

The case of

Bogotá D.C., Colombia

by Nicolás Rueda-García

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Source: CIA factbook

INTRODUCTION: THE CITY

1. URBAN CONTEXT

1.1 National Overview

During the second half of the twentieth century, Colombian society underwent a number of deep transformations in its population distribution, economy, and social behaviour. World events (war and economic movements) that had taken place during the previous decades made it necessary to introduce policies involving industrialisation, based on import substitution, an approach which was officially adopted into Colombian policies under the orientation and sponsorship of the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (CEPAL). This led to the so-called “Intermediate Industrialisation” phase (1945-1968) (Cuervo and González 1997: 320), and as occurred in many Latin American economies, it led to one of the most prosperous and stable periods in modern history. These conditions gave a strong thrust to demographic growth and to the urbanisation process, as can be seen in **Graph 1** and **Table 1**.

During the first half of the century, the population that lived in the rural areas was substantially larger than the urban population. In 1951 the census data still showed 61 per cent of the total national population living in the rural areas. Some years after the above mentioned development model was adopted, it was adjusted by

“Operación Colombia”, whereby urban industrial development and agricultural modernisation took predominance, which resulted inevitably in the decomposition of traditional rural society, and massive immigration to urban centres. In the

Graph 1. Evolution of Spatial Distribution of Population in Colombia

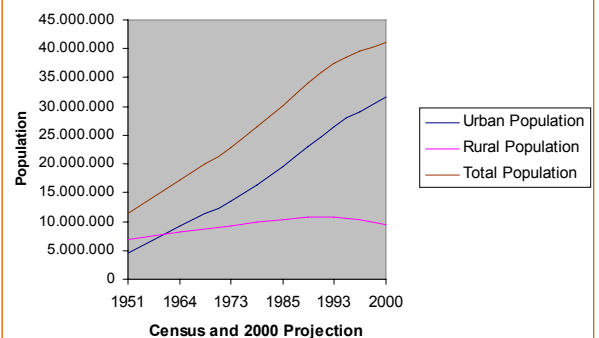


Table 1. Evolution of Rural and Urban Population

	1951	1964	1973	1985	1993	2000
Urban population	4,459,345	9,239,211	13,656,107	19,628,417	26,573,924	31,707,820
Rural population	6,995,415	8,077,100	9,221,614	10,427,019	10,848,867	9,471,167
Total population	11,454,760	17,316,311	22,877,721	30,055,436	37,422,791	41,178,987

Source: Graph and Table based on: Cuervo and González (1997) Table 9.7 p.340; DANE, *Census 1951, 1964, 1973, 1985, 1993 and projections 2000*

Colombian case, political violence became an additional factor in the migration process. As can be deduced from **Graph 1** and **Table 1**, the projections for 2000 indicate that the urban population represented 73.5 per cent of national population.

The following paragraph illustrates some peculiar aspects of the Colombian example: "Forces of spatial concentration became even more clearly evident than in former periods. Nevertheless, some features of the structure of the social, political and economic activities were preserved in order to keep a certain regional balance, and prevent the total disappearance of the local economy, as had occurred in other Latin American countries. Intermediate industrialisation and agro-industrial consolidation contributed in this case, as did the sense, the characteristics and the reaction of the state to the different forms of political violence and social protest, and the consolidation of a corporate model of guild representation". (Cuervo y González 1997: 322).

The specific conditions of Colombian geography and their effects on the location of different growth centres gave rise to an urban-regional system characterised by the presence of four main metropolitan areas and a large number of urban centres of different sizes. The following **Table 2** and **Table 3** show the four main regions of the country and allow us to observe the patterns of urban growth in the period between the 1964 and 1985 censuses, in which took place a relevant phase of the accelerated urbanisation process, and the relative importance of poverty in each period.

During the last few years, Colombia has been seriously affected by a number of crises that have occurred simultaneously, and that have had a negative influence on its social indicators. The internal conflict, together with drug trafficking and the economic effects resulting from the globalisation model have led to an acute reces-

Table 2. Demographic Importance and Urban Development in Four Regions during the Accelerated Urbanisation Process (1964-1985)

	1964	1985
LIMITED REGION OF BOGOTÁ		
Regional Population (Total)	3,877,676	6,959,157
Regional Population (excluding Bogotá)	2,204,306	2,731,451
Urban Population (Total)	2,236,953	5,329,953
Urbanisation Rate	58%	77%
MEDELLÍN		
Regional Population (Total)	2,477,299	4,067,664
Regional Population (excluding Medellín A.M.)	1,529,274	2,076,915
Urban Population (Total)	1,322,686	2,687,710
Urbanisation Rate	53%	66%

	1964	1985
LIMITED REGION OF CALI		
Regional Population (Total)	2,340,250	3,884,998
Regional Population (excluding Cali A.M.)	1,706,765	2,433,426
Urban Population (Total)	1,360,549	2,772,024
Urbanisation Rate	58%	71%
BARRANQUILLA		
Regional Population (Total)	1,245,899	2,369,147
Regional Population (excl. Barranquilla A.M.)	715,248	1,275,678
Urban Population (Total)	886,741	1,803,284
Urbanisation Rate	71%	76%

Sources:
DANE (1967),
(1986); Gouëset,
V. (1998,
Resumé of
tables 25, 26:
94)

	1964	1985
NATIONAL TOTAL		
Total Population	17,484,508	30,062,200
Urban Population (Total)	9,093,094	19,628,428
Urbanisation Rate	52%	65%

LIMITED REGION OF:	1985	%	LIMITED REGION OF metropolis excluded:	1985	%
BOGOTÁ			BOGOTÁ		
Total Population (1)	6,389,338	100	Total Population (1)	2,446,792	100
Poor Population	2,248,021	35	Poor Population	1,322,919	54
Very poor Population	885,954	14	Very poor Population	641,637	26
MEDELLÍN			MEDELLÍN		
Total Population (1)	3,847,210	100	Total Population (1)	1,899,668	100
Poor Population	1,553,172	40	Poor Population	1,094,228	58
Very poor Population	746,421	19	Very poor Population	603,176	32
CALI			CALI		
Total Population (1)	3,617,098	100	Total Population (1)	2,255,633	100
Poor Population	1,411,462	39	Poor Population	1,055,895	63
Very poor Population	567,802	16	Very poor Population	442,702	20
BARRANQUILLA			BARRANQUILLA		
Total Population (1)	2,187,467		Total Population (1)	1,070,447	
Poor Population	1,070,763	49	Poor Population	672,462	63
Very poor Population	595,662	27	Very poor Population	426,527	40

Table 3. Poverty in the four regions (1985)

NATIONAL TOTAL		
Total Population (1)	27,575,023	100
Poor Population	12,561,239	46
Very poor Population	6,238,072	23

Notes:

- (1) Population living in collective housing is excluded
- (2) Urban population of Bogotá D.E., Medellín A.M., Cali A.M. and Barranquilla A.M. are excluded
- (3) Poverty indicators are based on unsatisfied basic needs (NBI) - Census 1985. Population with 1 unsatisfied NBI is considered as poor and with 2 or more is considered as very poor (misery).

Source: PNUD, *La Pobreza en Colombia, Bogotá, 1989*; Summarised tables from Gouëset (1998). p. 95

sion, with an unemployment rate of nearly 20 per cent and the subsequent growth of the population that lives below the poverty line. While in 1993, 19.4 per cent of the national population was in this condition, in 2000 the number grew to 23 per cent (DNP 2001: 22-25).

1.2 Historical Overview of Bogotá

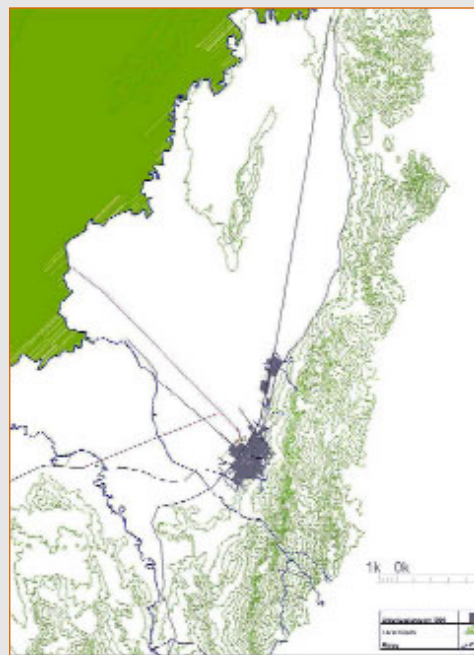
The city was founded with the name of Santafé in 1538, by the Spanish conqueror Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada, on an Andean plateau at an altitude of 2640 m. In spite of the many options available for founding the city on the vast plateau, strategic considerations were given priority (Martínez 1987: 40), and the original settlement was located on the east side of the plateau, which was on higher ground and had better visibility. This area had been chosen as a temporary residential hamlet for the Zipa, prince of the Muisca, the original inhabitants of the Andean highlands of Cundinamarca and Boyacá.

Throughout its history, Bogotá has played an outstanding role in the country's life. From the beginning, it has been the main political, economic and cultural centre of the country. In 1549, according to a Spanish royal decree, it was named the see for the Royal Audience², in 1553, Pope Pius IV granted the city the title of Archbishopric; in 1719, the city was designated as the capital of the viceroyalty of the recently created province of Nueva Granada (Martínez 1987: 72-76). This successive increase of central functions, and its role as capital city of the new Republic of Colombia, from 1819, definitively consolidated the preponderance of the city in the national urban system.

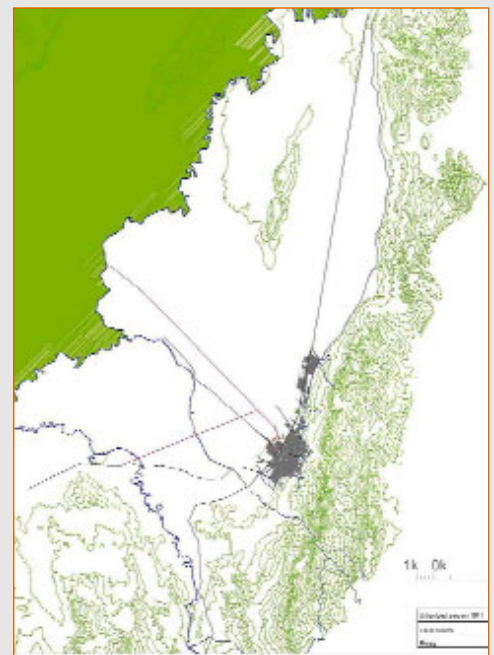
At the beginning of the 20th century, Bogotá took on the role of the main city in a process of economic growth and urban consolidation. In contrast to other Latin American capital cities, where craftsmen went through a process of proletarianisation during the 19th century, in Bogotá they kept their traditional presence and showed their capacity for organisation into an important social class and in guilds. Starting in 1904, they created the "*Unión de Industriales y Obreros*" (Workers and Industrialists Union), and other associations in which they began the political activity of showing their support for the government, and at the same time, asking it for different protectionist measures to defend their economic activities from the negative effects of the competition of imported products. In the absence of a strong bourgeoisie and a significant proletariat, organised craftsmen became an electoral force of great importance. Their presence in the incipient process of industrialisation, gave place to a very special situation that contradicted the classical model: the proletarian class that was rising, and that was directed by socialism, met with a very solid guild of craftsmen, who, instead of being harmed by industry, had found a way of complementing it by manufacturing different articles. (Zambrano 1988: 189-195)

Despite its location in the middle of the country and its distance from the coffee plantation zones (the main export), Bogotá initiated a vigorous process of industrialisation. At the end of the 1920s, the city had 36 per cent of the country's factories, followed by Medellín with 21 per cent. At the beginning the industries were mainly related to food and beverages, beer, glass, cement,

Source:
CIFA - Universidad de los
Andes, Museo de Desarrollo
Urbano, Departamento
Administrativo de Planeación
Distrital



Map 1. Bogotá: 20th Century Growth Patterns - 1900



Map 2. Bogotá: 20th Century Growth Patterns - 1911

chocolate, fabrics, flour and milk products. (Zambrano 1988: 189-195)

Today, the main indicators confirm the city's primacy and the tendency towards the enlargement of the demographic and economic gap between Bogotá and Medellín, Cali and Barranquilla, the next most important cities in Colombia.

1.3 The Territory of Bogotá

Geography and Climate. The city is located in an Andean plateau, known as the "Sabana de Bogotá" (Bogotá Savannah), at an altitude of around 2,600 m, and an average temperature of 14°C. The plateau consists of flat land with hills to the east and the west, and wasteland. The region is watered by the Bogotá River, and it is in its basin that all the micro basins that form in the Savannah converge (DAPD 2000: 57-60).

Urban Growth. Within the national context, Bogotá and its area has a high urban growth rate. The capital city and the urban nuclei of the 19 towns that make up the region occupied an estimated area of 39,000 hectares in 1998, of which 31,000 corresponded to Bogotá and 8,000 to the other towns. Some growth within the suburban areas can also be identified, but there are no precise estimates. The dynamics of urban growth in the savannah have been characterised by a growth in housing, which has not been properly followed by a proportional increase in infrastructure, generating a situation of pronounced unbalance between the population and educational, health and recreational services. Public services and employment for the new population are mostly provided by Bogotá (DAPD 2000: 57-60).

