TRANSPORT STRATEGIES IN A CONTEXT OF SOCIAL AND SPATIAL PERIPHERIES IN COLOMBIA

Daniel Oviedo Hernández
Development Planning Unit, University College London
d.oviedo.11@ucl.ac.uk

PhD Candidate, Development Planning
DPU, University College London
34 Tavistock Square, London, WC1H 9EZ
M. (+44) 74 2823 6791 - Fax: +44 (0)20 679 1112
bartlett.ucl.ac.uk/dpu

ABSTRACT

In a context of limited purchasing power, spatially concentrated income-earning opportunities and other urban functions, accessibility to means of connecting and engaging with the city can be a determining factor in overcoming poverty for residents in physically marginal areas. Using the case study of Soacha, a municipality adjacent to Colombia's largest city, this paper explores the generation travel strategies in a context of uneven provision of material infrastructures and services for transport. Through the analysis of qualitative data from semi-structured interviews and existing statistics from available technical appraisals of travel patterns in the area, the research identifies central elements in the development of strategies or accessing the city that involve formal and informal transport.

Poor residents from spatially and socially peripheral settlements take advantage of the flexibility of informal transport alternatives, increasing their influence in space and filling gaps in fragmented formal networks. Particular characteristics of the transport supply allow for a series of benefits often overlooked by traditional approaches to urban planning and transport development. Information obtained from users and suppliers of informal transport show higher accessibility under specific conditions in comparison with users of only formal transport modes. In a context where spatial and infrastructure planning is strongly influence by (lack of) power and attractiveness, these travel patterns and preferences may contribute to build a better-informed analysis of the role of flexibility and affordability in transport provision for vulnerable populations in similar contexts.

INTRODUCTION

Infrastructure is widely recognised as a driver of development. Transport in particular relates directly to economic growth, which places it at the centre of mainstream urban and rural development agendas (Willoughby, 2002). Interactions and opportunities resulting from mobility have made transport development a central concern in policy and planning around the world (Lizarrraga et al., 2011).

Increasing awareness of local and global environmental challenges has progressively led to a pursuit of sustainable development agendas that include transport as one possible mechanism to help change urban structures (Jones and Lucas, 2012). However, in most cases transport development is still driven by principles of utility maximisation, limiting its direct and associated benefits in less-profitable areas of the city (Brand, 2013). Nevertheless, while speed and cost are still the main drivers in much urban and regional transport policy, new concerns like energy efficiency, the environment and social equity are increasingly receiving attention (Bocarejo and Oviedo, 2012).

Recent research has proven transport to play a central role in poverty alleviation (Ochmant et al., 2009; Brand and Dávila, 2011; World Bank, 2001). Measurable deficits in different spheres (i.e. health, work and education) can be associated to lack of mobility (Wash, 2010). New policies and developments have arisen from emerging concerns with the social implications of transport, leading planners and practitioners to look at where the poor live and work, searching for new solutions that integrate marginal areas with the rest of society (Dávila, 2012). However, such efforts are relatively isolated and represent a small volume of current research on transport (Salon and Gulyani, 2010).

Literature exploring explicit links between transport and poverty is often full of unproved assumptions (Sanchez, 2009). Particularly in Latin America, there is still little empirical evidence to demonstrate the relationship between the provision of transport and social needs (Keeling, 2008). Only until relatively recently have governments in the region switched from favouring the use of car to the pursuit of alternative modes of transport that benefit less privileged populations as a state policy (Cebollada and Avellaneda 2008).

In this context, public transport fulfils a function beyond territorial connection, becoming an instrument of social inclusion (Avellaneda, 2008). Both spatially and economically, public transport investments can have meaningful positive impacts on reducing travel loads for poor populations (Bocarejo and Oviedo, 2013). However, these strategies can only give poor families limited access to the opportunities offered by large cities (Avellaneda, 2008; Cebollada and Avellaneda, 2008).

These conditions impose considerable financial loads on poor households, especially in areas with insufficiently integrated transport systems thus demanding considerable individual expense to cover the cost of transfers to reach the core city (Cervero 1998, 2000). In areas where informality permeates almost every aspect of everyday life and populations is comprised mostly of low-income in-migrants and locals attracted by the comparatively low cost of land and housing, affordability and accessibility become very important features of transport supply, posing important challenges for the development of solutions that respond to the primary needs of these populations (Oviedo and Dávila, 2013). These conditions represent an exceptional challenge for governments often operating in conditions of institutional weakness and limited fiscal resources. Formal transport services often fail to meet the requirements of the demand in poor neighbourhoods, opening gaps for the operation of small-scale informal operators (Cervero & Golub, 2007).

