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TERRITORIAL

AND URBAN PLANNING IN CUBA: ITS IMPACT ON SUSTAINABLE CITIES

ORDENAMIENTO TERRITORIAL Y URBANO EN CUBA: SU INCIDENCIA EN LAS CIUDADES SOSTENIBLES

Haens Beltrán Alonso¹

E-Mail: hbeltran@ucf.edu.cu

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4110-2807>

Jency Niurka Mendoza Otero¹

E-Mail: jmendoza@ucf.edu.cu

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6512-4088>

Adrian Abreus González¹

E-mail: aabreus@ucf.edu.cu

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4643-3269>

¹ Universidad de Cienfuegos Cuba

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ABSTRACT

The article presents a characterization of the current state of territorial and urban planning in Cuba and its impact on sustainable and intelligent cities based on a descriptive analysis carried out by the authors. On its core, theoretical issues are addressed around sustainable cities, the emergence of territorial and urban planning, as well as the systemic nature of this planning. It is also conceived that the integration in the territorial and urban planning must be approached from the political, economic and geographical point of view, at the same time that it is understood as a conciliation of interests and resolution of differences. Finally, it is concluded that Cuba has implemented legislation aimed at regulating this planning, and promoted the constant updating of theories and regulations for this purpose. However, it is necessary to introduce the population approach in the management schemes and plans.

Keywords: population approach; sustainable cities; territorial and urban planning

RESUMEN

El artículo presenta una caracterización el estado actual del ordenamiento territorial y urbano en Cuba y su incidencia en las ciudades sostenibles e inteligentes a partir de un análisis descriptivo realizado por los autores. En su núcleo se abordan cuestiones teóricas en torno a las ciudades sostenibles, el surgimiento del ordenamiento territorial y urbano, así como el carácter sistémico de este ordenamiento. Se concibe, además, que la integración en el ordenamiento territorial y urbano debe ser abordada desde el punto de vista político, económico y geográfico, al tiempo que se entiende como una conciliación de intereses y resolución de diferencias. Finalmente, se concluye que Cuba ha implementado legislaciones encaminadas a regular el ordenamiento y promovido la constante actualización de teorías y normativas para este fin. No obstante, se precisa introducir el enfoque poblacional en los esquemas y planes de ordenamiento.

Palabras clave: ciudades sostenibles; enfoque poblacional; ordenamiento territorial y urbano

INTRODUCTION

The transition from nomadism to a sedentary lifestyle was one of the conditions for the development of the human species. The fact of settling in a certain place and not wandering in search of food and water, forced man to develop work tools and consciously transform his habitat. With the growth of populations and the transformation of the environment, sapiens became aware of the need to order space.

Spatial ordering, like the rest of the orderings, arises as an objective necessity, although later science was in charge of explaining it and even expanding it on scientific bases. The loss of fertility of the land led to the emergence of their rotation, which required and at the same time constituted a form of ordering. Within the place that served as housing, the need for spaces with certain purposes arose naturally and once again we are in the presence of order.

The development of humanity, expressed in the transit through the different Economic-Social Formations, has marked the way in which the territory is organized. In the productive Community the limits were not clearly defined and the division was produced only between the different human settlements. During Slavery private property appears and this emphasized the importance of dividing and ordering the territory. In the process of disintegration of Feudalism a new division that would be highly developed by Capitalism appears, the emergence of cities. The aforementioned construct brought with it new forms of organization, which differed from those applied in rural areas.

The forms of organization mentioned here were practical responses to the needs of man. The growing human development together with the growth of the population, has caused an increase in conflicts between nations, peoples and people, which have among their causes "... the scarcity of land, the competition of different uses of the same space, its overexploitation, struggles between public and private use, and due to the historical countryside-city contradictions" (Castro Premier, 2013, p. 3).

In the Cuban case, the natural development of human communities and the exploitation of the territory, as in all of America, was interrupted by the arrival of the conquerors. From the very process of conquest and colonization, ways of ordering and distributing resources, especially land, were established. The original distribution of the land was carried out on the basis of the position of the person in caballerías and peonies. "A caballería is the space of land in which 200,000 piles of yucca are found. The peony was the land occupied by 100,000 tons of yucca" (Colectivo de autores, 2002, p. 88).

The evolution of the distribution of land at the beginning of colonization was closely linked to the distribution of the Indians. These distributions had different names, forms, functions and extensions, the most stable organizational element for Cuba in this period was the villa (village). These human settlements can be considered as antecedents of the cities and gave certain rights to the Spaniards living in them, by reaching the category of neighbor.

From the legal point of view, the first attempt at territorial and urban planning in Cuba was constituted by the Ordinances of Cáceres. These Ordinances, in 88 articles, regulated the ordering of the town of Havana and the rest of the towns and places of Cuba. In this document rules for practically everything that is found in modern legislation on territorial and urban planning can be found.

The aspects related to the distribution and organization of the territory in the Ordinances are contained in articles 66 to 79. They refer to the way of granting land for different purposes, the priority in their distribution, as well as the need to use them. In the villas, the distribution of plots for the construction of houses was also regulated, likewise six months were established for the person who was granted a piece of land to build on it, under penalty of losing it "That when If a plot of land is granted, it is given [sic] on the condition that it be populated within six months and that if it is not populated in that time and such a site is built, it can be given to [sic] another person who requests it" (de Cáceres, 2000, para. 67).