Areas and Density. Bogotá's pattern of growth and concentration shows that the process of urban development has generated concentration in the central city with over six million inhabitants in an area of only 31,000 hectares. In 1999, Bogotá's population was estimated at 6,322,702, with a gross density of 204 inhabitants per hectare. (DAPD 2000: 89-90)

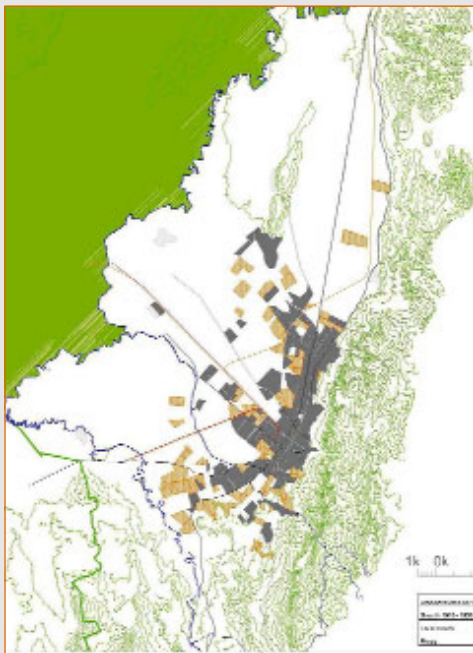
1.4 Demographics

The census data from 1993 and the projections made up to 2010 allow the confirmation of the tendency found in the previous census periods, of a vertiginous decrease in the growth rate. Nevertheless, the city as a whole does not behave uniformly. While some neighbourhoods like Chapinero, Santa Fe, Tunjuelito and Barrios Unidos present a growth of zero, Usme, Bosa and Ciudad Bolívar present high rates of growth compared to Bogotá's mean, turning them into the most densely populated neighbourhoods in the city. (See **Graphs 2 and 3**)

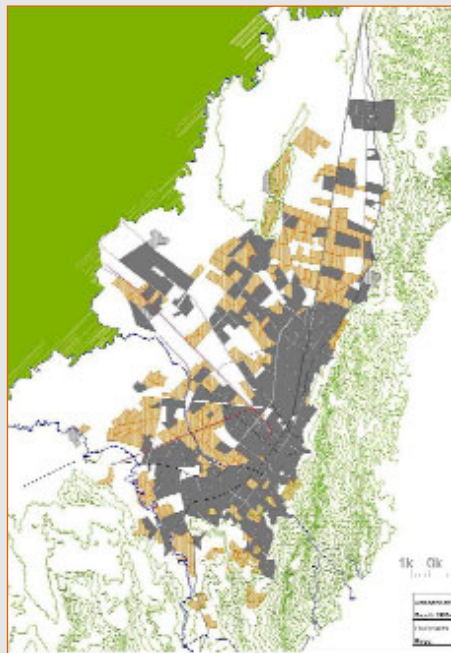
In the same way, the relation between men and women remains stable, with the latter representing 5.3 per cent more of the population. The older population of the city shows a small percentual increase (see **Graphs 4 and 5**).

To understand the population dynamics of Bogotá, one has to take into account such factors as space, occupation, relations with the setting, history and others going beyond geopolitical boundaries. This territory has witnessed an accelerated process of immigration of different groups from every region of the country.

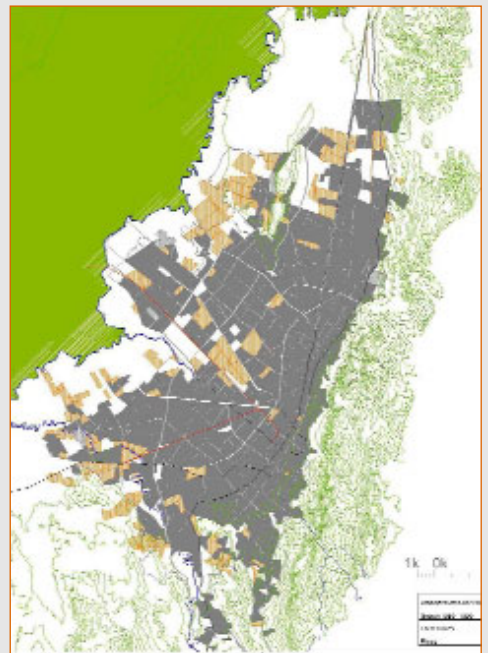
The demographic increase described above has given rise to a highly heterogeneous city in which the



Map 3. Bogotá: 20th Century Growth Patterns - 1950



Map 4. Bogotá: 20th Century Growth Patterns - 1970



Map 5. Bogotá: 20th Century Growth Patterns - 1990

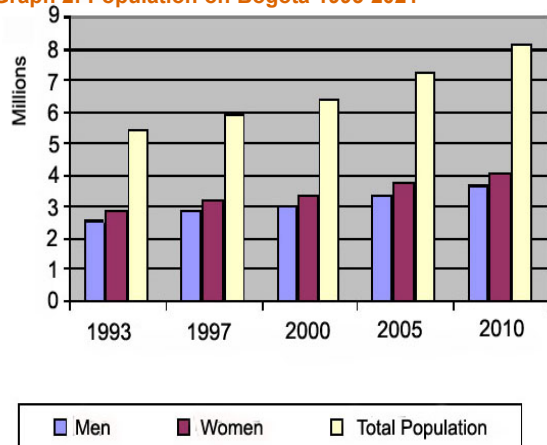
inhabitants, due to the high rate of anonymity and the low levels of cultural interactions, tend to reproduce cultural patterns from their places of origin. Added to this is the burden that an important percentage of that population has been forced, either by economic reasons or by violence, to abruptly change its living place. This fact adds directly to the social and political patterns of behaviour, in which the city, perceived as "the home of all and nobody's land" (Cámara de Comercio de Bogotá 1992:2), becomes a multinuclear entity with few channels of communication between its parts.

Looking at **Graphs 2 and 3**, one can see that Bogotá, to a much greater extent than the other big cities of the country, has been plunged into a constant process of demographic growth for the last few decades, strongly influenced by high rates of immigration. Rising violence and the impoverishment of the country have made Bogotá one of the main recipients of these population

movements, thus generating a considerable increase in the migrant and poor population settling in the limits of the city, magnifying its heterogeneity and social fragmentation. At the same time the number of workers has grown, the majority without a stable job and unqualified for the urban economy.

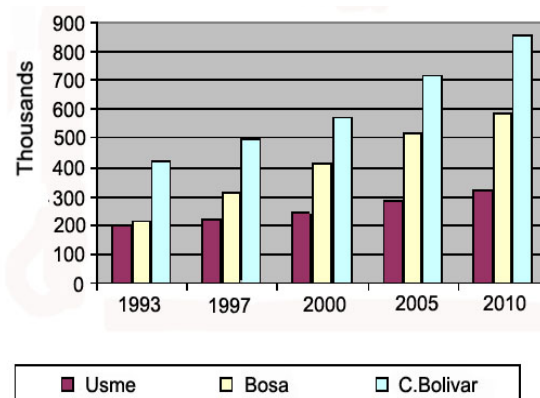
Since the nineties Bogotá has presented a considerable increase in the rates of forced displacement, with negative impacts on living conditions in the city. In the study entitled "*Desplazados por Violencia y Conflicto Social en Bogotá*" (People Displaced by Violence and Social Conflict in Bogotá) carried out by the archdiocese of Bogotá and CODHES, a total of 225,135 refugees are found to have arrived in the city (Arquidiócesis de Bogotá 1997: 40). According to the data of the Social Solidarity Net, in the year 2000 3,403 families arrived in Bogotá, approximately 17,000 people (Red de Solidaridad Social 2001: 3), which represents an important increase in the poverty levels of the city.

Graph 2: Population on Bogota 1993-2021



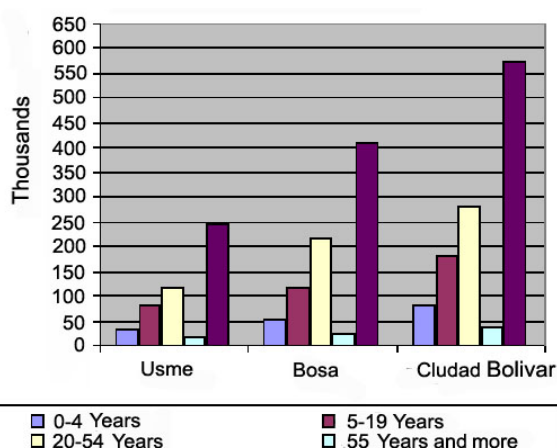
Census source: Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá (2001); DAPD (1997)

Graph 3: Population of Bogota 1993-2010 per selected locality



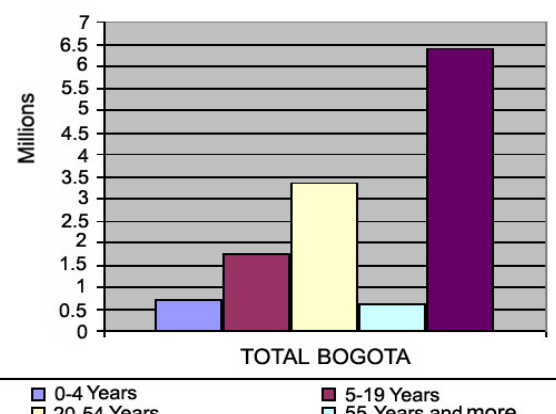
Census source: Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá (2001)
Projections source: DAPD (1997)

Graph 4: Population per age groups in the selected localities 2000



Source: Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá (2001); DAPD (1997)

Graph 5: Population per age groups in Bogotá 2000



Source: Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá (2001); DAPD (1997)

1.5 The Urban Economy

Today Bogotá D.C. is considered to be a service-providing city. When the composition of the Gross National Product (GNP) of the District is analysed for the period between 1980-1995, services represent 50 per cent; industry represents 25 per cent and the rest corresponds to commerce, public services and construction, as the following table shows according to the distribution of employment in the city between the different areas of production.

In the following table the largest growth of the GNP of the city in relation to the GNP of the country during the first seven years of the nineties is shown (see Table 4).

Table 4:
Employment by Sectors in Bogotá D.C.

Source: Alcaldía Mayor (2000), DAPD, Bogotá, p.34 C.2.

Year	Total	Agriculture	Mines	Industry	Electricity	Construction	Commerce	Transport	Services	
									Financ.	Others
1980	1,358,403	17,018	7,130	334,240	6,091	114,500	296,957	78,420	122,164	381,506
1990	2,018,156	30,028	11,724	475,045	7,810	137,773	479,186	137,055	184,395	553,811
1997	2,637,531	28,356	13,100	506,912	11,043	153,162	626,720	184,398	292,550	800,702

Table 5 - Evolution of the GNP of Bogotá D.C. and the Country's GNP

Years	GNP of Bogotá (millions of US \$)	Rate %	National GNP (millions of US \$)	Rate %	Bogotá's Participation in the Nat. GNP %
1990	2,399	100.0	8,853	100.0	27.1
1991	2,428	101.2	8,997	101.6	27.0
1992	2,668	111.2	9,352	105.6	28.5
1993	2,996	124.9	9,897	111.8	30.3
1994	3,281	136.7	10,527	118.9	31.2
1995	3,415	142.3	11,155	126.0	30.6
1996	3,381	140.9	11,386	128.6	29.7

Source: DAPD (1997 pp.83-85)

* Ranges of Minimum Legal Income per Month.
In 2002, 1 Minimum Legal Income per Month in Colombia = col\$309,000 (US\$133)

Table 6: Evolution of Employment in Bogotá D.C. for Economic Activity and Growth Rate

	Total	Agriculture	Mines	Industry	Electricity	Construction	Commerce	Transport	Services	
									Financ.	Others
Growth Rate	3.9	3.0	3.6	2.4	3.5	1.7	4.4	5.0	5.1	4.4
Participation 1980		1.25	0.52	24.61	0.45	8.43	21.86	5.77	8.99	28.08
Participation 1980		1.08	0.50	19.22	0.42	5.81	23.76	6.99	11.09	30.36

Table 7:
Unemployed Population per Class of Economical Activity Searched

Source: Alcaldía Mayor (2000), DAPD; 2000 p.35, Cuadro 4

Year	Total Unemployed	Industry	Electricity, Gas & Water	Construction	Commerce	Transport	Financial Services	Other Services
1995	197,887	33,422	288	9,111	73,679	10,483	23,234	41,280
1996	258,234	1,177	567	35,333	89,408	19,227	40,738	44,509
1997	313,232	60,896	645	21,743	97,312	15,755	55,231	53,276
1998	450,260	86,237	1,941	36,532	116,331	31,988	75,211	90,911

The tendency towards an increasing participation of Bogotá in the GNP of the country can also be seen.

When the rate of continuous growth is considered with the sectoral employment participation during the period of 1980-1997 (Table 6), the transformation of Bogotá's economy into one that has a clear tertiary focus is evident. It can be shown that, while the employment in the city underwent continuous growth close to 4 per cent, commerce, transport and services grew by an average of 4.5 per cent. (DAPD 2000: 35)

Looking at the classification of unemployed people by the type of job they are looking for (Table 7), a bias towards the tertiary sector can be seen (DAPD 2000: 35).

It is evident that the slowdown that has affected the country's economy since 1996 has had an influence on the growth of the informal sector. Even though there is a lack of official information about this sector of the economy, Table 8 gives a general view on the relative importance of the informal sector in Bogotá.

Table 8: Bogotá 2000: Distribution of Housing by Sector and Level of Income

Income	FORMAL SECTOR			INFORMAL SECTOR		
SMLM*	No. of Households	% (Horizontal)	% (Vertical)	No. of Households	% (Horizontal)	% (Vertical)
0 – 1	45,088	22.2	13.8	158,227	77.8	28.3
1 – 2	113,102	35.1	34.6	209,352	64.9	37.4
2 – 3	98,439	43.8	30.1	126,257	56.2	22.6
3 – 4	70,285	51.8	21.5	65,387	48.2	11.7

Source: Interview with the General Manager of Metrovivienda (2001). Provisional calculations based on DANE, Encuesta Nacional de Hogares, June 2000

Source: Alcaldía Mayor (2000), DAPD, Bogotá (p. 35 Cuadro 3)

Illegal
subdivision,
Initial Stage
(1976)



Nicolás Rueda

1.6 Governance in Bogotá D.C.

The 1991 National Constitution states in article number 322 that Santafé de Bogotá³ in its position of capital city of the Republic and the Department of Cundinamarca (Constitución Política de Colombia 1996: 185), will be organised as a District Capital. To enforce this article, the district's territory was divided into 20 localidades, taking into account the social and economic characteristics of their inhabitants. Amendment number 1421 of 1993 or the Organic Statute of Santafé de Bogotá, which defines its political, administrative and tax regime for the District, establishes the corresponding competencies for the government and the administration of the city in the following way:

1. District Council. As the city's main authority, this is constituted as an administrative corporation with legislative authority, expressed through agreements. Within its functions are the evaluation and approval of the Development Plan for the District, which is to be proposed at the beginning of each Mayor's mandate. The Councillors are elected and are to exercise for three years. There is one councillor for every 150,000 inhabitants or for a fraction greater than the 75,000 present in the District.

2. The Mayor, elected for periods of three years without the possibility of being consecutively re-elected, is the legal representative for the District, in charge of the administration of the District.

3. The Local Administrative Assemblies, (JAL) are elected every three years as well and are made up of no less than 7 members, called "ediles".

4. The Local Mayors, are named by the City Mayor, out of three names proposed by the Local Administrative Assembly. (Presidencia de la República 1993)

In this way the government structure is composed of a *Centralised Sector*, a *Decentralised Sector* and the *localidades*. The Central Sector includes 8 Secretariats, 6 Administrative Departments and 2. Administrative Units in charge of directing, co-ordinating and carrying out public services and functions. The Heads of these offices collaborate directly with the Mayor, who can name or dispose of them freely.

