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Informal city: the cases of Bogotá and Rio de Janeiro

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Abstract

Bogotá and Rio de Janeiro are two megacities of the Latin America as different as similar in the race for development and globalization, they are both focal points for the economy of their country, as well as for culture and tourism.

They are different in the geography, culture and politics, but they both represent the destination for many immigrants, for those who escape from violence, abuse and poverty, and sometimes they travel without anything, sometimes with fragments of an old house, in search of better opportunities or simply a refuge. South of Bogotá and North of Rio de Janeiro correspond to rule, along the slopes of their mountains, they begin to grow rapidly and violently, and both cities become dual, split between formal and informal.

The following paper reports the experiences of these two cities compare, from a brief and general description of Bogotá and Rio de Janeiro in the era of globalization to the analysis of informal cities they have within, that have enormous size and expanding continuously in both of them.

The analysis of informal settlements of Bogotá and Rio de Janeiro is discussed from a morphological, typological and socio-economic point of view, then it looks to the difficult relationship caesura between them and formal city.

Is there any hope that this two city, formal and informal, begin to interact and interpenetrate to become a single city?

In this paper there is no answer to this question, but some experiences are shown in which public administrations of Bogotá and Rio de Janeiro are conducting today, examined as part of a broader study that is being conducted on Colombia, Brazil, Peru and Argentina.

This survey wants to to confront different policies of intervention, to find common nodes and dissonance and stress the urgent need to intervene so that the unstoppable growth of these cities go in the direction of the union and not segregation.

Bogotá and Rio de Janeiro, bid dual city

Bogotá

Bogotá is the urban environment in which we can find the highest economic, political, social and physical-spatial conflict in Colombia.

Today the city is renewed due to the urban and cultural transformation of the last decade. It is the symbol of the economic and cultural development of a country that is battered by strong political and social issues, with the most oxymoronic records of the nation: the greater richness of the country (in 2004 Bogotá had the 40% of the national income) and largest population under the poverty line¹.

Ideal platform for foreign inversion (there are 411 multinational company working), it strongly and quickly took part to the globalization since the early 90's, with the consequent loss of local entrepreneurs and forced migration in the city. As a matter the fact the city was the main place for the concentration of the human and economic capital, but it was

¹ Source: DANE, National Administrative Department of Statistics of Colombia, 2005

inadequate in welcoming the immigrants who rushed to it, looking for job or escaping from violence.

Therefore the city has not a proper housing policy in relation to demand so it is forced to receive the informal urbanization, allowing it silently and becoming a divided city.

The morphology of the city is strongly related to the social class population belongs to (in Colombia it goes from 1 to 6)². This fact underlines a marked social segregation also in the urban shape, with a concentration of layers, social classes, 1, 2 and 3 on the South of Calle 13, layers 2,3 on the the Sest and 4,5,6 on the North-East³.

This segregation is also reflected in the distribution of services, infrastructure and environmental quality, that highlight a formal and rich North and a mainly informal and poor South.



View of formal and informal part of Bogota.

Rio de Janeiro

Rio de Janeiro, the “Cidade maravilhosa”, as Coelho Neto defined it in 1908, Brazilian capital until 1960, today capital of the State of Rio de Janeiro, is a “dual city” as Bogotá, divided between formality and informality, extreme richness and strong urban poverty.

It is the second largest city of Brazil by extension and economic development and it is undoubtedly the most sought after tourist destination, offering the perfect combination of sea, city and mountains.

As told for Bogotá, Rio de Janeiro has taken fully part to globalization over the past two decades, that brought the “global cities” to a growing of more qualified jobs, incomes and

² Layer 1 corresponds to the poorest and layer 6 to the richest population. The indigents are considered as layer 0. This division into social classes is strongly present in the usual Colombian language.

³ Source: DADP 2004 data, cited by Carlos Torres Tovar in *Ciudad Informal Colombiana*, page 99

quality of life of a few, but also to the raising of poverty, unemployment and urban inequality.

Globalization brought to new production, distribution needs and consumption requirements. It has transformed Rio de Janeiro in a city that produces, excludes and transfers the poorer in the marginal areas, by a process of foreclosure modernization.

