

CARLOS JIMÉNEZ ROMERA, JUAN MARTÍN PIAGGIO

CONFLICTS IN PLANNING IMPLEMENTATION ON THE INFORMAL CITY

Abstract. The growth of Latin American cities in recent decades has happened mainly on the sidelines of formal planning, producing an “informal city” which does not follow the urban model defined and promoted by institutions. Urban planning in such a context is focused mainly in re-urbanizing this informal city, following criteria which often modify, or even destroy, the informal city’s functional logic. In the following article these conflicts are summarily reviewed, with examples drawn from Bogotá and Medellín, in Colombia. These are then put in contrast with European practices, where intervention in the existing city has become the pivotal element of urban planning, but in a very different cultural, social and institutional context.

Keywords. Historic city, Informal sector, Colombia, Habitat, Urban planning, Urban space, Urbanization, Slum, Right to dwelling.

1. Conflicts in Latin American cities

Urban territory is built through materiality, but also through social issues. In western tradition the city was conceived in the first place as a social and “political” entity (the greek *polis*, the roman *civitas*) but during modern times the fragmentation of knowledge has led professionals intervening in the government of the city to pay ever more attention to material aspects (the roman *urbs*), and less to social aspects, and this tendency may be clearly seen in the development of urban planning discipline (Piccinato, 1974). It would not be right to say that social sciences have neglected the study of cities, but rather that modern city management has lent mainly on material and objective aspects, leaving aside the social dimension, using what might be called a “biopolitical” stand, since it tries to solve through technical rationality some conflicts which clearly are of a political nature.

Territories, as well as the people who inhabit them, are, of course, in constant transformation. The intensity and speed of these changes can however generate all sort of conflicts between old and new. A clear example of this phenomenon is the urbanization process initiated by the Industrial Revolution, in which the city has gone from being a singularity within a rural world to be an omnipresent, constantly growing reality, at the expense of the surrounding countryside or of its own preexisting fabric. This

process produces a profound alteration of the physical and social reality: a conflict in ecological, economic, political and cultural terms, which is typically overlooked in favour of the idea of the inevitability of progress.

In the contemporary Latin American city, we can see all these conflicts in real time. The explosive urbanization which took place mostly in the last 50-60 years has left a deep mark, that allows to track the (often incomplete) transformation of a territory and of a rural society into a new urban reality. Cities have grown mostly outside of any conventional planning, applying the logic of villagers, or of illegal developers, and not that of urban planners. This "informal" City does not respond to the ideals of modern urbanism and has its own specific characteristics, both in material and in social terms, and this in turn raises new conflicts in seeking the integration of these tissues in the 'formal' city (Figure 1).

A comparison between these two urban realities that coexist one next to the other actually shows two different models of urbanity, with the formal city having as its focus physical and material infrastructures that provide the "comfort" of urban life, whereas the informal city, systematically worse equipped, offers instead a wide range of social and community strengths that give rise to a specific sociability and to several specific identities (Torres1999). In practice, two different models of society are put face to face, which bear on two distinct types of territory: an eminently modern and urban society that has replaced the old traditional and rural values with the autonomy and apparent independence which modern techniques provide, and another society, also urban, but built from other resources, such as solidarity and the community, which are more related to a traditional and rural world that doesn't really disappear. Both models share the space of the city, but they use it very differently; while the formal city is supported by a set of technical networks (mobility, utilities, etc.), dwellers of the informal city rely first and foremost on a deep knowledge of their immediate surroundings (Jiménez, 2012).

The relationship between these two realities is, of course, conflictive, especially as the informal city is conceived, by official bodies, but also, often, from academic bodies, as a "faulty" city which must be transformed deeply when not eradicated. Once again a partial and technocratic vision comes into play, that justifies the rationality of this approach through the ignorance or concealment of many of the positive aspects of the informal city; it is a political vision which contaminates science and technique to legitimize its goals.



Figure 1: formal city and informality in the north of Bogotá

Photo credits: Carlos Jiménez Romera (2012).