The Constitution of 1991 took and developed the laws made in 1986 (Laws 11 and 12), which, as the process of political and administrative decentralisation was brought into the territorial institutions, had a strong influence on their functioning.

In this way a slow process of restructuring the political function in the city has brought not only a structural change within the work of the district's government, but also within the attitude that the citizens have towards their institutions. In the last four elections one can see a strong change in the citizens' political behaviour. This transformation opened a new space for participation for the civilians.

At the same time, the District Administration establishes the basic rules for civilian participation in the different processes for planning through the Town's Councils for Planning. These represent a new scenario, in which the inhabitants, through the different mechanisms of political organisation, are able to present and sustain their proposals for local development.

II SLUMS AND POVERTY

Methodological Clarifications

In order to clarify the criteria that were adopted to manage the information on slums and poverty in Bogotá, it is worth establishing the following points:

The majority of the slums in Bogotá originated in illegal processes of urban sub-division that took place on the peripheral areas of the city. Considering that these processes are dynamic, it must be taken into account that the physical and social conditions that classify them as slums are present *only during the first years of the settlement*. The indicators used to consider an urban area as a slum freeze the situation of a settlement that evolves every day, in a specific moment. Furthermore, the occupation and development that take place in the illegal urbanisation process generate a territory in which individual processes of construction of habitat combine in diverse stages of development, which is reflected in the social conditions of the inhabitants. This reality can hardly be measured and registered using different living conditions measures.

The social information that exists about the city refers to the *localidades*⁴, within which one cannot necessarily find social and urban homogeneity. As such, in a heterogeneous *localidad*, in which no one group has a clear predominance, the information generated for the *localidad* as a whole distorts the real conditions of the groups with lower incomes.

Under these circumstances, for the purposes of the present report, it has been decided to study the *localidades* of Ciudad Bolívar, Bosa and Usme, which concentrate a high proportion of the slums that surround the city. Furthermore, in each *localidad*, the slum areas have the highest relative participation. This is not to say that these *localidades* are representative for statistics, or can be considered adequate for a real vision of the physical and social conditions of the peripheral slum areas.

With the purpose of improving the quality of the information available, the illegal settlements that were founded no more than five years ago were chosen. The resulting stratification information was crossed with that corresponding to the NBI⁵. The combination of these indicators leads to a more precise detection on the conditions of poverty.

The majority of the inner-city slums are concentrated in two *localidades* (Mártires and Santa Fe), in which the most important activity is not that of housing. As such the information on resident population presents a minor distortion.

1 Existing Types of Slums

1.1 Types

The slums types in Bogotá can be classified as:

- Those which correspond to the *initial* stages of the non-planned processes of urbanisation in the peripheral and marginal areas.
- The deteriorated zones within the central city (inner-city slums).

In general, the different types of slums can be described as:

Initial Stages of the Non-Planned Processes of Urbanisation

These are settlements with illegal origins in their first stages of development. The lack of public services such as water, sewerage and electricity, and the absence of education and health care, are translated into a precarious environment. Nevertheless, this type of slum presents the typical characteristic of *transience*. The experience in Bogotá, with more than four decades of urban growth of illegal origin, has demonstrated that the highly deficient living conditions of its inhabitants in the first stages of these developments, quickly initiates a process of gradual improvement through the installation of public services and the construction of roads and services by the city administration -with the participation of the resident communities in some cases, and the individual initiatives of progressive consolidation of houses, some of whose spaces are destined to informal economic activities. It is worth showing that the *squatter settlements* present more critical conditions than the illegal sub-divisions ("pirate neighbourhoods"). On the other hand, it is necessary to take into account that, in the case of Bogotá, the squatter settlements have historically had a very low relative importance.⁶

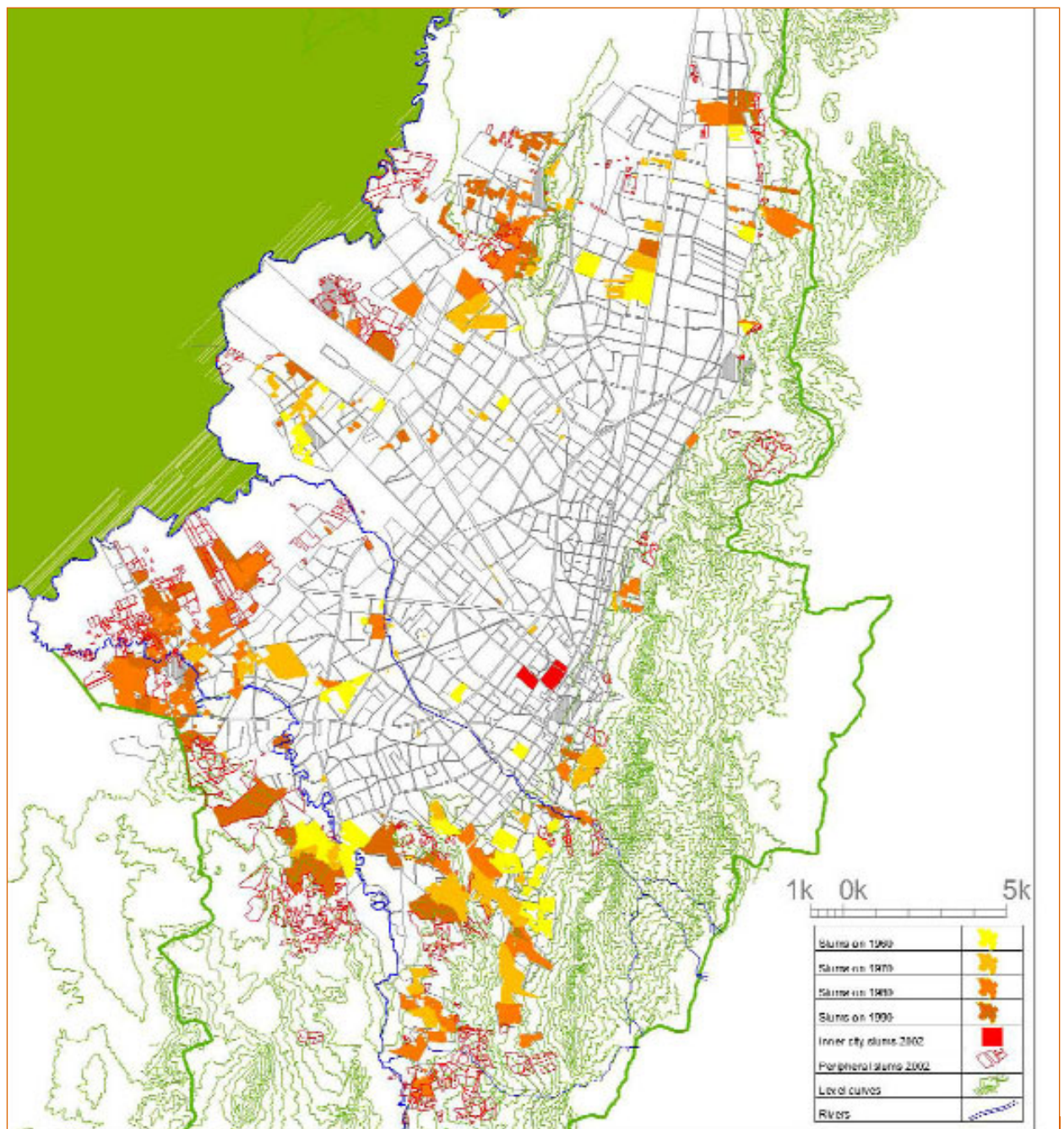
Inner-City Slums

As a result of the processes of the city's transformation, some of the traditional downtown areas were abandoned and progressively destined to low level economic activities and to the inadequate and disordered location of housing, in conditions that progressively generated a high degree of social and physical deterioration.

In general, in these zones tenement houses in bad conditions co-exist with sectors that mix housing with other activities, in most of the cases, illegal activities. Even though it is true that these zones represent a small relative proportion of the city area, its strategic location and the gravity of the social conditions have been important factors in the last few years in the remarkable actions involving urban recuperation, conducted and sponsored by the District.

1.2 Location and Age

See Map below.



Slums: Historical Development Patterns

1.3. Population Size and Characteristics

Estimating the number of people living in poverty in Bogotá is difficult, taking into account the different indicators used. That is why it was decided to present poverty data calculated using the two most important indicators: stratification and Basic Unsatisfied Needs (NBI). However, the total number of poor people in Bogotá is not the result of a sum of stratification and NBI, because in most cases those included in the first

indicator also appear in the second one. The distribution of the poor population within the *localidades* is shown in **Map 6**. As a reference point this data is presented along with the total for Bogotá.

As mentioned beforehand, the population of the deteriorated urban zones of the city consists of a series of groups characterised by heterogeneity of their places of origin. On the other hand, when these groups are



Un-planned settlement, neighborhood water supply site (1976)

looked at from an urban and economic perspective, common factors can be perceived.

The pronounced isolation in which these people live, given the evident deficiencies in the urban transport system, or just the distance that some people have to travel every day to reach their work, the poor conditions of public services, and education, the difficulties in gaining stable and qualified work and the high levels of violence compared with the rest of the city, generate patterns of shared needs among the inhabitants of these depressed areas.

This phenomenon has an influence on the creation and strengthening of the channels of constant communication which present a possible means to encourage social integration and tolerance that will allow the competition for basic resources between the inhabitants to be counteracted.

In this way two social consequences of this particular situation can be seen. While the social structures get

stronger, in the face of basic unsatisfied needs, and in this way the communities feel empowered, this increases their ability to act and react, and this dynamic promotes gradual processes of social and cultural homogenisation.

3 Official Definitions Related to Slums

3.1 Definitions and Predominant Uses

Definitions of slums are vague in Bogotá, and there is not a clear division between the official and unofficial definitions. This may be due to the evolution and constant change that slums have undergone during the last four decades. Spontaneous settlements on the city margins started to appear during the first years of the accelerated urbanisation process, manifested as groups of shacks or provisional housing. These settlements were called “*tugurios*” (slums), and this word, along with its definition, started to appear in official documents. Even though nowadays everyone knows its meaning, the word is rarely used probably as a consequence of the city’s growth, which removed the unplanned settlements from the sight of the majority of the citizens. However the most commonly used terms are as follows:

a) Slums in the Initial Stages in the Processes of Unplanned Urbanisation

In the POT (abbreviation for the Spanish term meaning Plan for Territorial Organisation) the terms Informal Neighbourhoods (DAPD 2000:

Table 9: Population in Poverty in Slums 2001

Poverty Indicators/ Localidades	Stratification Layer 1	Stratification Layer 2	NBI Misery	NBI Poverty	Total Population 2001
Santa Fe	3,389	72,690	3,497	18,593	107,051
Usme	66,433	182,528	14,444	62,044	251,325
Bosa	3,770	393,137	12,483	74,687	427,505
Ciudad Bolívar	279,286	288,095	44,099	159,461	600,393
Bogotá D.C.	445,852	2,378,901	167,636	893,515	6,496,455

Source: Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá (2001)

74), Subnormal Settlements (DAPD 2000: 111) and Settlements of Unknown Origin (DAPD 2000: 159) are included. The Co-ordinated Group for Housing Politics (2002) refers to them as Illegal Developments. These words are synonyms and they can be defined as follows: "Urban settlements in which the occupation and development of the terrain occur without any plan and without the corresponding permits and licenses officially required." (see Unidad Coordinadora de Política Habitacional 2002) Because of the lack of roads and public services and the provisional and inadequate status of the houses, living conditions in the resulting areas are extremely precarious.

In the last few years the city government has decided to modify the policies and the programmes related to unplanned settlements. The intention of not using words whose connotations can be misinterpreted is perceived, with the aim of focussing on the situation of the affected communities, rather than the legal and technical problems of the unplanned settlements. Through the POT, the Programme for Integral Improvements for Neighbourhoods (DAPD 2000:347) has been established, replacing phrases such as "Eradication of *Tugurios*" (1960-1980) by "Slum upgrading Programmes" (1998-2000).

b) Inner-City Slums

In the middle of the 20th century, the central deteriorated sectors were mainly associated with tenement houses, defined by the Administrative Department for the District's Planning, (DAPD in Spanish) (1997) as: "...large houses occupied permanently by a number of families, in independent rooms, with collective sanitary services, kitchen and a laundry area..." (DAPD 1997: 66-68) During the sixties, central tenement houses played an important role in receiving immigrants just arrived in the city who were looking for temporary housing, moving later to marginal and unplanned settlements. Nowadays, tenement houses still exist, but their overuse has contributed to a reduction in their importance, as well as the development of a business of room renting in marginal houses, whose owners want to increase the family's income.

Besides the tenement houses, in the traditional centre of the city there are numerous places that have suffered a high degree of physical and social damage (see chapter B.1b.). Although they have a limited importance in relation to the total area of the city, some of these areas

have developed critical situations of poverty, drugs and delinquency. There is not a generally used official name for these sectors. The DAPD (1997) refers to them as "Social Deviation Zones", "Tolerance Zones" or "Pots", with the following definition: "Social deviation zones, tolerance zones or pots are the physical spaces of the cities inhabited mainly by human groups known to engage in delinquent behaviour, prostitution, or distribution and use of illegal drugs" (DAPD 1997: 68). It is exceptional to find these definitions in an official document, since traditionally some of them are not used officially.

3 Unofficial Definitions of Slums

The degraded zones of the city are characterised by the informality of the settlements' founding. As such the majority of residents from other areas understand these neighbourhoods to be spontaneous settlements that do not fulfil most of the urban rules, and which concentrate migrant and poor populations. This informality includes some social characteristics that, as well as the physical conditions of the neighbourhoods go against the existing order in other parts of the city. Delinquency, participation in informal work, low levels of education, and deficiencies in sanitary conditions are directly associated with the people that live in these neighbourhoods and are blamed to a large extent for the situation of poverty.



Inner-city slum: "Santa Inés" Neighborhood

Programa de Renovación Urbana (Urban Renewal Programme)
- Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá

The most common names used for slums allude to such associations. "marginal neighbourhoods", "illegal neighbourhoods", "misery belts", "pots", "holes", "neighbourhoods of the poor", among others, refer not only to the physical conditions of the places but also to their inhabitants. Usually, the people from the highest

economic levels have an unknown part of the city, which they hear about but that does not agree with the reality of the city that they live or the zones where they work. These are “unexplored” and “feared” territories, where the majority of the problems of social and urban deterioration concentrate.

