

With its institutional resources and its mandate to plan, the CVG had at the outset a substantial capacity to set the program and define its purposes. The investment budget of the CVG was the instrument of shaping the city physically: of creating the physical framework of community. The creation of plans, and their embodiment in brochures and reports was the instrument for defining the meaning of the city: of projecting community interest as a social vision.

While the CVG's vision of community was not entirely shared by those in the existing city, they were not able to contest it. They were unable to do so both for practical and for ideological reasons. The local leadership lacked a resource base in any way competitive with CVG. Furthermore, as shown in an earlier chapter, they lacked an alternative vision. There was general allegiance of persons in all parts of the social structure and of all political groups from Left to Right to the idea of Progress. The idea of community—as in “the nation,” “the city”—was joined with the idea of progress and harnessed to a project of development planning of which the city, as it came to be, is the embodiment.

The city that emerged from the design and planning process with its wastefulness, its glaring social inequalities, its pretensions, and its shantytowns was indeed the physical representation of the “community” and its politics.

Chapter 6

Representation

Planners and designers are people, and collectively they constitute social groups. As such, they have social relationships with the world around them. As professional practitioners, however, they deal mainly with various representations of reality: maps, site plans, statistical tables, and the like, each of which is an abstraction of the reality out there. The planners' and designers' social relations no doubt interact with their professional practice to shape both the choice of representations and their interpretation. Nevertheless, it is possible to look at the vocabulary of representation which professional practice makes available at a given place and time as the instruments with which a given group of individual professionals has to work. In trying to understand the Guayana Project it seems particularly appropriate to look at the forms of representation, since the planners and designers were so socially isolated from the world of the site. Representations were not simply the way the planners presented a world, intimately known, in order to achieve some particular effect on an audience; the planners to a substantial degree experienced the city through their own representations of it.

In ordering the vocabulary of representation present in the Guayana Project we follow the dictionary in bringing together concepts that are ordinarily thought of as sharply different—indeed, as relating to quite different realms. “An image, likeness or reproduction in some manner of a thing” or “a material image or figure: a reproduction in some material or tangible form: in latter use *esp* a drawing or painting of a person or thing” seems

to locate us in representation as the artist or architect knows it. "A formal and serious statement of facts, reasons or arguments made with a view to effecting some change, preventing some action, etc.; hence, remonstrance, protest, expostulation," puts us in law or politics. "The fact of representing or being represented in a legislative or deliberative assembly, *spec* in Parliament; the position, principle, or system implied by this" and "the aggregate of those who thus represent the elective body" identify a set of political institutions and the social theory which legitimizes them. Yet all these lie, in the *Oxford English Dictionary*, in a continuum of meanings.¹ All are important meanings for planners and designers. All forms of representation are abstractions from reality which bring some aspects forward to the attention and leave some in the background or eliminate them completely. At one end of the continuum the descriptive meaning of the term *representation* is emphasized; at the other, the political meaning. But because it selects and emphasizes, because it makes a statement about the world, a description has political effects to the degree that people attend to it and are influenced by it. And at the other end of the continuum, the institutions that we call "representative" stand as, and are intended to be, in various ways and according to various not wholly compatible theories,² descriptions of the society they represent.

In looking at the various forms of representation available in the Guayana Project, the subject is the vocabularies of description, not what is specifically being said. I want to look at the drawings made by urban designers as representing a kind of vision of the urban environment, not with respect to the artistic quality of the drawings or the merit of the designs they show. I want to look at statistical projections as a way of thinking about society and its transformation, not with respect to the accuracy of the statistics themselves or the particular things they tell us about the universe from which they are drawn. Nevertheless, form and content are intertwined. What can be said depends on the language for saying

it. That is the interest in looking at representations in planning. The focus here is on the underlying messages carried by the forms of representing.

In figure 1, a sketch done at the beginning of the project, Wilhelm von Moltke, the chief designer of the Joint Center team, represents "the site" of the city. The drawing is done with pencil on tracing paper, cheap material intended for transitory use. The representation is not only schematic but sketchy. This is a working document, a memo to the designer himself to clarify his understanding and an illustration for working discussion with colleagues. Nevertheless, it has great clarity and sense of command, and von Moltke kept it in his files for twenty years.

The sketch represents the site as a whole, from a considerable distance, so that it lies before a viewing intelligence located somewhere in space but in no particular spot. Land forms are represented with that visual sensuousness with which an artist converts a woman's body to the few lines of a curving spine and jutting hip. The works of man are prominently featured and labeled but enter the sketch as visual features. The representation describes the city as a single thing, linear in form, with a series of lumpy shapes both natural and man-made strung out along its flowing axis.

If one were physically present viewing the city in this way, what else would there have been? One was a landscape of sky: an almost overwhelming bowl of unobstructed light beating down without a cloud during much of the year, with dramatically shifting clouds during the rainy season. (The Philadelphia planner Edward Bacon, with whom von Moltke was connected personally and professionally and who came to Guayana in the early period as a consultant on the form of the city, found that he had completely misunderstood Brasília when he learned about it through representations that omitted the sky.)³ In addition, all sense modalities other than sight are eliminated: the heat, the smell of the baking vegetation, are not represented.

had been constructed at any one time. The planners' knowledge, though extensive, placed more emphasis on the landscape than on the existing settlements.⁵

In this focus of attention, the planners were taking a view exactly the reverse of that of the residents of the site.

The inhabitants' maps confined their attention in the main to the urbanized areas. In a city whose pattern of development was fundamentally influenced by two great rivers, both vital to its economy as transportation routes and sources of power, these rivers were virtually ignored.

The surrounding landscape . . . seemed to have little meaning to the inhabitants of Ciudad Guayana. They appeared to see the city as an outpost in an unknown territory, rather than as one embedded in its surroundings. . . . Only when the natural form was useful as part of an urban activity, as a source of economic riches, as a name for a barrio, or as a recreational setting did it appear to enter their environmental schema. . . .

. . . while the inhabitants' interest in the surrounding landscape was low, their knowledge of the urban area turned out to be reasonably extensive. . . . The inhabitants' knowledge of the city was therefore the very converse of the planners' knowledge. In perceptual terms, the inhabitants saw the "figure," and the planners saw the "ground."⁶

More basically, one sees that the sketch has no way of representing human purpose. The elements of the existing landscape, the human as much as the natural, are simply given: they do not represent centers of power, outcomes of struggle and investment, the bases for proposals for change. The sketch converts a city of hustlers, politicians, entrepreneurs, families, and reformers into a pattern of masses and forms and their spatial configurations.

Also during the early design period the staff members of the

team made a number of sketch plans for the "form of the city." In these sketch plans, the two rivers, their intersection, and the waterfalls of the Caroní dominate as setting the context for human activity in the planned city. Within this frame, the elements are various activities (residence, industry, commerce) located in space and the transportation links (roads) connecting them. Again, power, purpose, and even the nature of the functional activities and their social and economic interconnections are suppressed from the representation. (Indeed the conventions of such plans with their single-use areas would in themselves render it impossible to adequately represent any real place in which various activities were carried on in a single area.) What emerges is a conceptualization of the city as a whole rendered two-dimensionally as if viewed from a great distance overhead.

Working in Caracas, the planners of course had available to them largely information coming in the same form: maps and aerial photographs of the site. But oddly enough, when they made their trips to the site they very often tried to reproduce the mapping experience for themselves. After taking an excursion around the area by car, perhaps stopping to stand in the plaza or to try out the straw hats in the market, they would often laboriously climb the hill at the eastern edge of San Félix and gaze out over the city, tracing paper in hand.

A version of this kind of simplified "city plan" intended for public consumption is shown in figure 2. Here the various "land uses" are schematically represented in bright colors, the function of which any planner will at once recognize as promotional. (One of today's CVG planners refers to such brightly colored representations derisively as "kites." However, he points out that he could only get agreement on a project to renovate the plaza in San Félix when "the architect came in with the 'kite' with the promenade and the plaza shown in a way which could be anywhere; it sold them completely.")