The phenomenon of globalization has weakened the nation state and it has encouraged new forms of international intervention bringing to the loss of micro economies and to the managing difficulties of the local powers.

The result is a huge contradiction given by the desire to create an increasingly competitive city to match the top of the global market, without solving the problems of the image of Rio de Janeiro itself and the consequences that the development brings to the city.

Here, as in Bogotá, the morphology of the city reflects the social structure, and while the wealthy classes are concentrated in the South and paved areas and so-called "asphalt", the poorest ones are found mostly in the North or on the hills of the city, called "Morros" and in the interstices of the formal city.

So Bogotá and Rio de Janeiro, different from language, culture, politics and landscape, are in fact similar in being strong in the economic and cultural development of the city, but also characterized by strong social contrasts so the big dual cities.



View of formal and informal part of Rio de Janeiro.

Informal Bogotá

Dates and numbers of informality in Bogotá

The problem of informal settlements is one of the strongest here in Colombian territory: informal growth in Bogotá is permanent and uncontrollable.

According to Carlos Torres Tovar⁴, one of the most important contemporary scholars of the phenomenon of informality in Colombia, the emergence of informal settlements is attributed

⁴ Carlos Torres Tovar, *Ciudad informal colombiana*, Universidad Nacional de Colombia, Bogotá, 2009.

to the strong urbanization that took place in Bogota in the '30s, with the industrialization process, and then the first migration from the countryside towards the slopes of *Cerros*⁵ and towards the South of the city.

A second period of strong growth occurred in the '40s, leading to a boom in the '50s and '60s, when he became huge and unstoppable phenomenon, also due to migration to the violence the population suffered.

This process, which had got a subsequent slowdown in the '80s, then once again increased in the 90s with the advent of globalization in Colombia and has never been finished.

Today, many still unresolved issues persist including the high price of urban land, the economic difficulties of the population, the lack of adequate social housing and the persistence of migration from the country due to violence or expectations in improving quality of life, that are causes of a continuous and uncontrollable growth of the informal city. Bogota, in its 1637 square kilometers of extension⁶, it is occupied for about 23% of its urbanized land by informal settlements, in 2008 the Diagnostic Centre of POT⁷ calculated 1437 square meters in an area of 375,000 prey and 1400000 inhabitants, but also as pointed out by Carlos Torres Tovar⁸, there are no unified statistics to understand this urban problems.

Morphological-typological and socio-economical analysis of the informal city in Bogotá

The informal urbanization of Bogota can be distinguished in "en offshore" settlements, formed on the "Cerros" the slopes of the great mountains of the city, "en llanura" settlements, which have arisen in the neighboring areas of the rivers, in *quebradas*⁹ or in swampy areas in the South of the city.

These urban settlements are produced mainly according to two logics: relating to a area close to an economic activity, as in the case of Patio Bonito (near the center of food), San Cristobal Norte (near the caves), 20 de Julio (near the temple of Divino Nino), San Blas and La Merced (near the brick kilns) and relating to the mere building speculation. In the first case, the morphology has been developed especially for direct occupation by migrants, often in very dangerous areas, such as slopes of Cerros or areas near to the river; in the second case instead the character of the *urbanizador pirata* emerged, he is inventor of a smart management system of illegal occupation and sale of lots (without any service or infrastructure), and an acute expert of demand and technique.

⁵ With the term "cerros" are defined the mountains surrounding Bogota.

⁶ Source:DADP 2007 data.

⁷ With the term "POT" (Plan de Ordenamiento Territorial) is defined the development plan of Bogota.

⁸ Carlos Torres Tovar, *Ciudad informal colombiana*, Universidad Nacional de Colombia, Bogota, 2009.

⁹ With the term "quebrada" is defined the rocky channel characteristic of the colombian panorama.

In both cases, the housing development has almost always the size of 6x12 meters, which is repeated in the same way both in "en altura" and "en llanura" settlements, still in the areas less desired or dangerous area for the human settlements¹⁰.