In this context, innovative methods of travel or alternative use of existing options have an innate potential for increasing the influence of vulnerable groups in space. People in low-income neighbourhoods often rely on informal transport based usually on small vehicles that can access difficult areas or provide non-motorized alternatives either at lower cost or with better coverage than conventional public transport (Cervero, 2013). More flexible and adaptive methods for traveling in these areas are constantly emerging as a response to the priorities of urban and peri-urban populations in conditions of poverty.

This paper explores bottom-up provision of transport options to peripheral populations in Colombia. By studying informal settlements in Soacha, an area with marked physical barriers to access city centre and other locations of employment and amenities, I examine how different mechanisms can emerge through community-led informal initiatives such as informal para-transit. This analysis is based on interviews and secondary data. The mechanisms of adaptability and resistance to inadequate means of connectivity, and their policy counterpart in terms of transport supply, offer an interesting case of analysis of transport dynamics of the poor that can better inform policy approaches to both peripheral developments and informality in urban transport infrastructure and services.

TRANSPORT PROVISION AND INEQUALITY

Mobility is a source of inequalities in society. A differentiated distribution of skills, means and resources to be able to move is inherently related with social disparities. The existence of such inequalities is aggravated by conditions of poverty that limit considerably not only resources available to move, but to address other material needs. Social groups lacking assets and choice required for being able to move become deprived from interacting with the (whole extent of) opportunities offered by society (Bauman, 2000). Lack of mobility constitutes an integral part of a condition of social disadvantage, being closely linked with social exclusion (Ohnmacht et al. 2008, Lucas, 2012).

The relative position in space regarding the structure of the networks of opportunities and the availability of means of transport contributes to and individual's or group's social position as it either facilitates or hinders access to jobs, healthcare, education, etc. (DfT, 2000). The concept of access becomes then essential in order to link material spatial inequalities and social inequality as it is a way of "operationalizing the strategies developed by different groups to reach activities, resources and goods through means of transport" (Urry, 2007; 187). Access refers to the structural aspects, such as the availability of technological means and the conditions for their usage. However, as Urry argues, the most important constrains upon social equality, not only in terms of mobility, are economic resources (Urry, 2007, 191). Spatialities are therefore not only shaped by material infrastructures but also by socio-demographically differentiated needs (Menderscheid, 2009).

Travel to work becomes a central driver of both individual and household patterns of mobility and also determines several trade-offs, often related to location and housing conditions (Cervero, 1999) Housing affordability can attract low income housing to the urban fringe where a lack of alternative transport forces households into investing in a large portion of their limited income on car ownership (Banister, 1994). A particular concern of the consequences of job-housing unbalances of the poor is the generation of spatial entrapment in the household (Levy, 2013). According to Jocoy and Del Casino (2010), spatial entrapment mainly applies to mothers with young children who have household responsibilities and constrained schedules and often occupy jobs (part-time, low wages often in retail, education and healthcare) that do not justify long commutes. These dynamics generate additional vulnerabilities and inequalities even within

poor households, evidencing gender unbalances and influence of life-stages that prescribes approaches to access the city.

Large cities in Latin America experienced accelerated urban growth, particularly during the 1960s and 1970s, with tendencies to employment concentration and spatial segregation of low-income and unskilled in-migrants (Cohen, 2004). The uncontrolled and unplanned growth of these metropolitan areas led to serious problems of social exclusion, degradation and lack of basic infrastructure (Gilbert, 1997), including problems of accessibility which impacted especially seriously on under-privileged groups.

Historical deficits in the provision of urban infrastructure are made worse under conditions of rapid growth, with precarious coverage of utilities and basic social services more marked in peripheral and marginal areas. Increased concentration of wealth and opportunities, and an associated worsening of social problems like violence and crime, has led to the elite becoming isolated in gated communities, increasing the spatial polarization between rich and poor (Caldeira, 2000). In the 1980s and early 1990s, structural adjustment policies involving a partial retreat of the state, privatisation and removal of social safety nets led to deterioration in the quality of life of the poorest inhabitants in the majority of large Latin American cities (Gilbert, 1997).