Even more lively visually is figure 3, taken from the same

CVG publication as the foregoing. Here is proof that it is possible (although perhaps not easy) to represent human purposes in two dimensions. The graphic representation of the Guayana region seems to convey the idea of furious activity focused on Ciudad Guayana. The regional economic resources are identified and roughly located, and the city is conceptualized as a center of economic exchanges. But in this representation, again, the residents of the city have no place; the city is a target—indeed, physically symbolized as such—of the purposes of outsiders.

The representations we have seen all have as their most general purpose that of establishing the whole city as the object of planning. The real place is shown as physical forms and in miniature; the designer might think of manipulating it as a child would his block city.

The next three illustrations (figs. 4–6), in contrast, are representations of the designers' approach to the neighborhood scale of development. These drawings are only three of many plans and renderings produced in connection with a project for a middle-income urbanization on the west side of the river. They are intended, among other things, to display the feasibility and desirability of an urbanization which differed sharply from prevailing practice—in the use of row housing, in the unconventional organization of plots, in the creation of tree-shaded semipublic spaces, in the importance given to pedestrian pathways. It was hoped that this neighborhood, designed early in the planning period, would serve as a model for subsequent urbanization.

Figure 4 shows a view from straight down, but here the purpose appears to be less that of rendering a place into a map, than of showing how a particular plot layout can work. In figures 5 and 6, we are among the (still imaginary) buildings and trees. The neighborhood is very clean and orderly. Few people are to be seen. Furthermore, part of the feeling of airiness is, on examination, due to the fact that the viewer is somewhere in the air,

Elementos dominantes de la ciudad: Ciudad Guayana tendrá cuatro focos principales: el centro de la industria pesada en Matanzas, el centro de la industria ligera en Punta Vista, el residencial en Punta Vista, y el viejo casco de San Félix. Estos focos están unidos entre sí por la principal arteria de la ciudad: la Avenida Guayana.

Matanzas: área de servicios para la industria
Alta Vista: centro de la ciudad
Punta Vista: Parque Coroni
San Félix: centro comunal
Comunidades residenciales
Metales y maquinaria pesada
Servicios portuarios y áreas industriales
Puertos

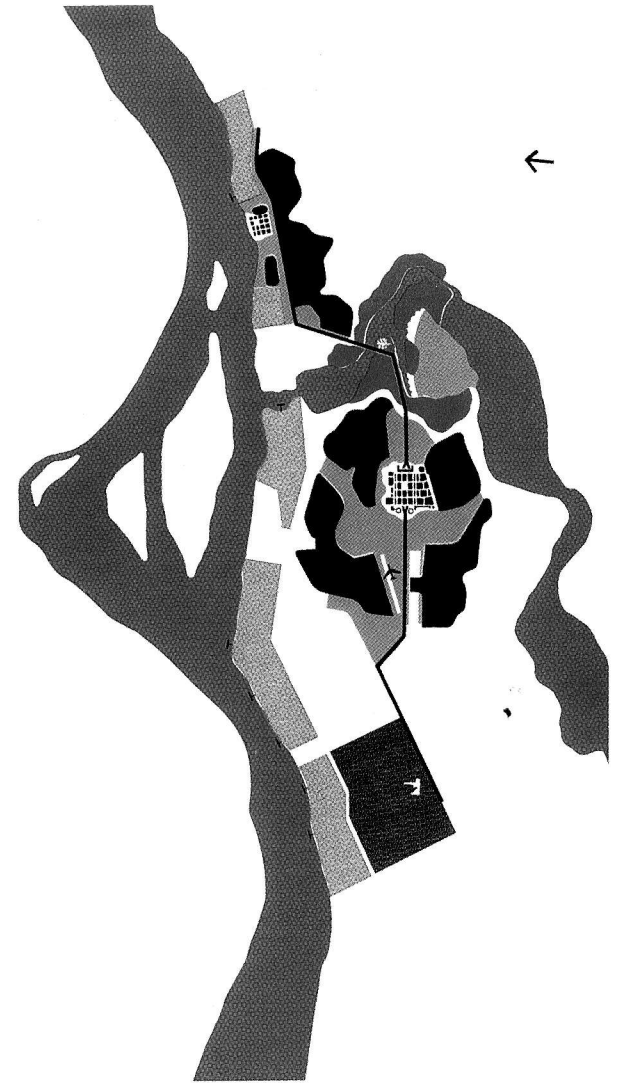


Figure 2

[illegible]