2. *A conceptual approach to the informal city*

"As objective reality, informal situations are a response to normal ones. For those who dominate, they are transgressive. For the dominated, they are innovative. Anyway, they provide a much needed alternative to the formal frameworks of State and society." (Rebotier, 2010:6)

The extremely quick urbanization of the population in Latin America shows an institutional inability to respond to this demand; a spontaneous city has therefore grown, completely aside from any formally instituted procedure. In Colombia this process happened in a context of rural violence, whereby population displacements have not been voluntary, but rather compulsory (Aprile-Gnisset, 1992). In this way, newcomers are in especially vulnerable conditions, politically persecuted in their places of origin (without any possibility, therefore, of return in case of difficulty); anonymity and discretion are their main assets for starting a new life.

A lot has been said about the limitations and material deprivations that informal housing and neighborhoods suffer from, as concerns the building quality of houses, or the technical characteristics of the infrastructure; much has been also said about the usefulness of informal organizational forms in the development of a city whose resources are always limited (Jaramillo, 2012), but often this culture of informality tends to be seen as a means for higher purposes: to build homes, to develop infrastructure, to build a bridge between rural and urban cultures, to allow the economic integration of the

impoverished masses, etc.. The dominant culture finds it much more difficult to accept that in this informality we may find a new urban culture having its own specific values.

In the simple scheme of the transition from rural (traditional, communitarian, conservative) to urban (modern, individualistic and innovative), popular culture arising from the informal city has no easy fit¹. These conditions mean there inescapable and even antagonistic barriers arise, barriers that are not necessarily visible, but are intelligible from the *weltanschauungen*. There is certainly a double axiom: the formal dweller feels extraneous and fragile in the territory of informality, he lives with his back turned to it, while the informal dweller feel equally alien from the formal world, but can adapt better to it, even though he may remain vulnerable, since it is much harder to live on the margin of formality than of informality.

The informal city, despite its being the larger part, is barely accounted for by public institutions that focus their efforts on managing those parts of the city that have followed the correct administrative channels for their development. This administrative bias also responds to a political vision: informal slum dwellers are not so relevant to the institutions, in many cases they do not even "exist", they are hidden or invisible beings, and when they do show up, they somehow cause discomfort. They are the memory of the "underdevelopment" of the country and of the city, and all that is planned for them in institutional schemes is their disappearance.²

As a result of what jus said, informal city dwellers must rely only on themselves; informality does not arise as a response to an order, but rather as a response to an absence. Compelling needs combined with the scarcity of resources require ingenuity, alternative responses to the traditional questions, in all areas of life: generation of income, housing, access to urban services, etc.³ Whereas public institutions and private enterprises are capable of mobilizing large-scale resources, residents only have themselves, their family, their community, and anything they may find in their immediate surroundings, including that which others discard as waste. In this way ad hoc solutions are found, specific to each case and situation, based on local knowledge and resources, the so-called culture of "rebusque"⁴, where common work is based more on trust than on contracts and where networks are woven locally. These informal activities, although they are conceived as marginal, indeed occupy a central place in the economy and in the life of Latin America.

1 This transition has followed a much clearer process in developed countries; notwithstanding, all kinds of contradictions have arisen, as Lefebvre clearly explains (Lefebvre, 1970).

2 This vision has been changing as of late, but the inertia and, more important, the accumulated deficit, are still very large.

3 The informal dweller, who has no chance of obtaining a mortgage for the purchase of a home and the services that go with it, may only benefit of these commodities insofar as he invests his own savings in the improvement of his house and of his neighborhood.

4 "Rebusque" may be loosely translated as "make do".