Dynamics of social exclusion, class segregation, and poverty influence urban structures, stretching city boundaries through informal settlements in the peripheries of most Latin American cities (Cervero, 2013; Gilbert, 2009). The tendency in developing cities to spatially concentrate resources and opportunities affects infrastructure development patterns as a result of the influence of clustered power and attractiveness (Graham & Marvin, 2000). Subsequent forms of development of transport networks have created gaps between attractive and less powerful areas of the city, limiting choices for connectivity in the peripheries (Oviedo & Dávila, 2013). These conditions prescribe travel patterns of the poor, which settle in less developed areas through informal mechanisms for housing and land occupation in the outskirts.

Local conditions might worsen accessibility for people in poverty to transport and opportunities as a result of adverse topographic conditions, violence, crime and other elements that hinder movement (Brand & Dávila, 2011). General environments connectivity in the global south are characterized by limited availability of road infrastructure, which in general lacks adequate capacity and structure to facilitate accessibility (Cervero, 2013). By and large, the vast majority of location patterns of the urban poor leads to a limited capacity for travel and to an increase of social, spatial and economic inequalities mainly as a result of the inconvenient distances from the main activity clusters in a given city, limited supply of adequate infrastructures and lack of affordable services (Ferrarazzo & Arauz 2000; Kaltheier 2002; Vasconcellos 2001).

A key underlying factor in these dynamics is embodied in the spatial mismatches between the residential locations of the poor and the location of formal jobs with adequate wages (Cervero, 2013). In many cities of the global south most job opportunities are concentrated at or close to the urban core, while the majority of the poor settle on the city's far-flung fringes, being forced to effectively trade off comparatively high travel costs for lower housing costs in often illegal housing (Gackenheimer, 1999). However, whatever savings that accrue from illegally squatting and living in inadequate conditions often fade as a result of the high expense involved in reaching income-earning opportunities in the city as well as essential health, educational, and retail destinations (Cervero 1998, 2000).

The role of material infrastructures in the development of social and economic dynamics depends on patterns of urban development and location of people and opportunities. As transport infrastructure and services work as conduit for the flows between nodes of housing and activity, is the distribution of nodes in space what determines the structure of networks and makes displacements a necessity. Jaramillo et al. (2012) argue that social needs and socio-economic and spatial equity aspects of transport are generally not taken into consideration in transport planning processes, prioritizing investments in areas of higher attractiveness and demand (Kenyon et al. 2002; McCray and Brais, 2007). Bypassing strategies that limit availability of networks in less attractive areas are often accompanied by lack of regulation and control. These conditions open spaces to movements of resistance (Graham and Marvin, 2001) generating parallel links connecting segregated nodes through alternative means or opportunities (Oviedo and Davila, 2013). This is the case of informal transport and job markets, producing a series of analogous networks serving different types of demand. The range of informal transport in the global south includes everything from hand pushed rickshaws to private minibuses - operated by the poor for the poor- that have stepped in to fill the gaps left by limited formal transport provision (Cervero, 2013).

METHODS AND OVERVIEW OF CASE STUDY

The urban area selected to examine these dynamics is Soacha, a municipality located in the central city-region of Colombia, one of the most populous in Latin America, with around eight million inhabitants. Residents in peripheral informal settlements comprise both recent low-income in-migrants and more established migrants or locals attracted by the comparatively low prices of land for housing.

The sample of semi-structured interviews comprises 81 individual surveys scattered in seven of the neighbourhoods that form Commune 4 in Soacha. These included both users and providers of local transport. The questionnaires enquired about the profile of respondents, income levels, travel and activity patterns and perceptions of connectivity, the state of supply, informality and access. Each interview lasted between 45 minutes and 1.5 hours and they were recorded and transcribed for additional analysis.

General indicators of travel patterns and statistics were generated from secondary and primary databases gathered for the research. Policy documents and technical studies were also analysed in order to identify the current state of the networks of connectivity. From the statistics and analysis of secondary data, the research focuses on testimonies of interviewees marked by different characteristics. This involved a content analysis of the questionnaires, clustering respondents by particular characteristics and locations. The aggregated results of the travel strategies obtained from the interviews were summarized and analysed against the picture drawn from official statistics regarding travel patterns of the poor.

