

Bogotá 1992-2005

The reversal of the crisis and the planning scheme

José SALAZAR FERRO. Universidad de los Andes. Bogotá – COLOMBIA
salazarf@cable.net.co

Abstract

The paper presents the recent evolution of urban management and planning in Bogotá, as part of a wide transformation of the city occurred between 1992 and 2005. This process implied deep changes in the government and citizen cohabitation scheme, financial write-off, social investment and the capacity of public planning. These strongly related elements allowed the city's urban reconstruction, and produced positive results in the urban dynamics and were key in overcoming the critical scenario in which the city's development was trapped since the 80's.

The city's urban reconstruction included better mobility, recovery of urban public areas, building of new good-quality public services facilities in urban outlying areas and housing programs for low income families and improvement of informal settlements.

At the same time, the startup of a new planning system included programs and projects of transportation, public space, schools, libraries, etc., in a so called "city project". This new system is expected to address diverse challenges that in the international experience have been subject to different types of plans over time. In Bogotá, however, they must be addressed simultaneously: traditional challenges (housing, public utilities, basic facilities: education, health, etc.); challenges related to the size of the city (transport; downtown deterioration; greater facilities; historic patrimony); and new challenges like sustainability, competition/productivity, and equity. overcome in other cities, are still in force in Bogotá.

Keywords: Bogotá planning scheme, city recovery, urban reconstruction, citizen culture, public space.

Bogotá 1992-2005

The reversal of the crisis and the planning scheme¹

José SALAZAR FERRO. Universidad de los Andes. Bogotá – COLOMBIA
salazarf@cable.net.co

This document presents the recent evolution of urban management and planning in Bogotá (Colombia), conceived as part of a wide transformation of the city occurred in the last 15 years. This process implied deep changes in the government and citizen cohabitation scheme, financial write-off, social investment and the capacity of public planning. These strongly related elements produced positive results in the urban dynamics and were key in overcoming the critical scenario in which the city's development was trapped since the 80's.

The document is divided in four parts:

- The first chapter presents the city's critical scenario during the 80's and the first part of the 90's.
- The second chapter presents the city's institutional framework and the programs and projects that triggered structural changes, resulting in the reversion of the crisis and the beginning of a development process that continues until today.
- The third chapter presents the determinants of the new planning system
- The fourth chapter presents a summary of lessons learned from the process and the changes ahead.

¹ Chapters 1 y 2 of this paper are base on the document on Bogotá presented by the author at "Mega-cities comparative study", SUR - University of Tokyo, March 2008.

1. THE URBAN CRISIS OF THE 80S

During the 90's, a great urban crisis that had been incubating through the previous decades became evident in Colombia (Salazar, Del Castillo, 2005; Martin, 2006). Bogotá had accumulated the problems of any city with an accelerated population growth, devoid of the resources or the institutional and technical framework necessary to face them. The public sphere crisis and the low credibility in the institutions, in planning, and, in general, in the city's future, revealed an "urban crisis" of huge proportions.

The crisis originated in the administration's incapacity to provide the population with the necessary goods and services because of the eight following features:

- Weakness of public finances. Tax collections were stagnant until 1983, and then recovered slightly through the ten following years, mainly due to the country's general decentralization laws, which dictated the transfer of the Nation's resources towards the regions. In 1994 it was practically bankrupt "*In 1992, the city was broke. It had collapsed. It couldn't be governed, nor administrated. It had no future.*" (Martin, G. 2004: 99; translated by the author), and had no investment possibilities.
- Governance and lack of transparency. It was also impossible to govern the city; the constant interference of the political spectrum with the administrative sectors of the city, the inefficiency of the district administration and the growing bureaucracy due to "clienteles", promoted a rising government efficiency crisis. The Councilors co-administered the city, which made public administration and political control more difficult as well.
- A deficient planning scheme. During the second half of the 20th century, Bogotá tried various planning schemes, which were abandoned as they showed their incapacity to face the complex urban reality. At the end of the 80's the weakness of public rationality became evident, reflected on the city's inability to produce government property and the apparent subordination of all public affairs to the private sphere (Garay, 1999; Gómez Buendía, 1999). The planning scheme was incapable of providing answers to the grave problems that hindered the city's development. The administration and the citizens' little credibility on planning was evident.

This incompetence of the public administration, added to the country's difficult conditions, resulted in the following problems:

- Increase of insecurity. During the 80s, Bogotá was among the most violent cities in the world: in 1994, it registered a rate of 82 homicides every 100.000 inhabitants, one of the highest in the continent. Not surprisingly, for Colombia's homicide rate was Latin America's highest. In the same year, there were 1,089 traffic-related deaths in Bogotá. These indicators reflect the precariousness of the city's security and explain the citizens' lack of credibility in the institutions responsible for it in Bogotá.
- Urban segregation and increasing housing deficit for the poorest population. A strongly segregated territory emerged with the displacement of the city's poorest groups to the peripheries, with low-quality services and deficient accessibility. In the last two decades of the 20th century, approximately 180 hectares per year were constructed outside the urban norms.
- Obsolete transportation system. Probably one of the most critical subjects for Bogotá's inhabitants has been mobility. The transportation system (more than 40 private companies, owners of buses on the surface) and the bad state of the city's road network have generated grave mobility problems since the 80's. In 1998, a citizen of Bogotá spent an average of 4 hours a day in transportation and travelled 10 kilometres from home to work. Despite the city's low level of motorization (850,000 private vehicles for 6 million inhabitants in 1998), congestion and accessibility problems were high, especially in the south and occidental peripheral areas, home to the poorest population.
- The inability to defend and construct public space. The abusive occupation of sidewalks by automobiles and small shops, as well as the closing up of parks and areas of public cession, resulted in a loss of the structuring function of public space. For the citizens of Bogotá, public space came to represent a dangerous place, badly built, through which they had to circulate to reach their destiny.