3. *Origins and evolution of informal settlements*

The "illegal" origin (outside urban planning) and the deficits in infrastructure are the two issues that define the informal neighborhoods from the perspective of public institutions, and permanently guide their interventions. From day one, the occupants of these informal developments are greeted with hostility by the authorities: in the first place all kinds of attempts at eviction by the police, subsequently all sorts of administrative difficulties to regularize the legal situation of the new development, and ultimately an abandonment in terms of investment in infrastructure by the city, even when the neighborhood is legally recognized. Thus, in some ways, the shortcomings of these districts are imposed by the institutions themselves, that rather than adapting to reality strive to fit the reality into the workings of their bureaucracies (usually designed following trends set in other countries) and, while they are good at prohibiting, they are unable to offer viable alternatives.⁵

The role of landowners is more ambivalent. Informal neighborhoods may arise from an invasion that, whether on public or private land, does not have the blessing of the legal owner, but it may also often arise from the personal initiative of the landowner. In Bogota, a spatial segregation was implemented very early, that gave over the South of the city to the most disadvantaged sectors, while the wealthiest groups settled in the North. In this context, facing the advance of urbanization, major landowners of the South were the first to maximize profits through illegal subdivisions, which in Colombia are called "pirate urbanizations"⁶; in the northeast of the city, where owners' expectations are higher, invasions have been the rule. In any event, once an informal settlement is consolidated, the immediate surroundings might be stigmatized, forcing the neighboring landowners to downgrade their expectations and marketing strategies; Thus, in Medellín, although the predominant mechanism for the creation of informal neighborhoods has been invasions, all around these these have been processes of pirate urbanization by owners who saw other, more lucrative possibilities, difficult to achieve (Torres, 2009).

An informal settlement, on the other hand, almost always arises in a discreet place, along a not especially attractive or striking edge of the city, where settlers expect a milder opposition. In this way, administrative marginality is complemented by a spatial marginalization due to its peripheral and isolated location in the city, conditioning, from the very start, the future problems of accessibility. On the steep slopes of Medellín, or on the eastern hills of Bogotá, the sloping terrain that hinders the progress of formal urbanization becomes a precious ally of those who seek a place close to the city, albeit without roads, sewers or utilities. In the South of Bogota, where the topography does not impose

5 The strong opposition against evictions and expulsions is easily understood: the only real alternative, for most inhabitants, is starting the occupation process from scratch elsewhere, relinquishing all advancements made, and without any improvement as concerns their legal status.

6 Landowners, or their authorized deputies, parcel and sell the land without first developing any of the necessary services, barely leaving space for roads which provide access to each plot of land.

any obstacle, it is the shortage of urban infrastructure which generates a relative inaccessibility.

Finally, the informal neighborhood is born with an infrastructure deficit, due to the limited resources of the neighbors and to the initial refusal of the State to invest in a development that emerged against the rules. The main argument against informal urbanizations are the additional costs that are incurred to incorporate certain infrastructures, when the properties are already built. Nobody points out, however, that many formal developments also require similar investments only to expand and upgrade the original infrastructure, after a time which can be comparable to the time during which these infrastructures are provided to an informal neighborhood.

Notwithstanding all these hardships, an informal neighborhood will consolidate over time, with the effort of its inhabitants and with political pressure on the institutions. In a process which, at least in Colombia, is systematically repeated, services providers, public or private, arrive, (electricity, telephone, water, gas), the legalization and recognition of ownership are obtained, urban infrastructure is built, and finally the several required equipments are provided, albeit insufficiently (these deficiencies may also be found in many other areas of the city)⁷.

The informal city, however, is not limited to informal neighborhoods; it tends, in fact, to percolate into all spaces: the day after a perfectly planned and designed neighborhood is delivered, is not uncommon that users immediately begin to modify buildings and to use public spaces in ways unforeseen by the architects, who actually understand very little of the real needs of those people (Forero, 2009).

4. Institutional interventions on the informal city

Inadequate planning implies that most urban interventions are applied on the existing city, usually to provide it with new infrastructure or to adapt it to new needs, through mechanisms of "urban renewal". Classic urban renewal, the milestones of which are the transformation of Paris carried out by Haussmann, or the network of urban highways designed and executed by Edwin Moses in New York (Hall, 1988), has come to play a marginal role in European and North American cities, especially after strong criticism, such as that by Jane Jacobs (1961), to the urban model of the Charter of Athens and to the destruction of the traditional urban fabric.⁸ It is in the large cities of developing countries, however, which have grown outside traditional planning practices, where most of the often destructive interventions on spontaneous tissues in order to incorporate standardized infrastructure and equipment are most often warranted. In these contexts the formal city needs to "devour" the informal city to

7 These processes of recognition and of legalization of informality are relatively recent: they begin, in most countries in this region, in the 1990s, when neo-liberal theories start to be applied to this domain.