Starting from the same rectangular form of 6x12 every family, buying or occupying the land, developed his home on a progressive and evolutionary way, initially from a construction metal sheet (or materials often transported on the road from the previous house), to build a brick and concrete home , to be expanded over the time.

Studies, which were conducted by the Universidad Nacional de Bogotá on a number of barrios informales in the South of Bogotá, have shown that in the first ten years of residence, households have improved their home steadily; after this there was a moment of stasis, starting from the completion of the roof of the first floor, and then corresponding to a condition of stability and in many cases, fortunately, in the growing of the children or saving for a future investment. After this break in construction, usually of 5 / 10 years, families have started again to invest in their home, perhaps due to the maturity of the children and their willingness to create a place to live on the top of the house.

So the houses are going to grow horizontally and vertically to complete the lot going up in planes and finishing the decoration of the exterior walls to arrive at a time of economic and familiar stability.

The evolutionary process starts from the consolidation of the house from unstable materials in solid materials (mainly brick and concrete), moving on to "ascent to sky", to arrive to the decoration, an emblem of status quo in peace, expression of a family's economic evolution.

So studying the number of floors, but also color and decoration of the houses will be the key to understanding the economic situation of population and age of the settlement but it will be also an expression of acceptance of the barrio as a suitable place to live.

The construction of lots and a larger number of floors, which are generally from 1 to 4 in the informal city in Bogotá, is directly related to the proximity to infrastructure and possible connections with the workplace.

The economic activities in the barrio are relatively few and poor, as it was found that 98% of them reach 5 million pesos per month¹¹.

Most of the inhabitants of the informal barrios of Bogotá work in the informal market, mainly in the business of "minutos celular" (minutes per phone)¹², food prepared at home, as informal bus drivers, taxi or in cleaning business.

The difficulty of these people to enter the formal system of the city is very strong, so they remain at the limit, forced to use informality as the only way to have a home and a work.

The slum upgrading operations, therefore, should aim not only to improving their housing conditions, but also to their reintegration into the formal system, to enable their integration into urban life.

¹⁰ In 2008 the Caja de Vivienda Popular estimated about 23.000 families to be relocated because in situations of high risk.

¹¹ 5 millions of pesos corresponds to about 2.700 dollars.

¹² The street vendor offers its own mobile phone to make calls from the road to an other mobile and charges a fee for minutes used.

Relationship between informal and formal city in Bogotá

The relationship between formal and informal city is definitely an issue to be solved in the view of Bogotá.

They are two realities that do not interact from the social point of view, but silently one dependent on each other and they are integrated into a system that can only be read from a higher point of view. The mesh of the avenues, going from formal to informal city shrinks in dimensions, changes materials, air and landscape, but maintains the *cardo - decumanus* structure, almost in a desire to keep order in the chaos.

The asphalt and relationship between road and building is lost, the gray is replaced by brown and the ordered sequence of tall buildings between 10 and 30 floors is transformed into a patchwork of brilliant colors that are followed in a skyline more than 10 meters high.

The infrastructures of the formal city stop where the informal one begins and the transports (including the famous Transmilenium) become independent buses, which often do not fit in the streets because they are too narrow. The taxis stop at the entrance of the *barrio* and they do not enter for fear of being attacked, so, in some *barrios*, there are men who bring you by bicycle¹³ for a few pesos, where no one else would come to accompany you.

The educational, social and health services, abundant in formal Bogotá, here in most cases do not exist and there are only a *salon comunal*¹⁴ and few informal asylum¹⁵, where the community of the *barrio* was founded by several years or where some help foundation has reached in giving some rescue.

Issues common to all the Bogotan settlements (but also the *carioca*¹⁶ settlements) are therefore environmental (occupation of protected areas or in high risk), social and spatial (lack of services and public space), population density (which here is about twice the average density of formal city¹⁷), as well as economic and sanitary.

The informal city is looking for a relationship with the formal one, trying to belong to the second one, while the formal one is closing with a enclosures system called "conjuntos cerrados", residential complexes built by tower consisting of apartments surrounded by happy gardens, sometimes with gym and asylum, strictly enclosed by barbed wire fences and monitored by cameras and armed "vigilantes".