The spatial and functional conurbation of Bogotá-Soacha is the most dynamic in the region. Soacha has become the main destination of low-income in-migrants in recent years despite conditions of poor governance and limited investment capacity in the municipality. Soacha has the largest municipal population in the province of Cundinamarca (Figure 2). In 2010 the municipality was home to 455,992 inhabitants (DANE, 2005). The increase in Soacha's attraction for low-income households, added to other migratory phenomena, has influenced greatly the dynamics of conurbation with Bogotá. According to the 2003 census of Soacha, non-migrants represented only 14.6% of the population (CCB, 2005). Continuous increase of urban population in the vicinity of Bogotá has generated some pressure for better connectivity for the workforce, which have been mainly challenged by political and administrative limitations.

Land and rental prices tend to be higher in more central premium locations, but also in nearby locations in the better serviced neighbourhoods within Bogotá's administrative jurisdiction. The limited supply of affordable land and housing for low-income groups in neighbourhoods that meet the requirements set by the planning system has led to the exponential rise of informally produced neighbourhoods in the periphery of Soacha (which is itself peripheral to Bogotá). This set of developments, compounded by acute social tensions within the settlements and limited income-earning opportunities in Soacha itself, presents a severe challenge to the poorly endowed and institutionally weak local government of Soacha to provide adequate utility and transport networks allowing local residents to improve currently low levels of accessibility to centres of employment in Bogotá and elsewhere.

ACCESS FROM THE PERIPHERY

Official results of mobility patterns show that general evolution of transport networks in parallel to the development of Altos de Cazucá has been only in scale as demand increases. Although there is now a higher number of transit routes with higher frequencies, its scheme has not changed considerably and serves mostly the local scale. In fact, 98% of the routes in Altos de Cazucá operate only at the local level, covering mostly trips from the area's inner settlements to the main highway where passengers can pay additional fares in routes providing services towards Bogotá or downtown Soacha.

As a result, the municipality generates comparatively low numbers of trips per capita. Soacha generates around 21,000 trips during peak morning periods, approximately 200,000 trips per day (in a population of some 400,000). 93% of these trips are directed to toward Bogotá and only about 1,800 are made by private transport, or approximately 8% of the total.

In addition, there is no direct connection between different administrative zones in the municipality with the exception of the vicinity of a national highway connecting Bogotá to the south and west of the country. Most local roads are not continuous and have limited access to the highway resulting in high walking and waiting times. In most of the area, proper road infrastructure is simply not available. Most local roads lack the adequate lane width for two-way traffic management and are marred by technical flaws. Moreover, only 17% of the roads in the municipality are in good condition (Soacha, 2000). Few corridors are available exclusively for pedestrians, which forces them to use vehicle roads.

Transport demand in Soacha is captive to public transport services. 85.1% of the trips generated are made via public transport, with an average travel time of 79.3 minutes. 8.6% of trips within Soacha are non-motorized, with an average travel time of 40.2 minutes. Moreover, the use of transport services only at a local level involves high levels of expenditure in travel for most of the population in the study area. On average, 6% of Soacha residents spend up to US$1 per trip, 55% between US$1 and 2.5, and 39% more than US$2.5 per trip. In an area where most household incomes are close to the minimum legal wage these levels of expenditure hinder mobility for household members and reinforce social inequalities and exclusion across the conurbation.

Interviews in Soacha show a different picture from official statistics. Interviewees from most of the sample identify additional alternatives for transportation beyond walking and (formal) public transport. We identified provision of small-scale informal operators providing para-transit services in 5 of the 7 neighbourhoods studied in Soacha. Interviewees perceive infrastructure and services as insufficient and of

bad quality. However, when enquiring about the situation of connectivity people do not have a perception of their location as being a segregated area.

In fact, most residents in the study area consider their location privileged, as their housing costs are considerably lower compared to Bogota and they have adequate level of access. If it is true that most people in the sample are users of public transport, informal transport alternatives prevail locally in the combination of transport modes. Moreover, despite conditions of centralization of opportunities in the region, most workers interviewed travel shorter times in comparison with people of similar socioeconomic conditions within Bogota when including informal alternatives in their travel strategies.

