

Informal Transportation and Emergent Orders in the Latin American Context: Towards a New Conceptualization of Urban Planning in the Global South

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Abstract: The objective of this paper is to introduce the need of a new understanding and conceptualization for Urban Planning in the global south, with a special focus in the Latin American and Colombian context. It will study emergent transportation networks, always structurers of the urban space, as a lens to observe how informality, inverse urbanization and emergent orders can help understand the nature of cities in the region, and the global ‘south’ in general, together with the need of new ways of looking at them. The emergence of spontaneous, and decentralized, forms of order construction will be analyzed within the lines of New Institutional Economics (NIE). Here it will be discussed that the nature of institutional failure and the emergence of informal governance mechanisms adds to the debate of urban mobility planning and urbanism in general. Hypothesizing, whether informality, ingrained in Colombian cities is an expression of a reality of the impossibility of centralized planning for the urban space.

Finally, the idea of assessing emergent informal transportation networks in Colombia, is also used as a base to analyze the broad concept of Urban Governance for the global south. Governance is understood here as the emergent evolution of institutions and organizations to solve problems in urban spaces, and which in many cases transgress what’s mandated by formal regulation. Therefore, transgression is also analyzed as the processes of informality are linked to historical conditions in Colombian cities, which add a layer of complexity that is considered a staple of a new conceptualization of Urban Planning for southern cities.

Keywords: Urban Planning, Emergent Orders, Informal Transportation, Global South, Colombia.

INTRODUCTION

Is there a social or cultural inclination towards informality in Latin American societies? Or the transgression of the regulatory system is a clear answer and manifestation of the complexity of urban processes, which invalidates the propositions of centralized urban planning? These questions guide the development of this paper and relate to the need to revisit theory related to Urban Planning in cities of Latin America. Together with proposing new definitions regarding the informal city, which has been the norm in develop-

ing countries to date (International Labour Office 2018), and in many ways transforms into a mechanism for growth (Loayza 2016) and welfare for people in Latin America and Colombia, being this extensible to the global south.

Informality and emergence surged in the region as a response towards processes of government-sponsored monopolization, as cronyism is prolific in Latin American capitalism (Haber 2002). And this have led the excluded part of the population, to lead the way towards the emergence of informal economies, as the only way for millions to be included in progress. Informal processes, therefore, became a development tool for people in Latin American countries, as the emergence of networks for the provision of urban services, has become a clear phenomenon that needs to be studied with more detail.

And here is where is necessary to reframe the discourses regarding informality in cities of the global south, as I argue that it is impossible to understand the processes of cities in developing countries, without addressing the element of informality and emergence (and its informal institutions and organizations (North 2005)). Thus, leading us to the need for a new conceptualization of Urban Planning, which disconnects with the idea of imposing perspectives from the global centres of academia, into the realities of cities that are foreign to these contexts.

The idea of 'informality', and by-passing of existing regulations, engaged by emerging networks in cities, is being analyzed by a new vision for urban studies under the concept of 'Planning for Complexity' (AESOP 2015). This vision acknowledges a different discourse regarding urban issues, especially from Jane Jacobs (1961) who early stated that the reality of self-organizing and complex systems in cities, confronts with top-down or 'formal' governance. Formal governance which fails to recognize and get to know the complexities of urban communities, and the individuals that build them. Emergence of market and societal participation is clearer in the urban space, where a demand for good services by the population: i.e. lodging, social interaction, public space and transportation, confronts that which is mandated by regulation, that is unable to cope with the realities defining urban complexity. Thus, leading to the appearance of networks between individuals and the construction of new economic relations and interrelations that are hardly possible, or desirable, to regulate.

By considering this theoretical background, section 1 of this paper will analyze the discourses regarding informality in cities of the global south, and the need to revise them for dealing with the realities of Urban Planning in Latin America. It will comment on a post-dual narrative based on some elements of New Institutional Economics (NIE), especially the ones related with informal institutions. In section 2, there will be a study of the variables of informality in Latin America and Colombia, with a focus on transportation, here complemented by the study of collaborative informal networks of transportation in cities of Colombia:

These informal networks are formed by people independently developing creative solutions in the way they engage with transportation provision. They use freely available digital platforms such as *WhatsApp* and others, as a communication tool to build their own 'platforms' in an independent and new scheme of public transit. This was illuminated by the work of K. Reilly and me in a previous engagement with the emergence of this phenomenon in Colombia (Reilly and Lozano Paredes 2019). The reason of choosing transportation as a major subject to argue for new conceptualizations, is that transportation mechanisms are structurers of the urban space and the territory (Rodrigue et al. 2016). Moreover, that their relationship with informality and institutions is not sufficiently studied (Canitez 2019), specially observing the opportunities to harness the characteristics of their governance for better understanding and planning transit (World Resources Institute 2018).

By assessing the nature of emergent informal transportation networks, section 3 of this paper will propose new definitions on a conceptualization of urban planning, problematizing the relationship between individual knowledge, and the governance of emergent informal institutions, with regulation and formal

governance mechanisms. These new visions will be further addressed in section 4, with the idea of institutions, the importance of its actors, and the nature of their failure. Including the formulation of a conclusion including the recognition of universal characteristics emerging from the phenomenon of informality, and unregulated provision of urban services by informal networks, and their institutions.