Therefore also the fear divides the two cities, the fear of many people to come into contact with those people and those places which for somebody is a hotbed of crime and delinquency. A fear that leads to mental and physical closure. The impacting thing on those who enter in Bogotá is to find out that behind these fences are not only the layer 6 of Bogotan upper middle class closing, but also the inhabitant of social vivienda, Layer 2 or 3, who managed after all to buy his house, to the side of the informal settlements.

¹³ There is a form of bicycle taxis that leave from some bus terminus to the address you want, both in formal and formal city. These bikes are usually equipped with a back seat with a protective cover from the rain.

¹⁴ With the term "salon comunal" is defined the village hall where they meet *barrio* leaders and inhabitants, even used as a place for celebrations and ceremonies of the neighborhood.

¹⁵ The informal nursery often corresponds on the first floor of a house in which some mothers take turns caring for groups of 10 to 20 children.

¹⁶ With the term "carioca" is defined the inhabitant of Rio de Janeiro.

¹⁷ Source: DADP 2007 data.

So the inhabitants of the barrios bring citizens of Bogota by taxi, accompany him in a race in *buseta*¹⁸, sell them a coffee on the street and enter their house through the back door to do the cleaning, walk for those paved roads, but in the evening fall in the "other Bogotá", the one with no roads and sidewalks, with the mud in the shoes of the children dressed up for school, but with so much life, many colors and no fences.

Informal Rio de Janeiro

Dates and numbers of informality in Rio de Janeiro

Rio de Janeiro, as the Colombian capital, is home to a strong concentration of informal settlements, and next to the "cidade maravilhosa" located to the South, it has in itself the so called "cidade perdida"¹⁹ in the North-East, of the city favelas, which covers about 30% of its territory²⁰.

Rio de Janeiro has always been an attraction for immigrants, for being the country's capital (until 1960, when Brasilia became it), and then place of a strong housing and economic growth, which required a large amount of manpower to be employed in construction.

So many immigrants began to arrive from the late 1800s in the North-East of the country, freed slaves, poor peasants and soldiers returning from campaign of Canudos who found themselves homeless, and they headed to Rio de Janeiro, where it is said that in 1897 they founded the first favela in the city, occupying the area of the Morro da Providencia, in the North area of Rio.

Since the '30s we are witnessing to the spread of the phenomenon, which was fueled by the economic crisis and the collapse of coffee prices, which sent many people to ruin. After that the urban development and the building of large public works in Rio de Janeiro demanded a mass of labor again and so many others people migrated to Rio de Janeiro from the countryside to get a job in the booming construction sector.

Meanwhile, Rio de Janeiro, like other Brazilian cities, expanded according to the dictates of the nineteenth development plan of the old continent, by elements, parts, without a plan that had the ability to interpret and possibly guide the changes taking place.

Migration fluxes, however, now going on, were not controlled and the transition from a coffee and cocoa economy to the industrial one, then to intensive farming, and eventually the development of tertiary and globalization increase the urban sprawl corresponding to the growth of the favelas.

The city of Rio de Janeiro, has a population of about 6.320.446 inhabitants²¹, of whom about 1.3 million now live in the favelas (although this fact remains invaluable today with certainty); instead the state of Rio de Janeiro has about 12.000.000 inhabitants, of whom about 4 million are "favelados", about one third of the total population.

The number of slums is also inaccurate - inexplicably - the favelas with fewer than 50 buildings are not considered as such, but in Rio de Janeiro it is estimated that there is

¹⁸ With the term "buseta" are considered all little informal bus of Bogota.

¹⁹ With the term "cidade perdida" refers to that part of town that is considered "lost" because unrelated to the formal city.

²⁰ Source: IBGE 2010 data.

²¹ Ibidem.

currently a number between 700 and 800 favelas, tissue that covers about 30% of urban land in the city and is still growing.