2. THE BASES OF CHANGE

Within the process of reversion of the crisis, the city engaged in a series of actions that should be understood as actions directed to support sustainable urban development. Actions directed towards influencing civic culture, as well

as those oriented towards recovering public sphere and improving mobility, are part of the purpose of promoting sustainable urban development concerning economy, environment and society.

It is necessary to underline some special features of the reversal of Bogotá's urban crisis.

- It happens in a country that even today has not yet overcome its grave governance and development problems.
- It should be understood as the sum of many efforts, some of them coordinated with the previous ones, others a response to particular programs, that ended up coming together in a collective project that was not thought of nor structured from the beginning.
- It proposes the recovery of the public sphere as a central point of the process and to construct the necessary public rationality to provide it with goods and urban public services.

Within this process, a sum of efforts of the city's mayors during the last 15 years in different urban development subjects should be cited: Jaime Castro (1992-1994), on the subjects of governance and decentralization; Antanas Mockus (1994-1997 and 2001-2004), on civic and democratic culture, efficient administration and respect for life; Enrique Peñalosa (1998-2001), on mobility and public space improvement; and Luis E. Garzón (2004-2007), on social inclusion.

Each of these mayors defended different ideas; they each waved their own flags and had their own programs; some wanted to be differentiated from the previous mayor, but ended up supporting the city project that finally, without a previously established route, consolidated as a successful model for urban development (Martin, Marijke. 2004: 29).

a) Strengthening local governance and public finances

The first point that should be emphasized in the process of reversal of the crisis is the adoption of a new institutional and financial framework for the city, contained in the "Bogotá Capital District's Organic Bylaw" (Decree 1421 of 1993), issued by the President of the Republic as a development of what's stipulated in Colombia's 1991 Political Constitution.

This special regime adopted for Bogotá implied a change in its form of government, consisting on separating the administration from the council, the

city's body of political representation. This new regime increased the city's responsibilities, giving it more autonomy to organize its taxes and improve its finances. Civic participation was also promoted by implementing decentralization within the city itself: 20 *localidades* (localities) were created in Bogotá, which enlarged the channels for the exercise of democracy.

Within the legal framework, and aside from the changes brought about by the 1991 Constitution, the following actions should be emphasized:

- The 1994 Development Plan Law, which ordered each Mayor (elected since 1990) to introduce a *Plan de Desarrollo* (Development Plan) in his government program, describing all of the investments to be made during his administration.
- Law 388 of 1997, which supports new schemes of urban and territorial planning based on urbanism as a public function, the mandatory character of territorial management. It bounds the adoption of *Planes de Ordenamiento Territorial - POT* (Territorial Management Plans), as a response to the necessity to transform urban planning and provide local administrations with contemporary urban development planning and management instruments to face the urban crisis of the 80's.

Finances

There was also a spectacular recovery of the city's finances since 1994, an essential base for its future development. In 4 years, the income tripled (in constant pesos), as a result of new forms of liquidation and tax collection. The highest annual growth, 77%, happened between 1993 and 1994.

That same year, the Industry and Trade Taxes (ICA) and the Land Property Tax grew at a rate of 90%. This was due to the implementation of the "*autoavalúo*" (self-assessment), the direct collection of taxes by banks, and the mandatory payment to the district's industrial and trade companies.

Improving the city's income by 29% was the result of a "taxpayer culture" program, *110% with Bogotá*, designed to teach citizens about their responsibility towards the city and others: "all pay, all gain", was the slogan under which this "tributary culture" was implemented (see ahead the description of the program of civic culture as the framework of tributary culture). Citizens were asked to choose a project and pay more taxes – 63,000 of them did. Thus, before 1993, only 33% of all the contributors paid their taxes; today, 90% of the contributors pay their taxes on time.

At the same time, costs were cut radically. For example, operation costs grew very slowly during the decade, passing from 45% of the total spending in 1993, to 25% or 30% in the following years. During those same years, Bogotá's *"tributary income grew at greater rates than the nation's, and internal indebtedness levels were lower than those established by law"* (Faimboim, Gaudaour, Uribe 2002: 4), which reflected on the city's BBB rating according to the Duff & Phelps Credit Rating Co., a financial advisory firm. (AAA - today)

Increase in welfare investment

A very important part of the income increase was destined to welfare investment. During the 90's, welfare investment grew so rapidly that between 1992 and 1999, welfare spending multiplied by 6. The last few years' budget shows that welfare investment has continued to rise significantly. In recent years, for example, \$1.1 billion pesos were invested in education in 2004 (US\$ 550 billion), and 1.4 billion pesos (US\$ 750 billion) in 2005, reflecting a real growth rate of 29%.

b) Civic culture; creating a safer city

The objective of advancing and consolidating a "Civic Culture" took shape at Mayor Antanas Mockus' first administration Development Plan 1995-1998, "Forming a City", intended to build civic culture and deepen democratic culture.

