Los Sitios: Connecting People to People Assets
A Conceptual Framework for Civic Engagement to Facilitate Sustainable Development in Los Sitios, La Habana, Cuba

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Abstract

The streets of La Habana are filled with people who possess tremendous energy ready to be directed towards sustainable development. The opportunity here is to guide this energy using knowledge from academia, residents, visitors, professionals and organizations, to formalize local partnerships and strengthen existing organizations. Many projects and policies in Cuba already use sustainability as a core concept of economic development. The reinvestment of revenue generated from tourism has been used to fund the construction of social housing, preservation of the historic center and enhancement of the shared public spaces such as in the case of Habana Vieja.\(^1\) However, most rehabilitation and restoration urban renewal projects occur with very minimal or no public consultation, and usually in the historic district. The rest of the neighborhoods like Los Sitios get sidelined in this process of renewal. One way to overcome this inequitable investment in neighborhoods is by accruing maximum assistance from various partners who can steer ahead positive, long term systemic changes from within the neighborhood. While investigating the functions of existing non-governmental organizations, social services and civic organizations it was identified that their mission statements and progressive ideology could be channeled towards sustainable development that is relevant to contemporary Cuban society. This article examines the tremendous untapped potential of rebranding, reinterpreting and repositioning existing organizations within the Cuban model, to create a well-knit network. Examining a civic engagement model using asset-based community development (ABCD), this process is an essential first step towards regaining trust from residents of Los Sitios that can eventually be used to support bottom-up sustainable development efforts within the neighborhood in an organic yet organized manner.

Keywords : Cuba, asset based, sustainable development, civic engagement, rebranding, responsible tourism.

\(^1\) As of 2016, Office of the Historian of the City (OHC) has pumped about $500 million into the restoration of La Habana Vieja. It asserts that one third of tourism profits have been put to social and communal needs in the form of cultural centers, programs for the elderly, schools, and training programs (Peters 2001).
Introduction

The Spring 2018 studio visit to La Habana, Cuba was a result of collaboration between Pratt Institute and La Universidad Tecnológica de La Habana CUJAE, which culminated in a joint project based in Los Sitios, Centro Habana - a low income, high density neighborhood. The goal initially was to study and address the housing shortage, poor quality public spaces and the nature of mobility in Los Sitios by identifying their synergies. These three elements were informed by keeping in mind the heritage, culture, economic vitality and quality of life of residents. It was also vital to build on and further the groundwork laid by faculty and students of CUJAE who have been collecting data regarding the neighborhood for about six years.

Fig.1. Google Maps. 2017. “Havana, Cuba, with Study Area Highlighted”.

To understand the challenges of the current rehabilitation and renovation situation it is necessary to understand the socio-political and economical context of the city in which this project was based. In the last few years, Cuba has passed through several structural changes that have significantly impacted its residents. These changes include Fidel Castro stepping down from office to the gradual opening of the market with Raúl Castro to Miguel Díaz-Canel being elected as the new president this year, the recent recognition of private enterprise and steps toward normalization of the relationship between the United States and Cuba.

The urban realm is being gradually transformed by intensive tourism exploration, creation of new businesses and a new style of entrepreneurs in an emerging real estate market. Internally, the government has granted licenses to over 500,000 self-employed entrepreneurs (cuentapropistas) and nearly 500 cooperatives, providing opportunities for

https://www.google.co.uk/maps/place/Havana,+Cuba/@23.050625,-82.4730885,11z/data=!4m5!3m4!1s0x88cd774cbdf600e1:0x4e294d7e1a770d60!8m2!3d23.1135929!4d-82.3665956
increased individual income as well as government savings due to the decrease in state employment.  

Fig. 2. Carlos Rodriguez. “Conversations with community leaders”, 2018, Los Sitios, La Habana, Cuba.

Despite positive developments, remnants of history still linger strongly in Cuba which suffered from lack of building materials and resources since the fall of the socialist bloc and the economic crisis called the Special Period. Following the revolution of 1959, Cuba has managed to provide free education, health care and urban security to the entire population while managing to keep the economic inequality at a lower percentage relative to many other countries in Latin America. However, the country’s economic revenue is still not enough to support the entire population who in turn still suffer from the lack of resources as a consequence of the legacy and enduring reality of the United States trade embargo. These economic realities have shaped Cuba’s relationship to sustainability. Sustainability, in the context of Fidel Castro’s discourse, should be understood as a nationalist banner for an ever-transformative Revolution. So while there are many historical ramifications, the positive momentum is in Cuba and the fast pace of changes is altering many aspects of Cuban life. With this pace of change it is critical to promote sustainable development at the neighborhood level as the widespread model for the country to ensure resource conservation and inclusive economic opportunity.


