is the entitlement that is given to many people over the last years and many people see it as an end result according to Twigge (2006). Many people got a COC, but most are not officially owners of the land (Griffith-Charles, 2004). The second step in the process of legalising squatting is a Statutory Lease of 30 years. In the final stage people are granted a Deed of Lease of 199 years. This Deed of Lease includes rent arrangements with the government. The latter had been, according to Twigge, only given to nine households until 2004 (Twigge, 2006). Twigge concludes that the land registration system that is used still is very labour intensive (Twigge, 2006. p. 105). Large amounts of resources and documents are needed to give and get a COC, and then you need to go further to gain official land tenure (Twigge, 2006. p.105).

4.2.3. COC as an actor

I ask Patrick if it made a difference for him when he got the COC. His immediate response is yes. He explains that their area is industrialised. There are many firms around the area, as the Rum factory (as described in sub-section 3.5). He considers the area a gem. In the way that it is a wanted spot, close to the centre of Port of Spain. The certificate gives him more security and with the certificate it is worthwhile to realise a better home. After he got the certificate he rebuilt the house. Ann tells me that when they got the certificate they immediately realised electrical wires in the house. This is also what Griffith-Charles (2004) concludes in her study. She states that most dwellers she spoke to “felt relatively secure in their tenure, because of the tolerant State policy, which had evolved over the years from enforcement against squatting to the current initiative for regularisation and upgrading” (Griffith-Charles, 2004. p. 117).

The non-human actor of the COC encouraged Patrick to build a more permanent larger house. It gave security to Patrick which made it interesting for him to look for financial possibilities to realise a larger house. Moreover the COCs enacted the government’s tolerance toward squatters and see squatter houses as part of the country’s low income housing stock.

4.3. Sou-Sou Land

Patrick started to build his squatter house with the money he saved. After he got a COC he arranged a Sou-Sou land saving (more background information about Sou-Sou Land in textbox 15). Griffith-Charles (2004) discusses the concept of Sou-Sou land in her study about squatting in Trinidad. As
pointed out in section 3.3, Griffith Charles describes Sou-Sou land as a communal fund, in which the participants put small sums of money. A participant can use the loan for a year and needs to pay it back without interest (Griffith-Charles, 2004. p.108). Ann tells me that they are still saving money with Sou-Sou land. They pay 300-500 TTD a month, depending on how much they can miss. This section describes Sou-Sou land and the influence of this non-human actor on the materialisation of the vision of Patrick.

For some time Ann and Patrick went every weekend to the market to earn some extra money to save for the house. She tells me that they stood up at 4 o’clock in the weekends to go to the market, to sell different items, like clothes. Thieves were stealing from the house when they were not there. They were people from the community. When the community found out, they beat the thieves. She tells me that you have to show respect to the leader. When I ask her if the leader is the gang leader, she agrees. She places the comment that the gang leader is maybe not good for outsiders, but they will not steal from people from the community. They will always watch your back, therefore she can

Box 15: Sou-Sou Land

According to the findings of Griffith-Charles (2004), in one of her research area in Trinidad the average income of Sou-Sou land settlers was higher than the income of people living on state land in other squatter settlements. Some people therefore question the positive impact of Sou-Sou land savings for low income groups. Patrick is a schoolteacher and his wife Ann is running a day-care. I don’t know what their income is, but they are not belonging to the low income group that Griffith Charles (2004) describes. In this way I think it is correct to question the effect of Sou-Sou land savings for low income groups. I can imagine that the system is more suitable for the lower middle class if I can describe Patrick and his family like that. They have some money to save, whereas the low income people are generally unable to save. All people I spoke to in my research stress that there are children in the Beetham who go to bed without food. However, Patrick tells me that because he and his family do not need to pay any rent they can live their life like they do. Otherwise they would have more difficulties to pay the bills and send their children to school as well.

According to the study of Mohammed (1990), in 1986 NAR (National Alliance for Reconstruction) took over the power of the PNM (People’s National Movement) and they created the Sou-Sou Land Ltd (SSL). According to him, the idea was already launched in 1983 (Mohammed, 1990. P.138). The Sou-Sou Land Limited company was founded by John Humphrey in 1983 (Mohammed, 1990. p.149). He focused on the legal rights of land owners and he supported decent housing for all. “The company itself did not build houses, but it did provide building advice to its participants. They were encouraged to build their own homes in the same way the land was developed, incrementally and using community and self-help methods.” (Mohammed, 1990. P. 159). According to Mohammed (1990, p.2): “At its peak it [SSL] served almost 5% of the national population”. Mohammed (1990, p.1) argues that Sou-Sou land Ltd is: “a non-profit company that bought raw land and developed it into building sites for low income people who could not afford housing in the conventional market”. I would see the latter as the most extensive form of the Sou-Sou land concept. From which only the Sou-Sou land saving concept is used by Patrick and his Sou-Sou land friends.
always walk on the streets in the Beetham safely, also when it is dark. She also stresses that what the leader in the community says we have to do something, it needs to be done.

On the market they met the 20 friends with whom they save money together. She explains to me that you should ask people to get involved in the Sou-Sou land, that’s how it works. When I ask her why they have it with friends from the market and not with people from the neighbourhood, Ann explains this. According to her it is better to have the Sou-Sou land with people from the outside. She argues that people from the Beetham will not pay when it’s their turn.

They spent 30.000 TTD on the last part of the house with money from the Sou-Sou land savings. They realised the gallery and a bigger kitchen and the shower moved outside to get more space inside. According to Patrick it took 2 years to realise this, because of money issues. His brother recommended a man and he hired him for the job. He started the job, but in the end the man left and took some good plywood. Patrick tells me that he had to look for a new man to work on the construction, and money to finance it. In the end it worked out, but it took them longer than expected and more money.