The Ordinances of Cáceres were in force in Cuba until the 19th century. The growth of the population of cities and the depletion of land and resources determined that governments began to worry about efficient ways of distributing these resources.

The emergence of territorial and urban planning as a scientific discipline owes its emergence to the 6th. Meeting of the European Conference, in the year 1983. In this meeting the European Charter of Territorial Planning was approved. In this document, territorial and urban planning is considered as "A scientific, political, interdisciplinary, global, technical and administrative discipline, with objectives based on the guiding concept of achieving the balanced development of the regions and the physical organization of the territory" (Massiris Cabeza, 2012, p. 20).

Characterizing the current state of territorial and urban planning in Cuba and its impact on sustainable and intelligent cities is the objective outlined by this work.

In order to fulfill the objective, it is necessary to start from what is meant by land use planning. The first American definition of this concept is due to the Ministry

of the Environment and Renewable Natural Resources of Venezuela in 1978. In Cuba, it is conceived as “The activity that regulates and controls the use and transformation of the territory; as an important management activity, especially because of the tools it offers to optimize resources, take advantage of space properly and contribute to the achievement of sustainable development” (Toledo Diez et al., 2018, p. 280).

It is considered appropriate to establish a definition of what is meant by sustainable cities. The coherent analysis based on the relationship between the definitions that are assumed, as the central analysis units of the study that is presented, allows us to fulfill the objective outlined.

MATERIAL AND METHODS

To carry out the research, an explanatory-descriptive approach was used, using document analysis as the fundamental method. Within the normative documents consulted there were the Decree-Law 42/2021 “On the Reorganization of the Physical Planning System and the creation of the National Institute of Territorial Planning and Urban Planning”, and Decree no. 33 “For the strategic management of territorial development”, as well as the documents: Implementation of the State Plan for the New Urban Agenda in Cuba 2017-2036, and the State Plan for the implementation of the New Urban Agenda in Cuba 2017-2036 of the Institute of Physical Planning in Cuba.

The analysis assumes, among others, the subsystems for the analysis of the territorial system in relation to the planning proposed by Rodríguez Otero (2013), which include: the physical environment, the population and production activities and infrastructure; as well as the approaches for analysis defined by Massiris Cabeza (2012): physical planning with an urban or municipal emphasis, physical planning with an environmental emphasis, and socio-economic planning with an urban or regional emphasis.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Territorial planning: global vision

Territorial and urban planning continues to be the subject of meetings and debates at different levels. The establishment of procedures and its emergence as a discipline has not been exempt from criticism. Among the main shortcomings found in the application of legislation on the subject, its static and directive nature stands out. The lack of dynamics and relationship with people are elements that are taken into account when pointing out that “A plan for territorial and urban planning cannot assume the right to establish by decree the social and economic relations that transform, in fact, the life of a territory. The plan does not

create social and economic relations, these are the result of the life of each territory” (Castro Premier, 2013, p. 4).

Based on the foregoing, it is necessary to bear in mind that territorial and urban planning is not the determining policy for development, but rather it becomes a planning tool for development. Authorities and the people are the ones who bring about progress. The fact that it works on the basis of what is established in the legal system makes it easier to achieve the goals, as is the case with other planning tools.

In view of the main remarks on territorial and urban planning, Castro Premier (2013) points out, citing Kammeier, the elements that should guide this activity so that it becomes an instrument of “change management” are: “Social and economic development: as the main goal, which implies economic growth together with equitable distribution.

- Environmental sustainability: as the main condition to be fulfilled.
- Participation in management: as the method to use” (Castro Premier, 2013, p. 4).

For other Cuban authors, the duty of territorial and urban planning should extend from regulations and plans to the necessary exchange and evaluation in society “that goes beyond the documents and processes necessary for informed social and institutional participation, to focus on obtaining, evaluating and debating its impacts on society, as a factor of development, social learning, and generation of urban-territorial culture (Padrón Lotti, 2010, p. 8). Citizen participation is a recurring theme in various regions and countries when measuring the effectiveness of this tool.

An important element in territorial and urban planning is the fact that, although it is named in singular, it is in fact system. The previous element requires that the strategies, plans, schemes or any modality of territorial and urban planning must be conceived as such. According to Bertalanffy's General Theory of Systems, there are conditions for them to be considered as such, and for them to work.

In the case of territorial and urban planning systems, these are characterized by:

- “Complexity of the relationships that occur in the territories.
- Speed of changes.
- Existence of unpredictable and essential uncertainties for making the right decisions.

- Presence of conflicts motivated by manorial interests that must interact correctly in the territory” (Rodríguez Otero, 2013, p. 23).

Territorial and urban planning systems must study, understand and reflect all the aspects found in the territory under analysis. The exchange and consensus with the population must be a constant. The flexibility of the conception of this tool and of the tool itself, is a determining factor of its success. The aspects analyzed, as well as the capacity for coordination between decision-makers, territories and policies, allow the system to be evaluated as functional and open.