The purpose of acting on civic culture is to modify the city and its inhabitants' inadequate or harmful behaviors, which can eventually be controlled through sanctions but without achieving the citizens' effective compromise and appropriation. Change was attained through civil auto-regulation, government employee training and the creation of places where relations between functionaries and citizens are constructed (Londoño, 2004: 131). Civic culture seeks also to build a shared image of the city and "a respect of the rules that confer civic identity (...), to impulse popular culture and manifestations that could generate a sense of belonging to the city (and) trigger the community's participation" (Londoño, 2004: 134).

The civic culture program has evolved since its beginning, when emphasis was on culture and security (*Ley Zanahoria*, Civil Population Volunteer Disarming Program, Strengthening of the Metropolitan Police, and Application of Prompt Justice through Permanent Units). The Peñalosa administration focused its efforts on the recovery and collective use of public space as a fundamental aspect of "the public sphere". Mockus' second administration's main objectives were learning lessons on the city's achievements (pedagogical balance), and

defending life and democratic culture. Emphasis was made on the recognition of the institutions, instead of on civic culture.

c) Security

The most significant achievement in regards to the transformation of civic behavior is having systematically reduced the homicide rate.

Homicides in Bogotá have decreased from 80 for every 100,000 inhabitants in 1994, to 18 for every 100,000 at present. “The city’s crime observatory – called *Sistema Unificado de Informacion sobre Delincuencia y Violencia* (SUIVD) – constantly monitors and maps crime data as an input both for planning and for the evaluation of interventions” (Alcaldía de Bogotá, 2004).

The following programs have contributed to consolidate this process of change:

- The Ley Zanahoria. Studies show that most homicides are perpetrated by men, occur after 1:00 am, involve alcohol, include fire arms, and involve people who know each other. In order to face this problem, the Ley Zanahoria (“Carrot Law”²) was issued in 1995. The night establishments that sold alcoholic beverages were allowed to do so only until 1:00 am. Once the homicide rates improved, permission to open was granted until 2:00 am, and later until 3:00 am.
- The Civil Population Volunteer Disarming Program, which resulted in the handover of thousands of arms in the hands of civil population during journeys of volunteer arm handover and campaigns against violence.
- The construction of Justice Houses and Cohabitation Centers in marginalized areas, where citizens find a variety of national and municipal level agencies that provide information, orientation, referrals and conflict resolution through formal and informal justice mechanisms.
- Civil Resistance against Terrorism. The civil resistance days against terrorism deserve a special mention. A series of terrorist acts perpetrated in Bogotá by illegally armed groups led the administration to unite all citizens to exercise civil resistance as a means to confront violence. For example, a symbolic defense of the Chingaza reservoir, which provides the city with nearly 70% of its water, from an attempted guerrilla attack, was organized. Guided by its mayor Mockus, the population painted

² In Colombia, “zanahoria” is an expression used to design a reserved and formal person.

three bright orange triangles around the reservoir, thus establishing that the property was protected by International Humanitarian Law.

Today, Bogotá's homicide rate is lower than that of Caracas, Mexico City, Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo, among others Latin-American cities. Citizen's perceptions of security have also significantly improved.

Complementary programs

Another series of parallel sector programs and events should be registered concerning this subject:

- *Saffer Traffic*. As a part of the improvement of mobility and the recovery of public space, educational campaigns were organized to change the behavior of drivers and pedestrians. These campaigns included the promotion of the use and the respect of crosswalks, and the use of the safety belt by vehicle drivers and of protective implements by cyclists and motorcyclists. Three innovative campaigns should be emphasized: (i) *Estrellas Negras* (Black Stars) is a symbolic campaign which consists on painting black stars in each place where a pedestrian has died as a result of a traffic accident; (ii) *Caballeros de la Cebra* (Gentlemen of the Crosswalks), was an educational program for taxi drivers, designed to improve relationships between them, their clients and pedestrians; finally, (iii) *Los Mimos* (Mimes) were used to caricaturize citizens' undesirable behaviors in public spaces and in areas of high vehicular traffic.
- *Appropriation and collective use of the city through bicycle paths and the night use of the city*. The *Ciclovía* is a network of 120 kilometers of the largest roadways in the city, closed to regular traffic and reserved exclusively to bicycles and runners between 7 am and 2 pm on Sundays and holidays, and occasionally during evenings. An average of 700,000 bicycle riders, walkers, runners and roller-skaters take advantage of this space every Sunday or holiday.
- *Collective events in public space*. A series of campaigns have been launched in conjunction with the public space program: music festivals (opera, jazz, zarzuela, rock, hip-hop and Colombian music) are held in metropolitan parks; photography expositions on the city or other topics are organized in Bogotá's main plazas; parades, gastronomic and kite-flying festivals, activities for pets, and dance competitions are held in the city's principal avenues. The Ibero-American Theater Festival has become the most important theater festival in Latin America.

- *Volunteer water saving.* The water supply difficulty caused by the rupture of a main water conduction canal to Bogotá triggered the creation of a civic culture program intended to encourage water saving in every-day life. In only three months, the program diminished consumption 20% per inhabitant/day. Average consumption is still the same today, so investment in infrastructure has diminished.
- *Respect for diversity.* Respect for diversity and visibility of social groups such as Afro-Colombians, natives, peasants, and age and gender groups, have been the motive of special policies in the city. An example of this is the LGBT (Lesbian, Gay, Transsexual and Bisexual) policy, conducted successfully by the local administration during the past few years.

d) Reconstructing the City's territory

The urban reconstruction of the city has played a determinant role in the change the city has gone through during the past few years. Its most important contribution is probably related to public works in the city, complemented by the improvement of urban services. This showed the citizens a new public management capacity associated to a new civic culture of respect for collective property, and the possibility to advance even on periods when the country had serious problems in facing its development. It was a way of rendering the city's achievements visible in urban space.