8 The adaption of "obsolete" urban spaces has not stopped, but the nature and the scale of interventions has changed, minimizing the physical impact they have without diminishing their social cost, by means of real estate market-driven interventions: this market achieves similar results, in terms of displacement and substitution of the population, but in a more discreet, and possibly cheaper, manner.

continue growing, both in extent and in infrastructure and urban incomes. The legitimizing discourse is based on material shortages in these areas, and on the general need to "modernize" the city, but also on the devaluation of the habits of their inhabitants.

4.1. The city of infrastructures

The expansion of Latin American cities has led to a serious shortage of housing and infrastructure due to the inability to respond to the explosive growth in demand. These shortages, however, do not have the same social impact: while the housing shortage affects the most disadvantaged, poor infrastructuring affects the whole of society, especially the most modern sectors of it. When speaking of urban infrastructure, therefore, one cannot omit the details about them and especially what demands they respond to. There is a latent conflict that erupts periodically: it is common to confuse the general interests of the city with the particular interests of a specific segment of it, especially when democratic participation channels do not work as well as they should.⁹

In Colombia, the Metro in Medellín and Transmilenio¹⁰ in Bogotá are the large mobility infrastructures that configured these cities as modern cities: they became a model for other cities in Colombia (and even in the whole continent). Both operations have been conducted on the consolidated city, with a greater impact in the case of Bogotá, where it required road-widening throughout the city. However, apart from their size, these projects are not so extraordinary, but rather fall in line with the common practice of road opening and widening. In Bogotá these operations have marked the urban landscape of the main thoroughfares of the city (Montealegre, 2013), showing little concern for both urban design and for the urban life that develops behind major infrastructure. In Medellín these impacts are not so visible, since the urban design has been much more careful, although there have been significant, and not always positive, socio-economic effects.

A puzzling paradox in Latin American cities is that while many residents of informal settlements crave the arrival of services and urban infrastructure, as a fair reward for many years of effort, other neighbors do nothing but "flee" from such services, as their economic situation does not allow them to assume their costs. Many families without income alternatives must systematically attend the informal market to buy lots without services where they settle until they are revalued by the arrival of services, when they re-sell to restart the cycle (a business model based on the precariousness of daily life). In the particular case of Medellín, with almost universal coverage of urban services, we find the phenomenon of "disconnected" families who lose their connection because of default, and never manage to get

9 These democratic shortcomings are common to most Latin American countries, but are especially serious in countries marked by violence, such as Colombia.

10 Buses running on exclusive lanes, originally conceived for Curitiba (Brazil), whose bogotanian version has become the internationally recognized and copied model.

connected again because of the rising debt (increased by morosity penalties) they have with the public service companies. Similarly, the accessibility that the modern transport infrastructure in Medellín has provided has triggered a process of expulsion of the population through rising real estate prices, and especially rising rents; this phenomenon is repeated in different areas of the city with varying degrees of intensity, and this has led to the enthusiasm with which the investments were received turning into suspicion and distrust, if not strong opposition.¹¹ These are the results of applying the logic of the free market in this context: good humanitarian intentions collide with the reality of economic insecurity.