1. INFORMALITY: REVISITING THE DISCOURSES ON THE GLOBAL SOUTH

For dealing with informality, and its discourses, is necessary to revise and produce new theoretical frameworks. It could be argued here that the categorization of 'Global South' is too generalist, as most categories of analysis are, but in this case this concept has sought to differentiate a realm within global urban studies, while highlighting the Euro-centrism of many of its theories and concepts. And, even if in some cases this conceptualization has brought a possible cost to invent a forced exclusive –south centrism-, it is still helpful to analyze and debate the idea of a very much needed interchange between theory from the centers of global academia, and what's going on in developing countries.

There is also a need to overpass ideologically oriented debates, based on the duality 'structural' vs 'neoliberal'. This duality is common when analyzing the realities of cities in developing countries, and have a clearly predominant leaning towards understanding the urban environment, under the framework of dependency theory, post-colonialism and neo-Marxism (Jayne 2006; Grassi 2003; Pinson and Morel 2016). The theoretical framework of Castells and Portes (1989) for example, continuously referenced in literature dealing with informality in cities in the global south, is focused on rising inequality in the urban space, and more specifically, the emergence of an urban informal economy. This is presented as evidence of a crisis of capitalism in its failure to include everyone in the market. Accompanied with a narrative of the informal economy as a manifestation of exploitation, joining criticism of capitalism and 'neoliberalism' without the opportunity of establishing a debate, or at least the study, of dissident voices in the realm of Urban Planning.

The use of the term 'neoliberal' or 'neoliberalism' in urban studies, has transformed into a political strategy, being useful for addressing a unique position towards inequality and problems manifest in the built environment. This is shown by the work of Marxist geographer David Harvey (2007), in his assault on neoliberalism using the argument of the destructive side of creation, and the consequences of rapid technological change for example. 'Neoliberalism' is a concept created by the German academic Alexander Rüstow (1945) defined as a 'priority of the price system, free enterprise and a strong and impartial state power' (Rüstow 1945, 2001). In this conceptualization, for being 'neoliberal' is necessary to abide into modern political economy, with a strong intervention from the centralized state. Being this very contrary to the use of terminology today; linked in many cases to a strange but undefined laissez-faire economics, mixed with fiscal conservatism, and more recently right-wing policies and political parties, to which 'neoliberalism' became a synonym of.

The abuse of semantics related to 'neoliberal' discourse is a very worrying trend, as it has become an academic catchphrase, whose usage should be questioned (Boas and Gans Morse 2009). This has caused that innovative perspectives exceeding the established narratives are not common and are lacking in terms of studying new realities affecting cities such as the impacts of technology, institutional failure and organizational self-management. Aspects currently absent of the debate dealing with cities of emerging countries, especially in a context where the dispersion of decision-making away from the state as the lone actor in the city, is not acknowledged by neither the literature, nor the public sector dealing with urban issues.

A continuous focus of the 'State' as the sole provider of public services and the procurement and creation of city space has not recognized the lack of legitimacy that many of the institutions of the global south, have among the population (Levistky and Murillo 2013). Moreover, it is in this context, that much of the current initiatives and power development in cities are moving out completely from state control, creating a space between shared power and engagement and fuzzy definitions and restructuring. Brenner, Peck

and Theodore (2009) realized this reality of restructuring of the city space, and acknowledged economic phenomena affecting the city. Yet again framed it under a 'neoliberal' conceptualization.

The literature dwelling on this tendency focusing on Marxist historical analysis and an antagonism towards 'neoliberalism' has been plentiful, but just recently systematized and organized in order to give a perspective on the status of urban studies in relation to developing countries. As is the case of Parnell and Oldfield's (2014) handbook on cities of the Global South: In this useful compilation, there is a strict attachment to the mentioned streams of thought, being Marxist Ontology, Scientifics or Dependence Theory. And this is prevalent when literature about the urban space emerges elsewhere, specifically for the Latin American case, Montoya 2009 and Cortes 2017 are good examples. There is even the recent creation of a conceptualization for 'Metromarxism' (Santana 2018), which is addressed to challenge the foundational theories and categories of cities, urbanism and urbanization in the region, proposing a 'critical' analysis by the creation of 'geographical metromarxism'. Supposedly intending to supersede the structuralism approach (Castells and Portes 1989) and evolve into an experimental dialectical Marxist perspective.

Urban theory related to informality in cities, especially on the global south, needs to go beyond the usual narratives of dependency, neo-marxist and post-colonial theory for emerging countries. There is a need to go towards a post-dual perspective, with a lens focused on the institutional analysis of an environment where individuals start to develop strategies and self-organize, in the absence of a legitimate structure by the state. Or, the incapacity of formal institutions to reach broad portions of society, thus leading in the case of cities, to the self-provision and self-regulation of groups working within urban services, such as transportation (Pirez 2015, 94-98) generally understood in the 'West' to be a 'Responsibility' of the state.

That's why going beyond the narratives is necessary, and a different perspective will be addressed to better understand the nature of cities in the global south, the emergence of informality, and how this relates with what's understood for Urban Planning in the south.