4 Official Definitions of Poverty Used for Policy Purposes

Modern definitions that refer to poverty share a common origin and present as a distinctive characteristic a description of physical, moral, intellectual, material and economic shortages. On the origin of these words, Escobar states: “(...) the rising order of capitalism and modernity depended on a policy on poverty whose intention was not only to create consumers, but also to transform society turning the poor into a subject of study and administration.” (Escobar 1998:54)⁷ The definition and simple application of this kind of concept implies a hierarchical division between those with the power to decide and determine “what is necessary and for whom” and “who has the capacity to define that” (Rahmena: 1991) and those who will receive those actions. The state, and in this case the Bogotá District Administration adopted these patterns of definition and assumed an interventionist role, with the objective of supplying the shortages identified by them within the groups studied. This can be perceived in the different definitions that will follow.

4.1 Definitions of Poverty and their Predominant Use

In Colombia and particularly in Bogotá there exist a number of different definitions and parameters to measure poverty levels, generated according to the specific needs of the state bureaux for accomplishing their missions. In the following lines we will refer to the ones most commonly used nowadays.

Social Stratification is a tool that permits -in a localidad, town, or district- the classification of the population into six different layers or groups of people with similar social and economic characteristics. The urban methodology for social and economic stratification in Bogotá defines a square as the unity that makes the layer. The main social and economic factors used to determine the layers of the households are: income, education, work relations, family relations, ancestry, and neighbourhood relations. Due to the real difficulties in gathering reliable data about those factors, it was decided to take into account eight variables, which, it is assumed, will permit the induction of the social and economic factors previously shown.

The variables are: 1. Presence of a house, 2. Communication roads, 3. Size of façade, 4. Sidewalk, 5. Porch, 6. Garage, 7. The material of which the façade is

made, 8. The material of which the roof is made. (DAPD 2000: 1,2). The production of layers is done through a methodology of analysis based on four stages: cartographic updating, distribution in zones, external characteristics of the houses and their environment, and finally, the making of the layers (statistical methodology of Delanuis and Hodges). Through this process the comparative shortages are identified, and the more critical levels are the lowest, that is to say layers 1 and 2. Stratification is used to determine the amount charged for housing public services, to focus social programmes and determine the amount to charge for the unified property tax for houses, for contributions for assessment, and for urban fees.

The **Basic Needs Indicator (NBI)** lets one know the percentage of the population that cannot get access to at least one of the needs defined as basic. The main variables for this indicator are: 1. The material of which the house is made, 2. Water and sewerage services, 3. Number of people per square metre living in the house, 4. Degree of economic dependence and 5. School assistance of one of the children in the house, between 7 and 11 years old. When a home does not have the minimum requirements given in one of these categories, it is located below poverty line, while if this happens in two or more of these categories it is considered that the population is in state of misery.

The **SISBEN** is a tool that permits the District Secretary of Health, the Administrative Department for Social Welfare, and the District Secretary of Education, among others, to determine and define the population and to have some criteria for selecting those who will benefit from social programmes. The process of classification is based on technical criteria that are objective, uniform and fair, and that take into account four kinds of factors: housing, public services, human working capital and social security, and demographics and income. As in the previous indicators the categories are made in a descending way, in which the lowest levels correspond to the most critical, as well as to the focus of intervention of the corresponding state office.

5 Unofficial Definitions of Poverty

5.1 The Way in Which the City Perceives Poverty

The social structures of Latin American countries, greatly influenced by the colonial inheritance of the Spanish, are characterised by the presence of highly differentiated social classes. In this context, the use of official definitions of poverty helped to consolidate different stereotypes. In the case of Bogotá, among the classes with more economic resources there are a number of different ways to define poverty and the poor.

At the most general level are words such as “*desechable*” (disposable), “*gamin*” (street kid), “*vagabundo*”

(tramp) and “*populacho*” (commoner), which, being used to speak about poor people, end up being associated with socially exclusive concepts such as delinquency, uselessness and non-productivity, the condition of being replaceable, and undesirability. Moreover, the word “*indio*” (Indian) became a widely used with a marked insulting association, being used with a western perspective to express low living conditions, ignorance, technological underdevelopment, and also bad manners. It is also used, in most cases, to refer to the poor population of the city. It is worth making clear that these words are not used by all the non-poor population of the city.

In the same way, there are expressions that are used more frequently for poor people, and are more neutral, with a more descriptive than judgmental nuance. Expressions as indigence, cardboard people or recycling people have been used by the media and in the official discourse, even though they are used in a less rigorous and ambivalent way.

5.2 Poor People and their Perceptions of Poverty

The experience of poverty only becomes real at the moment in which two different ways of life are compared, one being, by definition, inferior. In this sense, the enormous social and economic disparities of the big city emphasise the differences and, in consequence the experience of being poor. In Bogotá, the situation of the poor was accompanied for decades by a paternalistic political discourse by the district and national administrations who wanted to mitigate the consequences of poverty. This vision of poverty as an object of state actions generated within the people affected by it a passive and receptive attitude in which auto-determination and self-help did not count as a proper means for development.

The underestimation of the local capacities to determine priorities and actions led, for years, to the proposals of local origin not finding acceptance among central political projects. Furthermore, the base communities encountered difficulties, having low levels of organisation, and being unable to get financial resources or the required training for those objectives. This relation led to a reduction in the self-esteem of the communities needed to turn them in generators and executors of their own initiatives. As a consequence, these characteristics turned into inseparable elements of poverty. In this way, large sectors of the population of limited economic resources, while considering themselves incapable and disabled, found themselves marginalised from the construction of their life projects, even for the important social and economic role that they played within the global functioning of the city.

Through political and administrative decentralisation and the creation of larger spaces for community partic-

ipation the first step to encourage a more receptive attitude from the central sector has been taken, as well as for the strengthening of the self-esteem of the poorest people. Nevertheless, an attitude of subordination is still perceived from some sectors in their relations with entities that symbolise for them welfare or access to financing sources. In their interactions with the state, with the NGOs and even for the present research, the first question that arises for their representatives when reaching the communities is the listing of their complaints and local problems. Following this comes another question: How are they going to help us?⁸

Overcoming this self-perception of inferiority, not inherent to poverty is, without doubt, a requirement *sine qua non* for dynamising the interaction between the people with low resources and the rest of the society, to help identify the structural problems that generate poverty and for the construction of the proper solutions. And although this responsibility falls on the whole of society, the transformation must begin, undoubtedly, and has already begun, from the communities themselves.

6 Origins of the Types of Slum Identified

6.1 Social, Economic and Political Forces that have Formed and Removed Slums

a) Slum Type: Initial Stages of the Processes of Unplanned Urbanisation

The rapid expansion of Bogotá's urban periphery results mainly from the illegal initiatives of occupation of marginal areas by immigrants. It has to be taken into account that these people were mainly individuals and young families who hoped to find opportunities for improving their economic and social position in the city. Nevertheless, the incipient development of the urban economy did not permit their real incorporation into the labour market. Furthermore, the offer of cheap housing was insufficient to cope with growing demand.

A situation of increasing inequality and unbalance started to arise, expressed through the massive presence of inhabitants excluded from job opportunities, income stability and access to housing and the educational and health care services that they expected to find in the city. Nevertheless, in contrast to what usually happens in technologically developed countries, where urban marginal groups tend to perpetuate their situation due to the impossibility of acting outside the legal standards, in the Latin American context reality is radically different. Immigrants, beyond the formal systems of urban society, generated the means to survive and to satisfy their basic needs, giving place to the so-called informal sector of the economy, the relative importance

of which is still fundamental in Latin America (Rueda 2000: 100-102).

b) Slum Type: Inner-City Slums



Nicolás Rueda

Bogotá's traditional downtown, which for four centuries had the functions of a political, economic, cultural and social centre, has suffered some processes of transformation inevitable within the Latin American context. In Bogotá's case, the vast expansion of its perimeter, partially and insufficiently planned, in the space of only thirty years, generated chaos in the urban structure that had characterised it until the first half of the 20th century. The unexpected growth of the urban area, together with the lack of an efficient system of mass transport, made the combination of various centres of activity inevitable. As a consequence of the resulting disintegration and decentralisation, the traditional centre of the city lost some significant functions and confronted the weakening of the real estate market, with the consequent economic devaluation of landed property. Additionally, this unplanned process led to the consolidation of an "expanded centre", with an extension beyond the traditional centre, recently recognised by the POT 2000-2010 of the city. (DAPD 2000: 219-226, 288-294)

On the other hand in Bogotá, health, major commerce, transportation, military installations, industry and other important services were constructed from the end of the 19th century in marginal areas next to the traditional centre. Gradually, the government and private groups have been moving their installations to adequate places for the new size of the city, but without foreseeing in a systematic way what would be the new use of the central areas that had lost their original function. As a result of this process, some zones in the traditional centre were abandoned and destined gradually to

the development of low level economic activities and to the disorderly and inadequate placement of housing, in conditions that progressively generated a high degree of physical and social damage.

6.2 Advantages and Disadvantages of Slums to the City

The effects of slums in the process of growth and development of the city have been both positive and negative. There is no doubt that the illegal processes of urban development constituted a rational response (Vernez 1974) to the critical situation of unbalance within the labour and real estate markets, generated by the accelerated process of urban development that started in the second half of the 20th century. The illegal modes of urban development and especially the "illegal neighbourhoods", were constituted as a solution for the numerous immigrant families that did not find in the city a legal alternative to getting a house. The official programmes' offer was limited, and the price of the houses was inaccessible for the buyers. It is worth showing that in 1970, a critical moment in the process of urbanisation, only 10.7 per cent of the families in Bogotá were living in state produced houses, while 46.4 per cent had gone through the illegal market, which offered the inhabitants the possibility of varying the development of the houses according to their needs for constructed space and their financial capacity (Valenzuela, J. and G. Vernez 1974: 108-110, 115-128). Even more, the need for the installation of public services from the corresponding official entities, pushed the social and political development of these communities. Finally, it must be underlined that this progressive mode of construction of residential habitats offers communities the opportunity to express their cultural elements through their houses and urban spaces (Rueda 2000: 107-111).

The negative effects of the slums have to do with the costs that they generate. First of all, the social costs for the communities that live in them who, during the first years of the process, do not enjoy the minimal conditions of habitability, because of the lack of public services, roads, recreational spaces and social facilities. Secondly, the economic costs that the processes of unplanned urbanisation represent to the city. According to some studies carried out by Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá, Metrovivienda (2001), "to adequate the settlements of illegal origin to guarantee the required habitability conditions and to be able to integrate them into the general systems of the city, will cost the rest of society around \$5.7 million (around US\$2,500) for each housing unit." (Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá, Metrovivienda 2002: 207-208). According to some estimates from the DAPD, around 375,000 houses in 1,433 settlements of illegal origin have been constructed in Bogotá (see Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá (2000) Programa Desmarginalización de Barrios).

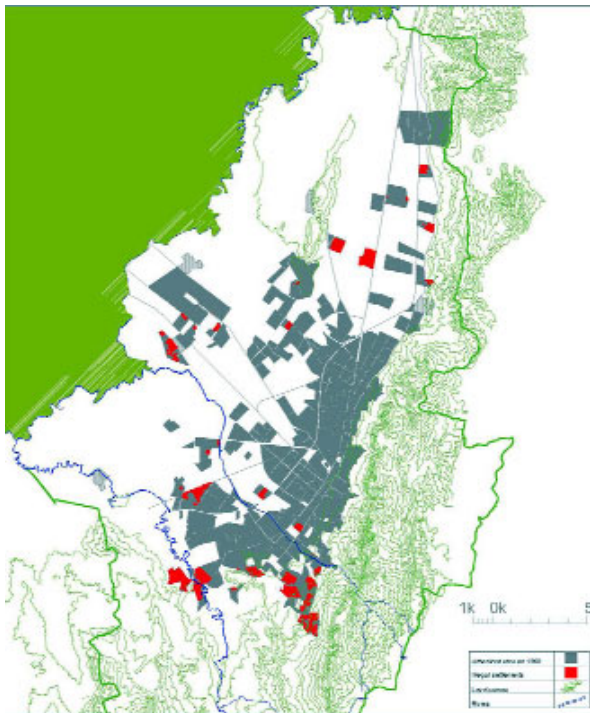
7 Available Information on Slums

7.1 Maps

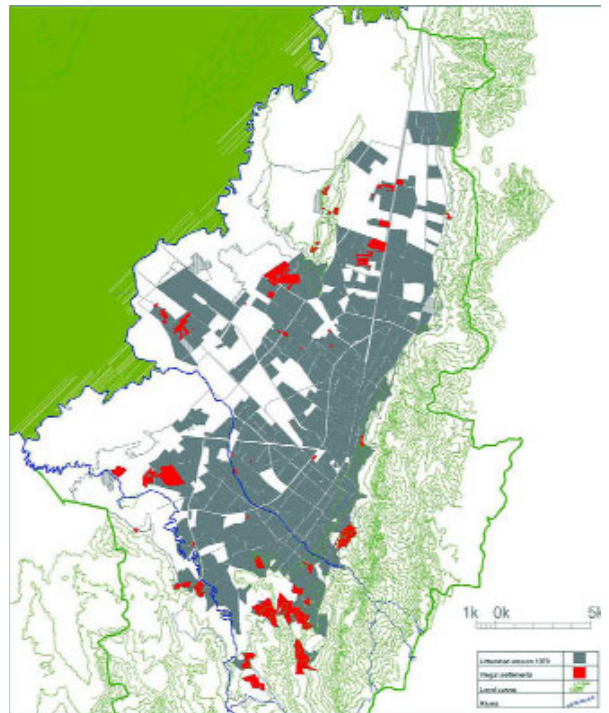
See below.

7.2 Census Data

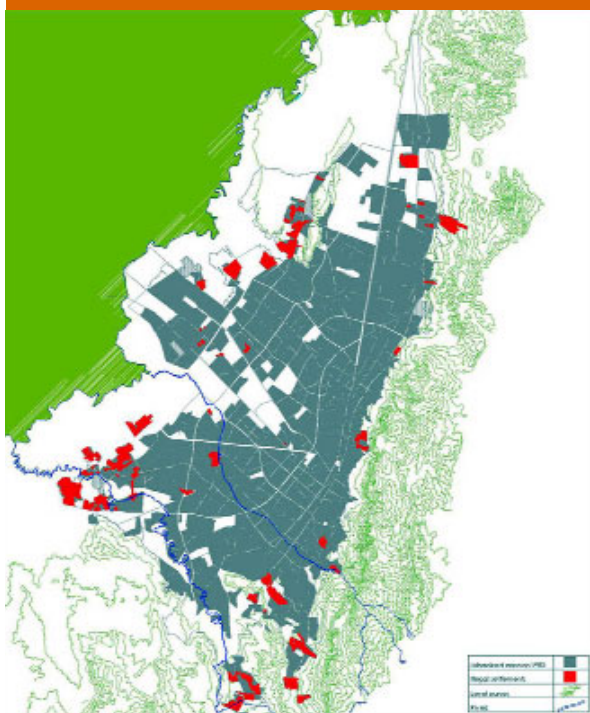
The *localidades* of Bosa, Usme and Ciudad Bolívar have the highest concentrations of poor people in the city: 28 per cent in Usme, 20 per cent in Bosa and 30.7 per cent in Ciudad Bolívar according to the NBI indicator. The conditions of these localidades on the urban periphery, permit the concentration of migrants and the accelerated development of spontaneous settlements.