The recovery of public space

The public space recovery program is part of a larger purpose to build a more liveable and amiable city that respects the citizen and the pedestrian, and provides the necessary spaces for his mobilization, strolling, resting, or simply for the contact and recognition with the other citizens. In short, it consists on giving back to the city the dignity and signification of the spaces it uses as a collectivity, in which its inhabitants mix independently of their economical or social condition. Based on respect for common patrimony, the purpose is to build a city that generates a sense of belonging, facilitates citizens' living together and leads to the recognition of civic rights and duties.

In this sense, spaces in different scales and in different places of the city were intervened.

“Rather than public spaces – in terms of a non-private space, but not necessarily intended to generate social interchange – it is public domains this is all about: squares and parks animated by activities and cultural

events, public libraries, sidewalks and boulevards that turn into catalysers of social life” (Martin, 2004: 101).

These public domains were meant to trigger a new form of key aspects in urban structure, in the city’s functionality, and in urban communities’ life-quality. The following are some examples of the recovery of 764.000 m² of public spaces:

- The building of pedestrian spaces on areas of intense urban activity, recognized as centralities, in order to allow the intense pedestrian use of commercial and service zones, in safe, comfortable and environmentally clean conditions. Most of these zones were built as peripheral residential neighborhoods and, as such, had no appropriate conditions for these activities.
- The construction of an urban-scale pedestrian boulevard network as a set of structuring corridors for pedestrian use, inciting recreational use.
- The recovery, improvement and maintenance of the city’s parks. The park network was conceived as an arranging element of the city’s structure. The consolidation of a system of free metropolitan, urban and zonal spaces was built in relation to the strategic ecologic systems (rivers, brooks and hills), as a way to value them and support the preservation of natural spaces; at the same time, it was meant to complement the activities of the metropolitan centre and the zonal and local centralities.
- Acting on monumental public spaces in order to reinforce their condition of representative places of the city, in which citizens recognize themselves.
- The recovery of public buildings (equipments, government offices, decentralized services), in order to recognize them as constitutive elements of the city, and provide them with dignity in their shapes and a generous attitude towards the city they belong to.

The recovery of environmental systems

Bogotá has a unique ecosystem, a tropical climate but at great altitude (2,600 meters above sea level), with *páramos* (moorlands) and *humedales* (wetlands that consist of marshes and small lakes).

Nearly 80% of these wetlands have been eliminated bit by bit in the accelerated urbanization process. The moorlands have also been affected, but by the extension of rural lands for agriculture and cattle-raising.

The city engaged in their recovery through restoration and conservation programs that included, when possible, the building of public spaces at their edges, so as not to affect their environmental conditions.

Works have been done at almost every one of the nine wetlands (667 hectares) that remain in the city. For example, the largest survivor, Humedal Juan Amarillo (223 hectares), was the object of a combined program of restoration and construction of a public space and bicycle path.

Mobility

The urban mobility program put into effect during the past years has had a determinant impact on the city.

It includes five essential aspects:

- The recovery of sidewalks (already described) and the adaptation of road infrastructure. Providing the city with roads designed with the adequate specifications for the current traffic and, at the same time, providing roads with sidewalks appropriate for pedestrian circulation, with the complementary furniture, is a fundamental aspect of the mobility program.
- The new bus transport system through main avenues, Transmilenio, started the total restructuring process of the bus system. It's a high capacity bus system (48,000 passengers per hour in one direction), that corresponds almost to a metro system. It's designed to respect the citizen and his time, by providing a high-quality service and consistency at an accessible cost for users and for the district administration.
- The bicycle path system was built as an alternative transport system in the city, cheap and non-polluting. It is constituted by a network of more than 250 kilometres that connect the different points in the city with the residential and working zones. The bicycle paths are a project for Bogotá's future; the fact of being a non-contaminating, alternative way of transport gives them a greater importance than that reflected by their mobilization capacity (10% of the trips).
- Private automobile restriction. As a complement to the infrastructure and transport system programs, the city implemented the "*Pico y Placa*" ("Peak and Plate") program, which limited the circulation of private automobiles. Knowing the effects that this type of norm had had in other cities (for example, people buying a second vehicle, and thus, polluting even more), the restriction was limited to 40% of the daily vehicles

(rotary) during the peak hours (6:00 to 9:00 am and 4:00 to 7:00 pm). This example of the administration's political will – which showed the citizens the urgency to control vehicle circulation – has had a very positive effect on mobility indicators in the city but, above all, was well received by the inhabitants, who adapted their habits and schedules to the new measure.

- No-car day. The city has decreed by referendum and popular vote the application of a no-car day. Probably the most interesting aspect about this measure, which has been taken for three consecutive years, is that bit by bit, it has become a normal day in the city, in which none of its activities paralyze. It is, just as the bicycle paths, a project for Bogotá's future, which places it at the forefront of these subjects in the world.