Going beyond the narratives

As exposed by McCloskey (2014), the vision coming from Marxist perspectives has failed in explaining global sustained growth in welfare, rising income and innovation. A claim backed by empirical data of the current development of the so-called 'third world' (Inchauste et al. 2012). Thus, leading to the need of surpassing the classification of policies, or lack thereof, as 'neoliberal', with the aim of getting going beyond structuralist and reductionist views of the urban space and informality in it, focusing on the possibility of generating a post-dual framework of understanding of cities.

A post dual narrative allows us for example, to refer the work of Hernando de Soto (1989, 2001) without classifying it as a 'neoliberal' political leaning to the right. In this case, the empirical experience, and theory of de Soto, leads us to recognize that the nature of mercantilist forms of capitalism in Latin American and global south countries, also influenced by institutional failure and legal burdens, is confronted by the people living in these contexts by the means of a creation of an informal market in its cities. Much like the case of informal transportation networks in Colombia.

De Soto's work is fundamental to understand the nature of emergent phenomena in Latin America and the global south. Mainly out of his experience with informal settings in Peru, and his understanding of capitalistic informal transactions. But, most importantly, how people build institutions based on potential capital outcomes. People in cities of the global south have been innovating and implementing non-orthodox and self-regulated solutions, to achieve a localized goal of development and own welfare. They transform and foster new kinds of local associations, mutual learning, innovation in leadership and conflict management, all of these within informal settings. The recognition of this institutional and organizational evolution is the post-dual narrative that is needed to address the emerging issues in cities of the Global South.

A post-dual narrative coming also from Institutionalism (North 2005), and New Institutional Economics and Analysis (Ostrom 2005) is very useful here due to the complex nature of urban studies when dealing with the global south. In Ostromian institutional analysis, the key point is the encouraging of human and societal cooperation, in a nodal or decentralized fashion. Particularly, in the recognition that the concept of

'Governance', as the emergent and collective development of rules and self-management, is not linkable to 'Government', which is allocated to command and control modes of authority, that are currently failing and losing legitimacy.

For Ostrom's perspective, an overlapping set of commitments, and responsibilities in the administration of common resources such as mobility in cities, conceptualized as 'polycentricity,' is a very relevant alternative to a top-down bureaucracy, and sometimes authoritarian, form of the established political system. And a way for institutions to gain legitimacy in their participation of a rule-making and problem-solving structure.

Continuing, the conceptualization of Nodal Governance (Burriss et al. 2005) also provides a new perspective of analysis, where it is stated that network theory is better used to define the interaction of different actors, which decentralize their systems in different nodes. And, by itself these nodes change relationships between them to a point of influencing a change in the operation of formal government structures. This perspective is very superior to analyze the nature of cities and can bring a differentiated perspective when dealing with urban theory. Leading to a recognition of the complex reality, and an understanding that urban phenomena is generally too complex to be fully understood, but sufficiently interconnected to suggest that its analysis in a decentralized manner, can give a better outlook where interconnection between actors is commonplace.

Here, opening to a new theoretical framework also takes hold on the conceptualization brought by Schmitt and Hartmann (2016) which conforms a new theory for Urban Planning and Governance. In it, the use of Douglas' cultural theory (1986; 1999) and the definition of imperfect cities, vis a vis Jane Jacobs (1961) for the understanding of urban design and planning, is relevant in terms of policymaking and changing the perspectives towards informality in cities. This new narrative recognizes not only that there is the need for diversity in city analysis, and that polyrational situations are more robust when dealing with diversity of processes (Davy 2004). But also, that a 'clumsy' solution (Verweij et al. 2011) here being the recognition of emergent realities, and the need for the embrace of different rationalities, is necessary for understanding urban planning in the future.

The use of the aforementioned narratives, is necessary to analyze the idea that the responsibility for the creation of the urban space in all its subjects' lies in civil society as a network of networks, and that in the Global South, the discourse related to urban governance mechanisms dealing with informality should be constantly challenged. Especially in the global south, where informal transactions and the contextual relations between the people are embedded in differentiated governance mechanisms.

2. A VARIABLE OF INFORMALITY IN LATIN AMERICA AND COLOMBIA: PUBLIC TRANSIT, INFORMALITY AND SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION

For the purposes of this paper, and considering the proposed post-dual narrative, informality in Latin America as a societal-ingrained and emergent reality can be studied by many variables, and it is generally framed on the traditional view of informality: Access to the job market, and subsequent tax payment. However, the variable of informal transportation and its latent institutional informality is also a good framework to analyze informal emergence, which hasn't been reduced nor modified, by the great investment in public developments of transit, such as the BRT projects that now populate many cities in the continent.

However evident the situation of informal or unregulated transportation is in the studied context, information available lacks in comparison to the vast range of data available for the analysis of the evolution of generally, urban employment in the informal sector (ILO Labor Overview 2018-Latin America and the Caribbean, 37-40) in all countries of Latin America. The data provided by the ILO (ILO Labor Overview 2018-Latin America and the Caribbean, 37-38) shows that in Latin America, more than a half of workers, are in the realm of informality, which prompts the question of how many people from this percentage makes a living by either using or providing informal services.