The collage represents the new enterprises and development in Cuba such as the introduction of Wi-fi in public spaces, micro-enterprises, private-public partnerships and innovative adaptive reuse projects such as the Fábrica De Arte Cubano.

However, institutions created during the revolution have not been visibly updated or adapted at the same pace, forcing the population to find alternative informal networks to keep up with their growing desires and needs. At the same time, Cuba’s political model is highly structured and top down; any proposal to dismantle existing institutions and replace them with a bottom up initiative could be seen as defying the government. There are three challenges for existing organizations, such as local chapters of the FMC, the Cuban Women’s Federation. The first is to find a middle ground for self evolution that respects the Cuban government’s authority. The second is identify ways to bridge the current gaps between themselves and the community. The third is to determine how the current institutions can work better as a cohesive network. The spirit of innovation is shown by the response of the Cuban people to challenges such as the lack access to information through an organized network of hard drives and USB drives called paquetes. In partnership with existing organizations, these types of can help guide and lead potential ways forward.

Recent trends in Cuba have also directed discussions around economic development in a collaborative platform for local representatives, NGO’s, professionals and government agencies. For instance, Brookings Institution and Research Initiative for the Sustainable Development of Cuba (RISDoC) co-hosted an experts seminar in 2017 which sought to open channels for further communication about sustainability at the government and grassroots levels.

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Analysis

Currently, the incredibly vibrant neighborhood of Los Sitios has encountered challenges ranging from a significant housing crisis and poorly maintained public facilities to lack of employment opportunities. Compounding the challenges, there are minimal opportunities in the existing governance framework that encourage communities to participate in the improvement of their neighborhood or provide them ways to secure resources and roles to influence positive change.

In combination with building on the social strengths of Los Sitios, sustainable and locally focused economic development is critical to circulate more revenue throughout the neighborhood. Thornburg explains that “effective economic development at the community level focuses less on national economic growth and more on the conditions allowing the community to determine its own economic opportunities given its resources.” The aforementioned community economic development can be truly sustainable only if there is a two-way transfer of knowledge. Consequently, this depends on the degree of “Social and System Integration,” which according to sociologist Emile Durkheim is how people relate to each other and the “relationships between parts of a society or social system.”

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8 John Thornburg, “Eco-Tourism and Sustainable Community Development in Cuba: Bringing Community Back into Development.”

reasons, we believe this paper’s core concept of renewed outlook on how organizations operate in neighborhoods like Los Sitios, is critical to the future health and success of the community.

In context, previous efforts to rehabilitate parts of Habana Vieja by the Office of the Historian of the city (OHC) have been criticized for a lack of grassroots input and participation in tourism planning and social goals. An unsettling consequence of tourist-based development in Habana Vieja has been displacement of local residents. This suggests introspection about ways in which tourism can contribute to the local economy while complementing existing neighborhood character. The possibility of integrating local tourism-based economy with the community engagement model is also a potential outcome of this process.

**State of Housing**

There are several factors to be considered with respect to the housing crisis in Los Sitios. The rich inventory of deteriorated historical buildings is occupied under hazardous conditions with virtually no services. (Fig.7.)

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10 Lily Hoffman, “In Havana, Tourism Development Before the US Tsunami.”

To conserve and fix the houses that can be saved requires a tremendous amount of resources. It is also a matter of quality of life, physical safety and security of its residents. While some buildings are crumbling, many others are densely populated. For example, to accommodate more people, an extra makeshift mezzanine floor might be added, housing an entire family. Residents call it *barbacoas*\(^{11}\), a cynical reference to the fact that these mezzanines sometimes feel as hot as a barbecue pit. Additionally, this kind of architecture puts tremendous strain on the physical structure, not to mention extra psychological strain on families living in such close quarters. On the other hand, the visible deterioration of buildings is the result of a combination of various factors: Climate conditions, geographical location, shortage of construction materials, low income of the residents, difficult access to credit, a widespread culture of self building and high cost of renovation. The result is the potential for a well-preserved neighborhood similar to Habana Vieja that could be a source of economic vitality but is now also a precarious physical living environment for residents. However, this would be a long-term process of change.