People in peripheral settlements value the benefits of informal transport in spite of the conditions of their vehicles being old and often fail to comply with safety requirements. Some particular testimonies from interviewees regarding formal and informal alternatives for transport, emphasising on Transmilenio, local BRT, are presented below.

"It is very expensive, they put so many people in and it is still very expensive, takes a lot of overcrowding, especially the Transmilenio" (Oscar, 26).

"To me what I find awesome is Transmilenio, what I see is that Transmilenio is very expensive for the entire population that transports, it lingers, is filled and unsafe, it does not seem to have the right price. The normal bus or the carritos (informal transport) do not seem so expensive" (Hugo Gonzales, Age 48).

"Very pricey and very bad (…) Transport around Bogota in general is. You pay 1,750 pesos and have to travel always standing (...) in discomfort. It is not like the small pickups that work in the neighborhood; they even help me sometimes putting my bags in the trunk and leave me closer to my house than the bus" (Jenny Salgado, Age 52)

Resistance to Transmilenio among respondents is commonplace. Qualitative data shows that this is due to the higher complexity and greater levels of control by the system. While most complains about formal transport are about price and quality, the general perception is that the system is not affordable for local residents. When examining the ways in which people uses public transport provided locally, this tendency becomes clearer.

“Sometimes depending on how you feel your pocket, you can bargain the price to the drivers of the local buses or the carritos” (Edwin Campos, Age 21)

“If the bus comes with not so many people I usually offer the driver 500 or 800 pesos, they usually accept and helps with the economy” (Cecilia Roa, Age 35)

“If we are in a group they usually let us in through the back door so each of us pays less” (Leidy Johanna, Age 22).

The informal transactions in both available systems allow for higher affordability in the usage of transport alternatives. Considering that the tariffs for regular buses are 1,400 COP, for Transmilenio 1,750 COP and for the informal between 800 and 1,000 COP, the informal approach can represent a reduction between 30 and 40% of the official fare for each mode. In general, this has allowed some users to avoid long walking

distances and travel times depending on the destination. In cases of longer distances, users tend to avoid local transport alternatives and walk to the mode that takes them closest to their destination. This, considering that the network of services within the city of Bogota requires additional transfers paying the full tariff.

Nevertheless, interviewees travelling to destinations that require only one transfer rely on informal transport and negotiate fares for accessing their destinations, particularly work. The additional speed provided by informal alternatives justifies additional investments according to general perception. However, these alternatives also provide for additional safety as people interpret travelling in vehicles will reduce the risk associated to crime in the neighbourhood. While more expensive, for most people it is preferable to avoid walking especially at certain times of the day and night. Travel strategies involve trade-offs between costs, comfort and safety, sacrificing sometimes motorized trips or stages or travel in order to secure the features of a particular trip in the day.

CONCLUSION

In many respects the results challenge aggregate official statistics. While the interviewees do not make a high number of motorized trips, they do use alternative mechanisms to increase their accessibility, comfort and safety relying on both informal supply and transactions for accessing public transport. The case of Soacha shows the role of informal transport in filling the gaps left by formal transport. The adaptability and flexibility of pricing schemes that allows users to access the service at lower fares reflect the often highly personalized relationships between service-providers and clients.

Mechanisms for increasing flexibility of informal transport benefit low-income users that increase their accessibility to opportunities in both physical and economic terms. The adaptability of different mechanisms to the challenges of terrain and social tensions in the informal system help overcome segregation in urban areas with limited supply of infrastructure and formal services. This adaptability of the system is exploited by transport users through the modification of the set of rules for accessing public transport.

While these choices do not thoroughly overcome limitations of an uneven provision of transport alternatives and constrained budget availability, they respond better to the preferences and priorities of the people in low-income areas than a set of alternatives comprising only formal alternatives. The higher flexibility and comfort as well as lower costs of operation of informal transport are not negligible factors, particularly given the stringent limitations faced by low-income households. Further exploration of these dynamics may contribute to tailoring better existing policies for provision of transport to segregated areas, impacting positively quality of life and access to opportunities for the urban peripheral poor.