Regarding transportation, there have been some interesting views on the issue in the Latin American context. This includes the recollection and analysis of data and experience (Gutierrez 2005, 56-67) in Argentina and an analysis on the city of Cali, Colombia by Valdes Zambrano (2014) to cite some examples. Nevertheless, for Latin America, the shape in which the cities grow through history has always been paired and accompanied by a development of schemes of informal transportation (Ghersa 2005, 105-106); (Gutierrez 2005). Most cities in the region, especially the largest metropolitan areas of Buenos Aires, Sao Paulo, Santiago or Lima have subway or metro systems in different stages of development and coverage, generally complemented by a suburban train system in infrastructure and grids designed in the late 19th century and early 20th. The case of Bogotá, in Colombia with a population of almost 10 million people in its metropolitan area is a loud exception

These transportation systems however, due to the nature of its contained infrastructure, and impossibility to extend towards the capillaries of the cities, did not represent historically most of the mobility dynamics in urban spaces of Latin America. This space was first occupied by the streetcar (Rosenthal 2015), and then by the collective bus (World Resources Institute 2018), and more recently by the implementation of BRT or 'Bus Rapid Transit' systems in different corridors of the cities. The systems of BRT were implemented in accordance with comprehensive policies of urban renewal and development aimed to the generation of better quality in the public space and the extension of bike-lanes systems and more examples of transformation of the public realm (Antier 2014).

For the Colombian context, it is interesting to observe the processes of provision of urban transportation by informal alternatives even after the expansion of governmental intentions of comprehensive coverage of public transportation. Colombia is famous for its ambitious plan of extension of Bus Rapid Transit networks in many cities based on the experience of the system's implementation in the city of Bogotá D.C. The idea behind the development of these systems was to solve the problem of chaotic traffic in cities that had been a characteristic of the urban development of Colombian cities, especially intermediate ones.

There are many examples on the literature regarding both the BRT expansion, and the complementary interventions in the urban space that these systems brought to Colombian cities. There's also a particular interest regarding urban revitalization and the improvement of the accessibility landscape that was brought by these particular interventions (Delmelle and Casas 2012). Together with the study of accessibility when these systems are integrated to a more comprehensive system, such as the case of Bogotá (Guzman et al. 2018) in which it is proven that the levels of access and coverage are far lower than expected.

Recently, BRT and other comprehensive mobility systems have come into continuous criticism and scrutiny due to their inefficiency, unsafety but most of all, their inability to defeat social and economic inequality by failing to provide proper accessibility that previous traditional public transportation covered (CODATU 2017). But most of all, the apparent unsustainability both financial and social of the system. There has been an intrinsic failure in provision to many neighborhoods and districts to which the systems apparently were not designed for, adding to the increasing inefficiency, including failing route scheduling which cause extreme congestion, and low personal safety standards concerning robberies and sexual abuse towards women.

Patterns repeat themselves historically, and the problems of the BRT systems in the region are similar to the reasons previous systems came into crisis during the last century. Streetcars for example, lauded as a modern system at the beginning of the 20th century, came into crisis by competition from public buses and private cars mostly due to the flexibility of the latter examples. By the second half of the 20th century, most transit in Latin America shifted to private bus operators without stringent regulations, until the outcome of the first decade of this century, where the Bus Rapid Transit systems were implemented rapidly (Cervero 2013; Carmona Rojas 2017; EMBARQ 2009).

Here, it can't be denied that there has been substantial change in the transportation systems. Before the implementation there were a reality of difficult experiences for people, related to the state of vehicles, frequency, lack of information and connections, but It's interesting to find that even with that taken into consideration, the acceptance of people to the new system is far from guaranteed nor established. And problems

such as social and spatial disparity (Jaramillo et al. 2012) or the effectivity of state investment on these systems it's being interrogated (Bocarejo and Oviedo 2012).

The Colombian experience: institutional failure and informality

After observing the issues emerging from the different interventions on transportation in Colombia, it can be said that this country's experience re-confirms the work of Jane Jacobs (1961), who exposed that many times the visual order is confused with a social order. BRT transportation systems in Colombia behave in an orderly manner by a visual way and are clearly an improvement of the built environment on the surface. However, in their evolution fail to recognize, the reality of the social constructs behind mobility in Colombian cities, and as it has been demonstrated for the city of Bogotá, for example, (Bocarejo et al. 2015) it has caused social fragmentation, mainly due to the spatial distribution of the implemented system.

The supposed modernization of the collective public transportation towards an integrated system of massive transportation, has led to a negative effect on the supply and accessibility of transportation to the more vulnerable neighborhoods in Colombian cities. This is caused by both a lack of coverage, and a poor design and planning of the proposed routes that has also limited the number of passengers who use the service in those parts of the city, who have different alternatives of mobility. This poor design and planning of routes in terms of the analysis of urban development, (ImaginaBogotá 2019), and the reception and perception by the population (CaliComoVamos 2017) are patent in the lack of recognition of the realities of mobility and pre-existent complexities.