The non-human actor, the Sou-Sou land saving principle made it possible for Patrick to spend a larger sum of money at once, and to realise bigger plans for his house. It created possibilities for Patrick and his family. Ann and Patrick needed more money to live, and therefore they started to work on the market. There they met people whom they trusted and with whom they started Sou-Sou land savings. This acted upon Patrick and his family in a successful way.

4.4. Initiatives for the youth

The vision of Patrick goes further than realising a house for his family and education for his children and food and clothes for them. While I was talking to him, walking around in the area and joining him to school and a community meeting, I saw a passionate energetic man who wants to use his capacities to help the people in the area. In the Guardian of 2004 they describe him as a man who “is determined to stay in the area and make a difference” (Guardian, March 10, 2004). This is something I can totally agree with.

When I ask him about his vision for the area he describes it as follows. He wants more dedicated teachers and social workers that come out of their offices, instead of sitting in them all the time. In this way you reach people much better, if you go and see them. Now people are lying to the different government agencies about their situation and the agencies cannot really help them. Patrick tells me that he was shocked when he heard how many lies there are told to the agencies. You need community outreach officers. What you see in the neighbourhood is hungry mothers, siblings taking care of siblings and often the father of the children is shot or just absent. Moreover the children need education. This section describes the development programmes Patrick has realised in the neighbourhood. First it discusses the All in One Development Centre, a pre-school for children from
3-5 years. The second sub-section discusses the second school Patrick realised in the area, the Special needs school. The sub-section discusses the funds that Patrick used to develop the schools, and how publicity gave him extra funds. The last sub-section discusses the social work of Patrick in the area and the day-care of Ann, his wife.

4.4.1. All in One Development Centre

Patrick started the All in One Development Centre (see Figure 15), the first pre-school in the Beetham. The school is located in Beetham phase 5. Ann tells me that he started this pre-school in an old galvanised shed, without running water. When she met him he was taking care of an old lady and her shed was the place that he used to teach the children. Patrick tells me that he started the All in One school in 1985. After a while he broke into the abandoned community centre which was not used at the time and started to teach in there, still without any toilet facilities or running water.

Nowadays the All in One Development Centre is a pre-school for children from 3-5 years old, with five classes and five teachers. Patrick is the principal of the school, but stopped teaching in it. One of the teachers, Shannon is now head teacher of the school. The school is going so well that not all applicants can attend the school, there is only place for 60 children. It is one large room, divided with partitions to create space for the five different groups with their teachers. In the back of the room is a stage. Moreover there are toilets, a kitchen and an office and outside is a playground for the children. The school looks properly constructed in the way that the construction looks solid, the walls are plastered and painted. In the walls are ventilation openings. Just below the steel roof construction the wall stops and an open ventilation raster is constructed. The roof has an overlap on both sides, so when it is raining, the open ventilation holes will not cause water problems. This ventilation regulation shows a typical tropical construction style. However nowadays I see many buildings in Trinidad and Tobago that are not constructed with open ventilation holes. Most new buildings I see are closed and the temperature is regulated with air-conditioning. The new apartments in phase 4, see section 3.1, also have a more closed structure, these apartments are well constructed for air-conditioning. However, I haven’t seen any air-conditioning in this part of the Beetham.

The playground and tiling in the washroom is new. This is realised with the help of the military according to Patrick, moreover the military people realised the storage for toys outside according to Shannon. Photos of the construction work on the washroom and the playground are shown in the office.
4.4.2. Special needs school

After All in One became a normal running school as it is now, Patrick started a new challenge: the special needs school. He tells me that the challenge of the All in One school was gone for him and he saw a need for special needs children. In Beetham phase 2 there was an abandoned building that he upgraded to start a new school in. Together with his wife he cleaned and painted the abandoned building in a summer holiday. They realised, with help from a construction worker, a floor. After the work during the summer holiday he started to teach in the building, it is a building built in masonry work. The building has one large classroom, an office, a kitchen area and a room, with bathroom, where the day-care of Ann, Patrick’s wife is located. The building is high, I expect the classroom where Patrick is teaching is almost 4 meter high. There are ventilation openings in the wall which start at around 1.6 meter. The roof is constructed with galvanised sheets and is leaking.

When I visit the Special needs school after summer holiday, he is teaching 31 children. During summer holidays he had a summer school in All in One and in the Special Needs School. In the class that he is teaching, six pupils are autistic, from which the oldest one is a man of 37 years, one boy has the down syndrome, besides them there are many children below the age of 5 without any ‘learning disabilities’, who cannot attend normal school yet, which starts from 6. The last group of children is a mixture of ages, ranges from 6 till 14 years. They are expelled from school or have other problems. In the one classroom he is teaching them all.

I sit in the back of the class during my observation. All pupils are sitting on old chairs for grown-ups behind the tables. I am impressed by Patricks’ teaching skills. He is teaching four different levels at once. Moreover when I am there, there are 2 extra children, they just showed up, because their school was closed that day. Patrick asked them their age and made a little book with some exercises for them, on what he assumed should be their level. The children learn to listen and to wait, but he pays attention to all and (almost) all children are working or participating in the group lesson for one of the levels.