New and better equipments

To complement this urban transformation, the city started various programs to provide itself with new and more modern equipments, constructed with the most exigent quality norms. Among these, attention must be drawn to the following:

- The public library network, which included the construction of four big metropolitan libraries in strategic zones of the city (Virgilio Barco, El Tintal and El Tunal – the fourth, in Suba, is in construction), designed by renowned architects, which include, apart from the basic library services, digital information, multimedia laboratories and special areas for children's learning. The District's Library System (Bibliored) is composed by the four metropolitan libraries, six local libraries of sectorial coverage, and eleven minor libraries of neighbourhood coverage, with educational as well as cultural programs, and interconnected services designed to attend all citizens in equal conditions.
- An important increase in the number of schooling places in the city's poorest areas (183,000 new places in four years) has been made possible by the building of 50 new schools (some are still in process) and the reparation of 100 others, in an effort to adapt them to the more exigent conditions of contemporary education. They have become central places in their respective zones, recognized and visited by the neighbours.

3. THE NEW PLANNING SCHEME

a. The recovery of territorial planning and long-term vision: the project plan articulated in a city project

The implementation of territorial legislation in Colombia at the end of the 90s has produced a remarkable change in urban planning in Bogotá.

Bogotá's formulation and adoption of the POT in 2000 led it to take up again the physical planning efforts of the 60s, and to tackle, at the same time, other subjects of the contemporary international agenda: a new vision of urban planning and of the intervention instruments in the city (the urban project, for example), environmental sustainability of development, the cities' competitiveness and territorial equity. Thus, Bogotá's POT had to tackle these contemporary issues that emerge from contemporary paradigms, as well as the traditional urban problems: housing, public services and equipment; mobility, periphery structuring, urban centre recovery, asset conservation, etc.

The possibility to respond to this complex panorama was not in "choosing" one of the new planning formulae of some developed country, but in adapting and consolidating planning instruments appropriate to the city's economical and institutional reality; it was necessary to distinguish the urban planning elements that had consolidated as a planning "culture" within the country from those that had to be modified, added or definitely changed.

At the same time, this POT was formulated at a moment when the city had defined and begun to develop important projects that marked its future development: the new transport system, the public space and park recovery and creation projects, the high architectural and urban quality social equipment, the neighbourhood improvement programs, and the building of welfare housing, among others. Although these projects arose independently from the POT, their formulation incorporated and articulated them in a "city project", based on a territorial model.

This is to say, it is a plan whose purpose is not to initiate the city's recovery, but to consolidate and articulate the projects that made it possible.

b. A plan for Bogotá's reality

Three paradigms have determined the general goals of contemporary urban planning: sustainability, based on the approaches of the Earth Summit (Rio, 1992); competitiveness, which seeks to increment urban productivity in order to

compete within globalized economy; and equity, which tends towards an equilibrated urban structure, where all citizens can have access to public goods and services.

Nevertheless, competitiveness and sustainability programs have only been compatible in some cities of the developed world which, based on a functional and well endowed urban structure, have taken advantage of the unusual expansion of international commerce in order to link themselves to the more dynamic development processes. These cities have thus undertaken great urban operations in order to qualify the tissues and create new spaces of inversion, within a strategy of consolidation of a “competitive platform”, which reinforces their capacity to attract inversions and compete with their products around the world. They have simultaneously undertaken transport, clean production, and public space programs, among others, which have allowed them to improve the sustainability of development.

But this has not been an easy task for the cities of developing countries which, parallel to the exigencies of globalization and sustainability, must urgently undertake actions to fight against poverty and inequality, specific objectives of the United Nations Millennium Goals (THE WORLD BANK, 2000). The application of best practices consequent with globalization (liberalization policy, decrease of the public sector and privatization, among others), was made without considering that cities such those in Latin America had less competitive advantages and, above all, did not dispose of the necessary resources (economical, technical, human) to prepare to compete at an international level, for they had to carry out indispensable correctives in their precarious and inequitable development and respond at the same time to the challenge raised by sustainable development (BALBO, 2003).

In this situation, the cities of the region have not been able to create permanent conditions to attract international investment, nor have they been able to find viable roads leading to economical and social development in their territories; the great transformations in the urban structure proposed or imagined have not been undertaken because of the lack of technical and financial capacities, public as well as private. At the same time, the programs directed to sustainability have been reduced and only very partially applied, without consistent results.

In spite of these difficulties, sustainable development has penetrated the discourses around the development of Latin American cities and has produced, as in the Colombian case, abundant literature and legislation on the subject, which pleads for controls and strong changes in urban development. At the same time, the purpose of achieving a “positive insertion” in globalized

economy has become a determinant element in the plans of big Latin American cities, in order to adjust and improve their development (JORDAN, 2003); Bogotá is no exception.

Before this complexity of subjects, the planning experience during these last years in increasingly urbanized developing countries, such as Colombia, shows that it is necessary to build a particular strategy for each city to make the postulates of the different approaches compatible in the specific local action: globalization, local development, and sustainable development. It is not conceivable to give priority to one of these approaches and to sacrifice the others. The promotion of sustainable development is funded on the basis of economic growth, social equality, cultural cohesion and environmental protection. This is to say that each city will have to fix, in its own way, the priorities and strategies of development adequate to its reality, specifying the concrete goals at a short, medium and long term.

It's within this complex scenario that Bogotá's Territorial Management Plan had to be constructed.

The conditions for the formulation of Bogotá's Territorial Management Plan (POT)

The definition and construction of a long-term territorial occupation model as a desirable future for the town is the objective of the Territorial Management Plan (*Plan de Ordenamiento Territorial*, POT), a central planning instrument established by Law 388 of 1997. The POT would allow the efficient identification and programming of public projects and programs, and the establishment of the necessary regulations coherent with the defined model.