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\(^{11}\) The *barbacoas* are all self-built and similar to most informal settlements, they evolve over time. Slowly the original wooden *barbacoa* structure is replaced by "placa"- concrete, and shared services and individualized. (Sertich 2010)
Public Space and Mobility

Given the current state of housing in Los Sitios, mobility and public spaces are particularly important to residents of the area and can be improved at a faster pace than social housing. Residents use streets and public space as an integral extension of their living environment. While this is a beautiful expression of placemaking and life, the disconcerting reality is the need for safe, high quality streets and public space that are well integrated, designed and programmed. During site visits to Los Sitios several vacant lots with mounds of construction material or garbage were identified. If activated, these potential public spaces, which currently lack infrastructure and are unsafe, could be community hubs for communication, exercise and play. These “opportunity sites” can be designed to serve the needs of the community. Furthermore, there is also a lot of room for improvement for safer, pedestrian-friendly streets that are already vibrant with informal activities. At any given time, the streets become a field for baseball, alive with an intense dominó session, the space for a vendor to sell goods or a playground for the nearby school children. It is a public space that is communal and collective. At the same time the streets suffer from a lack of greenery and well-equipped public spaces. Given the existing challenges to public space and mobility in the neighborhood the need for sustainable and inclusive planning is critical. The development of an integrated plan can greatly benefit from the theory of cohesive social and system-wide integration that this article rests on.

Fig.7. Photo by authors. “Spaces of play - The main plaza.”, 2018, Los Sitios, Havana, Cuba.

“Reverse Domino Effect”

Los Sitios is an important sustainable development case study because it is a part of La Habana composed of moderate to low-income residents who have a sense of identity and of place and belonging to the neighborhood, but is also being impacted by the changes in surrounding neighborhoods from tourism and the housing market. Therefore, a core concept for change is likened to a “reverse domino effect.” This is both literal and an homage to role
of dominos in Cuban culture. Literally, the neighborhood can use its existing human assets, both tangible and intangible heritage to regenerate to pick up the fallen pieces that are currently limiting the neighborhoods potential. The game of dominos is found throughout Cuban culture, a unifying point with tremendous energy. Like the energy produced by the domino pieces that have been stacked up and knocked down, it is possible to create positive momentum as the pieces move in reverse. The idea of “Re-branding” is intended to push the first domino piece that would act as a catalyst for change and consequently build momentum over a period of time with the help of neighborhood residents.

Fig. 8. Source: Authors, Streets of Havana: Spirit of the domino players, 2018, Los Sitios, Havana, Cuba

Fig. 9. By authors. Housing, public space and mobility efforts are parallely supported by constant engagement with the community.

Rebranding and Repositioning for a Sustainable Future

The recognition of importance of branding or rebranding for NGOs has increased over time for fundraising and to promote causes. This article believes this concept is equally important for Cuban governmental organizations because, “a solid brand identity tells an important story. It sets expectations, gains attention, fosters relationships and ultimately helps ensure
long-term survival.\textsuperscript{12} While in Cuba, on the ground information gathering suggests that a core reason for lack of trust from the community towards existing organizations is due to a current inability for organizations to tell their stories. This also is concurrent with ABCD where collecting stories and aspirations is part of the engagement process. Sean Norris, a branding professional, asserts that most organizations shift when there is a “transitional moment” - a leadership change, a new organizational strategy, a shift in focus.\textsuperscript{13} Cuba, as a whole, fits all of these descriptions; the election of a new president, adoption of an updated constitution and growing presence of internet connectivity make this a unique moment.

In his article, Mr. Norris’s foremost recommendation to organizations is, “Listen to your supporters.” This recommendation is aligned with the current Cuban reality where many people, especially the generation coming of age, feel disconnected from existing organizations and the way they operate.

\textit{“Current and prospective supporters are your brand’s most vital audiences, making their opinions and perspectives key. When embarking on a rebrand strategy, engage your supporters in the process by asking them for honest feedback—what’s working and what’s not, how they most like to be reached, which tactics most resonate.”} Sean Norris.