REFERENCES

- Willoughby, C., 2002, Infrastructure and Pro-Poor Growth: Implications of Recent Research, DFID Research Paper
- Lizarraga, C., 2006, Movilidad urbana sostenible: un reto para las ciudades del siglo XXI, Economía, Sociedad y Territorio, 5, pp. 283–321

- Jones, P., & Lucas, K., 2012, The social consequences of transport decision-making: clarifying concepts, synthesising knowledge and assessing implications. Journal of Transport Geography, 21, 4-16.
- Dávila, J. D. (editor), Urban Mobility and Poverty: Lessons from Medellín and Soacha, Colombia, Development Planning Unit, UCL, and Universidad Nacional de Colombia, London. 2013.
- Bocarejo, J. P., and Oviedo H., D., (2012) "Transport accessibility and social inequities: a tool for identification of mobility needs and evaluation of transport investments", Journal of Transport Geography, Vol. 24, September, pp. 142-154
- Brand, P. and Dávila, J. D. (2011) "Mobility innovation at the urban margins: Medellín's Metrocables", City, Vol. 15, No. 6, pp. 647-661.
- Oviedo Hernandez, D., Davila Silva, J. Transport, Urban Development and the Peripheral Poor in Colombia – Placing Splintering Urbanism in the Context of Transport Networks. XIII World Conference of Transportation Research, Rio de Janeiro, July 2013.
- Ohnmacht, T., Maksim, H., and Bergman, M.M., (eds.), (2009) Mobilities and Inequality, Aldershot: Ashgate.
- The World Bank (2001) Transport and Poverty Reduction: A Background Note. Report.
- Wachs, M. (2010). Transportation Policy, Poverty, and Sustainability. Transportation Research Record: Journal of the Transportation Research Board, 2163(1), 5-12.
- Salon, D., & Gulyani, S. (2010). Mobility, poverty, and gender: Travel 'choices' of slum residents in Nairobi, Kenya. Transport Reviews, 30(5), 641-657.
- Sanchez, T (2009) Poverty, policy, and public transportation, Transportation Research Part A: Policy and Practice, Volume 42, Issue 5, 833-841
- Keeling, D. J. (2009). Transportation geography: local challenges, global contexts. Progress in Human Geography, 33(4), 516-526.
- Cebollada, A., Avellaneda, P., (2008) Equidad social en movilidad: reflexiones en torno a los casos de Barcelona y Lima. Scripta Nova 12(270). <http://www.ub.edu/geocrit/-xcol/185.htm>.
- Avellaneda, P., (2008) Movilidad, pobreza y exclusión social en la ciudad de Lima, Anales de Geografía de la Universidad Complutense, 28 (2), 9–35
- Cervero, R. B. (2013). Linking urban transport and land use in developing countries. Journal of Transport and Land Use, 6(1), 7-24.
- Acevedo, J., Velásquez, J. M. and Bocarejo, J. P., (2013) "The Presidential promise of an aerial cable-car: Institutional limitations and political realities", in Dávila, J. D. (editor), Urban Mobility and Poverty: Lessons from Medellín and Soacha, Colombia, London: Development Planning Unit, UCL, and Universidad Nacional de Colombia.
- Church, A., Frost, M. and Sullivan, K., (2000) "Transport and social exclusion in London", Transport Policy Vol. 7, pp. 195-205
- Gakenheimer, R., (1999) "Urban mobility in the developing world". Transportation Research Part A 33, pp. 671–689.
- Graham, S. and Marvin, S., (2001) Splintering Urbanism: Networked Infrastructures, Technological Mobilities and the Urban Condition, London: Routledge.
- Cervero, R. (2000). Informal transport in the developing world. UN-HABITAT.
- Cervero, R., & Golub, A. (2007). Informal transport: A global perspective. Transport Policy, 14(6), 445-457.
- Delbosc, A. and Currie, G., (2011), Using Lorenz curves to assess public transport equity, in: Journal of Transport Geography 19 (2011), pp. 1252–1259

- Rondinelli, D. A. (1993). Location analysis and regional development: summing up and moving on. International Regional Science Review, 15(3), 325-340.
- Roy, A., & AlSayyad, N. (2004). Urban Informality: Transnational Perspectives from the Middle East, South Asia, and Latin America.
- Geurs, K. T, Van Wee, B. (2004) Accessibility evaluation of land-use and transport strategies: review and research directions. Journal of Transport Geography 12, 127–140.
- Gilbert, A. G. (1997). Poverty, regional convergence and development: what kind of relationship? In Helmsing, B., Guimaraes, J. (Eds.). Locality, State and Development (pp.181-204). Institute of Social Studies.