In October Patrick closed the school, because he received a fund to repair the leaking roof. He organised workmen to replace the old roof. The workmen started to work in the school, disconnected the electricity wires and demolished the old roof. They constructed a new roof, according to Patrick they finished the roof halfway October 2012. However the workmen did not replace the electricity wires. According to Patrick they only disconnected them and constructed the new roof. He assumed that they were supposed to rearrange the electricity again. Patrick paid them with the fund he got for the roof and he was left with no money and no arrangement for the electricity. When I left the country he just discovered this. Patrick was totally stressed since he wanted to open the school again Monday the 22nd of October 2012. This was impossible without electricity he especially needed the lights. He was worried how to fix this problem, since he had no money left to hire electricians. I left in the middle of this and don’t know how it worked out.
For me this stresses the involvement in construction that Patrick didn’t ask for but got, while developing his vision. He is a skilled teacher, a social worker and a community activist. However to organise these practices, in a correct manner with the available money, he is also involved in construction work. Although he tells me that he has no expertise in construction and apparently he has difficulties managing construction work, although he wants to, to realise a better school and without his efforts this probably won’t happen.

4.4.3. Funds

When I ask Patrick what his passion is, he directly answers singing. That is what he likes to do the most, he especially loves Jazz. He tells me that he needs his music and the music helped him achieve certain goals in the area. When the media heard that the child star was living in the Beetham, they came to interview him in his home, a small shack at that time. They found him teaching the children in the old community centre with a galvanised roof without a toilet or running water. They were impressed about his efforts for the neighbourhood. He assumes that his television appearance was the reason of the sponsorship from different parties, amongst others: the Rotary club, YMCA and American Women’s association. He started to rebuild the schools with self help and this was complemented by sponsors later on. Self help\(^{17}\) is a government programme from the ministry of community development for people who do something for their community, which is called the National Commission for Self Help Limited (NCSHL). The objective of the NCSHL is: “This Programme keeps the spirit of self-help and self-reliance alive. The fullest participation of all members of a group are involved in the decision making process. It promotes the true essence of working with people rather than working for the people. Projects place maximum reliance on community resources of time and labour and even some financing, supplemented by technical services and materials from the Government”\(^{18}\) (website, ministry of community development).

After the publicity started, he won the Public Service Medal of Merit (gold), for community service and education in 1999.\(^{18}\) This is one of the Trinidad and Tobago National awards. He tells me that he won the award and with the money and other funds he rebuilt the All in One Development Centre to what it is now. He always depends on funds. In 2000 he was funded by the Wand foundation from the UK. They gave him a grant of $35,200. He tells me the story of a bourgeois school from another area of PoS that arranged an exchange with his school in the Beetham. A Chinese and white woman were in charge of the school and were impressed by the behaviour of his students. Therefore they wanted the children of their school to go to his class in the Beetham. Every bourgeois child brought clothes, books and other things for the Beetham children. In addition he was


granted a scholarship to study. He studied education training, so he could become an official teacher. In 2000 he got his degree as a teacher.

4.4.4. Social work

When I ask Patrick how he feels about the changes and achievements in the neighbourhood, he responds that in the beginning he was frustrated that he did not see real changes in the neighbourhood. He tells me that the neighbourhood is still the same as when he came to live there. However, now the government came on board and this can be the possibility to realise changes.

Besides teaching he always helped the people in the neighbourhood, he calls that social work. He listens to them, helps them fill in official forms, arranges schooling for the children or answers other questions from the citizens. He addresses that on Fridays when he does not teach, he goes into the area to do his social work.

I spend some time with Patrick and sense that he is respected by all the people we meet in the area. When I ask him how he achieved that, he tells me that he taught them or taught their children. Therefore everybody knows him and he stresses that he is a good listener and helps people in the area with his social work. When I ask him how he arranges his projects he tells me that ideas pop-up. He

Box 16a: Day-care

Ann explains to me that day-care in Trinidad is normally very expensive. It is often more expensive than what people in the Beetham earn in a month. That is why she started the day-care. She asks for the day care around 300TTD (around 36 Euro, November 2012) for every fortnight. While I am interviewing her she is taking care of 15 children on her own: 4 babies, some little ones who just walk, some 3 year olds and a sister of one of the little ones of 9 years, and another sister of 7 years, the last two can help. Furthermore there is an older mentally disabled boy who normally goes to the special needs school of Patrick. He also helps in his own way, taking care of the little children. When we start the interview, Ann’s daughter of 16 is still at home and helping and when her daughter leaves, her son of 12 is there to help. However her son is only twelve and he is helping, but he is also interested in proudly showing me the drawings he made and in playing with the children.

Normally the day-care is located in a room in the Special needs school. Patrick just got a fund to repair the roof which was leaking and therefore the school is closed in October. Ann moved the day-care to their house and they are all sitting in the entrance room of the house, or the gallery as Ann calls it. Ann and the children are all sitting in the small room, of around 3 by 3 meters, furnished with a couch and a chair.

Ann tells me that the mothers drop their children early in the morning and often they come and pick them up late in the evening. She tells the mothers that this is not acceptable, because she needs her rest as well. However she is doing it for the children not for the mothers who can go to work. She tells me that she wants a good life for all the children. She likes to see them grow, and she likes that all the children have their own character. She knows all the children well, she sees their first steps and first teeth. She raises them with the same norms and values as she raised her own children. She teaches them to respect one another and to help each other. (Continues in box on next page)
just starts something and ideas pop-up while he is working, and then he tries to execute them.

Although I find that most attention is given to the work of Patrick, he is not only involved in his own development programmes in the area, but also in several other programmes concerning the Beetham and East Port of Spain. I am also impressed by Ann his wife who is more on the background. When Patrick was involved in many different development programmes, Ann took care of the children when they were little and since three years now she is running a day-care (more information about the day-care of Ann in textbox 16).