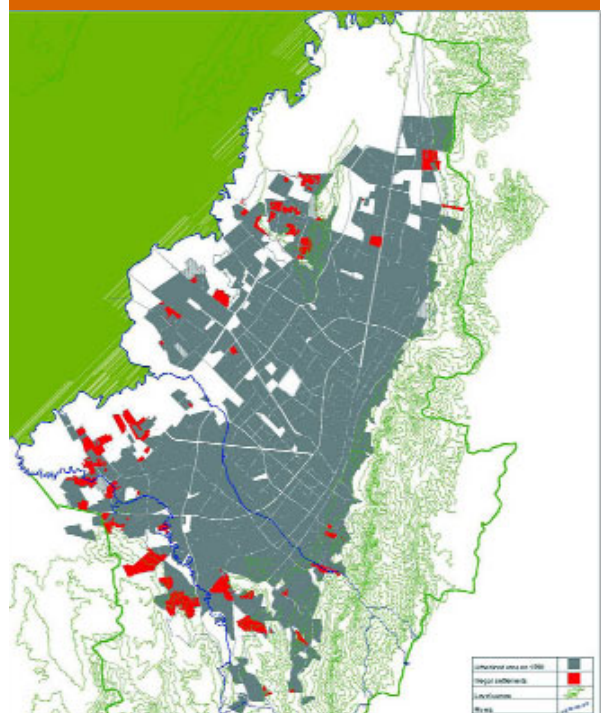
Slums: Historical Growth and Spread 1960



Slums: Historical Growth and Spread 1970



Slums: Historical Growth and Spread 1980



Slums: Historical Growth and Spread 1990

Ciudad Bolívar is one of the most recent settlements in the district, a product of internal and external migrations; the neighbourhoods in this *localidad* were built on lands of old “haciendas” and extended towards the hills where there was no access to public services or roads. Bosa and Usme underwent different patterns of development. They consolidated initially as towns and with the growth of the city they were absorbed, and became *localidades* in 1993.

Access to health services has improved in recent years. Each *localidad* has a first level of attention (the basic one) a hospital connected to a network of other entities, namely: Immediate Medical Attention Centres (CAMI); Primary Attention Units (UPA); and Basic Attention Units (UBA).

With regard to education, Bogotá has sufficient places for the school age population, but the places are not evenly distributed among the *localidades*, and so

Table 10: Bogotá and Selected Localidades- Projections of Total and Poor Population, Housing and Others 1998

#Loc	Localidades	Population 1993	Population 2000	AREA (Ha) Urban 2000	Population density	Stratific. Layer 1	Total percent	Stratific. Layer 2	Total percent	TOTAL OF POOR POPULATION	per cent
3	Santa Fe	107,044	107,044	662.05	161.69	3,389	3.2	72,690	67.9	76,079	71.07
	Housing units		20,656			521	2.5	11,631	55	12,152	57.5
5	Usme	200,892	244,270	2220.35	100.40	64,575	26.4	177,422	72.6	241,977	99.6
	Housing units		44,483			13,147	29.5	30,860	694	44,007	98.9
7	Bosa	215,816	410,099	1930.11	161.49	3,617	0.9	377,149	92	380,766	92.8
	Housing units	76,935				221	0.3	76,000	98.8	76,221	99.1
19	Ciudad Bolívar	418,609	575,549	2088.78	23850	267,767	46.5	276,213	48	543,980	94.5
	Housing units	96,470				48,386	50.2	42,116	43.7	90,502	93.9
	TOTAL BOGOTA	5,440,401	6,378,928	30,000	212.8	431,630	100	2,328,533	100	2,760,163	43.3
	Housing units	1,138,465				79,742	100	372,942	100	452,684	39.8

Sources: DAPD (1998) Subdirección de Desarrollo Social. Proyecciones de Población. Estratificación Socioeconómica. Secretaría Distrital de Salud. Diagnósticos Locales con Participación Social (1998)

There is almost universal coverage of public services in the city. Since 1999, almost 10,000 new users have applied for water supplies in layer 1. Nevertheless, in 2001 4.7 per cent of the houses in Bogotá did not have this service. Some of these houses get their water from wells, streams and illegal connections to the network. The electricity service is larger in layers of socio-economic stratification 2 and 3. Houses not connected get their service by illegal connections, mostly in the neighbourhoods of illegal origins. Equally, the territories that do not have sewerage make up part of the spontaneous settlements. In general, the coverage of public services increases proportionally with the legalisation of urbanised territories.

children would have to attend schools in other *localidades*, which implies discouraging costs in time and transport. Compared with Bogotá these *localidades* have higher rates of homicides, assault and other violent behaviour. Family conflicts are most common in the poor population, but generally this kind of violence is not reported.

Table 11 gives an overview of living conditions in the *localidades* studied and is based on the Global Indicator of Life Quality (ICV). This indicator deals with the topics of Housing Standards, Education, Health, Transport, Income and Work, Public Areas and Citizen Security. (The highest index values mean an optimal situation and the lowest ones represent a critical situation).

Table 11: Bogotá and Selected Localidades - Global Indicator of Life Quality (ICV) 1998

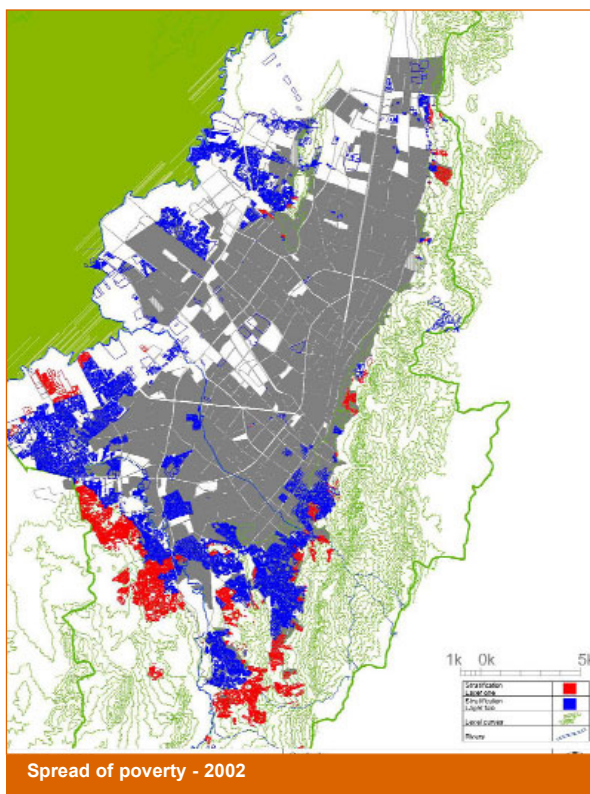
Localidad	Population	Housing Standards	Education	Health	Transport	Income & Work	Public Areas	Citizen Security	Global Indicator of Life Quality 98 ICV
Santa Fe	107,044	42,3	42,7	16,6	33,0	23,3	15,4	0,0	24,76
Usme	244,270	32,4	23,3	57,6	35,7	9,3	2,2	26,0	26,64
Bosa	410,099	28,5	44,2	69,3	50,0	15,8	9,9	27,0	34,95
Ciudad Bolívar	575,549	20,5	27,4	53,4	50,1	20,0	0,7	29,0	28,74
Average for Bogotá		51,8	52,8	51,5	47,7	43,6	27,8	26,7	43,13

Source: DAPD, Subdirección de Desarrollo Social, Línea Base de Indicadores año 1998, Bogotá D.C., 2000

8 Available Information on Poverty in the City

8.1 Maps

See below.



8.2. Census Data

Table 12: Social and Economic Stratification by Localidades 2001

LOCALIDAD	Non Class-ified	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4	Level 5	Level 6	% TOTAL BOGOTÁ
Usaquén	2.64	2.94	9.80	28.05	24.86	13.93	17.96	6.6
Chapinero	1.29	4.62	8.65	8.05	26.63	11.39	39.37	1.9
Santa Fe	1.26	3.17	67.9	24.49	3.17	0.01	0	1.6
San Cristóbal	0.98	7.64	76.56	14.82	0	0	0	7
Usme	0.93	26.44	72.63	0	0	0	0	3.9
Tunjuelito	1.34	0.01	63.62	35.03	0	0	0	3.1
Bosa Tunjuelito	0.51	0.88	91.97	6.64	0	0	0	6.6
Kennedy	0.71	1.54	38.97	57.86	0.93	0	0	14.3
Fontibón	1.06	0	7.25	74.85	16.83	0	0	4.4
Negativa	1.18	0.61	10.57	83.71	3.93	0	0	11.7
Suba	0.98	0.28	34.09	35.19	12.47	15.27	1.72	11.2
B. Unidos	1.25	0	0	63.80	32.71	2.25	0	2.7
Teusaquillo	0.49	0	0.01	17.67	75.5	6.27	0	1.9
Mártires	0.53	0	5.43	89.39	4.65	0	0	1.5
A. Nariño	0.10	0	7.96	91.94	0	0	0	1.5
Pte. Aranda	0.81	0.06	0.25	98.88	0	0	0	4.3
Candelaria	3.57	0	66.27	30.16	0	0	0	0.4
Rafael Uribe	0.95	4.85	43.39	50.81	0	0	0	5.9
C. Bolívar	1.08	46.52	47.99	4.40	0	0	0	9.2

Source: DAPD. Departamento Administrativo de Planeación Distrital, Subdirección de Desarrollo Social, Bogotá D.C., 2001



Table 13:
Bogotá's Population per
Localidades, Age Groups
and Poor Population (2000)

Localidad	Total Pop.	0-4 years	5 - 19 years	20 - 54 years	More than 55 years	Total Poor Pop. (Layers 1 & 2)	% Poor Pop. (Layers 1 & 2)
1. Usaquén	421.320	45.191	107.590	225.403	43.136	54.733	12,99
2. Chapinero	122.991	7.700	25.996	70.559	18.736	16.318	13,27
3. Santa Fe	107.044	10.836	31.384	53.561	11.262	76.079	71,07
4. San Cristóbal	455.028	53.676	140.852	218.327	42.173	383.639	84,31
5. Usme	244.270	33.103	79.524	116.461	15.182	241.998	99,07
6. Tunjuelito	204.367	21.530	57.833	106.307	18.697	130.040	63,63
7. Bosa Tunjuelito	410.099	52.330	116.677	218.038	23.054	396.907	96,78
8. Kennedy	912.781	97.903	233.092	488.329	93.457	376.910	41,29
9. Fontibón	278.746	29.898	71.183	149.125	28.540	20.944	7,51
10. Negativa	749.068	80.343	191.289	400.741	76.695	84.786	11,32
11. Suba	706.528	75.780	180.425	377.982	72.341	250.323	35,43
12. B. Unidos	176.552	12.870	43.044	94.570	26.068	0	0
13. Teusaquillo	126.125	7.225	27.811	70.916	20.173	0	0
14. Mártires	95.541	7.761	24.853	51.244	11.683	5.185	5,43
15. A. Nariño	98.355	8.441	26.208	51.890	11.815	7.833	7,96
16. Pte. Aranda	282.491	24.914	72.541	154.542	30.494	880	0,31
17. Candelaria	27.450	2.336	7.383	14.220	3.511	18.190	66,27
18. Rafael Uribe	384.623	41.254	98.221	205.769	39.379	185.645	48,27
19. C. Bolívar	575.549	78.853	181.522	280.533	34.641	567.381	98,58
TOTAL BOGOTÁ	6.378.928	692.120	1.717.905	3.349.470	621.234	2.824.754	44,28

Sources:
DANE. Departamento Administrativo
Nacional de Estadística,
Censo de Población y vivienda 1993

DAPD, Corporación
Centro Regional de Población,
Proyecciones de población,
Bogotá, D.C., 1997.

DAPD, Subdirección de
Desarrollo Social, Bogotá D.C.,
2001

III. SLUMS: THE PEOPLE

9 Inhabitants of the Slums

The living conditions of poor people in Bogotá constantly change according to the place in which they live, their work and the people they have responsibility for. Depending on the neighbourhood location, they could be at risk from floods and landslides, be far from the main roads or be in very insecure places. If they have large families their incomes tend to be more limited and access to education more difficult.

Some household heads have had no education, which makes it more difficult to find a job and supply for the needs of their families, while others are able to get better paid jobs. Some families live in very small houses, which are humid and cold and others have managed to get better houses. But in general, they share the condition of not having sufficient resources to supply all their needs (see *A Short Story of Real Life in a Slum*).

A Short Story of Real Life in a Slum

Belarmino Cruz is tired of knocking on doors. For the last eight years he has not been able to find a job because he does not know how to read and write. In some way he has to bring up his daughters: Doris, who is nineteen years old and has polio, Natali, who is seventeen years old and Gloria, who is sixteen years old. They live in a pre-cast house that they were helped to get through Servivienda, and which they built in the "El Bosque" neighbourhood, near Usme.

Sometimes he goes downtown to sell cups of coffee or ice cream. Other times he gets jobs in roasting places and sometimes he goes to the market place to carry loads and that is enough to get some food, but things do not always go right. He left his town more than twenty years ago, looking for a better life, but since then he has had to work in construction or in jobs that someone offers him and has not had the time to study.

For the past six years he has been living without his wife and he has been in charge of his daughters. He does not have any health insurance, because the money that he gets goes on food and it is only enough to give education to two of his daughters, so that they can, in the future, get some job, because illiteracy has not permitted him to get any stable job.

His house has electricity and a phone, but the water service is illegally connected. His daughters share a room, and in another small place they have a hearth to cook. Belarmino and his older daughter are looking for more work options to improve their situation, but meanwhile they have to keep covering their needs with what they get.

Tibana 2002: 7

K Household Indicators for the Different Types of Slums

A household is defined as a person or group of people associated to satisfy their needs and share their budgets. Women-headed households are considered to be the ones with the highest vulnerability when facing situations of poverty and their consequences (inattention to children and lack of resources for their education leads them in many cases to work in informal commerce jobs, begging and in some cases, illegal activities); the woman has to take on the complete authoritative role and to carry the economic burden of the family. Most of these women have low educational levels and the jobs that they can get are badly paid. They are also often below the minimum legal wage (US\$133). This situation means the households have to concentrate mainly on survival, paying less attention to questions such as education and health care.