Territorial ordering systems have inherent objectives. According to Rodríguez Otero (2013) four objectives need to be highlighted in territorial planning:

- “The coherent organization of the activities in the space, in accordance with a criterion of efficiency
- The balance in the quality of life according to a criterion of equity.
- The integration of the different territorial areas in those of higher scope, in accordance with a principle of hierarchy and complementarity
- The rational use of the territory and the management of natural resources in a responsible manner” (Rodríguez Otero, 2013, p. 21)

When analyzing the objectives outlined by Rodríguez Otero (2013), the fact that they conclude their enunciation with aspects that could be taken as qualities of the system stands out: efficiency, equity, complementarity and responsibility. In the same way, what could be considered the major thematic areas to be addressed by territorial planning are anticipated: organization of activities in space, which, as has been pointed out, will be effective only if carried out with a criterion of efficiency and, in the authors’ opinion, should include sustainability.

The second objective addresses an issue that is sometimes not included in the different definitions of land use planning, that is: quality of life. If this tool does not tend to improve the quality of life of the people, then it becomes another instrument of exploitation and not one of development. The inclusion of equity in this standard of living is indicative of the search for equal opportunities, but adjusted to the work carried out.

Integration in the territorial and urban planning cannot be seen only from the political, economic or geographical point of view, but rather it is understood as a conciliation of interests and resolution of differences.

The fourth objective introduces environmental issues in territorial and urban planning and the issue of sustainability

that relates to them. The exploitation of the soil and natural resources has been carried out by man since its origins, the order introduces rationality and vision of the future as conditioning factors of exploitation. Another element that stands out in this objective is the aforementioned social vision.

In accordance with the above, Massiris Cabeza (2012) integrates these objectives in what he understands as the task of territorial and urban planning and states that: “In territorial and urban planning, it is about generating consensus on the model of city, municipality, department or country that we want and collective future images regarding how we want these territories for the next 20 years in all aspects, environmentally, economically, culturally (Massiris Cabeza, 2012, p. 23)”. Citizen participation, the environmental approach, development and sustainability that determine the efficiency and effectiveness of this tool are present in this view.

In accordance with the aforementioned objectives, the presence of subsystems can be observed in the different nations when analyzing the territorial system and its ordering. Rodríguez Otero (2013) identifies three territorial subsystems:

- “Subsystem of the physical environment (natural resources and environment)
- Population subsystem and production activities
- Infrastructure subsystem” (Rodríguez Otero, 2013, p. 24).

It is considered that it is not necessary to explain the incidence area of these subsystems, nor to explain the level of relationship with the aforementioned objectives, since both elements are made explicit in their approach.

In relation to the subsystems and objectives of land and urban planning, three approaches have been identified in the Americas when analyzing this issue: 1. Physical planning with an urban or municipal emphasis, 2. Physical planning with an environmental emphasis, and 3. Socio-economic planning with an urban or regional emphasis” (Massiris Cabeza, 2012, p. 24). Assuming one of these approaches is indicative of the vision and purposes with which the system is being carried out. The use of a specific approach in two different countries can pose serious differences in its materialization, since the ordering is conditioned by the prevailing regimes in each nation and by the policies assumed by the governments.

Other authors have called these approaches, in other terms, simplifying them to their end: economic, social or territorial (Duverger Johnston, s. f., p. 38). The predominance of one of these approaches without taking into

account the rest brings with it a biased vision of the territory and a fragmented development. To the ends expressed by Duverger Johnston, the environmental aspect must be added, in order to achieve the sustainability and integrality of the order.

Territorial and urban planning shares borders in space planning with other forms of planning, such is the case of ecological and environmental planning. From the names of these systems, a fine line is established that divides their fields of action, the coexistence of ecological and environmental forms of management in some countries has not achieved the necessary complementarity of these and therefore, the duplication of efforts and expenses in achieving its goals (Rodríguez Otero, 2013). In terms of cities, the Urban Agenda is a concrete expression of a type of order.

Territorial and urban planning in Cuba

Having seen the features that distinguish the territorial order in America, we proceed to analyze its origin and evolution in Cuba. To do this, it is necessary to establish the characteristics of Cuba as a nation.

In the introduction of this work, how the natural development of the aboriginal population was interrupted by the arrival of the Spaniards was addressed. Although some historians consider there were between 100,000 and more than 500,000 aboriginal inhabitants in Cuba, disease, suicide and exploitation by the Spanish towards them, determined a drastic decrease in a short time. The distribution of the land to the conquering hosts was linked to the granting of parcels of Indians, these becoming more important than the amount of land granted.

The interest of the Spaniards in precious metals and their scarce presence in Cuba determined, along with other factors, the need to conquer new territories. A large part of the population residing in the archipelago left for the colonizing companies and with this there was a second decline in the resident population in less than 50 years. The very development of the metropolis and the policies implemented by it determined the appearance of the structural deformation of the economy and with it the bases of underdevelopment.

Sugarcane production and other raw materials have marked Cuban exports throughout its history. The scarce industrialization throughout history has determined the agricultural nature of the nation, which contrasts with high urbanization rates ranging from 45.5% in 1919 to 76.8 in 2018, with which it can be considered a country in advanced urban transition, by 2010 Cuba had 75% urbanization

and 92% of its population concentrated in cities and towns.

Just as the entry of the Spanish marked a before and after, the triumph of the Revolution in January 1959 signifies a turning point in national history and development. Despite the above, it is possible to see problems that concern land use planning that remain unresolved, along with others that have recently appeared and those that have already been solved. A recurring theme in Cuban evolution is demographics.