4.2. *Specific interventions: neighborhood improvement*

There is a specific type of interventions in informal neighborhoods which go beyond the criteria just described. "Neighborhood improvement" processes are operations that seek to improve the living conditions of the most vulnerable population through physical improvements in their environment: this approach excludes the displacement of the beneficiaries. Over several decades these practices have been implemented with all sorts of approaches; they have evolved towards a greater complexity of the interventions, which go further than just physical interventions and now include social and cultural variables (Torres *et al.*, 2009). We may see good examples of this kind of approach both in Bogota and Medellín (Torres *et al.*, 2009; Velasquez, 2013); these, however, are outstanding operations for exceptional situations. Actions such as the intervention in the Quebrada Juan Bobo in Medellín (Echeverri & Orsini, 2010), or the projects carried out in Bogotá by Barrio-Taller 12 are widely recognized as exemplary, but they are also systematically ignored by institutionalized practices. Thus, while in Medellín a social and integrating language, drawn from experiences like the one in Juan Bobo has been incorporated into planning practices, critics of this approach maintain that it is merely a matter of image, without any real background¹³. In a similar way, although in the Bogotá of Mayor Gustavo Petro (2012-2015) the program insists on the social dimension of "urban revitalization", this meets with all kinds of resistances within the same Administration itself that must implement it.

11 Some of the inhabitants of Comuna 8 in Medellín, favored by the imminent arrival of a new tramway line linking them to the Metro network denounced, during the 7th World Urban Forum (held in Medellín), that their priorities lie elsewhere, as for example having running water in each house, and that they fear that the arrival of these new infrastructures will, rather than improve their living conditions, expel them from the neighborhood.

12 Barrio Taller is a private company which since 1990 works on the management of urban projects in marginal areas of the city. Barrio Taller is involved in architecture, urban planning and social consultancies. More on their work in: <http://www.barriotaller.org.co>

¹³ See essay by I. Duque in this same volume; see essay by Mary Luz Avendaño Arbeláez of August 14 2014 <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/nacional/dos-nuevos-metrocables-medellin-articulo-511788>; about cable cars in informal Latin American cities, see essay by Steven Dale in *Creative Urban Projects* <http://gondolaproject.com/2010/03/11/medellincaracas-part-1/>, see essay by J. Dávila and P. Brand <http://www.redalyc.org/pdf/748/74826255013.pdf>; see essay by L. Leibler and P. Brand <http://www.ifeanet.org/publicaciones/boletines/41%283%29/363.pdf>; about the persistence of problems notwithstanding the Metrocable, see <http://www.critica.com.pa/notas/1798015-medellin-la-mejor-las-contradicciones-la-ciudad-moda-america-latina>.

Poverty and misery justify heterodox treatments, but the inertia of institutions is based, beyond any political rhetoric, on the logic of the real estate market, on the expansion of infrastructures and on the destruction of informal areas.

We could include in this category recent infrastructure projects which are specifically designed to reach the more inaccessible informal neighborhoods. The Metrocable in Medellín, which connects the slopes of the city with the metro network, is a good example of this type of interventions (Figure 2), which are more careful with pre-existing settlements, to the extent that barely touch the ground, but also with a more limited scope in terms of benefits to mobility. The experience of Medellín shows bittersweet results: the population that stays is undoubtedly benefited, albeit exclusively in terms of mobility, but at the same time dynamics of gentrification and expulsion are generated, while the absolute and undisputed benefit is for tourists, who can enjoy unrivalled views of the city.

Bogotá is currently (2014) developing its own project of aerial cablecar, largely modeled after Medellín. Bogotá is improving several features related to mobility, such as the integration of the stations with the bus network, but is also repeating many of the errors committed in the original Metrocable, especially as regards the management of the population affected by the works. These operations could fit into much broader improvement projects, but here again the logic of bureaucracy becomes an obstacle, because despite all the rhetoric about inclusion, this bureaucracy is still seeing itself from the sectorial logic of the Department of Mobility, without hardly any capacity of mainstreaming with other areas of the institution.



Figura 2: elevated railway and suspended cablecar in Medellín

Photo credits: Carlos Jiménez Romera.