The average size of a household in the *localidad* of Santa Fe, the zone in which tenements predominate, is 3.43 people. In Bosa it is 1.85, in Usme 4 and in Ciudad Bolívar it is 4.64 people. According to the census projections in Bogotá, during 2001, in Santa Fe, Bosa and Usme, the average of number of households per house was 1.8. Ciudad Bolívar presents an average of 1.3, which indicates that in this *localidad*, the proportion of households with their own house is larger. According to the data from the last Census Report in Bogotá (DANE 1993), in the *localidad* of Bosa the total number of housing units was 48,264, of which 46 per cent were rented, 10 per cent were owned without having finished the payments and 37 per cent owned and totally paid. In Usme, the total number was 42,322 housing units, 33 per cent rented, 18 per cent owned without having finished the payments and 39 per cent owned and totally paid. In Ciudad Bolívar, the total number of housing units was 83,391, 37 per cent rented, 16 per cent owned without having finished the payments and 41 per cent owned and totally paid.

The illiteracy rates are not especially low in the *localidades* chosen: nevertheless, the majority of this population only has basic primary studies. Of the total population of Bosa, 94 per cent are literate, in Usme the figure is 92 per cent and in Ciudad Bolívar it is 90 per cent. The main occupational activities are informal commerce and employment in construction for men, and housekeeping or non-qualified factory work for women.

Housing mobility for resident owners in slums is highly limited. Even though there does not exist any recent research it is estimated by Gilbert (2001: 65) that 8 per cent of the owners of recent self-built housing in Bogotá have moved during the last year. This low mobility rate among owners contrasts with the behaviour of renters who live in more than 50 per cent of the living units of the marginal neighbourhoods (see Gilbert 2001: 67).

This population shows higher mobility rates.

This phenomenon can be explained by two main factors. First of all, the poor housing market is stationary in Bogotá, so that when a family wants to sell their house it is hard to find buyers willing to pay a fair price. On the other hand, the concept of housing for people with low incomes is tied to a living place that represents a common group work and the security and stability of the family and the following generations, rather than its financial value.

L Costs of Living in Slums

1. Commuting to Work

The *localidades* chosen are in the peripheral zones of the city. Access is not the same to all the neighbourhoods, but there are transport routes from which the citizens of these *localidades* benefit. For those who live in the most remote neighbourhoods it is necessary to take longer routes, walking to reach the avenues and streets where they can get transport. Only Usme gets an immediate benefit from the new collective transport public system, Transmilenio, which has a station in this *localidad*; the system is complemented by the feeding routes for the service that go around the surrounding neighbourhoods.

The average cost of a regular bus ticket is between 700 and 900 pesos (US\$0.30-\$0.38). In general, the inhabitants of these *localidades* have to use two different means of transports for each route, which implies an average of 3,200 pesos a day (US\$1.38). The demand for public transport in Bogotá is 8 million passengers a day, without taking into account the routes that cover the surrounding towns. The cost of a trip in Transmilenio is 900 pesos (US\$0.34), including the trips in the feeding routes. Legally, a person with a labour contract and income up to two minimum legal salaries must receive a grant for transport. Independent workers do not count for this grant.

2. Price of Water

The mean cost of the water service in layers 1 and 2, in the year 2000, was \$9,778 pesos and \$14,905 pesos monthly respectively (US\$4.20 and US\$6.41). For the sewerage service, which is included in the water service receipt, the cost was \$5,099 pesos (US\$2.20) for layer 1, and \$7,565 pesos (US\$3.25) for layer 2.

3. Availability of Housing Finance

Official Policy for Social Interest Housing (VIS):

Since the 3rd law of 1991, housing policies have undergone a radical change. The state ceased to be a direct provider of affordable housing, and began instead to provide the processes, stimulating the participation of the different private construction firms through a direct grant on demand and regulating the conditions of long term credit, in charge of the banks and corporations of

savings and housing. The policy aims to articulate the governments' actions by giving grants to the buyers, using programmed savings accounts as a condition for access to the grants, providing the resources for the credit, and supporting the private construction firms, by promoting housing projects.

A summary of eligibility conditions for the grant, and the costs of payments related to the total cost of the house are shown below.

Table 14: Definition of Social Interest Housing by Size of the City**

Acquisition Cost of the House	Population of the city
£ 100 SMLM *	£ 100,000
£ 120 SMLM	> 100,000 < 500,000
£ 135 SMLM	> 500,000

* SMLM (Legal salary per month) (2002) :1 SMLM = \$309.000. (US\$133.)

** Presidencia de La República (1989), Ley 9 de 1989

Table 15: Size of Grant According to Cost of House

Cost of the House in		Size of Grant in	
SMLM	US \$	SMLM	US \$
£ 70	9,310,	25	3,325
> 70 < 135	> 9,310 <17,955	20	2,660

Source: Ministerio de Desarrollo Económico (2000)

As an example; buying a house that costs 65 SMLM (\$20,085,000 - US\$8,645) the following conditions will apply:

- Programmed Savings Account (buyer) \$2,000,000, (US \$861)
- Grant (national government) \$7,725,000, (US \$3,325)
- Credit (financial corporations) \$10,360,000, (US \$4,460)

(The conditions for the credits are the following: Time: between 5 and 30 years; the most solicited period is 15 years. Interest Rate: UVR ***+10 points. *** UVR = Real Value Unity - regulated by the rate of inflation)

It has to be taken into account that the availability of this system of credit is not in any case enough to attend to demand. As was stated before, demand for housing is conformed by families that are linked to the informal sector of the economy, which makes it harder to accept them as possible subjects for acquiring a credit from a financial corporation.

4. Health Problems

Levels of mortality tend to increase as the living conditions within the city decrease. The most common sicknesses that affect the infant population situations of poverty in the localidades chosen are the IRAs (acute respiratory infections) and the EDAs (acute diarrhoea sickness), related to malnutrition, environmental contamination, and poor management of water and food in the home. In general, the majority of the population in these zones, especially in Bosa, suffers from respiratory infections, allergies and inflammations of the respiratory tracts because of the high levels of environmental contamination. Of the total population in each localidad, 35 per cent in Usme, 40 per cent in Bosa, and 48 per cent in Ciudad Bolívar, are served by the main social security system for health, and are affiliated to the grant system of the social security.

5. Discrimination

Indigence is one of the most important social problems in Bogotá. The mobility of the indigent population is usually high due to the constant rejection that they suffer in neighbourhoods, because their presence is usually associated with illegal activities, drug dealing, etc, which leads to a deterioration of the places where they congregate. The place called "El Cartucho", for example (see IV, Parque Tercer Milenio), is a downtown zone where a high percentage of the indigent population has concentrated. It is characterised by drug dealing with a high level of social deterioration. For this reason the District Administration, through a project of urban renewal called "Parque Tercer Milenio" is building a park on the site of the old neighbourhood of Santa Inés, which has resulted in the disintegration of the site.

Not all the people who lived in the neighbourhood containing "El Cartucho" were indigents. But during relocation to different zones of the city were discriminated against, especially after the project was made public, because of the stigma that poverty carries. Nobody was willing to accept these people in their own neighbourhoods. Finally, the relocations had to be made with the names and the relocation sites as classified information (see chapter IV, Parque Tercer Milenio)

6. Psychological Trauma and Violent Behaviour

The statistics on violence and crime in Bogotá (Instituto Nacional de Medicina Legal y Ciencias Forenses 2001) show that, with respect to the number of homicides registered, Ciudad Bolívar presents the highest number of cases in the city. In the year 2001, suicides represented 9.6 per cent of violent deaths in Bogotá, according to the National Institute of Forensic Medicine; (Instituto Nacional de Medicina Legal y Ciencias Forenses 2001) 80 per cent of the people that committed suicide were between 18 and 59 years old and 78 per cent of the cases were men. Ciudad Bolívar

and Bosa are among the localidades with the highest rates of street robbery. Violence within the family is another important problem in Bogotá: Bosa, Usme and Ciudad Bolívar are the localidades with the lowest numbers of reported cases, which does not imply a lesser incidence of the problem. The high rates of violence and the low levels of reporting lead us to suppose a certain apathy towards law enforcement.

M Available Assets to Slum Dwellers

1. Social Capital

In Bogotá, social capital, understood as “the aggregate of the real or potential resources that come together with the possession of a lasting network of relations more or less instituted within knowledge or common recognition” (Bourdieu 1980: 244), is based on networks, rules and trust. These are built up within social nuclei which facilitate co-ordination and mutual benefit (Putnam 1993: 35-36), and result in the interaction between the work of the official entities for the construction of “the public”, and the strategies of participation elaborated by the communities.

Even though the Organic Statute of Bogotá D.C. has opened important spaces for citizen participation, some structural inconsistencies remain present and make the generation and regeneration of social capital difficult. Originally, the administration of Mockus-Bromberg (1995-97) aimed at the autonomy of the localidades.

The administration of Mayor Peñalosa (1998-2001) taking into account the difficulties that this incipient process had presented, recentralised the competencies that had been given to the local administrations⁹. It then created Local Executive Units (UEL), with the purpose of providing greater transparency to the management of the available resources within the Local Development Funds.

There is no doubt that the most recent regulation of citizen participation in planning processes has opened spaces, and has established some mechanisms that favour participation and complicate the values and political and administrative practices linked to the traditional two party system of patronage and to corruption. But considering that “participation in the public sphere does not imply the construction of ‘the public’” (Novoa, 2000: 67), it is necessary to reinforce the pluralist option assumed in the National Constitution (Article 7). This means searching for a balance between a level of pluralism that does not contradict unity and a level of unity that does not deny plurality and difference (See Novoa 2000: 18).

2. Financial Capital

The families who participate in the illegal housing market have financial assets composed mainly of:

- personal savings
- urban credits to buy the plot
- property of the plot and of the house in progressive development
- income produced by the house through the generation of spaces for production activities.
- private loans

In the case of Bogotá, recent studies have demonstrated that most of these families build the houses with their savings and other informal sources, like small loans and grants from other family members (see Gilbert, 2000). It is certainly true that the ownership of the land and the progressive development of the house constitute the most valuable assets for the families in the informal sector, as they provide security, generate income, and permit the owners to produce productive spaces.

3. Human Capital

Because the unplanned settlements were mainly generated by immigrants, it is common to find that their cultural conditions result from a cultural hybridisation of urban and rural, modern and traditional elements.

The first generations of immigrants were confronted with the rules of the city but those rules never became patterns for them. Hybridisation consists of the superposition of different perceptions of life that do not always harmonise with the urban way of life (García Canclini 1990: 13-19). In spite of this, the high proportion of the poor and immigrant population in Bogotá implies that they have an important influence on the construction and development of the city and its public spaces.

With the opening of spaces where community participation can take place, a dialogue began between two different ways of perception and management of the environment. The support of this innovation is imperative to breaking the collision between the government institutions and programmes and the poor people, where differences can be advantages in solving the major problems of the city.

4. Physical Capital

The poor neighbourhoods, as was mentioned previously, have their origins in illegal settlements of immigrant families, characterised by the lack of public services, access roads, adequate constructions and services. The process of legalisation of these neighbourhoods implies improvements in living conditions, access to public services, construction and paving of roads, which implies greater welfare for the community, but also important changes in the spontaneous organisation of the space.

Housing acts as the most important physical capital for the poor population, not because of its economic value, but because of its role as an instrument to access other kinds of income. It is a space in which physical and economic efforts are reflected by the secure tenancy of the living space. It is a potential future source of income, because there is the possibility of amplifying and remodelling these spaces for business or to rent rooms. The spaces can be changed according to the needs and opportunities of the moment.

5. Supportive Public Policy

There are three main district institutions in charge of offering the poor assistance programmes: the DABS or Administrative Departments for Social Welfare; the ICBF, the Colombian Institute of Family Welfare; and the IDIPRON, the District Institute for the Protection of Children (see section IV.2). The programmes of these institutions were until a few years ago the only alternative that the poor people had. Today rather than not being the only one, they are a good option for accessing support services such as kindergartens and neighbour houses. The Centres for Listening to Citizens, for example, work in all of the *localidades* and inform and orient people about mistreatment, addictions, abuse. From here people are sent to the different DABS centres of attention and of the other corporations, public or private, according to their competencies. With this service 73,000 people were provided with care of between 1998 and 2000.

The coverage of these projects indicates the confidence in the services provided. The positive effect of these projects result from the redefinition of the people who are the objects of the policies, as receivers and participants in community development. Thus the community participates in the planning and implementation of the services, through the process of formulation of the local development plans.

IV SLUMS AND POVERTY: THE POLICIES

N Policies and Actions Taken to Improve Slums and Alleviate Poverty

1. Locational Targeting

The Colombian State, aware of the inequity and the low levels of quality of life in the country has been transforming its legal and political background to create new legal tools with which to better tackle the problem of poverty. The Bogotá administration, on the basis of these reforms, has also led a political transformation at

a local level, so that it can promote and consolidate a process of integral improvement of the city. The most important measures used will summarised below.

■ Law 388, 1997 concerning Territorial Ordering: this puts together the principles for planning and territorial administration that must be used by local authorities, with the supposed participation of civilians and the state, in co-ordination with centralised entities, with the objective of improving the quality of life of the population.

■ Law 563, 2000: This law states that any citizen or organised group has the right and the obligation to participate as observers, in order to have access to all the public information in which they are interested. In this way, a participatory mechanism of social control is activated.

Based on this legal foundation, the Capital District took legal measures according to the main needs that were identified in Bogotá:

■ Territorial Ordering Plan of the Capital District (Decree 619 of July of 2000), valid for ten years, aims at the construction of a desirable image of the city and its objective is to orient the government's action, public investment private acts towards long term previsible outcomes. This process aims to emphasise the sustainability of urban development, social equity and to increase levels of urban productivity. It also aims to generate a participatory dynamic in the construction of the city through the encouragement of an urban culture among the citizens, consisting of a shared vision on the future of the city and its territory.

■ Bogotá Urban Improvement Policy. This programme aims to complement, reorder and improve the urban spaces and housing that the illegal settlements on the city margins have produced. In the year 2001 the programme improved 59 zones of the city occupying 2,000 Ha and inhabited by 600,000 people.