The regulations to order the territories and cities in Cuba begin with the aforementioned Ordinances of Cáceres, which were in force until the middle of the 19th century. In 1855 the Municipal Ordinances of the city of Havana were approved, in which they regulated "These ordinances prioritized streets and avenues, referred to vehicle traffic and enunciated the architectural attributes that buildings should have in the different areas of the city" (Fernández Martín, 2015, p. 74). The Ordinances of 1855, like those that followed, affected some aspects of the treaties for the current urban and territorial ordering, functioning mainly as urban and construction regulations.

From the institutional point of view, the first antecedent of an organism in charge of planning and organizing the physical space dates back to 1955. On this date, the National Planning Board was approved by decree-law 2018 and later its regulations "At that time, the Physical Planning in Cuba begins as an activity in the functions of the National Planning Board, created by Decree-Law No. 2018 of February 27, 1955, and in its regulations, constituted by Decree No. 4016 of December 21 of the same year" (Castro Premier, 2013, p. 5). This organization had an ephemeral life and despite being entrusted with its function at the national level, its only result was a Havana Development Scheme (Castro Premier, 2013, p. 5).

A little over a year after January 1959, the Institute of Physical Planning of Cuba emerged. This body was entrusted with territorial and urban planning. In its more than 60 years of existence, this Institute managed to spread to the provincial and municipal levels, creating delegations to these instances. Another achievement consists in the constant updating of its policies, in tune with the development of the country and based on the studies of the theories in vogue at the time, as well as on the research carried out by its members.

The creation of the Physical Planning-Cuba Magazine as a space for socializing works on territorial and urban planning is one of the successes of this institute. Since its number I in 2001 spends the last one to which it had access from January-June 2019, it was proposed as a purpose

“...the dissemination of scientific-technical works on land use planning and urban planning, both theoretical content and practical impact. It includes knowledge of territorial problems and human settlements in their social, cultural, environmental and economic dimensions, as well as the conception and application of planning, design, management, evaluation, investment location, control and information instruments with different physical-spatial approaches and work scales”

In Cuba, territorial and urban planning is conceived as “...as the activity that regulates and controls the use and transformation of the territory; as an important management activity, especially because of the tools it offers to optimize resources, take advantage of space properly and that can contribute to the achievement of sustainable development” (Toledo Diez et al., 2018, p. 280). The references to the optimization of resources, the use of space and sustainable development are indicative of the way in which this phenomenon is treated in Cuba.

This system is analyzed by the Institute of Physical Planning of Cuba in subsystems, just like what happens in other nations. In Cuba, although with differences in the enunciation, the previously seen subsystems are maintained and a fourth is added: production subsystem. The inclusion of this subsystem is indicative of a territorial and urban planning with an emphasis on production (Rodríguez Otero, 2013).

The analysis carried out by specialists from the Institute of Physical Planning determined that the plans from 2003 to 2011 presented some difficulties that should be corrected in future planning. These were in the order of the fragmentation of the analysis of the territories and the lack of assessment of the interventions already executed in the territory, together with the fact that the experiences already acquired by the local actors were not taken into account. The other two difficulties presented by Duverger Johnston, due to their importance and impact on the modernization of the territorial and urban planning system in Cuba, are reproduced in full. “El análisis económico no pasa de ser una mera descripción de los recursos naturales y humanos cuando se prevén. El recurso cultural solo se lista para identificar las potencialidades para el desarrollo turístico internacional y no se tienen en cuenta ni la identidad, ni la cultura local, ni la posibilidad del desarrollo del turismo nacional, ni la recreación y ni el ocio.

Ha sido deficiente o nula la participación de los diversos actores sociales en el planeamiento, gestión, control y evaluación del desarrollo físico-espacial de los municipios, lo que hizo del ordenamiento un instrumento poco objetivo e ignorado por los otros instrumentos de planificación y

las herramientas para la toma de decisiones”(Duverger Johnston, s. f., p. 33).

The first of the shortcomings refers to an undermining of the social approach in the planning plans. In the same way, it directly affects the sustainability of the plans, since the existence of resources or economic potential is worth nothing if life is not pleasant for people.

The second has been revealed in the definitions of management discussed, as well as in the errors of the plans in some countries of America. Like the first, it is the social approach that is diminished in these plans. The people who live in the territory are in charge of implementing the guidelines and actions outlined in the zoning plans, if they do not participate, understand and assimilate the importance of this tool from its own elaboration, they do not feel involved in its application. One could even add to Duverger Johnston's remarks the need for the people to participate in the zoning plans, as a guarantee of their consistent implementation.

The fragmentation of the themes of the territory that was referred to before finds materialization in the promulgation of different plans for different aspects within the same territory. The elaboration of the City Development Scheme, the City Master Plan, as well as the Municipal Master Plan, speak of the division of documents that a decision maker in a province should consult when planning an action in it. The most current theories and Cuban practice today have gone beyond the above with the elaboration of a single plan that integrates the entire territory.

The documents issued by the ordinance are the Territorial Ordinance Schemes (National and Provincial) and the Territorial Ordinance and Urban Planning Plans of the municipality. As can be seen, there are differences in terms of its denomination scheme for the nation and the provinces, as well as plans for the municipalities. The elaboration of schemes is less frequent in the order, the conception that they have in Cuba is raised by Rodríguez Otero in the following terms

“...they are elaborated with a strategic focus, that is, without trying to encompass the complex universe of relationships and problems; they focus their attention on those that are considered decisive because they are the most permanent and most valid or stable elements of the territory. They present similar phases of elaboration than the plans” (Rodríguez Otero, 2013, p. 30).