The availability of internet in La Habana allows and enables organizations an unprecedented connection to residents and members. Developing innovative communication tools is especially relevant to adolescents and young adults, the most likely group of new technology adopters. This means traditional communication methods, including paper flyers and public signage will remain relevant for quite some time. The combination of new and traditional methods will ensure that everyone can be reached to contribute to the achievement of sustainable goals.

While organizational rebranding is important it will have to be done with the way that the city of La Habana is currently repositioning itself as a global tourism destination. It is important to consider the sustainability challenges associated with the increased presence of tourism. The current intersection of these two elements of change are reaching or have reached unsustainable levels. This is especially apparent from the crumbling facades of current structures and trucks delivering drinking water, spewing diesel exhaust as they sit in the middle of streets in Habana Vieja while they pump water into hotels. While this scenario is especially prevalent in Habana Vieja the current wave of demand appears to be extending towards the rest of the Centro Habana neighborhoods like Los Sitios. The change Habana Vieja is experiencing, offer lessons to what Los Sitios should anticipate as it evolves.

\textbf{Moving from Need Based to Asset Based Engagement Process}

\textsuperscript{12}Communications, Cone, and Intangible Business. “2009 Cone Communications Nonprofit Power Brand 100 PDF.” \textit{Cone Communications | Cone | Cone PR | Cone Inc | PR Agency | Boston | NYC}, Cone Communications and Intangible Business, 2009, \url{www.conecomm.com/2009-cone-communications-nonprofit-power-brand-100-pdf/}.

A primary challenge for this article was to create an “authentic” means for community to organize itself. This is why understanding the social dynamics and cultural identity of the people in Los Sitios is significant. The collective responsibility that is reflected in socialist modes of enterprise such as cooperatives is an example from which we can draw inspiration. This paper, approaches governance by analyzing existing institutions, discovering the gaps and weaknesses in them, and organizing the community in a collective structure; the latter of which can complement, strengthen, and connect the current institutions that exist in La Habana. This new coalition would be a community-organized Los Sitios Collective that unifies and enhances those entities that exist and has the agency to advocate for the community.

The updated model will strengthen the “collective story” of the neighborhood, unify and make accessible the vocabulary used to describe civic engagement. It could also help identify culturally relevant ways to engage residents that merge the power of the Cuban Revolution with the 21st Century. The result will be a new collaborative model between existing institutions that exhibit how successful rebranding efforts can be applied to the sustainable development in similar neighborhoods of La Habana and across Cuba (Fig. 10.).

The **Consejo Popular** (People’s Council), is a political body that represents people at the neighborhood and communities level. Centro Habana is the municipality that houses the Consejo Popular of Los Sitios that provides an outlet for community members to express their concerns and ideas to the higher level government structures. Locally assisted by the following institutions:

- **CDRs** - The *Comités de Defensa de la Revolución*, or Committees for the Defense of the Revolution (CDR), is a mass network of organizations that engages in community services and political discourse. Organized by blocks, they represent approximately 8 million Cuban citizens. They undertake garbage clean up and facilitate neighborhood debates on topics such as taxes, education, culture, and sports. They promote
asset-building via museums, literary competitions, and family/community bonding activities.

- **Federación de Mujeres Cubanas (FMCs),** or Federation of Cuban Women, is a non-governmental, voluntary social organization that develops programs aimed at achieving gender equality in all areas and levels of society. It promotes women’s health and work to empower women on current issues. It is structured at the national, provincial, municipal, and grassroots levels.

- **Taller de Transformación Integral del Barrio,** or Neighborhood Transformation Workshops are small teams that promote the improvement of neighborhoods through close links with municipal governments, especially with the Consejo Popular (above) of their respective neighborhoods. At the moment, Los Sitios does not host any talleres, although many parts of the city do.

- **Casa de Cultura,** or House of Culture, is an organization created in 1978 to “turn culture into the shield and sword of the Cuban nation”. By doing this the Casa de Culturas are able to defend and promote the cultural values of the community. Los Sitios is home to a Casa de Cultura that can be further used by and for the community for the “democratization and updating of the cultural values”.14

Other agencies like the **Instituto Cubano de Amistad con los Pueblos** (The Cuban Institute for Friendship with the Peoples) could be linked with the community as they facilitate international educational, cultural visits and work brigades.

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Fig.11. By authors. **Representation of Local organizations and their members.** Gaps such as the lack of Talleres in Los Sitios was identified.