Figure 4

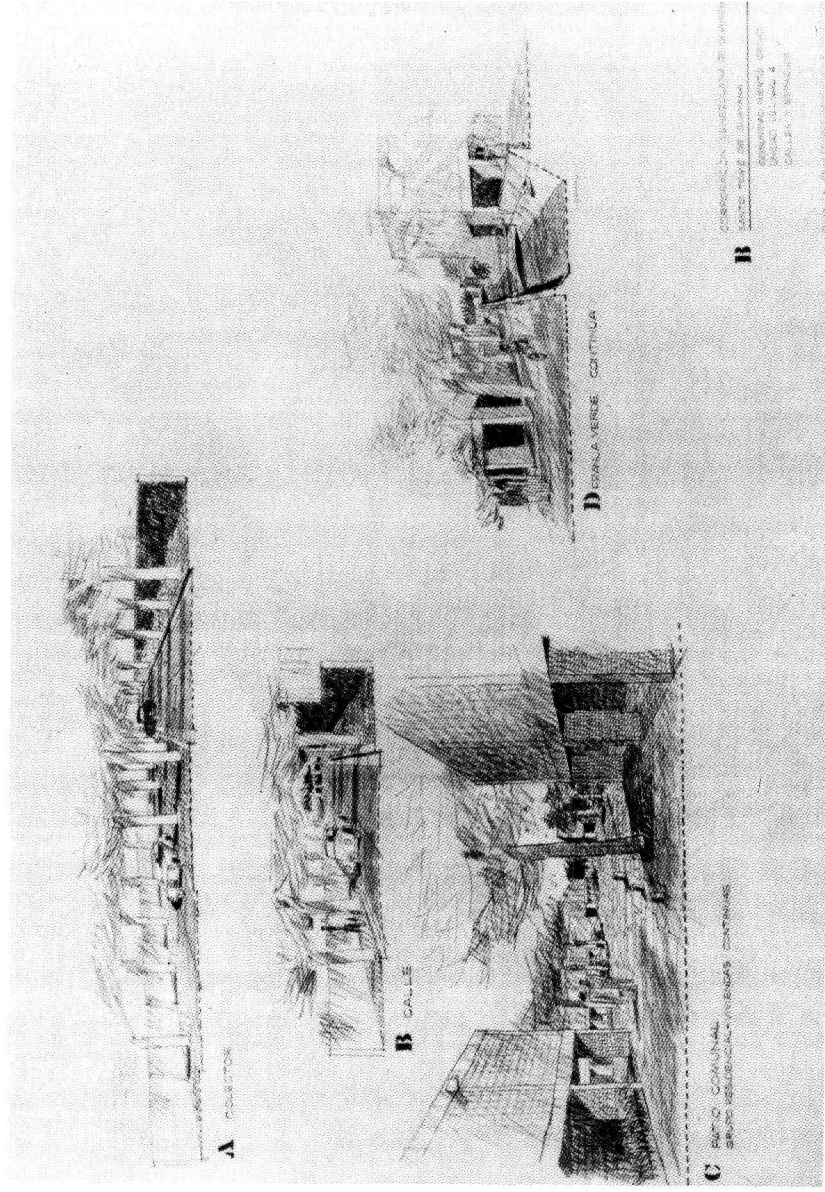


Figure 5

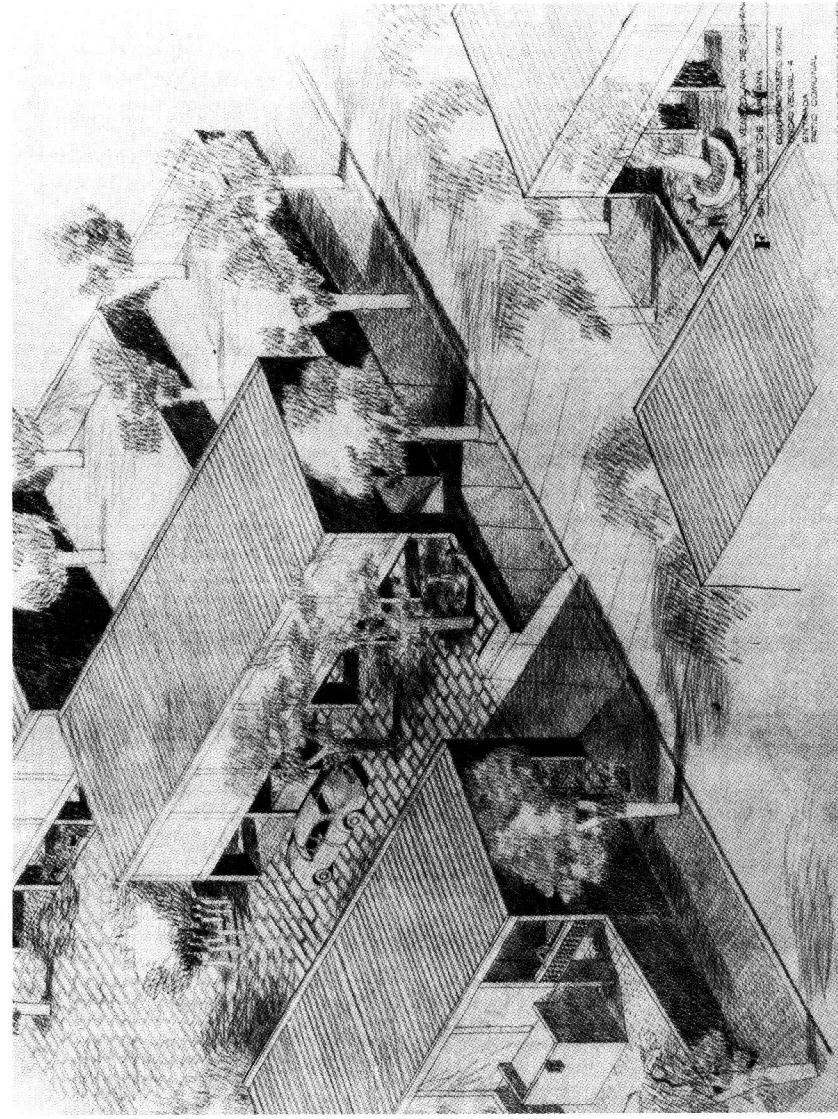


Figure 6

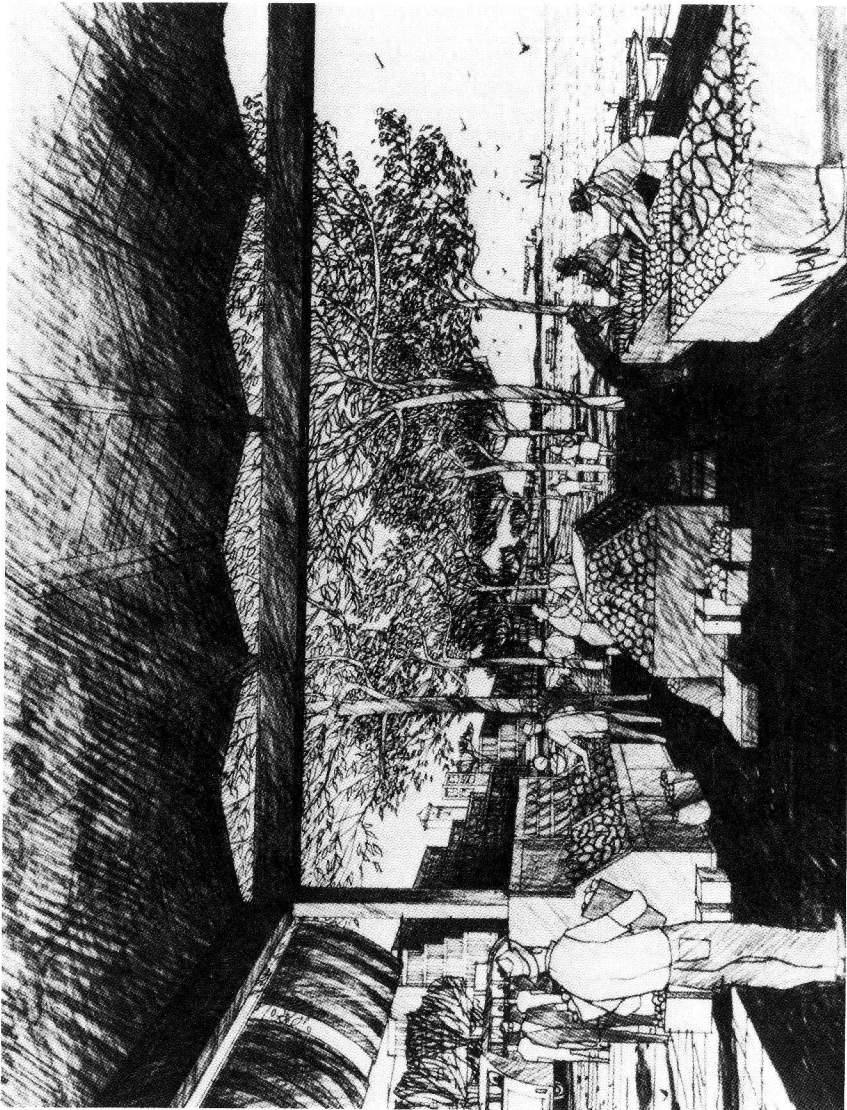


Figure 7

not in the sky looking down, as in the early city plan views, but not standing on the pavement either: perhaps floating a little bit.

Finally, in a rendering of the proposed new market for San Félix (fig. 7), we are, at last, practically on the ground among the people of the city. But we are in a market that is almost as airy and unpeopled as the urbanization preceding; a market so uncrowded would surely be on the way to financial ruin. Stall keepers appear to be calmly arranging their vegetables while, presumably, enjoying the cool of the high shading roof. Competitive struggle, the passions of entrepreneurial creativity, have no place in this rendering. The market has become, like the model urbanization, a place to enjoy the shade.

These representations, in contrast to those of the city as a whole, show people; indeed, they are in a sense human centered. The esthetic qualities of the masses and spaces are less the subject than is the cool comfort they create as a setting for human use. But the role that persons play in these renderings is that of users: they are using and, one is to understand, enjoying the use. It may be helpful to recall that in discussions of urban design the topic of people in relationship to the built form usually appears under the heading of "user needs." The point to be made about all this is that the concept of user needs and its representation in the sort of renderings we have here is a selection from a much wider range of possible human relationships to the built environment. We should notice not only what the representations show, but what they don't show. We see people using; we do not see them making, controlling, profiting from. We can extrapolate from these representations to issues of taste; we do not easily derive from them issues of interest. These renderings of places introduce people, residents of the city, quietly enjoying the designers' work, not contending with each other within it or contesting the planners' right to arrange things.

Drawings and plans were the representations of a design perspective on the city. More characteristic of planning is the use of

statistics, and in the Guayana Project these were the preferred representational tool both of the economists and of the "social planners." The use of statistics is compelling, practically and persuasive. "Numbers" appear clear and unequivocal. It is possible to match categories via numbers: the number of households is set against the number of housing units; the number of classrooms is related to the number of children. There is a factual look to numbers; things have been counted.

But behind this facade of factuality there are problems. We all understand counting: "One potato, two potato, three potato, four . . .". But there is a difficulty in establishing the categories of counting. When is it appropriate to say, "You cannot lump together apples and oranges?" and when is it appropriate to count "fruit"? Statistical modes of presentation organized around the evaluation of future outcomes tend to approach the issue of value by way of monetary transactions, either past or potential, since we do not have an alternative generally agreed upon system of measurement. Thus the statistical mode of presentation is particularly appropriate to projects which are set in a framework of financial profitability and tends to introduce financial criteria into the analysis of projects to which it is applied.

Table 1 represents the Guayana Project industrial development program as drawn up by the Joint Center economists in March 1962. Without dealing with the specifics of the program's plausibility, let us look at this table as a form of representation: as a way of describing reality. What are the characteristics of this particular mode of representation?