These reviews have led to updating processes not only of the schemes and plans, but also of the vision of the Institute and of the Agency itself. The most recent result of these transformations is the promulgation of Decree-Law

42/2021, by which the Institute of Physical Planning of Cuba is extinguished, as reflected in its article 1 "Extinct the Institute of Physical Planning" (Decree-Law 42 /2021 "Of the Reorganization of the Physical Planning System and the creation of the National Institute of Territorial Planning and Urban Planning", 2021, p. 2889).

This Decree-Law introduces a change in the conception of the system, moving from a physical planning approach with an urban or municipal emphasis to a more comprehensive vision. The second Whereas of this Decree-Law not only explains the reasons for extinguishing the IPF and creating the National Institute of Territorial Planning and Urban Planning, but also confers on it, since its inception, a supervisory function for this activity. "In the absence of a body that conducts and controls the State and Government policy in terms of territorial planning, urban planning, its management, aspects of design and architecture, related to urban planning, the cadastre, the governing role in the confronting illegalities" (Decree-Law 42/2021 "On the Reorganization of the Physical Planning System and the creation of the National Institute of Territorial Planning and Urban Planning", 2021, p. 2888).

Article 2 of the aforementioned legislation not only promulgates the creation of the new Institute, but also establishes its mission, which is stated in the following terms:

"...propose the policy of the State and the Government in terms of territorial planning, urban planning, its management, aspects of design and architecture related to urban planning, the cadastre, and once approved, direct and control its application, as well as exercise the leading role in confronting illegalities in the area of its competence" (Decree-Law 42/2021 "On the Reorganization of the Physical Planning System and the creation of the National Institute of Territorial Planning and Urbanism", 2021).

Until now, the creation of the new Institute has not implied a change in the way of developing the legal system, but on the contrary, this emergence is a consequence of the changes already introduced in the way of understanding the legal system. Next, we proceed to outline in general terms the distinctive elements of the transformations.

Territorial and urban planning today

The political bases of the transformations that have been taking place in the territorial and urban planning are found in the VI Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba. In this conclave the "Guidelines of the economic and social policy of the party and the revolution for the period 2016-2021" were approved, which in its article 91 establish:

"Raise the quality and hierarchy of the general territorial and urban planning plans at the national, provincial and

municipal levels, their integration with the medium and long-term projections of the economy and with the investment plan, guaranteeing the depth and agility in response times in mandatory consultation processes" (Partido Comunista de Cuba, 2016, p. 91).

In this approach, the order is integrated with the economic plan and especially with investments, which ratifies the previously issued criterion of a preponderance of the economic in the order. This aspect that is considered did not change in the planning policies that are currently implemented.

In the document National Scheme of Territorial Ordering, it is possible to find the main differences between the current ordering model and the proposed one. These are based on the change in the guiding principle of the activity, while the current Scheme is based on "... the vocation of the territory and its restrictions, the agro-productivity of the soil, the distribution of the population and the concentration of industrial and tourist areas" (Martínez Beatón, 2020, p. s/p). As can be seen, it presents a marked focus on the economy, neglecting other areas inherent to the order.

In the proposed model, the guiding principle is not focused on a particular area, but from a general approach indicates a more strategic approach to territorial management and the role of planning within it "to take advantage of the potential to take advantage of the opportunities provided by the environment, without neglecting the reduction of weaknesses to neutralize threats" (Martínez Beatón, 2020, p. s/p). The novelty of this principle requires an accurate diagnosis and the application of science. Likewise, it induces a more comprehensive analysis of the problems that enhance or affect the territory.

From the change of principle, a change in the structuring of the schemes in terms of the division of the territory is necessary. In the current scheme, the existence of the areas to be conserved is conceived and the territories are divided depending on the predominant economic activity of this. In the proposed plan, the economic criterion is maintained, although a division by regions is made. Which are distributed as follows:

"Maritime region

Region with a high level of productive diversification

Agricultural region

Agricultural region

Region with conditions for the conservation and development of specialized productive activities" (Martínez Beatón, 2020, p. s/p).

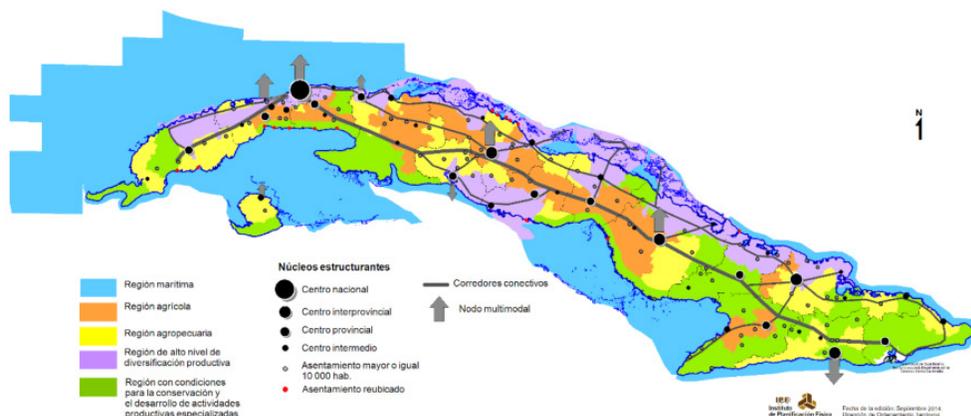


Figure 1: Graphic representation of the regions.