Its conception is an adaptation of the Spanish General Plan (the laws and their subsequent developments), from which it not only takes the general planning concepts (soil classification, urban action, partial plan, general services, structuring operations, etc.), but also many of the management instruments that would allow its execution.

Although it represents a great advancement for Colombia (acknowledged by all Latin American countries), the suggested scheme is still very far from responding to the real possibilities of the city's administration. Maybe because its conception is directly linked to a type of urbanism based on public intervention (the State in general) as key to the city's development, to which private action is subordinated.

A scheme that would turn around that which the city experimented at the moment of the adoption of the POT, characterized by a strong private sector, with a dominant, ample initiative in the construction of the city, and a weak public sector, whose function consists on giving out permissions to the private sector, while it struggles to distribute the small amount of resources towards the demands of infrastructures and general endowments, which it can't adequately attend to.

Bogotá's particular experience, which formulates a plan within a process of recovery that has adopted and put into operation important projects and programs, is situated within this general framework at the country level.

The developed plan can be summarized in the four following principles:

1. The formulation of a plan in accordance with the process of recovery of the city. The recuperation of physical or territorial planning set in motion with the adoption of the Territorial Ordering Plan (POT) that is the conclusion of a process of recovery of the city and not the start. It meant integrating the different projects and programs (transport, public space, equipment) and consolidating them in a project of city.
2. The demand for a territorial approach to sector investments. In the Ordering Model, the individual parts of the territory and the general systems that sustain the city's development intersect. It proposed the elaboration of Master Plans (which is a better known investment strategy) for programming sector investment with a territorial criterion of the physical projects (infrastructure, installations, buildings, etc.) of each of the entities in the next 12 years
3. The plan defines a system of organization of activities in the territory according to the real distribution of activities in Bogotá.
 - A principal center on a metropolitan scale
 - And centralities, in which important places for employment and services are located, and have greater density in the utilization of land, dispersed in the territory so as to reduce trip times and so that citizens may have rapid and timely access to urban services and benefits.
4. The centralities have coverage areas in which mobility is made easy through alternative mobility systems (Bicycles, pedestrians), that should be given priority over mass-scale transport (Transmilenio).

On a small scale, 117 (One hundred and seventy) Units of Zonal Planning – UPZ were defined as divisions of the territory that permit the formulation and development of zonal projects for each homogeneous sector of the city.

- The projects emphasize on the norms that regulate private interventions in the rich zones, and the infrastructure and public equipment projects in popular neighborhoods.
- The planning proposals for each UPZ (zonal and local scale projects and norms), were subjected to community assemblies summoned in specific places, for which instructional presentations were prepared in order to force technicians to use an adequate language for the public in order to be understood more clearly.
- Urban norms should be taken as norms of citizen cohabitation, closely tied to the citizen culture improvement program.
- In these long meetings, proposals were made, considered by the technicians and answered one by one.

Although the described international context implied that Bogotá's POT proposed as general objectives the paradigms of sustainability, competitiveness and equity, the plan also had to face traditional problems such as housing, mobility and equipment, or characteristic problems of a metropolis such as transport, renovation, treatment of the periphery, and protection of the patrimony. It was not an easy task, for current international urbanism occupies itself very little of these "traditional" problems, which have been replaced by "current" subjects in developed countries: sustainability, networks, nodes, clusters, etc.

Nevertheless, programs such as the construction of social housing are fundamental for the fulfilment of the great objectives for, apart from having to solve a growing deficit of nearly 450.000 houses, the informal neighbourhoods are the main cause of environmental deterioration, for they are located in zones non suitable for building, and at the same time the citizens' bad life conditions have an impact on the city's productivity and generates many doubts on its capacity to compete at an international level.

Something similar can be affirmed on the subject of basic equipments (education, health, wellbeing and culture) and more still on the subject of transport. Moreover, in subjects such as patrimony and urban renovation, the copy of the programs put into operation in the European cities has brought about a series of misunderstandings and frustrations, because of the difficulties of passing to action and the small amount of resources available.

Thus, Bogotá's POT had to include not only this diversity of themes and problems, but also programs of public space and civic culture that had awoken the citizens' attention and gained their participation; all of this, while dealing with the administration's low capacity to act and to develop programs, and with a demand of short-term results coming from a very precarious political sphere.

So, only a combination of strategies, programs and projects could respond to such a variety of demands for the formulation of the plan.

Added to this, Colombia's planning system combines, not always efficiently, characteristic traits of the North American system and of the European–Mediterranean system. The first is based on a scheme of strength and liberty of the private initiative and a weak public sector, which “gives out” permissions, but does not propose. The second (which precisely inspired Law 388 of 1997, the law that gave birth to the POTs), demands a strong public sector, with great initiative and able to run urban development, in order to be made operational and to be executed (managed).

So, the POT had to design instruments capable of planning a city where the private initiative plays a preponderant role, and where the public administration has to start replaying it after many years of having been passive; with short-term programs, which will have to prepare the way to more complex projects, with a larger outreach.

This is the path whose exploration has only just begun.

4. A FEW CONCLUSIONS

After 15 years of an accelerated effort to recover the city, the next step is evidently to consolidate the obtained achievements and to project increasingly effective actions for its future development. Nevertheless, the actions undertaken by the Capital District's administration during the past years have not always succeeded. Although some aspects of urban planning have progressed (for example, the creation of community dining rooms in order to combat extreme poverty), others have been reinforced (such as education and wellbeing programs), and the strength of the city's finances has been maintained, other subjects have either stagnated or frankly deteriorated.