The phenomenon of favelas invests almost all urban areas of Rio de Janeiro, but with different characteristics and connotations. What is different from Bogota and other cities having the same problem is the spatial distribution of the favelas, that here it seems to be a strategic occupation of urban areas, often urban voids for luxury buildings, the interstitial spaces with high land value.

Morphological-typological and socio-economical analysis of the informal city in Rio de Janeiro

The favelas of Rio de Janeiro, as the barrios informales of Bogota, differ depending on the type of landscape on which they settle, so here too there are informal settlements that grow in height, on the *Morros*²² of the city, especially in the South, and settlements that expands in the plains instead, mostly in the North-East area.

Between these two types of settlement there are many differences as well as morphological also social and economic as on the *Morros*, where the favelas have grown from top to bottom now coming to the valley, the power of drug traffickers has often gone concentrating, for the predisposition to hide and to control who enters and exits from the favela.

Here the urban tissue is composed of narrow and winding paths and streets, an almost medieval layout, in which the sky often becomes darker for to the walls of the houses which are close to each other and paths become indecipherable by those who do not live in the favela.

In the plain instead the streets acquire a little more wide breathing and the houses are developing more in width than in height: here the drug trafficking is less present because the place is less controllable and more easily accessible by the police.

So walking in a favela like Rocina, the biggest in all the Latin America, a city in the city, with a population of 385.000 inhabitants, it means taking very narrow streets, where it is impossible to advance in two side by side, where sewage travel near those are walking, where the night lights of the houses shall be turned off to allow those who need it to hide²³.

But it also means entering a world of neighborly relations, intense social life and unexpected view (the view from the top of a favela on the city is wonderful).

The housing types, except for some special cases of multi-storey buildings, are almost homogeneous reaching heights of between 1 and 4 floors, and in some cases even 5 or 6 floors.

It is interesting to note that the density of the favelas is inversely proportional to the size of the settlement and therefore the highest density are found in favelas up to one hectare of surface.

According to some studies conducted several years ago by Giulio Rizzo²⁴, the density depends not only on the surface, but also from the time of construction: in fact the lowest density can be found in the favelas of ancient foundation and those built after 1980, while

²² With the term "morros" are define the mountains of Rio de Janeiro.

²³ Data gathered by the author from interviews of inhabitants of the favela Rocina.

²⁴ Giulio Rizzo, *Città Globale e metropoli terzomondista, Rio de Janeiro*, Gangemi Editore, Roma, 2003

the maximum indexes are in the favelas that have arisen during the military dictatorship (between the '50s and '80s).

From the socio-economic perspective favela is seen by many Brazilians as the place of opportunity.

The inhabitants of informal Rio de Janeiro are predominantly young people (the 15% of the population is composed of children and only 5% of elderly²⁵), coming from different regions of the North-East of the country in which the indices of poverty are very high, but also, in large part, from the city of Rio de Janeiro. It is proved that not only emigrants from distant parts of the country in the favela, but the same carioca hit by unemployment, who have found in the favela the only way to stay in town in the absence of an income.

Buying or renting a home in the favelas on the morros South of Rio can be a way to keep in touch with the formal city, at an affordable price, in a city in which the growth of quality of life has greatly increased the price of everything.

The work of the inhabitants of favelas is mainly in the services sector (cleaning services of houses, roads, bus service guide, security services) and informal trade, but almost nobody has access to jobs in public administration.

The level of literacy, compared to the informal settlements in Bogota and other cities, is much higher and in a recent survey conducted on 51 favelas by Psecbr, it was evinced that about 87% of favelados of Rio de Janeiro can read and write and 10.5% have a high school diploma. However, despite the literacy and work in services and commerce, a major problem of the favelados is still unemployment and the fact that the economy of the favelas is an alternative and parallel to the one of the formal city.

Relationship between informal and formal city in Rio de Janeiro

Rio de Janeiro is becoming one of the most expensive cities in Latin America and the value of houses in the neighborhoods to the south, such as Ipanema, Copacabana and Leblon, has grown in recent years up to 47%: this growth in prices has led to a twofold attitude, on one side the movement to the suburbs of shyest buyers, on the other the investment in the favelas by the more adventurous one.