■ The process of administrative decentralisation of the District, initiated by the Development Plan for Bogotá as a "Social Priority" of Mayor Castro (1992-1994) and motivated by the Constitution of 1991, this process underwent a rapid transformation. After the division of the city into 20 *localidades* in 1992 the JAL were elected and the doors for the citizens to participate in the elaboration of the economic and social local development plans were opened. Mokus' first period as Mayor (1995-1998) strengthened this process with Decree 425 of 1995, which established the rules by which local plans are regulated, turning the planning process into a learning process of community commitment. Finally Peñalosa's administration (1998-2001) created the

Executive Local Units (UEL) with the purpose of giving more transparency to processes of public contracts and the use of transfers by the Local Mayors in Bogotá.

During these last three periods of government the structural transformation of the city, founded on the previous policies, was reflected in the development of two poles of action:

On the one hand, a renovation of bureaucratic structures has resulted not only in a greater efficiency in the district's activities, but also in a cleansing of the chain of political favours and corruption. This has permitted the elaboration of policies with more social vision, along with a strong level of pragmatism in their execution. Proof of this is the execution of 4 macro projects in the city following the same political pattern: Metrovivienda (a district enterprise of construction of social interest houses); Transmilenio (a project of construction and optimisation of the transport system of the city); Public Schools Grant (a project that aims to amplify the coverage and improve the quality of education); and the Third Millennium Park urban renovation project (a project that aims to attain urban and social recuperation in the central zone of the city). These projects put faith in the welfare of citizens. They are based on different agreements between the official and unofficial sectors, in which the state acts where the private sector cannot - mainly in the improvement of infrastructure - and at the same time establishes clear rules that guarantee that the actions of the private enterprises, to whom a basic operative task is assigned, directly benefit the poorest people.

On the other hand, the district administration has achieved important advances towards its concept of the city and towards the role that it must represent before the citizens. It is in this way that, sustained by the National Constitution, it has been able to implement important spaces of citizen participation, which articulate the district's interests with the people's. This leads to the promotion of the direct combination of the different base communities in the proposal, mediation, execution and surveillance of the different plans of development. This experience recognises a political will, which aims to create strategies for social development, that, although they are led by the district government in its Development Plan, are nurtured by the initiatives and priorities that come from the different local organisations.

2. Socio-Economic Targeting

A group of institutions in charge of offering social assistance and accompanying the programmes oriented towards the eradication of poverty have been put together in Bogotá. In the following paragraphs the most significant institutions and programmes led by the district administration, that have had a major impact on the city will be presented.

a) The Institutions

a.1) DABS – Administrative Department for Social Welfare (Departamento Administrativo de Bienestar Social)

In the sixties the DABS was created with the purpose of attending to the needs of the populations of the substandard neighbourhoods of the city. The state policies with respect to social welfare and human development established the need to intervene not only in the effects but also in the causes of the problem of poverty in the capital district. Thus, the objectives were refined taking into account the individual as a recipient and part of the programmes. Community development is understood in this way as an "educational democratic process of organisation through which the community will get knowledge to intervene in a conscious and planned form in the services of common interest, which along with the proper and co-ordinated action of the state will lead to the integral development and definitive incorporation of the communities into national life." (DABS 2000:18)

The population that the DABS had to take charge of are children under 5 years attended in neighbourhood housing and kindergartens. In the same way pregnant or breastfeeding women, healthy and desired babies and the population over 55 years in a situation of poverty are attended to through grants of food and reception housing.

The displaced population is a priority of the DABS because of its poverty and its vulnerable situation. Nevertheless, the Social Solidarity Net and the District Council for Attending the Displaced Population created a space in which co-ordination and fixed inter-institutional interaction takes place, in order to accomplish an integral attention for the displaced people with programmes of social, housing, health and educational stabilisation.

DABS also offers services of attention and counselling for people who have been mistreated or in conflict through the centres of "Oír Ciudadanía" (Listening to the Citizens). In order to have a presence in the *localidades* 20 operational local centres – COL were created, through which the population in poverty is detected, services are channelled and coverage is guaranteed.

a.2) ICBF – Colombian Institute for Family Welfare (Instituto Colombiano de Bienestar Familiar)

The ICBF has the function of protecting minors and providing welfare to the poorest groups. In Bogotá, 449,038 people were taken care of in 2001. The projects of Welfare, "assistance for children and families to prevent factors of social high risks", and "protection of children and families with violated rights", have the support of Community Homes and Children Homes where the abandoned minors are left alone during the parents' working day. There also exist programmes of

family and community intervention to prevent problems of violence within the family, sexual abuse, exploitation and malnutrition. Through its programmes the ICBF tries to propose changes within the situation of children and youths in conflict, through integral attention and the strengthening of family and community integration.

a.3) IDIPRON – District Institute for the Protection of Children (Instituto Distrital para la Protección de la Niñez)

Children and youths between 8 and 22 years who live on the streets and are involved in delinquency are those covered by this institute's projects. It was estimated that in 2001 the total number children in this situation was 12,000. Nevertheless it is difficult to talk about real numbers due to the social and spatial characteristics of this population, which moves and hides to avoid identification, group up in "patches" and make "cambuches" to house them.

The mission of the institute is to attend to the indigent population, through programmes of help and projects directed at the "social reinsertion" of people who come to their rehabilitation centres. The coverage of these programmes increased in 2000 by 56 per cent compared with 1999.

b) The Programmes

b.1) From the Programme of "Demarginalisation" (1998-2001) to the Programme of "Integral Improvement of Neighbourhoods" (2001-2004)

The programme "Demarginalisation" was created and developed in 1998-2001 with the purpose of improving the living conditions and functions of the numerous settlements of illegal origin and to raise the quality of life of its inhabitants (Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá D.C.(2000) Programa Desmarginalización):3-4 To put this programme to work, about 1.2 billion pesos (US\$522 million) were given for a period of four years, to normalise the urban conditions of marginal neighbourhoods, to finance the infrastructure networks, to promote projects that stimulate city usage and to resettle families that lived in high risk zones (see Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá D.C. Programa Desmarginalización) 2000: 2). This programme benefited around 620,000 people from the poorest layers in 12 *localidades* in the city, through the construction of public services and other facilities, thanks to the united, co-ordinated and synchronised work of different district entities.

With the election of Mokus as Mayor (2001) the programme "Integral Improvement of Neighbourhoods"

was created, which, continuing the programmes of the previous period¹⁰, gambled on a major decision regarding social components and community participation, and put itself above the Governments Programme¹¹. The primary objectives are:

- Improvement of the quality of life
- Strengthening decentralisation and social and community participation
- Organisation of the territory, neighbourhood and housing improvement and legalisation of illegal zones established before 1996.
- Institutional strengthening
- Fulfilment of the law and prevention
- Creation of a functioning structure that guarantees continuity in the long term.

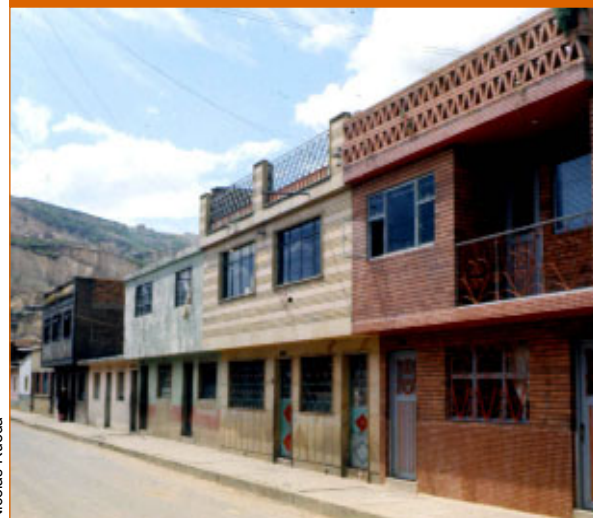
To fulfil these objectives the programme accepts the

Nicolás Rueda



Programa de Mejoramiento Integral de Barrios
(Programme of "Integral Improvement of
Neighborhoods" (2001-2004) - Before

Nicolás Rueda



Programa de Mejoramiento Integral de Barrios
(Programme of "Integral Improvement of
Neighborhoods" (2001-2004) - After

need for an integral and co-ordinated action of physical, social, economic, environmental and institutional components in the territories in need¹², starting from the lines defined by the Territorial Ordering Plan (POT) and according to the District Development Plan “*Bogotá para Vivir Todos del Mismo Lado*” (Bogotá for Everyone to Live on the Same Side). In this way, the programme sets out from the conceptual focus of the project “*SUR con Bogotá*”.

The magnitude and complexity of the programme and its recent establishment make it difficult to evaluate it as a whole. Nevertheless, the project “*SUR con Bogotá*” is presented as a good example of its type..

b.2) Metrovivienda

Acquiring a house is one of the main problems that a family with low income has to face in Bogotá. Housing demand of layers 1, 2 and 3 grows at a rate of 40,000 units per year, while during the same period only 11,000 units of Social Interest Housing (VIS) are produced. The growing deficit extends to over half a million families without an independent house, of which 92 per cent correspond to the lowest layers (Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá, Metrovivienda 2001: 19). In order to overcome this deficit and to try to stop informal urbanisation the district aims to construct 440,000 new houses by the year 2010 with prices lower than 135 minimum monthly legal wages (US\$18,100).

Peñalosa's Administration, according to the 15th agreement of 1998, legislated the creation of a land bank¹³, with the purpose of turning it into a real way to attack the illegal market by facilitating the construction of poor housing. In this way the enterprise “*MetroVivienda*” was created, with the purpose of

“promoting the massive offer of urban land, to facilitate the execution of integral projects of social interest housing and develop the proper functions of land banks” (Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá, MetroVivienda 2001:37).

After acquiring a plot of between 70 and 160 Ha, MetroVivienda develops an integral urban design of the whole area, and contracts the construction of public services and roads. The resulting plots are sold to private constructors, NGOs and community enterprises, who take charge of the construction and the selling of the housing, following the parameters that MetroVivienda has defined.

The cost of a housing unit is approximately of 70 minimum legal wages (US\$9,400) and although it is aimed at the poorest families, the population in layer 1, as they do not always have regular incomes, they seldom can fulfil the payments of programmed saving plans that the financial enterprises demand. Nor are they able to get the subsidies destined to helping people buy Housing for Social Interest. Nowadays, four integral urban projects are being developed in the *localidades* of Bosa and Usme, in which 30,000 houses will be built.

b.3) Parque Tercer Milenio – Santa Inés Neighbourhood

Santa Inés neighbourhood is located in the centre of the city, two blocks away from the political and administrative centre of the district. Initially it was an important residential neighbourhood which due to its proximity to the main bus and train stations, concentrated most of the commercial activity of the city. After some time it turned into a meeting point for migrants, and when the bus station was moved, the neighbourhood lost its role, although it did not stop being a place where commerce



Nicolás Rueda

Neighborhood “El Recreo”
MetroVivienda - 2001.
Public space works by
Metrovivienda



"Santa Inés"
Neighborhood
Before the Urban
Renewal Programme
(1998-2002)

was concentrated. Afterwards, a process of social and urban decay was generated, associated mainly with the concentration of a poor population in one of the zones called "El Cartucho", where a zone free from police rules was created.

The "Tercer Milenio" park, an ambitious project of the Urban Renewal Programme, includes within its objectives the construction of a park in the zone corresponding to the Santa Inés neighbourhood. To develop this urban project, it was considered to be a priority to have the support of DABS, IDIPRON and ICBF. These were in charge of attending to the 10,000 people to be moved. Census data was taken in the zone, houses and buildings were bought, and inhabitants were moved into boarding houses and other dwellings. Families whose income was below two minimum legal wages were relocated and some of their members were hired in district programmes for one year, during which time they were to find another activity to sustain themselves.

Up to this year the programme has acquired and demolished almost all of the buildings in the neighbourhood. The first stage of the park has already been built and the programmes that have been developed with the population have fulfilled their objectives of relocation to a large degree. The almost 2,000 inhabitants of "El Cartucho" have not been evicted yet due to the lack of necessary agreements.

3. Non-Governmental Interventions

The intervention programmes in Bogotá are of two main types:

- Government initiatives based on the city Development Plan
- NGO initiatives

Among the NGOs there are three basic forms of contracts:

- 1) through district, bilateral or multilateral projects in which NGOs participate as the executive organisation.
- 2) Through funds from private entities or international co-operation in which the NGOs makes a second contract to third parts to carry out the project, and
- 3) starting from local initiatives the NGOs carry out projects financed by international co-operation.

In Bogotá, participation spaces for the communities in social intervention projects have permitted the establishment of community entities that take on projects for and from their communities; the terms of reference and parameters of these projects are set by the Local Executive Units, that function in the central sector of the District Administration.

O Impacts of these Efforts

The following paragraphs will summarise the activities carried out by the German aid organisation KfW in the "SUR con Bogotá" project, as well as the work carried out by the "RAICES Community Corporation" group. In

this way a series of agreed actions between the groups is shown, in which they work with economically and socially limited resources, seeking the generation of a synergy in the programmes that aims at benefiting the slums population.

1) "SUR con Bogotá" Project ¹⁴

In 1998 Bogotá's Mayor initiated the project "SUR con Bogotá", in a bilateral co-operation programme with the German Government through the Kreditanstalt für Wiederaufbau (KfW) co-ordinated by the District Administrative Department for Community Action (DAACD).

This project works within the parameters determined by the superior objectives which were the "institutionalisation at a district level of a model of integral improvement of the zones with neighbourhoods in developmentally progressive stages through the planned and co-ordinated participation of the organised community." (SUR con Bogotá: Propuesta Actualizada de Intervención 2000: 12) This programme has been developed within the framework of the actual Development Plan of the district "Por la Bogotá que queremos (1998-2001)" (SUR con Bogotá: Propuesta Actualizada de Intervención 2000: 12), which establishes as a priority attention to sectors of socio-economic stratification layers 1 and 2 through the Programme "Demarginalisation", with which technical and political type relations have been maintained.

The main objective of this project is to develop sustainable processes for improvements in the quality of life of the communities settled in the Macrozona Parque Entrenubes, to the southeast of the localidad of Usme. This zone contains 41 neighbourhoods with a total population of 85,000, living in 15,000 houses distributed over 267 hectares, with family incomes of up to 3 minimum legal monthly wages (layers 1 and 2), low levels in the Living Conditions Index (ICV), with processes of advanced community organisation and with the capability and will to contribute funds for an articulated development of their neighbourhoods. It is aimed at benefiting 1,100,000 inhabitants indirectly. This target population was defined as the result of a feasibility study carried out by the Mayor's office and KfW (Proyecto de mejoramiento integral de barrios SUR con Bogotá: Propuesta actualizada de intervención 2000: 12).