It is a form of representation that looks very precise; there are numbers, which suggests that things have been counted. But it is at the same time extremely abstract. The entities totaled are not things at all but high-order abstractions of events—making, selling, paying, etc. Even in the left-hand column what we find is not factories which might appear on the landscape as discrete buildings with people inside making things, but "industry

groups"—a categorization of economic activities. "Investment" and "value of output" are even more highly abstracted representations of monetary flows which are themselves, given the nature of money in modern society, highly abstract. "Labor force" is an abstraction that generalizes a large number of different sorts of persons involved in different ways in complex social arrangements and drawing from these activities different kinds of remuneration. "Value added" is a concept that involves differentiating two categories of inputs into the productive process: already-manufactured intermediate goods (like sheets of steel in a refrigerator factory) or services (e.g., insurance) from those factors of production—land, labor, and capital—which enter directly into the manufacturing process. The latter, valued at their rate of reimbursement, constitute "value added." There is no doubt that this concept has its uses in helping us to think about the difference between a Mexican-border assembly plant and the steel mill of Guayana, but what a lot of abstracting goes into the figures in the "value added" column! Isn't labor also an "intermediate input," produced into semifinished form by a variety of agencies from mothers to technical schools? Doesn't it make a difference which inputs are being used, at both sides of the conceptual divide, and who produces them? What is the implication of lumping together the returns to land, labor, and capital (surely in our day, as in that of Adam Smith, evidently disparate and even competing persons) as a single category of "valued added"—to particular individuals? to society? and in what sense? Surely the meaning of such a category is to set up a (highly abstracted) society-as-a-whole as referent, passing over the deep divisions and conflicts of interest that characterize real societies.

Behind this table lies concealed a bog-land of epistemological issues and their ideological implications, perilously spanned by an elaborate set of intellectual constructions operationalized into conventionalized conversions. But the form of representation, the numbers in neat tables, associates it all with the objectivity of

TABLE 1. Guayana Project Industrial Development Program, March 23, 1962

Industry Groups	Value of Output (in million dollars)			Value Added (in million dollars)
	Total	Domestic	Export	
<i>Metals</i>				
Furnace and rolling metal products	1,200	800	400	600
Ore reduction	525	—	525	262
Aluminum	250	125	125	115
Magnesium	12	6	6	5
Manganese	48	24	24	19
Subtotal	2,035	955	1,080	1,001
<i>Machinery</i>				
Construction machinery	80	80	—	38
Hoists, cranes, etc.	40	40	—	19
Oil field machinery	120	120	—	62
Machine tools	70	70	—	45
Mining industry machinery	80	80	—	43
Other machinery and equipment	200	50	150	108
Fabricated metal products	150	100	50	76
Subtotal	740	540	200	391
<i>Chemicals</i>				
Calcium carbide	10	10	—	5
Elementary phosphorous	35	—	35	19
Ammonia	32	—	32	17
Chlorine	3	3	—	2
Caustic soda	3	3	—	—
Subtotal	83	16	67	43
<i>Construction Materials</i>				
Refractories	5	5	—	3
Cement plant	6	6	—	4
Brick and tile	2	2	—	1
Concrete pipe	10	10	—	6
Concrete blocks	4	4	—	2
Concrete slabs	8	8	—	5
Asbestos cement siding	10	10	—	5
Subtotal	45	45	—	26
<i>Forest Products</i>				
Pulp and paper	44	44	—	18
Rayon	15	15	—	9
Saw and planing mill products	30	30	—	13
Plywood	1	1	—	1
Subtotal	90	90	—	41
Grand Total	2,993	1,646	1,347	1,502

Investment (in million dollars)	Labor Force (number)	Power Requirements (in M. W.)	Freight Generated (in thousand tons)	Space Needed (in acres)
1,100	15,400	1,500	6,000	1,200
300	6,250	1	15,000	250
250	3,500	880	500	1,750 (?)
20	200	36	20	100
24	510	80	80	20
1,694	25,860	2,497	21,600	3,320
n.d.	3,100	n.d.	n.d.	15
n.d.	1,600	n.d.	n.d.	11
n.d.	6,000	n.d.	n.d.	24
n.d.	2,300	n.d.	n.d.	14
n.d.	4,000	n.d.	n.d.	20
n.d.	8,000	n.d.	n.d.	26
n.d.	5,000	n.d.	n.d.	25
300 (est.)	30,000	8 (est.)	100 (est.)	135
17	200	57	100	20
20	585	50	100	20
30	450	5	400	15
{15	{110	{19	45	{4
			50	
82	1,345	131	695	59
6	400	n.d.	160	70
45	175	n.d.	300	90
2	195	n.d.	50	39
5	700	n.d.	20	70
1	220	n.d.	20	44
2	530	n.d.	200	130
2	556	n.d.	10	110
63	2,776	2 (est.)	760	553
70	2,000	9	200	100
5 (est.)	650	10	10	33
2	1,500	{1	n.d.	187
1	104		n.d.	10
78	4,254	20	210	330
2,217	64,235	2,658	23,365	4,397

counting and to the representational practices of "practical" business.

In table 2 we see the industrial program used as the basis for projecting the total population of the city at successive time periods in the future. The method employed is clearly explained in an accompanying note.

The point of departure, . . . was the estimation of the economically active persons required by the heavy industry and mining industries which form the basis of Santo Tomé's economic structure. These requirements were based on production targets for iron and steel, reduced iron ore, other metals, heavy machinery and equipment, electrochemicals, construction materials, pulp and paper and forest products, established in line with an analysis of world and Venezuelan demand, Guayana Region resources, and a preliminary evaluation of feasibility, taking into account scale, linkages, transportation, location and other factors. . . .

The estimates of the economically active persons engaged in the other industries and services required to support the population deriving its livelihood from heavy industry and mining were developed in the first instance using industrial distributions of the economically active population of various Venezuelan cities. From the total of the economically active population obtained by this method, preliminary estimates of the total population of Santo Tomé were computed. In addition, a refinement of the estimates of the economically active population engaged in the "other manufactures" sector was obtained by estimating the number of persons required to produce that part of manufactured consumer goods which it was estimated would be produced locally. . . .

The estimates of the economically active persons for each-industry group in the "other manufactures" sector were then derived by dividing the gross product by the gross product

TABLE 2. Projection of the Active Population, Ciudad Guayana

	1966*	1970	1975*	1980
<i>Total Population</i>	115,000	248,669	415,000	656,606
<i>Total Active Population</i>	36,184	82,931	146,000	221,379
Total Heavy Manufacturing Industries	7,855	22,668	43,794	64,235
Basic metals	5,041	13,050	18,660	25,860
Machinery and equipment	2,033	8,100	19,100	30,000
Chemicals	—	303	764	1,345
Construction materials	781	1,215	2,516	2,776
Forest products	—	—	2,754	4,254
Mining	1,100	1,500	2,000	2,500
Subtotal: Heavy manufacturing and mining	8,955	24,168	45,794	66,735
Agriculture	1,720	2,487	2,502	2,516
Other Manufacturing Total	4,206	10,474	19,553	28,629
Industrial sector	1,660	4,607	9,775	14,942
Foods and beverages	454	1,143	2,993	4,842
Footwear and clothing	758	2,213	3,434	4,655
Textiles	6	19	76	132
Furniture	61	176	1,164	2,151
Graphic arts	74	215	526	836
Petroleum by-products	5	15	34	54
Others	302	826	1,548	2,272
Artisan sector	2,546	5,867	9,778	13,687
Foods and beverages	1,036	2,465	4,354	6,244
Footwear and clothing	1,443	3,225	4,876	6,525
Furniture	67	177	548	918
Construction	8,066	13,861	22,372	33,233
Electric energy, water, sanitation services	302	770	1,577	2,492
Trade	4,234	9,240	16,640	29,079
Transport	1,815	3,850	8,603	14,539
Services	6,886	18,081	28,959	44,156
Subtotal: Agriculture, services, and other manufacturing	27,229	58,763	100,206	154,644

*Interpolated

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Author: A. Ganz and J. Phillips

Prepared by: C. Fuentes

Approved by: A. Ganz

per worker. The latter figures were obtained by increasing the 1959 national average for the respective industries at a rate of 3.5 percent per year in the industrial sector and 1.0 percent per year in the artisan sector. The revised estimates for the "other manufactures" industries were then incorporated in the estimates of the economically active population, and new totals were computed. From these new estimates of the total population of Ciudad Guayana were made for the years indicated.