This new attention to the favelas, particularly those that grow on morros located on the south, where the purchase price for homes is low and the view is amazing, it is leading to a more and more strong process of gentrification due to the strategic positioning of these settlements in areas characterized by a very high land value.

As a matter of fact these favelas, like that of Santa Marta that goes down to the valley in the prestigious district of Botafogo, are beginning to become a point of attraction for potential buyers, but also an element of tourist interest, in which often the "favela tour" speculate, where masses of tourists walk and photograph the favelas all together.

And then the favelas of Rio, compared to informal settlements in Bogota, relate differently to the formal city, as here they become places with a strong identity and in some cases in great demand for speculation. In Bogota the phenomenon of gentrification is gradually beginning (in the barrio San Juan XXIII, to the side of the rich zone of Chapinero, they are trying to convince the inhabitants to sell their informal homes to build towers for apartments to be sold at high prices instead), but informal settlements have not assumed here neither the strategic location as in Rio de Janeiro, or the strong social and cultural identity of the favelas.

²⁵ Source: IBGE 2010 data.

From the morphological and figurative point of view formal city and the favela does not interact with the other, since the former one is characterized by a street network which is regular and orthogonal in the largest part (though not as strongly as *cardo* and *decumanus* as in Bogota), while the second one follows the topographic structure, with an irregular and voluntarily illegible structure.

With the coming down of the favelas in the valley the relationship between these two cities, which first lived together without touching, and the related issues began to rise, but now they are entering into one another.

So if from the point of view of typology, building heights, colors, as well as the socio-economic structure, rules and customs, the formal city and the informal one seem to meet at no point, the favela depends in many ways on the resources the formal city and this one look at the favela for labor, business and folklore.

The responses of local management to the informality

Tools and intervention policies on going in Bogotá

In Colombia we can consider that the time of an important and necessary awareness of urban planning was in 1997, when the law 388 passed and it made mandatory for all the Colombian municipalities the formulation of a POT, Plan de Ordenamiento Territorial.

Bogotá proposed in his POT, made in the 2000, soil uses and treatments in a different way depending on the area to which they were directed and between these treatments inserted the *Mejoramiento Integral de Barrios*, for the improvement of informal settlement areas of the city.

The POT designed some specific objectives "to correct, complete, reform and rectify the deficiencies in urban planning and housing conditions", by outlining some instruments and programs, including the principal was the UPZ, Unit of Zonal Planning, management tool for planning at intermediate scale between the *barrios* and the city. The UPZ represents an urban area that includes different *barrios*, and because of its limited extension, it can afford to plan more specifically and so directly related to the characteristics of the place.

Now the policy of *mejoramiento integral de barrios* expressed itself through the explicit needs of each UPZ and with the formulation of standards and objectives for each of these, reaching very important theoretical and analytical results, but with a few strategies and actions to now activated.

The last four administrations of Bogotá had expressed their concern about the situation of the population of informal settlements, responding with assistance at micro scale, *barrio* to *barrio*, legalizing lot by lot, with the transfer of subsidies to the families and small-scale rehabilitation, while in recent years it has been passed to the macro scale, in particular by acting on mobility, services and public space, as well as through the provision of numerous property titles.

The SDP²⁶ of Bogota estimates that, until 2007, 7.275 licenses were granted to the inhabitants of some consolidated informal settlements, benefiting about 20.000 people become part of the "Ciudad de Derechos" ("City of Human Rights") of the program "Derecho a Techo"²⁷.

²⁶ The SDP is the District Department of Planning of Bogota.

²⁷ Program promoted in 2008 by Mayor Samuel Moreno within the Development Plan "Bogotá Positiva".

But although numerous legalization and structuring in UPZ, intervention policies are still weak and the problematic unresolved.

According to some Colombian planners, the POT has not taken a priority aspect than interventions of mejoramiento Integral de Barrios to which has not given enough importance and urgency. The Plan de Ordenamiento Territorial de Bogotá has certainly given emphasis at the promotion of urbanization legal, but did not give enough guidelines on rules for intervention in now existing and consolidated informal settlements, speaking of a need for "intervention that restructure and complement"²⁸ but without explaining how they do it.