4.5. Interference of reputation

Patrick realised two schools in the Beetham and his wife is running a day-care. He built his own house, his first house was a one room shed, and he started teaching children in the shed of an old Box 15b: Day-care

I am surprised that I am able to interview her with so many young children around us, and that the children can be so quiet in such a nice atmosphere. When I listen to the recorded interview I have difficulties understanding our conversation, but that had more to do with the noise of the Priority Bus Route and the ventilator on the background, than with the noise of the children. Ann tells me that she bathes the children every day. After the interview I help her with that, and I am again impressed how she is managing everything. First the babies, after the bath the babies are dried and totally white from the powder, than they get tea as she calls it. For me it looks like a bottle of milk. I am busy giving a bottle of milk to one of the babies, after I’ve dried and changed the baby, in the meanwhile she washes all the other children and helps them to dry themselves.

In the Special needs school the room that she uses for the day care is full with wooden beds for the children. Around 2/3 of the room is covered with beds and only 1/3 of the room is available to sit and play. Ann tells me that the little beds are a donation from the rotary club. I am wondering if the rotary club ever saw the space they donated the beds for, since in my view the beds are too big for the space that is available. The good thing on the other hand is that I see sometimes 2 babies sleeping in one bed.

Ann’s wish for the area is that they will get the drainage fixed, against the floods, a new housing plan, work for the youth and a playground for the kids. As in many stories I listen to when I speak to people involved in the Beetham, violence and crime are mentioned by Ann again as problems in the area. Ann tells me that her youngest son was playing on the playground in phase 3 when he was little. However, after he came home beaten up by other children because he didn’t belong in phase 3 she never let him go again to the playground. Patrick agrees with his wife that employment is one of the largest problems of the area as well.

The day-care of Ann that moved to her own house showed me the flexibility that she has. She adjusted to the situation and moved the day-care to her own house. There she adjusts to the physical situation, she bathes the children in the outside bath and they have their nap in her bedroom. She does not need any children chairs, baby furniture, or whatsoever. The only thing that I recognise from the day-care in the special needs school is the box with white powder. I am taught to use a lot of the white powder after bathing the babies, according to Ann the powder prevents the babies from sweating and an irritating skin. The older ones enjoy the outside bath a lot and when I leave they are playing a small board game and they are singing songs together.
lady. However he needed a better suitable location for teaching the children, since there were no basic facilities, like running water or a toilet in the shed. He moved to the community building and realised running water and toilets connected to the sewerage system. This section discusses the interference of reputation on the materialisation of the vision of Patrick.

The social upgrade of the area that he aims for, and the help he wants to offer to the children in the area and the social work for the parents are intertwined with physical changes in the area. Once he realised the All in One Development Centre as it looks nowadays, it became an official school, and it even has more applicants than it can handle. He realised a peaceful nice environment in a nice building. All this energy and efforts of upgrading, created positive feedback and therefore more funds and social programmes.

The construction of the school building was not his first upgrade idea, but it followed out of a need, just as the old building acted to create the needs for a new school building. The old school building did not have the facilities Patrick wanted for a school, like running water and a toilet. His aim was teaching the children, but the need for a better school made him work toward realising a new school. The new school helped build the reputation of Patrick, and the reputation of Patrick enabled construction of the new school building as well, by making the fund arrangements possible. Moreover because he got the scholarship he could become an official teacher and got an official teacher’s salary from the ministry of education. At this Ministry you can apply for becoming a teacher approved by the government of Trinidad and Tobago. Moreover according their website, it is possible to register a pre-school or a day-care at the Ministry and they have certain funds to help people to develop a school.19

Patrick’s reputation changed from a poor Beetham citizen with a stigmatised reputation to an updated reputation of his history as a child star. The media and public was interested what became of the singing child-star from the orphanage. The interference of Patrick’s reputation changed the relations between the actors and changed the actor-network (Moser, 2006). This popularity and media attention gave him more contacts. Some of those new contacts were people with access to funds. Therefore he ended up getting funds and with those funds he realised the school.

On the other hand, his tough time in the orphanage with its bad reputation and the struggles he had to cope with to achieve something, gave him respect in the area. According to Patrick, his background and own struggles make it easier to understand the problems faced by the people in the area. Moreover Patrick argues that the best way to realise a successful development project is to do it slowly. First you need to know the area, then the people in the area need to know you and your intentions. Moreover he stresses that with a slow development programme people slowly get used to the idea and are less suspicious. When looking at slow development in Latourian terms: Enactment of the development of a vision or policy occurs in and through an actor-network. Slow development

programmes have more time to adjust the actor-network. On the other hand the actor-network influences the development of a programme, in this case the materialisation of a vision. The embedded actor-network in the slow development process creates mutual adjustments. Whereas fast developments will also influence the actor-network and will also be influenced by the actor-network, however the actors will have less time to adjust to the development and are therefore less embedded in the new developments. Patrick refers to fast developments to the apartment complex built by the HDC, as described in chapter 3. Therefore slow development programmes can follow enactment of the actor-network easier, without abrupt interference in the process of things. Slow development also makes the process of heterogeneous engineering easier (Law, 1987) and the aim to strive for stabilization and to realise a success.