There has already been occasion (chaps. 3 and 4) to comment on certain aspects of this methodology. The need for promotional optimism directed those who made the table to list among industries to be located in the Guayana every kind of desired industry which seemed at all possible. It thus becomes unclear whether these population figures are a prediction—basis for programming the city—or a set of targets; the very promotional requirements that led to the ambiguity made it difficult to discuss the issue forthrightly, even though it was apparent enough to lead to subsequent modifications of the figures.

But at this point, we are looking at the table as a form of representation, as a mode of describing reality. The fact that this way of arranging the statistical story is quite conventional should not lead us to assume that there is nothing to be said about it: rather the reverse. Intellectual categories arise out of social arrangements and in turn help to make the arrangements seem the only possible ones, and thus to maintain them. What are the characteristics of the particular mode of representation and its categories before us here?

The center of the stage is held by "heavy manufacturing" and "mining"—in real life rather than as statistical categories, large corporate entities with their centers of management and their stockholders elsewhere. A secondary role is played by "other [local] manufacturing." The people of the city are represented as the direct expansion of the scheduled industries. The industries, ex-

panded to labor requirements, expanded to total population—this describes the city. People are represented via their prescribed economic role; if they do not have such a role (as by being unemployed and resorting to selling snacks in the street) there is no place for them in the picture. The conceptual categories that power establishes by treating some activities as desired and belonging as of right and others as out of place is expressed in the statement "No matter how well they plan the city, people keep coming in and messing it up"; these categories are represented even at the level of statistical description.

As time went on in the Guayana Project, there was a great deal of "data-gathering": activities which at least strongly resemble the counting of things. There were surveys of income and employment and of household expenditures; there were surveys of the numbers and characteristics of dwelling units; there were surveys of residents' migration histories and of their opinions on various matters.⁷ In 1980 the CVG issued a rather thick volume of the statistics it had amassed on the Guayana region.⁸

As a way of thinking about the use of statistics at this level of description, let us take two examples (tables 3 and 4) from a study by John MacDonald⁹ which used the analysis of social surveys in the city in 1965 and 1975 to evaluate the planning and implementation of the Ciudad Guayana Project.

The data are presented in terms of a sample stratified by the kind of residential area where the persons responding to the survey were living: an officially sponsored urbanization (urbs.) versus an irregular settlement (barrio), the latter, in turn, substratified into "houses" and "shanties."

One set of statistics is an attempt to say something about levels of welfare; the other is an attempt to say something about the social processes involved in migration. Both sets of statistics are interesting ones. But we must simply notice how much abstraction goes on even at this level of detail. A "household" (as I have reason to know from trying to design a survey in such an area)

TABLE 3. Monthly Household Income, 1965 and 1975 (in percentage of households)

Bolivars	Urbs.		Barrios				City Total	
			Houses		Shanties		1965	1975
	1965	1975	1965	1975	1965	1975	(N = 496)	(N = 899)
0-999	15	32	56	54	75	78	57	53
1000-1999	42	39	37	35	22	20	31	33
2000-2999	23	20	5	8	2	1	7	10
3000-3999	12	6	1	2	1	—	3	3
4000 and over	8	3	1	1	—	—	2	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Note: Reprinted, by permission, from John Stuart MacDonald, "Planning Implementation and Social Policy: An Evaluation of Ciudad Guayana 1965 and 1975," in *Progress in Planning*, ed. D. R. Diamond and J. B. McLoughlin (Elmsford, N.Y.: Pergamon Press, 1979) 11:84.

TABLE 4. Critical Assistance between Relatives or Friends (in vertical cumulative percentage point scores)

	Post-1964 Arrivals					
	Active Kinship Links			Active Friendship Links		
	Barrios			Barrios		
	Urbs.	Houses	Shanties	Urbs.	Houses	Shanties
On the way	184	214	221	48	63	44
On arrival	106	131	177	67	77	61
Subtotal	290	395	398	115	140	105
Later crises	47	35	58	16	17	16
Total	337	430	456	131	157	121
Total minus housing help	334	404	424	131	157	121
Total minus followers	290	355	387	131	157	121

Note: Reprinted, by permission, from MacDonald, "Planning Implementation," 11:64.

is an extremely fluid and not sharply bounded affair; people join and leave and while around contribute varying proportions of their earnings to any common pool. "Income" is equally or more problematic in an economy where many people are not on any regular payroll, and where there are earnings in kind from petty agriculture. It is easy to imagine the variety of stories which have been generalized and coded to produce tables 3 and 4.

In contrast to the drawings, the statistical representation is discontinuous. It does not represent the connections. It is like one of those connect-the-dots pictures with which we all played as children. But, like the connect-the-dots picture, the connections are implied: in this case, not simply by the way the various numbers are arrayed with respect to each other but perhaps even more importantly by the way in which they were generated in the first place, by way of the categories of counting.

Those in charge of the Guayana Project of course understood the limitations of maps, drawings, and statistics in representing the social or human aspects of the city. Thus, it was from the beginning part of the project planning to include a sociologist (or anthropologist) as part of the planning team. I was that anthropologist, and it is now my task to explain why, during over two and a half years on "the site," living in the evolving city and reporting on it to the planners, I emerged with such a strong sense of having been able to introduce very little into the planning process.

When I arrived in Caracas I found that the planners who had been working there for some months had developed a set of categories within which they hoped I might work. The first-order categories here were items on the planning agenda—e.g., design of open spaces, planning for commercial facilities—and from these were derived agendas for the "sociologist"—"Analysis of social problems existing or likely to develop in areas devoted to open-spaces; social function of open spaces in an urban living pattern; family structure and activities, modes of using leisure time . . ."

or "Analysis of social problems existing or likely to occur in connection to the development of commercial areas; analysis of changing shopping habits; analysis of time-distance factor, distance to market, number of trips to market . . .". I rejected these categories with a sense of indignation, indeed of defense against a kind of violation, which I can still distinctly recall. They were planner categories, and not only were they nonanthropological, but they were unlikely to feed into the sorts of holistic descriptions and analyses anthropologists are trained to value and to make. Furthermore, anthropologists are trained to work with categories which in some sense arise out of and express the categories of experience of the people being studied; these categories were not of that character. So I insisted that I must go down to "the site," find a place to live, begin working as a participant observer, and develop categories in the process. I hoped in this way still to be useful to the planners, and I believed in the long run only in this way could I be useful to them.

Never, in the more than two and a half years I was there, did I arrive at a set of categories and problems mutually satisfactory to the planners and myself, or even satisfactory to either one. Instead, I seemed to move between two conceptual worlds, two sets of problem definitions, unable to find a set of categories and concepts that would join them. In 1963, after a year and nine months, I wrote a satirical account of life as an intermediary between two reference groups, groups not only different from each other but in direct conflict at many points. I wrote:

The anthropologist is brought into the technical assistance scene as a solution to a general set of difficulties; those arising out of a gap created by cultural difference, social barriers, and general lack of channels of communication between the outsider technical experts or planners and the "natives." But the anthropologist—now brought in—does not do away with the gap. Rather he now presents himself within it as an individual

who wanders across a sort of social no-man's land trading with the combatants on both sides and collecting and disseminating information like those double espionage agents who flourish on the boundaries of international relations. His position is ambiguous and problematical.¹⁰

What was it that I had to trade on either side of that gap between planners and citizenry? For the people in the growing city, I could provide little bits of information, sometimes specific—Could you find out what happened to my petition to build a filling station on the corner?—and sometimes more general, as in informing the parish priest or some of the municipal councilors as to the planning going on in Caracas. Once I had the pleasure of teaching my neighbors to make and circulate written minutes of the commitments made in a meeting with representatives of the CVG.¹¹ With respect to those who were paying my salary, the Joint Center Guayana Project, the issue of what was my product seemed more serious.

The variety of materials with which I had to work may be suggested by scanning a journal entry for one day, April 1, 1963. The original notes are very rough and in a mixture of Spanish and English. I have added and edited only enough to make the words, if not the sense, understandable.

A.M. Trip to see Carlos re finishing house of Señora Vegas.