Source: (Quiroga Gómez et al., 2019)

As it was previously stated, the fundamental document of the ordering is the National Territorial Planning Scheme. In the changes introduced from the recent transformations, the word national is introduced in the title and fundamentally it is conceived as the regulation that reorganizes the four subsystems at macro levels.

“...offers comprehensive proposals for the distribution of productive forces and the ordering of territorial structures of a socio-economic, political-administrative and environmental nature. Its strategic vision establishes flexible and dynamic territorial planning models for the projection horizons of the investment process in the short, medium and long terms” (Martínez Beatón, 2020, p. s/p).

At the territorial level, the constituent elements of planning are: the municipal land use plan (PMOT, by its acronym in Spanish), the country’s urban plan (POU, by its acronym in Spanish), the environmental strategy, the comprehensive development plan of the municipality, the planning and financing tools for comprehensive territorial development and the territorial plan as a component of the economy plan and the budget plan (Quiroga Gómez et al., 2019, p. 74). In the case of the (PMOT) it is the document that replaces, in the updating process, the old general land use plan of 2011. The same happens with the (POU) that replaces the general urban planning plans, prepared between the years 2003 and 2016 (2019, p. 74).

Among the main problems inherited by the model of territorial and urban planning, is the population approach, given that these are the least treated until today and, as is to be expected, there are great difficulties in this area. The population in Cuba exhibits high levels of concentration in the cities and a high level of dispersion in the countryside. Both indicators present their own difficulties to face. The two characteristics mentioned above become more relevant if one takes into account that 69% of the municipal capitals do not fulfill their function as structuring agents of their respective territories, due to the deficiency in services and deficient economic development “... 69% of the municipal capitals with inter-municipal functions do not fulfill their role as structurers of the territory, due to the lack of specialized services and an efficient transportation and road system, or being located in economically depressed territories” (Martínez Beatón, 2020, p. s/p).

As seen in the work, there is an extensive bibliography on territorial planning in Cuba, being one of the first to have regulations for territorial and urban planning. The constant updating of the theory and legislation on planning has not yet allowed the inclusion of the population approach in these “... there are few studies on the role that the population should play in the practice of territorial planning” (Quiroga Gómez et al., 2019).

Until now, the lack of participation of the population or its little incidence in the territorial and urban planning plans has been seen as a deficiency in their elaboration, however, it is not redundant to raise the affectation that this produces in the urban dynamics. Given the above, we proceed to analyze this particular.

New Urban Agenda in Cuba and Urban Dynamics

Urbanization as seen so far is part of the fields of action of the order. It is a palpable reality that a large part of the population in America, and within it in Cuba, lives in cities. Although the urbanization process presents differences between nations, it is common for South America a takeoff of this process from the policy of Industrialization for the Substitution of Imports (ISI). The industries as it is to suppose were located in the cities, which brought with himself changes in the population density and size of the cities.

The location of the cities and within them its different components in its beginnings presented a character not regulated by legislation, but by industrial interests "Urban growth was taking place without the existence of regulatory norms, policies that ordered said growth, taking into account territorial considerations (natural potentialities, unsuitable locations due to risk, etc.)" (Massiris Cabeza, 2012, p. 15). The aforementioned brought with it problems typical of these human settlements.

In response to the situation raised, urban planning regulations began to be enacted in America in the 1960s. The chaotic development of cities caused problems that countries still drag today and that are reliably manifested in urban dynamics "This policy failure resulted in great social exclusion and massive expansion of informal settlements..." (Rossbach, 2017, page 117).

The economic importance of cities in Latin America and the Caribbean is clearly visible when analyzing their participation in the generation of GDP "...approximately two thirds of the region's GDP is generated in urban areas" (Rossbach, 2017, p. 118). The challenge of transforming cities into sustainable ones and guaranteeing the rights of citizens in them, finds economic support in the wealth that is generated in them. Ensuring that sustainability and those rights is the main reason why the United Nations Organization promotes the holding of different conferences, agendas and sustainable development goals for 2030.

The holding of the United Nations Conference on Housing and Sustainable Urban Development (Habitat III) in Quito in 2016 allowed the continent to occupy an advanced position in this process. The selection of this region to host this conference was not fortuitous, as it is the most urbanized on the planet "Currently, with more than 80 percent of its population living in cities, Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC) is the most urbanized region of the planet. Half of the urban population currently lives in cities with fewer than 500,000 inhabitants" (Rossbach, 2017, p. 118).

The formulation of the Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 11 "Make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable" is a guide and work goal. The high urbanization of America, as well as the growing foreign investment in the region, imply three great challenges to achieve SDG 11 "(I) meet the growing demand for water and energy; (II) maintain acceptable rates of air pollution; and (III) protect the ecosystems in the urban environment and its surroundings" (Rossbach, 2017, p. 124).

To the challenges posed by Rossbach (2017) must be added the elevation of the quality of life and the equitable distribution of wealth. The New Urban Agenda, born at the Habitat III Conferences, focuses on

"...a common ideal for a better and more sustainable future, in which all people enjoy equal rights and access to the benefits and opportunities that cities can offer, and in which the international community reconsiders urban systems and the physical form of our urban spaces as a means to achieve it" (United Nations Conference on Housing and Sustainable Urban Development Habitat III, 2016, p. IV).