5. A comparison with historic european cities

Finally, we may underline that the main conflict which hits the informal city does not come from the specific nature of this kind of settlement, but rather from the way it is seen by the rest of society (or more specifically, by the institutions who plan the city). To make this point clear, it is enlightening to make a comparison with the European historic city. Just as in the informal city, in medieval European cities we see the results of a highly utilitarian town planning, in which we see the spare resources which those societies possessed used in the most effective, and environmentally appropriate, way, to give us those historic centers that seem to us so full of variety, of surprise, of life, and that in the past thirty years have often been colonized by the wealthier classes.¹⁴

Looking at the plan of a part of a city (Figure 3) one may, for an instant, remain disoriented, not knowing if it is a medieval town or an informal neighborhood: a similar parceling of the land, similar handling of streets, similar density, similar management of topography, similar presence of retail in rooms overlooking the street, similar lack of facilities and public space, which in general is no more than the street itself. And if we extend the comparison from city plans to social aspects, we often notice further analogies: strong social links that are generated between micro-groups, a strong sense of belonging to the neighborhood. In the very way houses are laid out and built we may find intriguing analogies: deep, narrow lots, total occupation of the lot, progressive development of the house, houses which contain both living and working spaces.

But with regard to the 'modern' canon of the city, those same historical centres are still highly deficient: streets are usually too narrow, or steep, or twisted, for cars to be able to move in them, the natural light coming into the lower floors of houses is insufficient, the primary services (sewage mainly) are often insufficient, the structures do not respect contemporary building codes, facilities are insufficient, public transport cannot enter them, etc. However, despite these shortcomings, these centers have become the most coveted places in the city, and nowadays nobody seriously thinks of demolishing them to replace them with pieces of "modern" city, as on the other hand is done without remorse and with a heavy hand in the informal city (although until not long ago sanitary razing, alignment of street fronts, demolition of ramparts and creation of straight views were the rule even in European historic centers – at least, as far as Italy is concerned, up to the Franceschini Commission's Report of 1976. See A. Cederna, *Mussolini Urbanista*, Laterza 1979).

In European historical centers the community (and especially the part of the community that makes decisions) sees the materialization of its own history, of its customs, and even of its language, while in

14 The contemporary process implies the displacement of "traditional" inhabitants towards "modern" peripheries, where they may be provided with "dignified" dwellings in monotonous social housing towers; this is the exact opposite of what happened thirty years ago, when the leisure classes left the city core looking for the comfort and the breadth of space that only the suburbs could provide.

informal slums, as mentioned above, decision-makers find a story they do not want to see, a story that they don't want to share in, and which do not have a founding meaning.

Finally, there is an institutional question: the European urban planning has perfected a wide range of techniques of intervention in the consolidated city, based on the respect for heritage and on democratic legitimacy, which require an institutional development that is rarely present in the Latin American context. These factors, that mitigate the risks of conflict in European urban action, exacerbate them in the Latin American case, and probably constitute the main opportunity for the exchange of knowledge between both contexts.



Fig.3: Informal city and medioeval city: Barrio El Dorado, in Tunja (Colombia) - Bevagna (PG, Italia).
Source: Juan Martín Piaggio.