The case of Colombia, however, adds another element to the equation of informality and its emergence out of institutional failure. From a new institutionalist economics perspective, Colombia could be defined as a failed state (Robinson 2015), in which institutions are completely overpassed by reality on the ground and the low quality of democratic establishment. Ironically, these democratic institutions often show in appearance a prolific production of legal standards, regulations, prescriptions and judicial decisions, which usually end up being irrelevant (Bayón and Rodríguez 2003) and could contradict the narrative of institutional failure. Yet again, the existence of these rules on paper are not by any means a guarantee for the stability of a system, or even its agency in the formulation of public policy.

For transportation systems, this is represented on the mentioned inaccessibility of the legal framework in place, which do not respond to the reality on the ground. And also, to a lack of proper representation by the different actors involved in transportation provision, which leads to a 'blindness' among policymakers and urban planners, failing to acknowledge physical and social realities of the cities they were working with. Previous transportation systems, however chaotic and unregulated as they were, 'recognized' elements from the societal construction of cities due to the nature of its evolution, however they were replaced by a structured and closed systems such as the BRT (Valdes Zambrano, 2014, 27-28).

The latter has to the emergence of the mentioned informal units of transportation provision, with small niche markets that are marked by a high demand for transport and inadequate total coverage of the BRT systems, contributing to the expansion of the informal offer (Vecchio, 2018, 10-13). And, as we saw before, this is a process that has repeated itself through history in Latin American cities. What is interesting about this phenomenon, dealing with the need of new definitions on Urban Planning for contexts such as the Colombian one, is a reality of self-organization in informal schemes. Moreover, what does this means for cities.

The historical evolution of Colombian society and its response to the institutional failure of its state, and the irrelevance of its legal standards is also characterized by a reality of self-organization. This has a dramatic example in the realities of the internal conflict that the country has endured for decades, showing that the absence of the state and the irrelevance of its regulations manifest in the replacement of the formal institutions by informal institutions based on fear and violence (Ballvé 2012). Taking a more dramatic shift in how territorial dynamics are built, and how there appears to be a nature of cooperative construction and self-organization in front of the failure of state institutions. A nature present in the case of the United Self-Defense Cooperatives of Colombia paramilitary groups (Manwaring 2002) for example, a terminated ter-

rorist organization, which nevertheless shows us the power and tendency of Colombian people to self-group to provide and harness benefits and specific goals.

In the case of these Colombian cities, the institutional failure in Urban Planning gets exposed in the reaction to the creation of the BRT transportation systems by the population. And how, both to a lack of coverage or the presence of better and previously known alternatives of mobility, unfolded into the expansion of the informal systems, or even to act as last-mile components of this scheme, which has proved itself unable to reach full coverage of the cities. By disregarding control measures from the authorities, either avoiding them or because of certain attitudes from the law-enforcement units who simply “look to the other side”, informal transportation alternatives have complemented the lack of good service in an act of public constructed and public supported transgression against established governance. The relevance of this informal mobility scheme for Colombian cities is discussed following.

The relevance of informal transportation and its social construction

Taking the exposed into consideration, especially the history and evolution of the Colombian case, it could be hypothesized that a common factor of the issues affecting transportation in the global south is the exclusion, in paper, of every other mobility system that is not included in the formal, centralized, ‘tracked’ and one-size-fits all modes of transportation. In reference to this, is necessary to quote the experience of Carlos Alberto Molina Prieto, Social Development Specialist and international adviser on population resettlement at the World Bank. In his work, he looked at this issue with an interesting approach regarding the Colombian case, in reference to the development of the massive transportation system, the main users, and the consideration of their perspective to elaborate a conclusion (Molina Prieto 2014):

...I asked if she is satisfied with the new transport. And she answers: ‘Well ... is nice and the city looks better, seems like a big city! But see, for women is uncomfortable when buses are very crowded, there are people who abuse the situation and makes us uncomfortable. If one tries to make a complaint almost always, they tell you is that it is a mass transportation system, look at other cities and see that their systems are ‘fuller’, and so ... then you must put up with it, and is not easy.’...

... However, as these systems tend to have slightly higher rates than the ‘traditional’ systems, many users have expressed doubt whether it is worth the huge investment that has been made to continue suffering discomfort: ‘Sometimes I wonder if it will not be that massive for someone to fill their pockets well at the expense of our discomfort?’ asks another user...

...Although these new systems are more formal and better organized, the reality is that many of the inhabitants of large Colombian cities move through a combination of formal and informal services according to their needs or day of the week: ‘On Saturday I go out to buy food, but to get to the station (the new system) I walk a lot and my little daughter gets tired, and when I wear packages, I have very difficult access to the stations’ Said a user...

...I asked why those days they consider using the services of a neighbor who has a motorcycle, which transport her, her daughter and her shopping. Other times, she resorts to other informal services such as private cars as taxis operating unregistered or collective services, i.e. once they meet five passengers; they make a route depending on the destination of each of them...

...Although local and national authorities in Colombia are making great efforts to formalize the public transport network, until that moment arrives, users will continue using this combination of formal and informal services to reach their destination.

The findings by Molina Prieto, complement other studies on Colombian cities, mainly the one by Valdes Zambrano (2014), which deals directly with the emergence of informal transit, its origins, and how people are successful in building networks of transportation provision. Showing in this case, that they are more efficient in terms of time and accessibility for the people unserved by the regular public system.