Despite the fact that Cuba shows high compliance with the main demographic indicators, policies that promote the comprehensive development of people are still insufficient. Territorial and urban planning, and above all the local sphere, is a space for putting into practice alternatives related to the population approach:

"...the territorial measures related to the treatment of the fertility variable, the coverage of the needs of the elderly, the balance of the labor force based on the demographic behavior and the economically active population, among others, are insufficient, which without doubts is related to the insufficient treatment of the population-development relationship in strategies at a territorial scale" (Quiroga Gómez et al., 2019, p. 72).

Citizen participation in the preparation of management plans and management focused on the population are distinctive elements of the population approach. In Cuba, as has been seen so far, there is still an effective implementation of this approach "It is necessary to point out that the territorial and urban planning plans are not preceded by really rigorous demographic analysis, although the role of the population in the established methodological indications" (Quiroga Gómez et al., 2019, p. 78).

Before the Habitat III conference (2016), Cuba already had an Urban Planning Plan, which, as stated before, was later renamed the Municipal Territorial Planning Plan, its fundamental axes being land use, physical-spatial structure and urban morphology (Quiroga Gómez et al., 2019).

These elements served as support for the implementation of the New Urban Agenda in Cuba (NAUC, by its acronym in Spanish).

The New Urban Agenda constitutes a direct response to SDG 11. Its eight goals have a direct impact on the fulfillment of this objective. Cuba has established the State Plan for the Implementation of the New Cuban Urban Agenda, the main purpose of which is:

“Contribute to the management of national and local governments, as well as all sectors and institutions and the population, based on the understanding of the need for sustainable development of human settlements, urbanization and the territory in a balanced manner re integrated in its economic, social, cultural and environmental dimensions” (Institute of Physical Planning, 2018a, p. 13).

Some of the goals established in this Agenda will be addressed in the analysis of the implementation of the NAUC. Decentralization, housing, transportation, the environment and population dynamics are points to be addressed in this section.

Decentralization is one of the perspectives in land use planning plans and fundamentally enthrones with the NAUC and with urban dynamics. In Cuba, this is proposed as a political will to:

“...reverse the strong disproportion of economic and social development that existed in the middle of the last century between the capital and the rest of the country, between the countryside and the city, and the plains and the mountains, and at the same time achieve areas where it is possible to materialize a social project with equal opportunities entailed, on the one hand, concrete actions to decentralize the leadership of Havana based on the development of other cities and, in parallel, promote the concentration of the rural population to provide the smaller settlements with infrastructure and basic services” (Institute of Physical Planning, 2018b, p. 15).

The possible positive effects of this policy are beyond any doubt, especially if one takes into account the provision of hospitals, universities and other service centers that have proliferated in all Cuban provinces. This situation contrasts with what happened before 1959 where there were only official universities in three cities. The same happens with the extension of medical services in rural areas, with the construction of polyclinics and family medical offices. All of the above has favored raising the standard of living of the rural and urban population.

The application of this policy finds in the blockade and the poor economic development of the nation a brake on its development. Another element that contrasts with the political will to promote development in all regions of the country is the fact that in the 2015-2020 period, Havana concentrates, every year, more than 50% of the country's total investments and maintains a sustained increase in them beginning in 2015 with 51.93% of the total, until reaching 57.93% in 2020 (National Office of Statistics and Information (ONEI, by its acronym in Spanish), 2021a).

This phenomenon is affected and accentuated by the fact that in the new structure of the provincial and municipal governments, 1% of the taxes collected in the region are assigned to territorial development. In regions of greater industrialization and greater development, that 1% is higher and allows accentuating development. The investment of this percentage in local development projects that generate new income and jobs must be a priority.

The high level of urbanization reached in Cuba is not homogeneous, with rates between 61.9% and 100% in Havana, but with a coincidence in the main problems that affect the main and intermediate cities. Both types of cities present common threats such as: “...the poor administration of the city, the insufficiencies of the hydro-sanitary networks, roads and transportation (...) as well as the poor recovery and distribution of services, and the progressive deterioration of the housing and building stock (Bermúdez Mulet & Boquet Roque, 2010, p. 13).

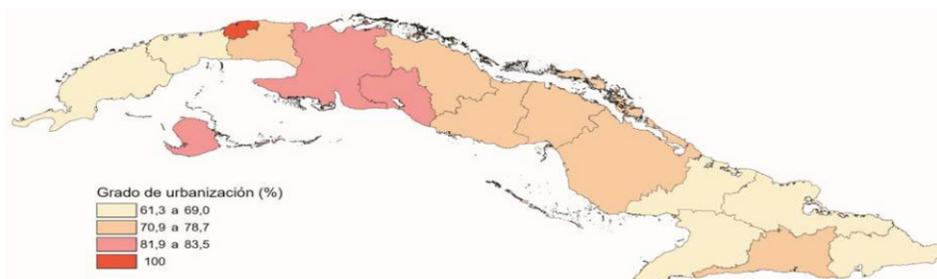


Figure 2: Degree of urbanization of the provinces

Source: Statistical Yearbook of Cuba 2020

Transportation constitutes one of the limitations of urban dynamics in Cuba, especially in rural areas which "...lack the necessary transportation to access intermediate and municipal centers where the most specialized services are located, particularly in mountainous territories"(Martínez Beatón, 2020, p.s/p). The movement of people in Cuba has suffered a constant decrease since 2017, which is influenced by the difficulties in making investments and acquiring spare parts, lubricants and fuels.