Therefore the regularization processes seem to travel without a clear direction of the POT and while the titulation proceeds with force, intervention on the urban scale has not yet acquired the strength and the importance that it deserves.

Tools and intervention policies on going in Rio de Janeiro

The case in Brazil is different especially in Rio de Janeiro. The case of Brazilian adjustment is taken by many in consideration as a successful example of intervention on the problematic for the power that this policy has had both at national and local level, with a series of programs of intervention implemented from 1994 to today.

As the UPZ formed by POT of Bogotá, the Plano Diretor²⁹ of Rio de Janeiro has constituted the AEIS (Special Area of Social Interest), a zoning that permitted the intervention of policies inside the informal settlements.

Since 1994 in Rio de Janeiro different programs of intervention have past, between these Favela Bairro is the most famous and it took place in several stages until 1999, a program of projects, investments and works aimed to the integration between favela and barrio, so between the informal and formal. Many criticisms have been leveled at Favela Bairro, for the high costs supported that have brought to heavy debts and a certain forgetfulness of some works realized, but it was undoubtedly a first step toward a wide policy interventions. Following this programs as "Morar Maravilha" and "Minha Casa Minha Vida" inside the PAC, the federal program of acceleration of urban growth, are followed and the 27 August 2011 the last of these programs called "Morar Carioca" was launched by the Prefecture of Rio de Janeiro's, a project that is part of the Plano Municipal de Integração de Assentamentos precarios Informais, which has got in its goals the urbanization and integration of all carioca favelas in the next 10 years.

The interventions at the urban scale done in these 20 years of programs is seen in the creation of public infrastructure, health and water services, construction of paved paths and connections, from simple scales to the cable car, in cases of relocation of homes and small public buildings which function as generators of economic growth and social development.

Next these policies of physical and spatial intervention the Brazilian government has implemented the operation of titulations, even if less than urban interventions: this cohesion of interventions at the physical, spatial and socio-economic scale have made Brasil in advanced inside the policies of regularization compared to other countries of Latin America where it is remained only in titulation.

It is also important to mention the program of "pacification" UPP (Unidade de Policia Pacificadora) Social and Community Integration, promoted and implemented by the State of Rio de Janeiro from July 2008, in collaboration with UN-Habitat and Pereira Passos

²⁸ Citation of the POT of Bogota.

²⁹ The "Plano Diretor" is defined the development plan of Rio de Janeiro

Institute. This program, through which specialized police units enter armed inside the favelas to expel the drug traffickers and criminal gangs, has so far been implemented in 18 favelas, with the aim of pacifying 30 favelas per year.

This process is certainly drastic and almost always violent, but it is opening the way for many urban requalification projects planned for the favelas of Rio de Janeiro and it is allowing the residents of the slum to re-appropriating of some streets and public spaces first denied.

The objective of this project, as the regularization program, is to reintegrate the favelas in urban formal tissue and especially their inhabitants in the life of the city.

Public safety, land regularization and urban scale interventions must be accompanied by social and cultural reintegration programs, as well as by strong involvement of inhabitants in each of these operations.

Final Opinions

Bogotá and Rio de Janeiro are two founding cities for the development which now the Latin America lives, they are symbols of cultural and economic growth, of the arrival of free markets and globalization: they are different cities but profoundly united by the need to overcome the conflict between the formal and informal city.

They are both facing this struggle with appropriate tools in hand in some cases, still too insufficient ones in others, and the comparison between the two experiences aims to show the directions of development taking place in these two emerging cities in which informality is structured and structuring part the city. For several decades they are carrying out regularization policies in different countries, and the analysis of objective and results of these interventions is important to enhance and emulate the right strategies and avoid repeating the already made mistakes.

The informal cities represent a structured and structuring part of Bogota and Rio de Janeiro - like in many other cities in the world - and therefore they should join the city: to do this and to fight against social segregation is necessary and urgent that the policies, at all levels and together, are beginning to give importance and priority to the issue of informal settlements.

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