As commented before, Cuba possess many tools and agencies that can address the community’s needs. The main issue with the current governance is the lack of connectivity between the existing agencies and communities. This article understands that the community should take the most active role in the scenario and work as a middleman, and in another sense the leader, between various organizations facilitating the conversation and exchange of information between them. The role of CUJAE, Pratt, and the existing organizations will be to support local leaders and build connections between organizations. As this process develops the supporting organizations will wholly transfer ownership of the development process to the communities and continue to provide technical assistance.

External agencies are known to apply ABCD processes “by stepping back, strengthening the associational base of collective action in communities, and encouraging their federation as a means by which communities engage with external institutions on their own terms.”

Poor participation from the community may be a result of long periods of inefficiencies that resulted in the lack of trust and gradual deterioration of the external image of those agencies as it failed to update with changing times. The young people in Cuba today have a much different understanding and attachment with the revolution than the previous generation. This fundamental difference requires new incentives and means to allow the population to contribute to decision making and development processes, which in turn builds trust. The key ingredient for rebranding the process of development in Los Sitos requires legitimate inclusion of leadership from the neighborhood residents and experts. After implementation and evaluation, it is possible that this model could be extended to other parts of La Habana and Cuba.

Fig. 12. Photo by authors, Wi-fi Park, 2018, Los Sitios, Havana, Cuba.

One of the strongest assets in the neighborhood, as noted earlier, is the historical housing stock. This physical beauty is the draw for many tourists seeking an “authentic” version of Cuba. Cuban Tourism Ministry’s commercial director, Michel Bernal indicated 4.7 million tourists visited Cuba in 2017 bringing in 3 billion dollars to the Cuban economy. The 4.7 million tourists is a 16.2 percent increase from 2016 and Bernal hopes that 2018 numbers will reach 5 million tourists. Likewise, riding the tide of tourism in La Habana could further enhance this community-led process by means of a “Local or Responsible tourism model” where tourists could also collaborate in neighborhood development, directly or indirectly. This requires communities to organize themselves and form an institution, recognized by the population as a legitimate coalition that can advocate for communal needs and interests. A July 3, 2018 New York Times article highlights an example of this type of community organizing in Lancaster, PA. Most relevant to Los Sitios, the mission statement states the organization strives to be a “trusted source for information, innovative ideas and insights that will help stakeholders, elected officials and voters make more informed and enlightened decisions”. This paper therefore suggests the creation of a similar organizational structure to bolster sustainable development at large within Los Sitios.

![Diagram depicting flow of resources and impact of revenue generation and resource pooling that can be reinvested in housing and public space development.](image)

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19 Diagram depicting flow of resources and impact of revenue generation and resource pooling that can be reinvested in housing and public space development.
The approach for this process would be to first structure and start programs, partnerships, and mechanisms to stimulate and demonstrate that change in Los Sitios is possible. According to the Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs model, this process should provide to the population the basic needs categories: physiological and safety concerns. In the urban and community environment, this could include interventions in housing, urban infrastructure, material and logistical support to the population most at risk of suffering from building collapse.

The ability to demonstrate the potential of a neighborhood with discussions on lines of credit, partnerships, and economic feasibility is one of the main goals of this process. This is diagram out on the following page with Figure 14. Additionally, another way to show development in this process is to establish small, cost-effective interventions in public spaces that could carry out the engagement process (e.g. shading in the plaza for a public meeting or festival); but this type of intervention must prove to be useful to the community in order to engage its people.

Similar to the model that Mr. Friedman details, the proposed entity in Los Sitios could be led by various institutions, groups, and leaders of the neighborhood. This board of people would discuss major neighborhood issues as well as outline agendas, priorities, and other strategic opportunities for growth. It is recommended that voting and decision-making system be inclusively designed so that vulnerable groups have a strong voice. Both of their inclusion and input would establish a trust-based process for the board and help to keep the community as a whole engaged.

Establishing the Civic Engagement Process

Since the focus is to rekindle a culture of collective ownership and leadership that is presently lacking, an asset-based approach is vital. The first step in ABCD is identifying gaps and strengths in people-place linkages. Then follows interlinking different levels of community from the individual to organizational, creating a “federation of associations” which is at the core of asset building strategies. This could in turn relieve population dependency on state agencies. An organized local body makes adaptation to challenges much easier and efficient with added assistance. ABCD focuses primarily on engaging and mobilizing community, instead of focusing on policies and institutional reform that is characteristic of the World Bank’s initiative in Community Driven Development.