6. Conclusions

This brief review, necessarily superficial and incomplete, gives us a first approach to the different facets of the conflictual relationship between the "informal city" and the formality of urban intervention. It may be seen as a particular example of the universal conflict between real and ideal city, but it also gives us some clues about the underlying social and cultural conflicts in Latin American societies. Usually informality is associated with contexts of extreme misery, while situations where informality generates prosperity and wealth both for those who live it as for the whole of society tend to be overlooked. This biased view hinders the acceptance of a daily reality of Latin American cities, but also makes difficult the implementation of new urban intervention policies capable of providing integrating proposals that go beyond exceptional good practices. To achieve this, it is essential to accept this urban reality, but also to accept the limitations of traditional approaches to urban development, and in this sense the comparison with European urban and urban planning can be very useful.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ALFONSO, Óscar; HATAYA, Noriko; JARAMILLO, Samuel (1997): *Organización popular y desarrollo urbano en Bogotá*. Bogotá: Universidad Externado de Colombia.
- APRILE-GNISET, Jacques (1992): *La Ciudad Colombiana. Siglo XIX y siglo XX*. Bogotá: Biblioteca Banco Popular.
- CEDERNA, Antonio (1979): *Mussolini Urbanista*, Laterza, Bari.
- ECHEVERRI, Alejandro; ORSINI, Francesco M. (2010): “Informalidad y urbanismo social en Medellín”. *Sostenible?*, Diciembre 2011, núm. 12, p. 11-24. <http://hdl.handle.net/2099/11900>
- FORERO SUÁREZ, Fabio E. (2009): *Informalización del hábitat moderno en Bogotá*. Tesis doctoral, Universidad Internacional de Catalunya.
- GUIDONI, Enrico (1981), *La Città dal Medioevo al Rinascimento*, BCM Laterza, Bari
- HALL, Peter (1988): *Cities of Tomorrow*. Oxford: Blackwell. Edición española: *Ciudades del mañana. Historia del urbanismo en el siglo XX*. Ediciones del Serbal, 1996, Barcelona.
- JACOBS, Jane (1961): *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. Edición española: *Muerte y vida de las grandes ciudades*, Salamanca: Capitán Swing Libros, Colección Entrelíneas, 2011.
- JARAMILLO, Samuel (2012): *Urbanización informal: diagnósticos y políticas. Una revisión al debate latinoamericano para pensar líneas de acción actuales*. Bogotá: Serie Documentos CEDE, 2012-11. Universidad de los Andes-Facultad de Economía-CEDE.
- JIMÉNEZ ROMERA, Carlos (2012): “La urbanización y lo urbano, realidades divergentes”, *Urban NS04*, pp: 16–26.
- LEFEBVRE, Henri (1970): *Du rural á l'urbain*. Paris: Anthropos. Edición española: *De lo rural a lo urbano*. Barcelona: Península, 1971.
- MONTEALEGRE, Saúl (2013): *Una propuesta para resolver sobrantes y culatas en Bogotá*. Propuesta desarrollada para el Instituto de Desarrollo Urbano. Presentación realizada en la Universidad El Bosque, 21/5/2013.
- MUMFORD, Lewis (1961), *The City in History*, Harcourt, Inc., New York, Cap. 9-10
- PICCINATO, Luigi (1978), *Urbanistica Medioevale*, Dedalo Libri, Bari
- PICCINATO, Giorgio (1974): *La costruzione dell'urbanistica: Germania 1871-1914*. Edición española: *La construcción de la urbanística (Alemania 1871-1914)*. Barcelona: Oikos-Tau, 1993.
- PIRENNE, Henri (1923), *Medieval Cities*, Princeton University Press, New Jersey
- REBOTIER, Julien (2010): “La informalidad y su construcción. Indicador e instrumento de relaciones y transformaciones sociales en Caracas”. Taller RECIM – México. http://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/docs/00/46/03/17/PDF/RECIM_contribution_presentation.pdf

TORRES CARRILLO, Alfonso (1999): “Barrios populares e identidades colectivas.” En: *El Barrio: Fragmento de Ciudad II*. http://barriotaller.org.co/publicaciones/barrios_populares.rtf

TORRES TOVAR, Carlos A. (coord.) (2009): *Ciudad informal colombiana: barrios contruidos por la gente*. Bogotá: Universidad Nacional de Colombia. http://www.facartes.unal.edu.co/otros/libros_habitat/ciudad_informal.pdf

TORRES TOVAR, Carlos A.; RINCÓN GARCÍA R., Jhon J.; & VARGAS MORENO, Johanna E. (2009). *Pobreza urbana y mejoramiento integral de barrios en Bogotá*. Bogotá: Universidad Nacional de Colombia. http://www.facartes.unal.edu.co/otros/libros_habitat/pobreza_urbana.pdf

VELÁSQUEZ CASTAÑEDA, Carlos Alberto (2013): “El Mejoramiento Barrial Urbano en Medellín”. *Bitácora Urbano\Territorial* 23 (2): 139-146. <http://www.revistas.unal.edu.co/index.php/bitacora/article/view/40248>

Universidad El Bosque, Bogotá, Colombia
carlos.jimenez.romer@gmail.com

Universidad de Boyacá, Facultad de Arquitectura y Bellas Artes, Tunja, Boyacá, Colombia
jmpiaggio@uniboyaca.edu.co