For the case of Cali, Valdes Zambrano found what it is defined as ‘Main Street’ of the informal transportation system. There, the organization of the irregular transportation not only provides a good service in terms of efficiency, but also operates together rather harmoniously in reference to the common interest of all the actors involved in the process. It is important to reassign importance to the variable of time-to-transport, and the study of Valdes Zambrano does this in relation to the measurable importance that this variable has in terms of the election of the informal choice or the integrated and regulated transportation system.

In the Valdes Zambrano study, it is described that:

For example, the path of the ‘Pirate’ Main Corridor is the local reference for this type of transportation providers- is similar to the P1 route and takes approximately an hour and 45 minutes to two hours depending on the time of daythe informal transport halved the time spent by the formal transport. This is due to different characteristics such as the number of passengers carried and thus the number of stops made by the bus. So, the supply of informal transport has a great advantage related to the question of time, as it is more efficient to the route of the bus, quantifiable in terms of time...

More evidence about the relevance of informal transportation and the institutional and organizational settings that evolve within it is found in Reilly and my study (2019) on the same Colombian city. In it, during characterization and recognition of the informal transportation services providers, and the disruption of digital ride-hailing platforms in the country, it was encountered that:

During the realization of the field work for this project, an interesting finding emerged: Cali has two large groups of drivers that use WhatsApp as a communication tool to build their own “platforms” for ride hailing. One of the groups is constituted by up to 300 drivers and the other one by 50 drivers. Drivers use these platforms to supplement their work during off peak times for the big platform companies, and address some of the problems they face in these larger platforms. What this innovation shows us is that workers in Cali are independently developing creative solutions to address both problems with ride-hailing platforms, as well as the lack of progress on decent work standards by policymakers and legislators of Colombia. The self-organized platforms developed by workers have emerged to improve specific aspects of labor conditions and secure economic welfare. Successful policy must keep these types of innovations in mind since they establish the context for effective decent work standards in the platform economy.

Digital platforms, as used by emergent networks, are really being utilized to socially institutionalize economic relations, exacerbated in Latin America by the nature of emergent and informal economic relations that could not be regulated or much less controlled before the arrival of the digital escalation. In Colombian cities, digital platforms have reorganized and disrupted the informal schemes of transportation, and, from what is found in the study, even promoted more self-organized networks of for-profit urban services provision.

What is known about these emergent groups of economic interrelation, using both open access, and established sharing economy platforms, is that enterprising individuals, together with the joining peers, create them, establish rules and self-regulate economic relations surging from the digital platform, thus creating greater welfare for themselves. For the case of transportation providers in Colombian cities, in emergent groups from the sharing economy platforms, workers pay a fee to join the network, which neither de-

mands verification of data, nor compliance with technical or mechanical norms, but offers the possibility of even growing a micro-business by acquiring more vehicles and put them to work. On the other hand, to female drivers for example, it offers the possibility to enjoy the security of knowing that passengers have been vetted by trusted community members, such as security guards posted at known buildings. In this specific case, local collaborations, also built on trust, help drivers connect with fares, when markets are saturated, thereby improving their income. In addition, these local systems allow drivers to enhance their service offering through delivery of packages, or carpooling, together with other services.

Both studies here show that in socio-spatial considerations for the phenomena of informality in Colombia, a revision of traditional ways of looking at transportation planning and the recognition of informal alternatives is needed. Moreover, this heads to recognize emergence from the providers side, and empower these workers to be entrepreneurs and/or innovators. Therefore, producing the conditions for their own welfare, which is paramount in the road towards a new conceptualization of Urban Planning.

The analysis and purpose of this acknowledgment of urban actors, who develop informally, while providing a good service and welfare, should be approached to in a deeper manner. It is necessary to understand that apart from a problem of regulation, efficiency or economic inclusion, there is a basic unsolved issue in the way cities are planned and governed. In relation to urban services such as transportation, but also in the development itself of a city which must recognize, acknowledge and approach its very necessary and comprehensive view of urbanism. Beginning a course of action in which those who have an immediate access to the processes evolving in the city, have the possibility of their realities being recognized and introduced into a new methodology of urban planning. Providers and users enter a realm in which their agreements and transactions far outpace the existent regulation, from urban development to transit codes, and therefore a process of emergent and complex order arises which daily confronts and transgress whatever scheme is intended to impose over the dynamics of fluidity in cities.

What's evident for cities like Cali, can be extended to other Colombian cities such as Bogotá or Medellín¹, and in a more generalized way to Latin America and the Global South. The institutional failure is present in all these contexts, and as we have seen, this is an incentive to both informality and emergent processes of self-organization. Previous literature on the subject has dealt with the subject of self-organization in cities, however, as per the context of Latin America, there is one perspective which is interesting to highlight here, and which bring us not just new terminology applicable to the global south, but also some views on policymaking on Latin American cities related with this subject. From the lens of Vieta and Lionais (2015), what emerges from entrepreneurial activity linked to emergent and informal processes, is that in a context of institutional failure, there is the creation of complex organizational developments and grassroots governance mechanisms from the bottom-up.