A few place-based interventions have been tested in Los Sitios but were unsuccessful or did not reach their full potential. The main plaza of Los Sitios was revamped with lighting, seating, street plants and even a water fountain. After a short period of time, the intervention was met with vandalism. A core reason this occurred was due to a lack of communication about community needs and wants. While this is a specific example, throughout our findings it was concluded that the civic engagement should not be seen as a tool to accomplish a specific project but as a cyclical process to be established in the neighborhood in order to

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21 “From Clients to Citizens: Asset-Based Community Development as a Strategy for Community-Driven Development Author(s): Alison Mathie and Gord Cunningham Reviewed Work(S)”
achieve sustainable development. The main goal is to establish a self-sustaining process of civic engagement, not always dependent on external facilitators. Rather a process in which the community could be in charge of providing the change that they desired and needed. To achieve that we tailored and divided the overall process of implementation into three processes that should be started in sequence but could run in parallel according to the needs of the neighborhood. From the position of facilitators, these processes are:

1. Momentum Building
2. Resilience Building

The objective of the “Momentum Building” process is to provide the initial energy to “push” the first domino through the collaboration and work of facilitators, volunteers and local organizations to promote the community and reverse the existing hopeless feelings of the community to develop trust within themselves. Ideally, the community would be able to initiate this independently but the observed conditions indicate the community needs outside support. This will help create interest in the population to address the situation and develop the neighborhood. Targeting the most pressing challenges should be the main objective, and in the case of Los Sitios, funding that can support housing construction and restoration is the primary focus. Goals for this process include:

- Negotiating a structured program for housing renovations and,
- Establishing connections with the community by showing advancements on issues that are important for them,
- Instigating a spark of stewardship in the neighborhood, and
- Creating revenue opportunities.

The “Resilience Building” process aims to equip the community with resources, tools and knowledge of how community engagement works, provide connections and work as a facilitator for the community to engage with the various key agencies, orient the community agenda towards urban advocacy, and assist in structuring local cooperatives. The key

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22 This model is one of the mechanisms of funding construction in Los Sitios while integrating Responsible tourism. It is also a temporary housing for residents to be resettled in upgraded housing.
approach for this process would be first to develop an assessment of the current community leadership and engagement that would help understand their gaps. Other potential outcomes of this assessment could be reports, guidelines, manuals, and other support tools that could be used by other communities that face issues similar to Los Sitios.

Lastly, “Building a community led engagement” involves the transfer of leadership from a facilitating and advising entity to the community. In doing this, the facilitator would take on the role of an active observer and consultant, while allowing room for the community to grow on its own. This model has been successfully employed in Oakland, California by the Oakland Land Trust. The Oakland Land Trust successfully assisted Hasta Muerte Coffee Shop, a worker owner collective in their pursuit to purchase their building. Initially, the Land Trust bought the building and “In the meantime, land trust staff plan to train them in building management best practices.”

Fig. 15. By authors. Spotting with the community Opportunity Sites to promote a sustainable development for the common use and benefit.

In the past several years, Cuba has witnessed a slow opening of a new relationship between government and the public. It is clear that governance and resilience are directly related in the realm of community development. To empower people and build neighborhood capacity to engage in social, economic and physical regeneration, communities need important tools and resources. A "renewed" governance model, aims and expects to improve community resilience and capacity for self sufficiency. The establishment of an organized Los Sitios community leadership board, with local leaders, will enable direct local initiatives in a more equitable way. This is one of the most important recommendations of the article because it embodies the notion that any prospective community needs an institution with the capacity, resources, tools, assets, and recognition by the government and the larger community of which it is a part in order to establish self-driven community development. In that sense the role of a facilitator is critical to establishing a structured process of civic engagement. This facilitator should not dominate the process, but instead focus on assisting the community to turn itself into an independent and sustainable advocate for their own development. This new institution should be able to rebrand the process in the Cuban mind. This process hopes to trigger systematic change in the community by the community and truly embody this article’s vision of the momentum of a “reverse domino effect.” Cuba has a focus on human capacity as an ethos of the society that can translate into new and creative ways of pursuing development.
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