4.6. Interference of crime

Another interference with the enactment of the grassroots vision of Patrick is crime. This section discusses the interference of crime on the materialisation of the vision of Patrick. Patrick addressed in one of our interviews that he is always aware of the area and the situation. The area is never completely safe. According to Patrick, in some cases the laws of the gang leader need to be followed. Not the police but the gangs are in charge of the area. One advantage of the interference of the gang leader is that the gang leader’s response and action towards problems is quick. When people stole from the house of Patrick and Ann, the gang leader found out who did it and according to Ann, he beat them up. Jaffe (2012) argues in her article that gangs often respond faster to incidents in the area than the police. The gangs arrange the area by their own rules, whereas the police are often not present.

On the other hand Patrick broke in to the old community centre, to use it as a school. This lawless action worked out well, and is probably more easily done in an area where the rules of the gang leader are present. When he won’t disagree, it is fine. Another advantage of the interference of the gang leader is according to Ann, that she is safe in the area at every time of the day and night. One of the gang members once told her that they always watch the area, and they will always make sure that she arrives home safely. On the one hand the interference of gangs and crime moves relationships to more fear based relations, and on the other hand crime enacts safety in the area and security (more about crime in sub-section 3.6).

4.7. Enacting Patrick’s visions

Thus different non-human actors played a role in the constant enactment of Patrick’s visions. Moser (2006) argues that we strive toward normalisation, in her research normalisation from disability. But what is normal in housing? Is the unlevelled floor in the house of Patrick not normal? Who sets these limitations and criteria of the normal? Apparently, Patrick spent his Sou-Sou land money on an
extension of their house. He could have chosen to realise a smaller concrete house. He prefers the space, and invested in a lot of glass. This stresses the different interpretations of normalisation of housing. Patrick materialised his vision differently while striving to normalisation than other actors in other actor-networks would do. Andrew distinguished different housing types in official terms. But different people will have different ideas about their housing wishes and needs and thus the housing type they prefer, obviously depending on the money they can spend on the house. These houses are built by their actor-networks.

Interference of the reputation of Patrick created his fame and that was part of the reason why he got funds. His fame was partly the result of his history as a child star, but was as well enacted by his ‘social’ work in the area. The funds made it possible to upgrade the All in One Development School and to start a new school in the area. The interference of crime and the gang leader, have a positive and negative influence on the enactment of the vision of Patrick. On the one hand, the gang leader will punish people who steal from him, and Patrick’s wife is watched all the time when she is in the area, so nothing will happen to her. However Patrick is constantly aware of the situation in the area, sometimes there are shootings and they will cause tensions in the area. He tries to overcome these tensions by realising a safe space for the children in the area and his family. He did this by organising two schools in the area and his own house. Other people in the area are happy with the schools since they keep the children of the streets and away from criminal activities in the streets of the Beetham.
5. Conclusion

This last chapter I will go back to the main research question. How is an individual vision and urban public policy enacted in the Beetham neighbourhood? In this study I’ve tried to answer this question and I’ve tried to organise my thesis with introducing certain topics and actors in a structured manner, however the different actors pop-up again in different cases. The policy and the vision may be seen as actors that get enacted by other actors. In this process of enactment, both the policy/vision and the other involved actors become adjusted to each other in some way. This is according the theory of Latour and other ANT scholars, the relational enactment of a certain programme. Nothing acts alone, they all attempt to become, and are made to, mutually adjust to each other in order to get things done.

In this chapter the two case-studies are combined. I will start by shortly describing the influence of human and non-human (material/technological) actors and interference with the enactment of categories such as race, crime, bureaucracy and reputation. In the second section I will discuss the success of the materialisation of the policy and vision. The final section will present some implications and recommendations for follow-up research and implications for future policy implementations, stemming out of this research.

5.1. Influence (non)human actors and interference

Not only the usual human actors influenced the grassroots vision and the policy. This research has shown how mutual adjustments between different human and non-human actors have enacted the grassroots vision and policy. This enactment could be viewed as a constant struggle to normalise housing in the Beetham area, according to certain standards, personal standards in the case of the materialisation of a vision and institutional standards (among other things, the ‘small building’ code) in the case of the materialisation of the policy.

5.1.1. Actors in the implementation of the upgrading policy

The apartments, construction materials, the ‘small building’ code and infrastructure are all physical aspects or non-human actors that were part of the actor-network. They influence the policy as shown in this report in chapter 3 and 4. For example, the perception of history by Akiel (section 3.3), the contractor of the apartment complex, is an important actor, since it made Akiel want to accomplish a project in the Beetham. Moreover his sense of history gave him certain ideas about how to do this. He decided that realising a construction project in the area could only become a success when involving the ‘boss’ of the area, the gang leader. Akiel has a construction company which is a necessity to win a tender for a construction project. He first started his own taxi company, which broadened his actor-network, and from there he started to work in construction. Akiel used his taxi company to transport people to the construction spot. By building an actor-network to carry out construction from here, Akiel changed his taxi business into a construction business.
However, the realisation of the construction project, based on the government’s housing policy, was not dependent on Akiel and his experience alone. Without the cooperation of Anthony, the gang leader of the area, it is questionable if the project would have succeeded without major problems. But these two actors (and their networks) cannot stand alone either. Akiel and Anthony surely acted to bring the project to fruition, but other actors involved in the project influenced Akiel’s and Anthony’s actions as well. An example is the taxi as described before, which made many of Akiel’s actions possible. Another example is Nathan, the HDC project-manager for the apartment complex. Nathan has the overall supervision of the project and without his permission or approval the project cannot continue. Yet Nathan’s actions (and his specific project) are made possible, facilitated and shaped in certain directions, by the different Housing Acts of the government which led to the formation of the HDC. Thus, in Nathan’s case, as in any other actor’s, his actions were made possible and carried out by a heterogeneous combination of humans and non-humans i.e., his actor-network.