Programs such as the production of social housing or massive transport have not developed according to the perspectives; some recovered public spaces have been invaded once more, or are deteriorating. There is also a negative

perception in subjects related to security and to civic culture. The citizens' enthusiasm in participating in urban projects has diminished; some campaigns have not been renewed, others have been closed altogether.

At the same time, the changes in the city's administration have not had a positive impact; the new equipments have not maintained the high technical and professional level they had reached, as a fundamental pillar for the development and continuity of the process of urban recovery.

If something is clear about this process is that the programs are still fragile and that there is still a long path ahead in order to stabilize the city's future development. The euphoria of novel programs that changed the negative sign of development in the city and the citizens' vision of their territory having been left behind, it is now necessary to attend to the following necessities.

Consolidate the changes

In order to recover the dynamics of urban development, revive the programs initiated during the last decade, and give them a proper articulation so as to boost their effects over the city, it is necessary to act in four fundamental fields:

- **HOUSING.** It is necessary to undertake a long-term project for the construction of massive housing, which combines different schemes of housing production and gives strategic use to the existing management instruments (priority development, punishment rate to non-developed lots, announcement of a project to freeze the prices, etc.), and promotes the participation of the private sector. An important point in this subject is to structure and start operating a regional strategy to make new soil available throughout the total urban agglomeration (Bogotá and 17 neighbouring towns) at adequate prices, times and places.
- **CIVIC CULTURE.** It is, by nature, a program of permanent innovation, which implies formulating and operating new actions and events around very strategic places and subjects that go from the city's and the traffic's security and the collective use of public spaces, to the use of the automobile in the city and, in general, the subject of mobility.
- **PUBLIC SPACE.** The use and respect of public space must continue to be a priority program. The strategic recovery of different types of spaces (emblematic, functional, local, etc.) must be continued, exploring the possibility to make civic pacts for the sustainability of the recovered spaces, in which those who inhabit the concerned zones or those who use or occupy the concrete public space in question can participate.

- **TRANSPORT.** The public transport system in exclusive lanes has presented some problems that have deteriorated the image of what citizens once perceived as the symbol of the new Bogotá; this implies: (i) Correcting the problems related to the quality of the service and congestion in the stations; (ii) Restarting the construction of new lines, as it was foreseen in the original scheme; (iii) Starting the Integrated Transport System, which includes Transmilenio, the traditional bus system, the bicycle paths and the systems planned by the new city administration: the metro and the nearby train. In the case of these last two systems, special care must be taken in the selection of the type of system and the projected tracings, so that they do not interfere with the system developed to this day; and (iv) Articulate the transport system to the poli-centric territorial model proposed by the POT in an effective way.
- **QUALITY EQUIPMENTS.** Continue the construction of quality equipments (schools, libraries, etc.), seeking to articulate them to the general improvement of training programs that teach people how to use the service and to the improvement of the services rendered, under the unorthodox postulate that improving the space will result in a better service. At the same time, efforts will be made to extend this plan of quality equipment to the other elements of the city. It's about demanding a quality design, without it being extravagant.

New programs

The development of new programs that keep up the city's enthusiasm and attention must impede the reversion of the positive sign of urban development, of the credibility on the local administration, and Bogotá's citizens' pride:

- **URBAN RENOVATION.** Ever since its inclusion as a permanent program in the urban plans, much has been said and theorized, but very little has been done. Contrary to the idea that an urban renovation as a way to make the city more dense, the city's high density and compacting imply to conceive it as a program to punctually improve the conditions of a saturated and intensely occupied urban space, with great difficulties of equipment. This condition of renovation must be the object of a very ambitious and extensive project of the improvement of the quality of life in the city and, as such, must be presented to the citizens.
- **THE CULTURAL PATRIMONY.** Although the program of valuation and protection of the patrimony, developed with strength during the 80s and 90s, has received some continuity and support from the National Government, it has not sufficiently transcended to public opinion and citizens in general.

Actions must be undertaken to show citizens that preserving the patrimony is important for their lives, and to make technicians value the patrimony for its capacity to build the urban structure, and not simply as a few architects' simple "fancy" or "luxury".

New relationship between public policies and planning

It is necessary to establish a new relationship between public policies and planning. The difficulties inherent to giving a continuity to the programs that have already started has shown the absence of public policies in each one of those subjects: there is a new transport system, but no public transport policy; there are new public spaces and equipments, but there are no public policies to give them continuity; there is an enterprise for public housing, but no housing policy (that includes a soil policy), etc.

So, a first step in the process of consolidation of the changes is to formulate and adopt, as a base of a new plan, public policies in each of the strategic subjects that have been mentioned in the document.