Table 2: Passenger transportation

Year	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020
Millions of passengers	2 044,3	2 259,8	2 144,0	1 899,9	1 118,7

Source: Statistical Yearbook of Cuba 2020

Together with the existing difficulties with transport, the fact that the roads do not have the required quality makes it difficult to move people and loads. In the year 2020, the situation of the main roads, of national interest, were in good condition 62.8% (Martínez Beatón, 2020) the situation of the roads of minor importance is much worse, which fundamentally affects the human settlements located in the periphery. For their part, the railways, one of the most efficient means of transporting people and cargo, have a difficult situation as they have 91.1% of the tracks in fair or poor condition. The political will of the Cuban state has promoted the signing of agreements with Russia and China to revive rail transport.

The situation of the means and transport routes, together with urbanization and migration to the cities, has caused a growth rate of the population in the provincial capitals since 1943. This sustained increase puts pressure on the demand for housing.

Table 3: Population resident in the provincial capitals

1943	1953	1970	1981	2002	2012	2019	2020
534.529	732.127	1.312.455	1.712.507	2.253.880	2.352.735	2.423.280	2.428.509

Source: Statistical Yearbook of Cuba 2020

The availability of housing, as well as the deterioration of the housing fund, is presented as one of the most urgent issues in its solution. The coexistence of more than one generation in the same household is now a regularity in Cuba. The construction process is carried out fundamentally by the effort of the people, which implies delays in the completion of the houses, as well as their high cost. The state promotes the construction of decent housing, however, investments in this area have been affected in recent years.

Table 4: Homes completed by year

AÑOS	Total	Unidad	
		Estatal ^(a)	Población y entidades no Est.
2015	23 003	10 417	12 586
2016	22 106	9 257	12 849
2017	21 827	11 172	10 655
2018	30 437	15 899	14 538
2019	44 566	15 491	29 075

Source: Statistical Yearbook of Cuba 2020

One of the indicators that positively influences urbanization and urban dynamics is service coverage, which is not exempt from difficulties. Electrification coverage in Cuba reaches 99.98%, however, the aforementioned economic problems and the blockade have caused a decrease in the levels of electricity generation since 2018. This is a brake on the economy and affects the population.

Table 5: Gross power generation

Years	Total
2016	20458,6
2017	20558,1
2018	20837,0
2019	20705,6
2020	19070,9

Source: Statistical Yearbook of Cuba 2020

As for water and sewage services, coverage is over 95% throughout the country. Drinking water is consumed by 97.7% of the Cuban population (National Office of Statistics and Information (ONEI), 2021a), which is not indicative that there are no difficulties with the quality of the water or with the delivery cycle of the same. . The periods of drought extend the absence of the liquid through the aqueduct. Sanitation reaches 99.4 of the total population (National Office of Statistics and Information (ONEI), 2021a).

The aforementioned indicators directly affect urban dynamics, especially demographics. The existence of high rates of schooling, access to health services and the growing emancipation of women have caused slow and even negative rates of population growth. Migration is another of the factors that currently have a negative impact on a very complex demographic dynamic.

Since 2004, the Cuban population has experienced a decrease in the total number of inhabitants, with the exception of 2013 and 2014, when there was a population growth due to the change in immigration regulations. An indicator that aggravates the situation is the average annual growth rate, which has decreased with fluctuations since 1990 and steadily since 2015.



Figure 3: Population and average annual growth rate. Years 1990 to 2020

Source: Studies and Data on the Cuban Population 2020

The Cuban population decreases in a total and natural way, two phenomena affect this situation in unison. On the one hand, the country presents a negative balance in the migratory flow, on the other, and the number of births and deaths remained positive until 2019, although without great differences.

The low number of births that occur in Cuba, together with the high life expectancy that the country presents, influence the presence of a process of population aging in Cuban society. This situation is typical of developed countries in the world, the difference between Cuba and these is given by the fact that they are recipients of migration, while Cuba is an emitter "At the end of 2020, the country concluded with a population of 11 million 181 thousand 595 inhabitants, 11 thousand 875 less than in 2019, reflecting a decrease of 0.11%" (National Office of Statistics and Information (ONEI), 2021b, pp. 3-4).

The migratory phenomenon affects the fact that young people of working age leave the country, further accentuating aging. The replacement of the labor force is presented from the economic and social point of view as a short-term affectation. The increased burden on social security and assistance is also an aspect to be taken into account in economic and social planning.

CONCLUSIONS

Territorial and urban planning constitutes a tool of great value for the economic and social development of countries. Cuba has been a pioneer in the implementation of legislation aimed at regulating the order. It has also promoted the constant updating of theories and regulations. However, it is necessary to introduce the population approach in the schemes and management plans.

The absence of a population approach has had a negative impact on the social vision of investments and on the effective relationship between planning and economic plans. The promotion of effective policies that mitigate the effects of emigration and low birth rates is largely due to not having been taken into account in the planning plans.

Reaching high levels of urbanization and environmental protection are not enough for cities to achieve sustainable status. The metropolises are exclusively human constructions, so their supreme goal must be to ensure the conditions for the correct development of man and his dynamics.

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