The activities of social development and infrastructure works started in 1999. The total cost of the project is 73,542 million pesos (US\$32 million) of which 12.5 per cent are given by the German agency, 4.2 per cent come from local communities, 2 per cent from local mayoralties, and 81 per cent from district entities. In the management of the project district entities of the central sector, minor mayoralties (localidades), public entities from the district (decentralised sector)¹⁵, national, international and private entities have all participated. The whole

process has been within a participatory community process led by the base communities and some NGOs.

Successful Stories and Potential Practices

- The constant presence of interventions in the zone contributed to the creation of a base of trust and credibility with the community, which resulted in a recognition of permanence and motivation for community participation.
- The carrying out of the project through the integral agreement has generated its appropriation and legitimacy among the different parts.
- The agreed work has contributed to the generation of community initiatives (with an increasing participation of women), aiming at integration and co-operation between them, and reinforcing their internal democratisation and leadership.
- A process of sensibilisation and protection of the environment has been going on, which has been materialised in measures that seek the control and care of the "Entrenubes Park" and its surroundings.
- The co-operative work has generated higher levels of trust and governability.

Negative Effects

- The increase in community participation has overridden the structural capacities of the base organisations; in this way the quality of the contributions given by their leaders has diminished.
- The organising process seems to be affecting the participation of youth negatively, as they resist being integrated.
- The legal environment of the city excludes some of the settlements from the benefits of the project (eg areas near streams), so that unconformity has developed in some sectors.
- The rapid demographic growth has meant an increase in the illegal subdivisions of land for housing.

Reasons for Success

- The project has been developed taking into account an appropriate political environment at national and local levels. The National Development Plan "Cambios para Construir la Paz" (1998-2002) has given space to build initiatives that tend to promote peace and conciliation. At a local level political continuity during the last three mayorships have permitted the optimisation of the benefits of the interventions and the re-evaluation of the importance of the social factor.
- The structure of the project has been made on the principles of planning in situ, following and monitoring, understanding those as an integral and flexible part (according to objectives, execution and budget) of a process that is constantly changing. In this way it tries to consolidate sustainable processes, optimisation of resources and complementary actions with and for the local communities.

■ The advances reached within the agreed work between the different official and non-official entities working on the project and with those which benefited generated a greater effectiveness and complementarity of the actions.

■ The actions from the KfW aim to create a reproducible model for Bogotá.

Difficulties Encountered During the Process

■ The absence of a legal agreement between the governments of Colombia and Germany has made the bilateral co-operation difficult.

■ This fact has also generated legal difficulties in the management of economic resources, whose administration required legal adaptations according to the exigencies of the two hiring parts.

■ The increasing level of unemployment in the city negatively affects the viability of the project.

■ Differences in the management of concepts such as “what is improvement? what is welfare? what is development?” were present. The process of conciliation of these meanings through mechanisms of participation represented a big challenge for the project and permitted the promotion of an entente between the parts involved.

Lessons Learned

■ Without a good political basis and without a real involvement of the communities in the project, its viability is notoriously reduced.

■ The realisation of a preliminary feasibility study, the conception of planning as a dynamic and participatory process, as well as the realisation of intermediate evaluations, permit an opportune implementation of the necessary modifications within a constant space of thought and auto-analysis.

■ The integral character of the project is imperative for the identification of not only the priorities, but of the direct and indirect impacts that it generates. This vision means that the evaluation is not limited to a quantitative measure of accomplishments, but also is considered as a vision in the mid- and long-term that enables the analysis of the functionality and the acceptance of the project within the communities.

Importance of Preparation and Capacity of Leadership

■ The training of leaders means an important increase in management and community participation within a democratic character. In this way a space for participatory dialogue is generated that permits the formulation of local ideas and initiatives.

Importance of the Different Types of Capital

■ The team has to be well qualified, heterogeneous and competent, and composed in part by members with high academic qualifications, and on the other hand by members with a long experience in community processes.

■ It is equally important to count on the support of entities with a high capacity of execution and with trustworthy financial resources committed for the long term.

The Importance of Correct Targeting

■ Since the beginning of the project the need to consider interventions from an integral point of view was perceived, taking account of environmental, economical, social, cultural and political factors. This perspective formed part of the elaboration of the following integral objectives:

■ **Physical Interventions:** These include water management, road and pedestrian networks and the conservation and adequate use of the environment.

■ **Social Actions:** Social studies of the communities through participatory diagnosis were a priority. Neighbourhood life stories were elaborated and a process of training community leaders was agreed upon.

■ **Institutional Strengthening:** Support for the processes of local planning was offered, followed by adequate monitoring (impact studies, following of the process, and an ex-post study).

This strategy allowed the objectives of the project to be defined in common agreement with the community. This required a discussion of the meaning of the concept of participation. For historical reasons, this concept is hardly understood as a possibility of interaction taking into account the conciliation of interests between the parts involved. While the mentality of the state can seem to be attacked by community participation, the communities tend to overvalue the virtues of participation turning it into a tool for imposing local interests. This change in mentality is in an intermediate state of development.

2) Presentation of the “Community Corporation, RAICES”:¹⁶

The Community Corporation RAICES is a non governmental entity, whose objective is to create communication between civilians and the state, through programmes directed at allowing a dialogue between environmental balance and development projects, with the objective of creating spaces of recognition between the institutionalised country and the every day life of the country, creating a new Urban Culture (Corporación Comunitaria Raíces, Hoja de Vida Institucional: 1989). This entity was legally established in November 1989; it does not work exclusively in neighbourhoods and localidades in Bogotá in particular states of poverty. However, some of its projects have been focused on the population living in *localidades* like Ciudad Bolívar, Santa Fe or Tunjuelito, carrying out community participation and neighbourhood improvement activities.

Success Stories and Potential Best Practices

- The development of research work in the peripheral slums has enabled a wider knowledge of the social problems, especially of the communities that live there, which has enabled the formulation of new projects with more accurate objectives.
- The programmes of Urban Pedagogy -Living Together and the Recuperation of History- from some neighbourhoods generates appropriation processes from the community.
- The work that they have developed with some other communities has generated community entities with the autonomy to make their own projects.

Negative Effects

- Haste in the formulation of the projects, caused by pressures put on the budget or on the executive entities, makes it difficult to maintain high quality levels.
- For the majority of the NGOs, deficiencies in the training and capacity of the people who participated in the programmes, or the professionals without any experience in the field who came to work directly with the communities, were perceived.
- Mistakes in the technical support of the projects occurred. Deficiencies in the adequate training of leaders or community makers reduces their capacity in elaborating methodologies and tools to develop the programmes in an autonomous way.

Reasons for Success

- The presence and action of NGOs must always be conditioned by the acceptance of the communities.
- Methodical systematisation of the projects and the resulting experiences has permitted the construction of more effective work methodologies each time.
- The results (experiences, evaluations and reports) have been made available for the communities to promote their appropriation.
- The concept of participation includes everyone and is ruled by the principle of plurality.

Difficulties During the Process

- The changes in the heads of District entities tend to bring changes in the postures they assume, which blocks the projects.
- The presence of different NGOs, acting without the agreement of the communities, has generated mistrust among the people.

Lessons Learned

- Actions must always be accompanied by processes of evaluation that take into account variables and clear measurements.
- It is imperative to socialise the resulting information, motivated by ethical values towards the communities involved and with the aim of giving knowledge that will enrich similar processes.

The Importance of Preparation and the Capacity of Leadership

- The training of the NGO staff must take into account social, political and technical knowledge and training activities aimed at initiating processes of empowerment within the communities.

The Importance of a Correct Definition of the Objectives

- The definition of the objectives for RAICES is based on two principles: 1. They can only be present when either entities or communities ask for their services. 2. The services that are asked for must be accompanied by ethical values based on:
 - Non-ideologised mentality that recognises "the other".
 - Work with a transcendental vision assuming today as a small moment within the larger cultural and evolutionary process that determines us.
 - Balance between the human being and other living species on earth.
 - Dialogue between economic and political elements and historic and cultural ones.
 - To construct and to socialise knowledge through efficient methodologies of endeavour.
 - Generate cultural and environmental profits to be administered by third parties.

The two cases presented (KfW and RAICES) should not be considered as representative, since the city throughout its history has been scenario of uncountable initiatives promoted by international, national, district and non governmental entities, characterised by their dispersion, lack of communication, inefficient management of funds, problems related with planning, definition of the objectives of intervention, selection of the people to be benefited, and deficiencies not only in the disposition to work with the communities, but also in the internal organisation of the neighbourhoods. With regard to NGOs, especially those which use funds from international co-operation, they do not carry out evaluations or follow ups, partly because they are subject to the management of the financing entities, in which only exceptionally are expenditures taken into account. In the same way, evaluations of the success of the projects tend to be more quantitative and are centred, in general, on the results of the physical works, which do not correspond to the real success of a project.

As such, "SUR con Bogotá" and RAICES offer important lessons in the processes of improving living conditions in the slums and reflect a substantial change in political will and in the management of poverty in the city.

END NOTES

- ¹ National Development Plan, (late 50s and 60s).
- ² The Royal Audiences were the Spanish courts established by the King of Spain, for appealing sentences handed down by other authorities.
- ³ Through a reform to the Constitution in 2000, the city recovered the name of Bogotá.
- ⁴ For the effects of political and administrative decentralisation, the city is divided into 20 *localidades* (19 urban and 1 rural).
- ⁵ The main mechanisms used to measure poverty in Bogotá are the indicators of socio-economic stratification and basic unsatisfied needs (NBI). The first is "a tool that permits -in a *localidad*, town, or district- the classification of the population in six different layers, or groups of people that have similar social and economic characteristics". The second allows surveys of the percentage of the population that can not get at least one of the needs defined as basic. For a detailed explanation see II E.
- ⁶ 1970, a critical stage in the urbanisation process, 45.9 per cent of Bogotá's families lived in illegal subdivisions, while only 1.1 per cent lived in squatter settlements. (Valenzuela, J. y G. Vernez 1974: 110)
- ⁷ See also Polanyi: 1957, Foucault: 1986 among other authors.
- ⁸ This information was obtained from different semi-structured surveys carried out in May 2002 with NGO officers and through the experience of the researchers of this report gained in their inquiries in the city.
- ⁹ Alcaldía Mayor de Santafé de Bogotá (1998) *Decree 022 of January the 8th, 1998 through which the delegation to local mayors is temporarily suspended in terms of contracts*, and Decree 176 of February the 10th, 1998, which transfers the ability to hire and order expenses within the budget of the Local Development Funds, to the entities of the central sector and to the public offices.
- ¹⁰ The "Mejoramiento Integral de Barrios" programme not only shares many of the main objectives of the "Desmarginalización" programme, but also is committed to completing the works that were started during the former period. (Unidad Coordinadora de Política Habitacional, Prog. Mejoramiento Integral de Barrios 2002: 12)
- ¹¹ This programme is part of the POT (2000-2010) -national level- and not of the District Development Plan (2001-2003) -local level-, with which its continuity is guaranteed after the end of the present mayor's term.
- ¹² The settings of priorities in the target population is done through two parameters: Vulnerability because of income (SISBEN 1 and 2) and vulnerability because of age (groups between 0 and 20 and groups over 55 years).
- ¹³ A land bank is roughly defined as a public enterprise, or enterprise publicly authorised to buy land and sell it in the future and to implement policies on the use of land. The nature of the use of the land, may or may not be known in the moment in which it is acquired. (Strong: 1979, quoted in Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá, MetroVivienda 2001: 39)
- ¹⁴ The information on the project "SUR con Bogotá" is the result of an interview with its director Ma. Margarita Ruiz, June 2002 and from the review of several documents from this project.
- ¹⁵ These entities are divided in two groups: counterpart entities with a commitment to invest economic resources (IDU, IDRD, DAMA, DPAE, DABS, Secretaría de Educación, Jardín Botánico, DAACD, Secretaría de Salud, Alcaldías Locales etc) and the entities that participate through provid-

ing human resources and logistical support (Secretaría de Hacienda Distrital, IDCT, Secretaría de Gobierno -Misión Bogotá, Aseo Capital-, and the Cámara de Comercio de Bogotá).

- ¹⁶ The information on the corporation RAICES is the result of an interview with its president, Mr. Jairo Chaparro Valderrama, held in June 2002 and from the review of several documents from this corporation.

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GLOSSARY

- ACCI (*Agencia Colombiana de Cooperación Internacional*): Colombian Agency of International Co-operation
- *Alcaldía Local de Rafael Uribe Uribe*: Rafael Uribe Uribe Local Town Hall.
- *Alcaldía Local de San Cristóbal*: San Cristóbal Local Town Hall
- *Alcaldía Local de Usme*: Usme Local Town Hall
- *Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá*: Majority of Bogotá D.C.
- *Banco para la Reconstrucción de Alemania-KfW*: Kreditanstalt für Wiederaufbau (Germany)
- *Caja de Vivienda Popular*: Popular Housing Agency
- DAACD (*Departamento Administrativo de Acción Comunal del Distrito*): District Department of Community Action
- DABS (*Departamento Administrativo de Bienestar Social*): Administrative Department for Social Welfare
- DAMA (*Departamento Administrativo del Medio Ambiente*): Administrative Environment Department
- DAPD (*Departamento Administrativo de Planeación Distrital*): District Administrative Department of Planning
- DNP (*Departamento Nacional de Planeación*): National Planning Department
- DPAE (*Dirección para la Prevención y Atención de Emergencias*): Direction for Emergency Prevention and Attention
- EAAB (*Empresa de Acueducto y Alcantarillado de Bogotá*): Water Supply and Sewage Company
- *Embajada de la República Federal de Alemania en Colombia*: German Embassy
- *Embajada del Japón*: Japanese Embassy
- IDCT (*Instituto Distrital de Cultura y Turismo*): District Institute of Culture and Tourism
- IDRD (*Instituto Distrital para la Recreación y Deporte*): District Institute for Sports and Recreation
- IDU (*Instituto de Desarrollo Urbano*): Institute of Urban Development
- *Jardín Botánico*: Botanical Garden
- JICA (*Cooperación Técnica Japonesa*): Japanese International Cooperation Agency
- *Localidad*: Local Administrative Division
- *Ministerio de Desarrollo Económico*: Ministry of Economic Development
- *Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores*: Ministry of Foreign Relations
- *Proyecto del Banco Mundial para el Transporte Público en Bogotá*: World Bank Project for Public Transport
- *Proyecto DIC Ciudad Bolívar (Unión Europea)*: Project DIC-CB (European Union)
- SDS (*Secretaría de Salud del Distrito*): District Secretariat of Health
- SED (*Secretaría de Educación del Distrito*): District Secretariat of Education
- SENA (*Servicio Nacional de Aprendizaje*): National Agency of Labor Skills Development

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