In the emergent transportation networks, drivers, passengers, and owners of vehicles are immersed in a system that even if it offers few protections, also generates higher incomes and the possibilities of avoiding the negative issues of dealing with the mechanisms within regular platform companies such as Uber, in terms of rate settlement, complaints and others.

Drivers also are using these emergent systems to achieve personal gain in the form of the creation of microbusiness by either acquiring more vehicles or administering the newly created groups or self-organizing themselves in what could be called emergent though not formalized cooperatives. This bring mutual benefits and defense in front of punitive actions from the state regarding the development of its service, allowing people to develop processes of self-management², self-regulation and autonomous administration (Vieta and Lionais 2015) which are very relevant to analyze in a context of institutional failure. And finally, these people are creating processes of collaboration for connecting fares and drivers, enhancing their service offering delivery of packages or others forms of carpooling among many innovations to provide actual transportation but also to increase the level of earnings whenever they are outside the regulatory system, and the high cost the formal systems impose.

In terms of urban policies, this new line of thought lies in the need by cities in the global south to recognize informal operators, together with the nature of its emergence governance mechanisms. Moreover to

‘pro-actively engage them on a path toward operational reform’ (World Resources Institute 2018), which includes the possibility of connecting existing services unto an integrated network, the investment in related infrastructure, the upgrading and integration of informal operators, together with harnessing their organizational skills and their use of platform technology in order to create a more open system. In other words, a ‘hands-off’ approach to urban policy in transportation which will lead to a new way of dealing with city issues for developing countries contexts.

It could be argued that are undoubtedly many reasons to choose a system within a formal framework, it brings a sensation of safety and as mentioned before by the experience of Molina Prieto, a new image of the city related to a recognition of ‘progress’ or the achievement of a ‘big city’. However, people keep choosing an informal mean, and the proportion of participation of the extra-legal transportation systems is growing, rendering their ‘Motility’ as conceptualized by Kaufmann (2004), unrecognizable in terms of accessibility or propensity to move a geographical social or economic space.

As exposed in the (Forum Vies Mobiles, 2012):³

Motility therefore refers to the social conditions of access (conditions in which ‘supply’ is used in the broadest sense of the word), to the skills (which are needed in order take advantage of this supply) and the mobility projects considered (which can be realized by the effective use of the supply).

Taking transport as an example, motility is the way in which a person or a group uses the travel possibilities available from the transport supply...

...Motility leads one to consider that the individual is located somewhere between this supply and demand and is able to assess the possibilities offered by the supply and then transform them into demand for a journey, according to his/her specific requirements. The advantage of this model is that it enables people to identify the relationships between the different possibilities provided by supply, motility and demand. These relationships have become even more important given that travel possibilities have significantly increased in the last 50 years and that, as a result, there is no longer a mechanistic relationship between supply and demand, but instead a universe in which every individual is able to exercise choice...

Informality here becomes relevant in the point that allows people in the Colombian cities, to have a choice and to access the opportunity to move, and to provide transportation in more efficient ways than an established transit system. Next, this paper will work on that idea of informal and emergent procedures as enablers of better outcomes in context such as the Colombian. Moreover, how their recognition and study can help frame a new conceptualization of cities in the global south.

3. TOWARDS A NEW CONCEPTUALIZATION OF URBAN PLANNING IN THE GLOBAL SOUTH

Before elaborating on new conceptualizations, it is important to summarize the following factors that are present in transportation on urban contexts of the global south, and as it is the case of Colombia, illuminate the debate on the much-needed renovated perspectives on urban and transportation planning:

1. In Colombia, and this can be extended to many places in the global south, there is an ingrained nature of informality related to urban services. The perennial nature of this phenomena is prevalent no matter how regulated the scheme tries to be (Pirez 2015, 143-147).
2. There is virtual incapacity and absence of local and national governments to organize the provision of efficient formal infrastructure, which brings accessibility to all. This is more evident for the

- Latin American context as per the duality of large investments in formal infrastructure but a lack of accessibility to many places in the cities (Molina Prieto 2014).
3. The peak capacity reached by most of the existing public urban services systems in South American cities, including the case of Colombia (Yañez-Pagans, Martinez et al. 2018, 7-11).
 4. The emergence of networks with a nature of for-profit informal and unregulated alternatives for transportation in all levels of income. (Reilly and Lozano Paredes 2019; Cervero and Golub 2011; Cervero 2000; Chapain 2005; Godard 2006).

As was exposed previously, a focus on this emergent informal transportation, and its consideration as a process of self-organization and self-management, which can guide urban policy among many other sectors of the city, helps us to elaborate a new conceptualization on Urban Planning. Here I use of the conceptual framework brought by New Institutional Economics, and more specifically the Institutional Analysis and Development Framework (Ostrom 2010). This perspective understands, especially in terms of urban, metropolitan and territorial governance realities, how human actions and situations cannot be normalized or standardized, due to the intrinsic diversity of positions, actors and possible outcomes (Ostrom, 2010, 5-12).

By this conceptual consideration, we could argue, that first, there is too much urban “planning” in Latin America. In the form of laws, rules, and plans about public and private spaces which can reach thousands of pages, but not a perspective which takes into consideration an ample framework of the context, actors and action situations, together with the multiple patterns of interactions which arise in the urban context. As a rule, however, the policymaker and the urban planner, at least in the Latin American tradition of continental regulation, view the approval of the plan or Urban Planning law, by the authorities at charge, as an achievement by itself. As if the result is already accomplished, thus becoming a passive observer during several years of urban development, generally the years which the plan has its timeframe.