Visit to supposed "kindergarten" back of the medical center which turns out to be a dispensary.

Trip to Campo Caroní (housing near the dam for the CVG employees) to make an appointment with Señora Freddy Hernandez.

Sticking my head into the newly painted "Junta Consultiva para el desarrollo integral de la Zona de Hierro" (Consulting Committee for the comprehensive development of the Zone of Iron), find the Secretary, Señor Hurtado, in. Whistling

through his teeth in his excitement, he shows me a list of groups meeting there: something every night this week—public employees, Lebanese, Press Club, Hunting and Fishing, etc., etc. Asks me if I am a “doctor” and excitedly types out an invitation to the opening meeting of a Promotion Committee for the Caroní Cultural Center (Athenaeum).

P.M. Another trip to Carlos re Señora Vegas.

Interview with Mrs. Freddy re her kindergarten which went broke because people didn't pay and there were enough poor families sending so she didn't like to charge them (\$30 a month, plus a half bolivar each way transport). Not a graduate, but full of zeal; she showed me a hand-copied curriculum guide for kindergarten, also kindergarten rating sheets put out by the Ministry of Education. Knows of no present kindergarten besides that run by the nuns.

P.M. Discussion with Trina about baptism of Henry: card in file. “Modern people” have quantities of godfathers and godmothers. Hers is a typical social-mobility mix: doctors from the Social Security Hospital, chauffeurs from Social Security, teachers from El Roble [adjacent neighborhood], main godmother a beauty parlor operator; her assistants also down.

Enthusiasm among Anna and her friends for new classes in La Laja [my neighborhood and Anna's]. Ministry of Agriculture Home Demonstrators two nights a week for women, two for girls. Seems to have been put into operation by Peraza, according to Trina.

Italian grocery enlarging greatly.

Hortensia's house being plastered.

Señora Morillo getting zinc roof and cleanup of wall.

On arriving at CVG Urban Development office find Carlos coloring the river blue on a map. He looks up ruefully and says he has been captured by the mentality of Caracas and feels that colors on a map are the real thing.

Who are all these people? What is the relevance of all this to planning a city?

As to the first: Carlos is a naturalized Venezuelan architect on the staff of the development agency, working on the site. Señora Vegas is a Caracas social worker, well placed in the dominant political party, who during this period was considering taking charge of social programs on the site; thus Carlos and I, the two Joint Center staff on the site, were involved in getting the house across from mine remodeled for her use. (In the end, she did not take the job and thus did not come.) Señor Hurtado is a local political figure with obvious cultural-promotion interests. Mrs. Freddy Hernandez is the wife of a CVG engineer who at one time ran a nursery school. Trina is a paraprofessional nurse, wife of a storekeeper, and my neighbor; Anna is another neighbor, a teenager; the buildings mentioned are in my barrio.

Each of these people is in my mind an actor in a drama of longer duration which is playing itself out before me. Señora Vegas's house is part of the story of how much energy on the part of the development agency goes into organizing the city for their own comfort. Señor Hurtado's Centro Cultural Caroní is part of the story about how the traditional regional elite become incorporated into a city with a political and economic base largely outside their control. The investigation of the kindergarten is part of an attempt to inventory social programs on the site. Trina's is a story of social mobility; as I lived there, I watched her “out-grow” her illiterate storekeeper husband and leave the neighborhood. The classes in my neighborhood sponsored by one of the town councilors is part of a story on the workings of the political system at the local level. The physical improvements in three buildings are part of a story about incremental building without official sponsorship or financing. Carlos's comment about the map becomes part of a story, later put into an article¹² about how the critical gap came to be not between planners and people but between those on the site and those in Caracas.

My world was full of continuing stories of people's lives which interlinked with each other to make larger stories: about social mobility and the transformation of traditional social groupings into a new class structure, about the development of the political system, about the social functions of planning.

Out of these stories I made written contributions to the work of the planning team back in Caracas.

On the one hand, I reported on activities in the developing city: the verbal equivalent of the planners' sketch maps. An example: a listing, with brief descriptions, of existing and incipient social programs on the site.¹³ This listing was itself a modest attempt to alter the planning process. "Social planning" back at headquarters seemed to consist of proposing a set of social programs on the basis of criteria arrived at among the planners themselves, without reference to existing activities in the city. I wanted a more consultative and adaptive process, and thought my list would help. I also responded to particular issues of physical planning by generalizing as to the relevant patterns of belief and action of people at the site. An example of this is a memorandum reacting to a set of questions about the design of residential areas in which, among other points, I try to explain the working-class pattern of combining wage labor and urban life with keeping chickens and growing plants as "a desire for continuity as well as . . . a real functional adjustment to a situation in which wage labor is transient and undependable."¹⁴ I drew up (on request) plans for more complex programs of social investigation than I could myself execute alone.¹⁵ I gave detailed accounts of how certain programs were actually working (or not working) down on the site: a review of the steps that had to be gone through to get permission to build a community center was presented as a model of the bureaucratic barriers to development; a look at the complexities of loan processes in the sites-and-services project showed why people were not building under the program. And I commented, often critically, on the planning process.

Social planning should not be thought of as separate from, as added to, the rest of the CVG program. The entire CVG program is one of effecting gigantic social changes. . . . If social planning is to make any sense in this situation, it must mean that the CVG must subject its whole program to scrutiny from the point of view of what will be involved from people and towards people in carrying it out.¹⁶

In all of these communications or written representations there seems to have been a single underlying theme: This is not "the site" of planning, but a city in embryo; the inhabitants are not dependent on outside intervention to enter a process of development but are themselves making history via individual and collective struggle.

Far from waiting apathetically for the government to "do something for them" the people we have met seem to be only waiting for the government to fire the starting gun and cut the tape. They act with great energy when they are permitted to.¹⁷

Let the CVG planning division try, as much as possible, to stay out of the business of "telling people how to run their lives." Let the social planners not begin by drawing up a blueprint of some ideal state of social organization, according to our present viewpoint. Let us rather work as learners, mediators and clarifiers.¹⁸

We cannot conceive the situation . . . in which "modernizing" inputs are being fed in, more or less exclusively from the outside, especially e.g. by the CVG. The society on the site is as much self-transforming as being transformed. The CVG is only one competing source of "intellectual leadership."¹⁹

Even the more utilitarian memoranda previously cited have this as an underlying theme. One shows that chickens and fruit

trees are a reasonable way of coping with economic uncertainty, not cultural backwardness; another shows that there are lots of social programs in the city already, even without the CVG.

But in looking back at this period, I see that I very much lacked a suitable form for representing my view of reality. The words I put together lacked, on the one hand, the "factuality" of what could be counted: they were in this respect less powerful than the tables of the economists. On the other hand, they lacked the compelling immediacy of graphic art; they had less power than the representations of the designers. If I told my stories with the vivid concreteness of the specific they appeared as particulars, not as showing general issues about which policy should be made. If I generalized them into categorical form I was supporting the very position which, at bottom, I wanted to call into question: the right of the planners to define the issues. In the end, as a member of the project team, it was the generalizing mode I more frequently adopted.

In 1964 when I prepared to take my family back to the States the Joint Center proposed to support me for a year to write a book about the project. I took this as an opportunity to find the form to represent my reality. It would be a brief, a statement on behalf of the people to whom I had become committed, seen both as underdogs and as the agents of historic transformation. It would define the problem in my terms, rather than in those of the planners. And it would make my world on the site vivid, present, real to the planners, the outsiders. It tried to do this by presenting—I hoped with something of the raw primary impact they had had on me—some of the experiences of that world. I cited Pablo Neruda's sarcastic lines for the book's epigraph:

Everyone has been contented
with the sinister presentations
of shrewd capitalists
and systematic women.
I want to speak with many things . . .²⁰

I tried for a representation of an alternative view in a book I called *The View from the Barrio*,²¹ which described "the site" as a society in transformation, without a planner in sight.

Could I have found better forms of representation while I was still involved in the project? Moving into the generalizing form of the planning memorandum made my ideas relevant—but it converted an alternative view to another opinion on the issue. Looking back at them, I like the vividness and three-dimensionality of my accounts of bureaucratic process at the site—but I notice that none of these made their way into the permanent files of the project, and this may indicate that the specificity which I see as their strength rendered them ineligible as authoritative evidence for policy.