The project in the Beetham was also shaped by other non-human (material, technological) actors such as the Highway and the Priority Bus Route. The two roads have converted the Beetham into an Urban Island while at the same time affording some mobility to the people from the area and those who want to visit the Beetham for implementing the construction project. Like human actors such as Nathan, the roads’ actions are made possible by other actors including human beings that use them but also non-humans such as a drain and a wall. The road is then an actor-network, as much as Nathan. Moreover, actors such as the road or the wall not only carry different meanings for different people, but also serve different material functions in different situations. For example, the wall secures the neighbourhood’s children from running toward the cars, and keeps the highway noise out. However it also symbolises exclusion from the highway and people who use the highway, and in this way, by its very materiality, it underlines the stigma associated with the Beetham.

5.1.2. Actors in the realisation of the grassroots vision

The other case studied in this research is the one of Patrick and his vision of his house and two schools in the Beetham. Patrick is a community activist, teacher and social worker in the area. He is driven by his ambition to achieve certain goals for himself and for others in his neighbourhood. To achieve his goals, he has had to assemble and re-assemble an actor-network that made it possible for him to realise the large house that he has now and two schools in the Beetham. He started small, but gradually his network grew, and with his larger network he gained funds and created ‘normal’ schools with sanitation and running water. The upgrade of his house depended on the Sou-Sou land savings, and therefore he was dependent on his friends who joined him in these savings. The government regulation of the COC (certificate of comfort, see section 4.3) made him more secure about using the land that he occupied illegally, so the certificate made him strive toward an improvement of his home.
Patrick assembled his actor-network through a process of heterogeneous engineering without making a distinction between social, legal and technological entities that he had to bring together. Obviously, this process of heterogeneous engineering, or assembling, was made possible by other actors’ actions. To the latter’s constraints and facilitations Patrick’s actions had to adjust. Thus many human and non-human actors are part of heterogeneous networks, in which all actors play their role in the end-result, in the process of things, in the materialisation of a vision, as amply shown in this study.

5.1.3. Interferences between enactments
The interferences between the enactment of the policy and grassroots vision in practice and that of categories such as race, crime, bureaucracy and reputation have been described in actor-network terms as well. The latter categories although non-material and non-technological in a narrow sense, were not initially envisaged as fitting within the framework of this research. During the fieldwork, however, they popped up as important actors and are therefore treated through the concept of interference. They are often treated as structural phenomena, shaping human actions and relations form above or outside. In ANT studies one looks at the situated enactment of these categories in a specific setting rather than treating them as structural categories.

Interference refers to the interaction between the enactment of a vision or policy and the enactment of the category of race, crime, bureaucracy or reputation. For instance, Patrick has a good reputation in the neighbourhood, which makes it easier for him to realise projects in the area. Moreover his reputation as a famous child-star broadened his network, bringing him media attention. From that broader network, he gained some funds to realise his schooling projects, which further improved his good reputation in the neighbourhood. However, even for him, crime interfered in the construction work on his own house in a negative way. A similar interference with the enactment of crime, race and bureaucracy also affected the ‘upgrading’ policy, steering it in a certain direction. For example, crime in the area influenced Akiel to include the gang leader in the construction of the apartments. The gang leader involved workmen of the area. Another example of the influence of interference is bureaucracy. Bureaucracy slowed down the construction of the other apartments, after the realisation of the first pilot project.

5.2. Successful implementation of policy/ vision?
From the study of the apartment-block realisation that was part of the policy implementation in the Beetham, one may conclude that one way to successfully implement a policy seems to be through the inclusion of the unofficial leader of the community, the local gang leader. However, one can question that when he agrees with implementing the policy and profits from it, if the rest of the citizens will profit and agree with the policy as well. Maybe he wants the best for his neighbourhood, however it is easily understandable that the people in the neighbourhood have a different opinion and maybe are not friends of the gang leader and therefore will not directly profit. In my understanding this stresses
immediately the problem faced by community based projects. Does each member of a community have an equal voice, or are the stronger members of a community the ones who enact the voice of their community in most situations and can therefore exert a disproportionate influence on the implementation of the policy? Perhaps the latter disproportionate influence is strongest when there is crime involved. Leaders will always have their own ideas that may possess a high degree of similarity with the ideas of some other actors in the neighbourhood (to which they have become mutually adjusted). But the voice of a community leader will rarely do justice to all members of a community. More often than not, the leader will have inflected the voice of his community by his or her ‘own sound’. Nonetheless, without a leader it is difficult to organise a community-based project. Therefore the aspect of (in)congruence of voice of the leader and other community members should be considered in the implementation of such projects, even if it cannot be overcome.

As a counterpoint to the above account, one may argue that the only way to successfully implement an urban upgrading policy in the Beetham is without the presence of the gang and the gang leader on the scene. When the illegal leadership of gangs is taken over by the official leaders, the community is ‘normalised’ and it can be assumed that community members have more freedom of speech then due to lack of fear, which may also allow a gradual mutual adjustment of the policy with other actors in the neighbourhood. However as stressed by Jaffe (2012), the gangs’ absence can also cause new problems. When the gang leader is not in charge anymore, the police need to take over the security of the citizens in the area. And if the police does not carry out its job adequately or is not trusted in the neighbourhood, this can cause severe problems. The gang leader can influence people in the neighbourhood, it is questionable if the police can do that on the same level.