This implies the following:

- A stronger relationship between technical planning and the political field, which must recognize planning as an indispensable practice for the city, aiming to reduce the difference between the technical formulations and the praxis of politics.
- Formulate and undertake specific public policies about the different structural subjects that have been suggested, as well as on territorial management as a whole, in order to build a base over which to apply the instruments adopted by the legislation.
- Promote a new, more flexible planning scheme with new scales and objectives: (i) A new planning scheme for the Sabana region (the great plane where Bogotá is located), as an indispensable element for planning Bogotá's future development; (ii) A differentiated planning system in the city, that allows the differentiation of the level of planning according to the characteristics of the zones that will be intervened. Detail for strategic zones for the city's development, through processes such as urban densification or renovation and plans and projects for streets, intersections, parks, plazas and places, in a similar way it is done with the historic zones. (iii) The consolidation of intermediate scale planning, where it is possible to define the programs and projects necessary to

bring about an organized process of transformation and to define relationships at the zonal scale with the sectorial plans.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá (2000), *La Bogotá del Tercer Milenio. Historia de una Revolución Urbana, 1998 – 2.000*, Bogotá, Bogotá Viva.

Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá and Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores de Colombia (2004), with the support of the University of Groningen, the Netherlands and Georgetown University, Washington D.C *Bogota, the Proud Revival of a City*, catalogue of the exhibition.

Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá, D.A.P.D (2000 – 1), POT Bogotá; “*Documento Técnico de Soporte*”. Bogotá, 2.000.

Ardila, G. (compilador) (2003). “*Territorio y Sociedad; el caso del Plan de Ordenamiento Territorial de Bogotá*”, Universidad Nacional de Colombia, Bogotá.

Balbo, M. (2003) La Nueva Gestión Urbana en “*Gestión urbana para el desarrollo sostenible en América Latina y el Caribe*” (Ricardo Jordán y Daniela Simioni, compiladores), Cepal, Santiago de Chile, 2,003.

Borja, J. y Castells, M. (1997) “*Local y Global, la gestión de las ciudades en la era de la información*”, Taurus, UNCHS.

Cortés, M. (2006) *La anexión de los 6 municipios vecinos a Bogotá en 1954*, Universidad Nacional de Colombia, Bogotá. Tesis de grado de Urbanismo dirigida por José Salazar Ferro.

Currie, L (1965) *Una Política para los países en desarrollo*. Fundación para el Progreso de Colombia, Tercer Mundo Editores, Bogotá.

Currie, L. (1988) *Urbanización y Desarrollo*, Fondo Editorial Camacol, Bogotá, 1988.

D.A.P.D, POT Bogotá; “*Documento Técnico de Soporte*”. Bogotá, 2.000, capítulo 4.

Duarte - Gutteman; Cal y Mayor y Asociados (2.006) “*Formulación del plan maestro de movilidad para Bogotá D.C., que incluye ordenamiento de estacionamientos*”, Bogotá.

Faimboim, I., Gaondour, M., Uribe, M.C. (2001) (eds.), Misión de Reforma Institucional de Bogotá, *Bases financieras para el desarrollo sostenible*, Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá, Bogotá.

Garay, L.J. (1999), *Construcción de una nueva sociedad, Cambio y Tercer Mundo Editores, Bogotá*.

- Gómez Buendía, H. (1999), “La hipótesis del Almendrón” en *¿Para dónde va Colombia?*. Santafé de Bogotá. Tercer Mundo-Colciencias.
- Gilbert, A. Dávila, J. (2002) Bogotá: Progress within a hostile environment, in Henry A. DIETZ and David J. MYERS (editors), *Capital City Politics in Latin America: Democratization and Empowerment* (co-authored with Alan GILBERT), Lynne Rienner Publishers, Boulder, pp. 29-63.
- HASSAN, AL-MOZAN Y ZETTER ROGER, (2002) “*Sustainable development: between development and environmental agendas in the developing world*”; en *Planning in cities*. ITDG Publishing, Londres.
- Jordán, R.. (2003) Ciudad y Desarrollo en América Latina y el Caribe en “*Gestión urbana para el desarrollo sostenible en América Latina y el Caribe*” (Ricardo Jordán y Daniela Simioni, compiladores), CEPAL, Santiago de Chile, 2,003.
- Londoño, R (2006). De la Cortesía a la Cultura Ciudadana, included in the Colombia’s exhibition at the Venice Biennale X International Architecture Exhibition Official Catalogue: *Bogotá: el Renacer de una Ciudad*.
- Martin, G. (2.006) “La reinención de lo público en Bogotá”, included in the Official Catalogue of Colombia’s exhibition in the Venice Biennale X International Architecture Exhibition *Bogotá: el Renacer de una Ciudad*.
- Martin, G., Ceballos M (2.004). *Bogotá, anatomía de una transformación – Políticas de seguridad ciudadana*”, Bogotá, 2004, p. 102.
- Martin, Marjke (2006). La ciudad como construcción física y mental: Bogotá, included in Official Catalogue of Colombia’s exhibition in the Venice Biennale X International Architecture Exhibition *Bogotá: el Renacer de una Ciudad*.
- Pérez, C. R. (2006) *La Planeación Integral en Colombia*, Tesis de grado en la Maestría en Urbanismo, Universidad Nacional, Bogotá.
- Salazar J. y Del Castillo, J.C. (1996); Planeación Urbanística en Colombia, en “*La investigación urbana en Colombia*”, ACIUR DNP, Bogotá, 1998
- Salazar J., Del Castillo, J.C. (1998) Planeación Urbanística en Colombia, en “*Trayectorias Urbanas – La modernización del Estado en Colombia*”, Universidad Nacional de Colombia, Sede Medellín.
- Salazar, J., Del Castillo, J.C. (2005) *Estudio sobre el espacio público*, CCB, Bogotá.
- THE WORLD BANK . (2000). “*Cities in transition: World Bank Urban and Local Government Strategy*”, The World Bank Infrastructure Group Urban Development. Washington, D.C.