In retrospect, I believe that I could have made more than I did of the vignettes of personal history and collective struggle which were my "stories" from the site. I would have had to develop these into generalized accounts of social process and trace the implications of process in the present for the character of the city in the future. I would have had to be more daring and more explicit in developing a picture of the city as evolving rather than as planned from above.

Perhaps also I could have used my position as a resident of the site and participant in the world there to arrange meetings and interviews for the planners with some of the more active persons in the evolving city. I did a little of this informally, but I could have tried to do it more systematically. Had I done so, of course, I would have moved more closely toward the political meaning of representation.

Politics, too, can be thought of as a way of representing—in a descriptive sense—the character, interests, and desires of a group of people. In her interesting essay on the diversity of ways in which the concept of representation has been used in political theory, Hanna Fenichel Pitkin points out that in some of these usages the descriptive element is very strong. Representation may be the mystic embodiment of the will of the people, representa-

tion may be seen as authority to act on behalf of, but representation may also be thought of in terms of resemblance; the composition of an elected body should, in this view, be like that of the electorate. Or the representative may be seen as required to be an adequate representative by accurately depicting the wishes of his constituents. She suggests that there is, in these discussions, an underlying polarization on the representative role which she calls the "mandate-independence" continuum. "Should (must) a representative do what his constituents want, or what he thinks best?"²² The position a particular theorist adopts on this range depends, she tells us, on his "metapolitics." The issue is this:

The more a theorist sees representatives as superior in wisdom and expertise to their constituents, the more he will stress the need for independent judgment. The more he conceives of political issues as having correct, objectively determinable solutions accessible to rational inquiry, the more he will incline to independence. . . . The more a theorist stresses the national interest, the welfare of the nation as a whole, the more he will object to binding the representative closely to his constituents' demands.

The more, on the other hand, a theorist sees a relative equality of capacity and wisdom between representatives and constituents, the more it will strike him as arbitrary and unjustifiable for representatives to ignore the wishes and opinions of the people. The more political issues strike him as involving irrational commitment or personal preference, choice rather than deliberation, the more necessary it will seem that the representative consult the people's preferences and pursue their choice. The more a theorist thinks of personal or local interests as needing defense against a threatening central power, the more he thinks of the representative's function as critical of government action rather than as initiating it, the more likely he is to favor a mandate position.²³

With these comments in mind, what could we say about the role of politics as a form of representation in the Guayana Project?

We would have to say, first, that at the local level there was a reasonable element of representativeness in the political institutions. The membership of the municipal council was certainly not drawn equally from all sections of the community; they tended very much to represent the local business elite, both in social composition and in the positions they put forward. The one more working-class member of the council at the time I was there spoke to me frankly about his self-consciousness on this score. Thus we would have to say, at the outset, that if the local municipal council had had more power in the planning process this would have tended to benefit especially the local commercial elite and rather less the ordinary working-class citizen. But the social gap between the local councilors and the general electorate was not great and the council was quite accessible to contact with and influence from the mass of citizenry. Indeed, this accessibility was dramatized for me one day when on coming to the municipal offices I finally located the council chairman hiding behind a post to avoid the myriad of importuning mothers who had heard that one of their number had been given an allowance to buy school books for her children; now they all wanted the same.

In addition, there were a number of local neighborhood groups which in various ways represented the wants and needs of the citizenry. In 1977 national legislation mandated the creation of neighborhood associations, and by 1982 eighty-one such associations were legally registered in the city, sixty-two of them in San Félix and nineteen in Puerto Ordaz. Representatives from these bodies sat on a commission on zoning. There was also a conservation board created by legislation on the environment and educational committees mandated by national legislation on education.²⁴ These formal institutions for bringing the citizenry into government were still in the future during the early planning period. "Representation" only reached to the level of municipal

government. But even then (in 1963) there was a great deal of activity at the local neighborhood level involving self-help public works like the installation of water lines, school rooms, and sports fields, in the process linking local interests with the resources (gravel, pipe, school teachers' salaries) available at the municipal level. These neighborhood organizations were grouped together in an advisory board sponsored by the council chairman and meeting at the municipal council building. In present neighborhood associations it is the more socially established who get involved in such issues as zoning and development location; in the case of lower-income residents the supply of basic services is of higher salience. In my time in the city, living in a neighborhood with a great deal of community organization going on, it was clear that even at the most local level representation was not complete; a large part of the neighborhood never participated in the community organization, and the more active participants were likely to be the better-established economically.²⁵ Nevertheless, we may generalize that both now and during the early planning phase there are and were a number of institutions at the local level that we may describe as being, in several ways, representative of the local population, even if not always in contact with national power centers.

On the other hand, the agency planning the city at the national level, the CVG, was in a very different relationship to the people living in the city. The agency was composed of people very different from the local citizens in social class and in professional formation. It was physically distant and intentionally inaccessible; General Ravard believed that giving out information on the plans would only lead to problems. The agency was not required to respond to wishes of the local citizens. Nor did the planners think of their plans as embodying the needs of the local citizens of the present, for it was the future city which was the focus of planning and the present political structure at the national level which represented the context of the project.

Thus the social differences between the development agency professionals and the people of the city were linked with the ideology of planning itself to place the planners clearly at one end of the continuum of meanings of "representative" that Pitkin outlines. The planners were certainly very unlike the people of the city, so they could hardly constitute good representatives in the sense of likeness. And on the other hand, the idea of expertise rationalized a sense of representing higher and more general interests than those of the current population.

Those at the top of the CVG saw their distance from and lack of responsiveness to the people of the city as entirely appropriate. They were not planning the city for *those* people. They saw themselves as planning the city in the interest of the nation as a whole and the future residents of the city. Their optimistic, progress-focused view of the future made it possible to think of the future population of the city not only as very much more numerous than the present, but as different people altogether. To respond to the wishes and needs of the present residents was thus to respond to particularistic interests distracting from the goal of building the city of the future for the people of that future and meeting *national* goals.

In addition, the position of the planners was obviously, such as to maximize their adherence to the beliefs which, Pitkin tells us, lead to the "mandate" position. They saw themselves as superior in expertise to the ordinary citizens. They saw issues as having "correct, objectively determinable solutions accessible to rational inquiry." The project was set up to stress the national interest, the "welfare of the nation as a whole."²⁶

Pitkin tells us that there are two underlying rationales for governmental leadership in society. One is seeing that people's affairs are well looked after. The other is "providing for all . . . an enduring common enterprise which perpetuates their achievements and enlarges their vision and their sense of themselves."²⁷ The Guayana Project promised both: a national project enlarging

the vision of the participants, executed in the framework of rational problem solving.

Thus the way the politics of the Guayana Project represented reality made for a very deep separation between the people and interests of the city at the present on the one hand and the people and interests of the future city on the other. In the present were the municipal council and the local neighborhood organizations and direct action by individuals and groups. The issues were concrete and immediate: water lines, access to land. Thinking about the future was governed by the ideology of progress and of economic development. The issues were general and national: growth, modernity, progress. The representation of the city in politics thus inevitably subordinated issues of daily life and individual realization to those of the project as defined by CVG in Caracas.

When we look at the modes of representation employed in the Guayana Project, we see a great deal of congruence. The modes of representation are diverse, but just as a melody transposed into different keys and variously orchestrated is still the same melody, the designers' graphic representations, the economists' statistical projections, and the political institutions all emphasized the abstracted city of the future as a perfected implementation of the general welfare and downplayed the existing city of the present as a set of particular problems and interests. All privileged the planners and the corporate institutions—public and private—which they represented as the source of initiative and transformation. My vision, because of my professional background and because of my working situation, was divergent, seeing the city of the future as evolving from the present one and the interests of local institutions as needing affirmation and expression; however, I was not able to represent that vision in a way which made it really usable in the planning framework.