Interestingly, the unofficial lawlessness that exists in these neighbourhoods, or the existence of their own ‘informal’ rules, fits with the background of squatting. A squatter’s house is illegally built on ground that is not owned by the squatter. Squatting is embedded in Trinidianian culture according some interviewees. Squatting is illegal, but the Land Settlement Agency (LSA), a government agency, acknowledges squatting, and attempts to legalise some of it by issuing COCs. In some sense then, even Patrick’s work with his socially-beneficial grassroots visions is made possible by his unofficial lawless occupation of land for his schools and home. However, his confidence and desire to constantly rebuild and renovate them also depends on the COCs that are issued as legal instruments by the LSA. This blending of legal and officially illegal elements in his actor-network perhaps has made him the successful social worker that he has become. The stability of the legal COC for his house made him more secure and made him upgrade his housing situation.

Further, the vision of Patrick and the materialisation of his vision in the form of a ‘standard’ house and two schools in the area are, according to him, based on his ideas. However, as he explained, ideas often pop-up while he is doing things to materialise his vision. In materialising his visions, he stresses that the only way to successfully implement a project in the Beetham is to do it slowly. According to him, the people in the neighbourhood need time to adjust to new ideas and will
generally be suspicious in first instance, just as non-human actors need time to adjust in a
neighbourhood and can change their influence in time. According to Patrick, only the passage of time
makes it possible to materialise a project in the area that is supported by its inhabitants. Patrick’s
emphasis on the passage of time, this highlights the importance of mutual adjustments between
different actors’ goals and interests which needs to take place as part of the enactment of a vision or
policy.

5.2.1. Predictability
One way to predict the outcome of a policy in an ANT perspective may be possible by converting
actors (who are almost always mediators) into intermediaries. As described in section 2.2 an
intermediary can be seen as an entity that reproduces what it receives from others, it acts in a more
expected way. A mediator on the other hand will transform what it receives into her action. Anthony
(the gang leader) was involved in the public housing project, in which he was paid to organise labour
and secure the project. In a way, by paying him, other implementing actors in the project attempted to
turn him into an intermediary, since he acted in ways in which he was expected by them to act. On
the other hand, in the neighbourhood he has the status of a gang leader. He is respected in a certain
way. Therefore many people in the area are likely to do what he tells them to do. In this way, fear and
crime may make people in the area act as intermediaries. They may act in a way that the gang leader
wants them to act. Such predictability makes it easier to implement a policy because it makes it
possible to anticipate future events to some extent. Therefore it can be helpful to create
intermediaries in a project if the aim is to implement a policy without (re)adjusting it to local needs
and materials. However it is questionable if it is desirable to turn actors into intermediaries. If the aim
is to implement a policy that is adjusted to the local needs it is not desirable to turn actors into
intermediaries. Moreover it is questionable if all actors can be transformed from a mediator into an
intermediary. For example natural phenomena are not manageable, the floods that heavy rainfalls
cause in the area can only be influenced by anticipating on the heavy rain, as it is not possible to
predict the rain’s impact adequately. Another example of a difficult to manage actor is for example
the Highway or the Priority Bus Route.

5.2.2. ‘Is Good policy unimplementable’?
Mosse (2004) has argued that good policy is often unimplementable. But what is good policy? When
looking at this statement from an ANT perspective as revealed in this study, policy becomes included
in an actor-network. One can stress that other actors in the actor-network influence the policy and
therefore the idea of an ex-ante good already-drafted policy is indeed questionable. Maybe a good
policy is something that is left flexible to be (re)created during the process of implementation.
However, one can argue that a policy, flexible (in the way that it is left open for changes) or not, is
always adjusted by others in an actor-network, just as these others are influenced by the policy.
Mosse (2004) used the ideas of Latour, but in the beginning of his article he addresses the question: “What if, instead of policy producing practice, practices produce policy, in the sense that actors in development devote their energies to maintaining coherent representations regardless of events?” (Mosse, 2004, p.640). When looking at this question from the perspective of my research, I would argue that this is simply a chicken and egg story. Policy and practice shape each other. When a policy enters an actor-network, the mutual adjustments that ensue influence both the policy and the practices it is supposed to create or modify.

When looking to the success of the policy and vision implementation, one can conclude for these case studies that it is all about good actor-networks. The right human and non-human actors and networks can influence the policy or vision in the process of realisation. However a good actor-network cannot be known beforehand or in any universal sense, but rather needs to be assembled in specific settings. It depends on particular situations, including the nature of policies and visions themselves. For Patrick, the interference of his fame as a child star was important, as were the non-human actors such as the COC and the possibilities of the Sou-Sou land. In the public policy implementation, the involvement of Anthony the gang leader was an important factor, just as the action of Akiel to involve Anthony. However all the other actors are part of the success as well, not least by influencing the actions of Akiel and Anthony.

During implementation of the policy or vision, different actors spanning the top and bottom levels of a project’s hierarchy influence the implementation process. Therefore no real bottom-up and top-down projects exists, because the success of both projects is influenced by institutions and by the community in which it is planned to be implemented. The LSA (‘top’) gave Patrick (‘bottom’) a COC, which made him more secure and he started to rebuild. The public policy implementation on the other hand was influenced by the community, by the involvement of Anthony and workmen from the area. Without their involvement, the policy might not have worked, and without the governmental regulations of COC and Sou-Sou land savings, Patrick would have been constrained in the realisation of his vision in the way that he did.

5.3. Discussion and recommendations

Without relations, an ANT research is impossible. Luckily connections, actors and networks are everywhere. However I only had a few connections in Trinidad and had to expand my network. The expansion of my network took time. For the data collection, it would have been nice to stay longer, to expand my research and find out more about the different actor-networks and open up more black-boxes. With my limited time I did what I could, but I could not open up all the black-boxes that might have been of interest in the enactment of the policy and vision.