One way of explaining the congruence between the planners' modes of representation and the political institutions is to say that politics drove planning. The political mode of representation was not on the same level as the others; it constituted a system of

power, capable of driving other institutions and their images into conformity with the interests which dominated it. But this would be, I think, an oversimplification. The planners believed in what they were doing; they saw their professional practice as state-of-the-art. Planner representations and political institutions supported each other and shared in a set of common ideas about development. To the degree that politics drove planning and shaped the ways in which planning represented the situation, this congruence had been achieved through processes well antedating the Guayana Project; a kind of professional culture had evolved in the context where planners worked for governments and with a commitment to vested economic interests. The forms of representation in the Guayana Project were state-of-the-art professionally.

In subordinating the present to the future and the local to the national, the structure of the political and planning institutions ensured that certain interests would dominate in the long run. Choices as to the form of the evolving society were being made. It would be a society dominated by large, corporately organized, high-technology institutions of production. It was the central mission of the CVG to attract and privilege these corporate investors. The city was principally their city. Indeed, in the years following the early planning period the close interrelationship between national government and corporate industry was to become a single interest in the form of the nationalized oil, iron, and aluminum corporations. "Big business" was then not simply the major concern of government; it was the business of government. But in the planning for and the imagery of the future it was already clear that large corporate business would dominate and small business would have a distinctly subordinate role. The path was being cleared for a technocratic elite and below them a sharp differentiation between those workers with places in the big companies and their fringe benefit systems and the large underclass outside the corporate system and marginalized by its privileged institutions.

Thus what was at stake in the representation of the city was

not simply the interests of the people in the present versus the interests of the future residents. The struggle between local and national, present and future, also constituted a present version of a potentially far-reaching struggle between big business and small and between the state and the corporations on the one hand and the rest of civil society on the other.

In this potential conflict of interests, the political institutions of the time and place were bound to privilege government and the large corporations. The national government, with its ties to the large corporations, was strong; the local government, with its base in the local business and professional community and, to some extent, the rest of the voters, was weak. But the planners also contributed to the outcome. There were, first, the forms of representation their practice involved. Urban design focused on the pieces of built environment which the government would sponsor other than the component of the city—actually much larger—that was being created by a myriad of private firms and persons. Design focused on the visual appearance of things, not on their cost, ownership, or profit-yielding consequence, and it thus yielded a view of the city in which interest and competition of interest was invisible. Economics saw the large corporate investors as the economic base, other firms and individuals and their activities as derived from and dependent on the heavy industries. Here, too, institutions and the struggle between them was subsumed into statistical aggregates of output. Planning in general treated the inhabitants of the city in the present as representing particular interests that should yield to the creation of a richer, nobler, more “modern” future; in any case, the forty-five thousand persons on the site at the moment would appear a tiny-handful against the numbers to come. It might have been my role to have reinterpreted the present as a small model of processes and issues to be addressed into the future, but I did not succeed in finding the language of representation to make that happen. Finally, planning as a process was one which managed information selectively to the disadvantage of the small and the local.

Prediction and sharing of information as to intent took place at the top. The planning system was even more opaque to the locals than the rest of government, as shown by the fact that when the local businessmen wanted to deal with the planning of a major road, they had to take it to their political contacts rather than to the design team. Planning aided, glamorized, and rationalized the reorganization of the environment around large corporate investors.

Notes

1. *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. “representation.”
2. Hanna Fenichel Pitkin, “The Concept of Representation,” in *Representation*, ed. Hanna Pitkin (New York: Atherton Press, 1969), 1–23.
3. Edmund Bacon, *Design of Cities* (New York: Viking Press, 1974), 235.
4. Appleyard, *Planning a Pluralist City*, 18–19.
5. *Ibid.*, 21.
6. *Ibid.*, 22–23.
7. In addition to the various publications of the CVG, see Appleyard, *Planning a Pluralist City*; David Samuel Daykin, “Urban Planning and the Quality of Life in Ciudad Guayana, Venezuela” (Ph.D. diss., Vanderbilt University, 1978); María-Pilar García, *Planificación urbana y realidad social: Distribución espacial, sistemas de actividades urbanas y vivienda de la población de escasos recursos de Ciudad Guayana*, 2 vols. (Caracas: CVG, 1976); *idem.*, “La Guayana Venezolana: Otro caso aleccionador,” in *Las Truchas: Inversión para la desigualdad?* ed. Ivan Restrepo (Mexico City: Centro de Ecodesarrollo y Editorial Oceano, 1984); María-Pilar García and Rase Lesser Blumberg, “The Unplanned Ecology of a Planned Industrial City: The Case of Ciudad Guayana, Venezuela,” in *Urbanization in the Americas, from the Beginnings to the Present*, vol. 3, ed. Richard F. Schaefer, Jorge Hardoy, and Nora Scott Kinzer (The Hague: Mouton, 1978); John Stuart MacDonald, “Planning Implementation and Social Policy: An Evaluation of Ciudad Guayana, 1965 and 1975,” in *Progress in Planning*, ed. D. R. Diamond and J. B. McLoughlin (Elmsford, N.Y.: Pergamon Press, 1979), 11:1–211.

8. CVG, División de Estudios, Programación e Investigación, Subgerencia de Estadística, *Estadísticas de la región Guayana* (Caracas, August 1980).
9. MacDonald, "Planning Implementation."
10. Peattie, "What to Do with Your Anthropologist," 1.
11. See Peattie, "The Sewer Controversy."
12. Lisa Peattie, "Conflicting Views of the Project: Caracas versus the Site," in *Planning Urban Growth and Regional Development*, by Lloyd Rodwin et al. (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1969), 453–64.
13. Lisa Peattie, "Preliminary Listing of Existing and Incipient 'Social Problems' (*sic*) on the Site" (Joint Center Guayana Project, Memorandum C-25, May 24, 1963).
14. Lisa Peattie, "Notes on Questions Put Forward by Appleyard in Memo of December 1962" (Joint Center Guayana Project, Memorandum C-24, May 22, 1963), 2–3.
15. Lisa Peattie, "Plan for a Social Study of the San Félix–Puerto Ordaz Area" (Joint Center Guayana Project, Memorandum C-23, March 17, 1962).
16. Lisa Peattie, "Some Notes on 'Social Planning' in the Guayana Project" (Joint Center Guayana Project, Memorandum C-10, June 20, 1962), 1.
17. Roderick and Lisa Peattie, "Planning Problems" (Joint Center Guayana Project, Memorandum E-26, May 15, 1962), 1.
18. Peattie, "Some Notes on 'Social Planning,'" 3.
19. Lisa Peattie, "Notes on the Lerner Memorandum" (Joint Center Guayana Project, Memorandum C-11, July 1, 1962), 1.
20. Pablo Neruda, *Bestiary*, trans. Elsa Neuberger (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1965).
21. Lisa Redfield Peattie, *The View from the Barrio* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1968).
22. Pitkin, "The Concept of Representation," 17.
23. *Ibid.*, 20–21.
24. Castañeda and de Cesaris, "Movimientos vecinales."
25. See Lisa Redfield Peattie, "Social Structure and Social Action," chap. 6 in *The View from the Barrio* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1968), 54–70.
26. Pitkin, "The Concept of Representation," 20.
27. *Ibid.*, 6.

Chapter 7

The Production of False Consciousness

To review what we know already of the outcome of the Guayana Project: The city as implemented falls considerably short of the hopes held out for it by its planners. It is smaller and lacks some of the hoped-for industrial development. It is still very much a creature of its development agency, rather than normalized through the transfer of responsibility to standard governmental and private management. Instead of having its population more or less equally distributed on the west and east sides of the Caroní River, three-quarters live to the east; given the location of industry on the west, this provides for an enormously inefficient commuting pattern. Both sides of the city lack amenity, although they are disagreeable in different ways—the west for its impersonality and lack of collective activities and lack of places to carry on such activities, the east for its disorderly shacks and lack of services. There is a high degree of social inequality in the city; in this the city does not differ from Venezuela as a whole, but more than is usual in Venezuela this is expressed in sharp spatial separation between rich and poor, and the inequality is thus even more than usually visible. The combination of the spatial separation and social polarization makes what is certainly in a functional sense a single city appear as two distinct social worlds. Thus it is only the planners who know their product as "Ciudad Guayana"; in the telephone directory, ticket agency, and common conversation it appears as distinct settlements, two cities.

How should we appraise this outcome of the highly publicized planning process? How could this outcome have been improved?