For example it would have been interesting to open up the black-box of the Sou-Sou Land concept and the connections of Patrick in his Sou-Sou land savings group. What were the struggles in the Sou-Sou land group of friends? What did the other participants do with their share of the money?
What are the different voices and mutual adjustments within the enactment of the concept? Or another interesting example; how did the gang leader become a gang leader? Maybe a gun or his gun turns out to be an interesting non-human actor to study. Possibly guns were the start of these criminal activities. Maybe the guns created struggles in this project, but also realised the success, maybe they made everybody listen to the gang leader? Perhaps it was once again the combination of the human (Anthony) and the non-human (the gun) actor. Or maybe it was another actor that was of importance which I did not fully explore such as money or the market for land. Another interesting feature that asks for more research is the bureaucracy that was present. It would be interesting to speak to more people within for example the HDC, to see how exactly a policy is created. Who decides? Who is the real boss? How are networks enrolled in this? I’ve tried to gain this information, but did not get it, as a result of bureaucracy and a lack of transparency (?).

Moreover it would have been nice to really adjust into an actor-network in the area. Although I was part of it, I acted on the sideline and did not reach the stage that I could freely go into the area. I was always accompanied by people who introduced me to others. I did not know many people in the area and was not known by many in the area. I did not become an obvious part of many of the actor-networks operating in the area. I think becoming a member in more actor-networks would have been of great value, since then I may have gained more information and or came to know of things that people do not talk about during first meetings. Moreover it would have given me the opportunity to see more things, and to notice things that were not obvious on first notice. I am sure that this could have been an interesting addition to this research. However I am also aware of the differences between me, the researcher and most citizens of the Beetham, the interference of ethnicity, class and culture can create a difference that is not easily overcome by becoming part of more of the neighbourhood’s actor-networks.
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## Appendix A: Interviews

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Contact Dates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Akiel</td>
<td>Contractor apartments Beetham phase 4</td>
<td>12-10-2012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adam</td>
<td>Environmental planner, Port of Spain Town Hall</td>
<td>07-09-2012</td>
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<tr>
<td>Andrew</td>
<td>Researcher, Land Settlement Agency</td>
<td>17-08-2012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ann</td>
<td>Wife of Patrick, runs Day-care Beetham</td>
<td>16-10-2012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anthony</td>
<td>Gang leader Beetham phase 4</td>
<td>09-10-2012</td>
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<tr>
<td>Daniel</td>
<td>Police inspector, Inter Agency Task Force</td>
<td>16-08-2012</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dinel</td>
<td>Head rental department HDC</td>
<td>28-08-2012 &amp; 10-10-2012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emily</td>
<td>Inhabitant Beetham</td>
<td>07-08-2012</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gonzales and Richard</td>
<td>Construction workers HDC, inhabitants Beetham</td>
<td>12-10-2012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hannibal</td>
<td>Police officer</td>
<td>27-09-2012</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jack</td>
<td>Maloney</td>
<td>04-09-2012</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jeren</td>
<td>Project manager East Port of Spain development company</td>
<td>26-07-2012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jerry</td>
<td>Former Beetham citizen, now Maloney</td>
<td>04-09-2012</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kadeem</td>
<td>Chargeman HDC maintenance</td>
<td>12-10-2012</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kendra</td>
<td>Head HDC office Beetham</td>
<td>12-10-2012</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lia</td>
<td>Inhabitant Beetham</td>
<td>12-10-2012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marie</td>
<td>Head HDC office Maloney</td>
<td>27-08-2012</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nathan</td>
<td>Project manager HDC, apartments Beetham</td>
<td>30-08-2012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patrick</td>
<td>Schoolteacher and community activist Beetham</td>
<td>14-09 &amp; 09-10 &amp; 16-10</td>
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<tr>
<td>Remona</td>
<td>Director of the East Port of Spain development company</td>
<td>07-09-2012</td>
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<tr>
<td>Samantha</td>
<td>Field officer, Land Settlement Agency</td>
<td>27-08-2012</td>
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<tr>
<td>Saraya</td>
<td>GIS officer, East Port of Spain development company</td>
<td>07-09-2012</td>
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<tr>
<td>Shannon</td>
<td>Head teacher All in One Development Centre</td>
<td>07-08-2012</td>
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<tr>
<td>Stefan</td>
<td>Senior construction engineer, specialty sewerage and water</td>
<td>30-08-2012</td>
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<td>Steph</td>
<td>Community councillor Maloney</td>
<td>04-09-2012</td>
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<td>Suian</td>
<td>Manager of the regional office Maloney</td>
<td>04-09-2012</td>
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<td>Tamara</td>
<td>Inhabitant Beetham</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tristan</td>
<td>East Port of Spain councillor</td>
<td>02-08-2012</td>
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Appendix B: Map Beetham Estate

20 East Port of Spain Development Company, 2010.
Appendix C: Ground-floor plan apartments\textsuperscript{21}

\textsuperscript{21} Provided by HDC.
Appendix D: First floor plan apartments

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22 Provided by HDC
Appendix E: Elevation 1 & 2 apartments

Provided by HDC
Appendix F: Elevation 3 & 4 apartments.\textsuperscript{24}

\textsuperscript{24} Provided by HDC
Appendix G: Figures Beverley Hills

Entrance apartments Beverley Hills

View apartments Beverley Hills

Overview 7 HDC apartment blocks Beverley Hills (Photo, Special Police Force T&T)