Under this context, discussions taking place on how Urban Planning in the global south is developing start to become innocuous, given the lack of data to understand what problems exist, what are the actors and institutional characteristics linked to urban development, together with the consequences of the plans that are being implemented. The goals of these plans are unclear, and the ways to achieve them even less, leading to the need to start taking a different approach focused on the nature of complexity, which leads to sustain the idea that yes, the urban context can indeed be studied and managed, but that this same context is impossible to “plan”.

Ostrom’s framework here is helpful too, when engaging an urban context from a decentralized proposition of governance, as for the context analyzed, together with cities in general in the global south, arguing for centralized forms of planning and government is not applicable. Even to a point that the very study of the urban context from a unified perspective cannot only fail to grasp the nature of urban processes, but also create undesired outcomes in policy planning. Informality in the management, access and procurement of common resources services in the urban space, such as the case of Colombian and Latin American cities, and emergent transportation networks, could be addressed in the literature (Ostrom 2010, 10; 17) as staging a process of self-regulation in emergent economic interaction accords.

Even if it can be argued that the dichotomy between formal and informal definitions as characterized by Hart (Hart 2006, 25) requires a conceptualization into the formation of a stability based on rules. And moreover, that for cities, any “formal” framework for Urban Planning and Governance, is a product of the emergence of rules by an established authority. This idea must be confronted, as it is done by (Guha-Khasnobis, Kanbur and Ostrom 2006), in the recognition that this conceptualization has been at the root of major policy failures in socio-spatial planning and analysis. Leading to argue here, that presuming there are no established “rules” among informal emergent phenomena, and to pretend to “formalize” pre-existent structures is to fail on grasping a vision that could really give answers for the analysis of the urban environment in the global south and produce better perspectives on Urban Planning for the future.

The provision of this new conceptualization can be misunderstood as a support to illegality and deregulation. But it’s necessary to make the clarification that is not about supporting informality but understand-

ing it as a reality in the urban context of cities in the developing world, which policy makers should accept, confront and work in order to adapt to the pre-existent reality. This brings us to our first perspective on the proposed conceptualization:

Urban planning in the global south needs to recognize in its inception, pre-existent mechanisms and the context where it is applied.

In the case of Latin America cities, these mechanisms are categorized by Pérez (2015) as ‘inverse urbanization’ being structural to understand the local reality in Colombia that is studied by this paper:

In the urbanization, the population arrives after the place has been urbanized. This sequence allows its occupants family social reproduction in a broad sense, to the extent that it offers land, housing, infrastructure and services, at least in a minimum of quantity and quality. In the inverse urbanization, on the contrary, the population arrives before their conditions occur, or that such production is sufficient to guarantee the reproduction of the agglomerated social life. It is the ‘urbanization modality in which it is first inhabited and then it is urbanized.

In this case, it is interesting to analyze this differentiated process of urbanization not only from the perspective of urban land, but from the provision of services in an ‘inverse’ way. Being that, at the time the population begins, whether regularly or irregularly, to provide services urban transport, for example, is the moment in which it is necessary to recognize this process as a legitimate modality of urban construction. As a reality constituting a true development of the urban order in the sense of the application given by Pérez (2015) as – together, coexisting – and defining that new-urban order. It must be recognized that in South America there has been generally an absence of the State, and a process of institutional failure (Peters 2015). In addition, this has been joined by the consequent failure of the de-commodification processes, and the absence or failure of the implementation of the model of the welfare state, being necessary to affirm that the fact of urban structuring occurred despite these failures, and that it was unfailingly connected to an informality process framed in this new order raised here. As was brilliantly stated by Ghersi (2005), informal activity is a way in which the individual reaffirms his position in society, vindicating his right to work and develop in response to processes of economic expulsion evident in citizen reality, bringing us to our next view which is that:

Urban planning in the global south needs to acknowledge individual initiatives and inverse urbanization processes as a valid mechanism of city production.

The response from policymakers and academia

After considering the previous perspectives, what would the position of public policy makers, and the academia related to urban studies, should they recognize the existence of urban complexity—as is understood here—and of the emerging social constructions in the sphere urban and legislate in response to this? Or, on the other hand, should they continue trying to impose foreign orders and foreign structures on mechanisms that are pre-existing and are embedded in the realities of cities?

It is very difficult to achieve a unique response to the proposition of the importance of civil society intervention in urban policy, without recognizing that the role of citizens is to be answered by policymakers and the discourses in academia, in order to find a new position of the role of the State within this duality faced with the Market. Which must include the vision of an increasingly empowered civil society, that does not find in the state the representativeness that it supposes its existence, neither in the regulation and in the laws the protection against the abuses of power, authoritarianism, corruption and mercantilism. Issues prevalent in the global south, and the sources of a potentiality by informal processes which simply avoid the social cost of being ‘formal’ (De Soto 1989).

In the case of emergent transportation the avoidance of the cost of being 'formal' gives us the lens to which analyze how civil society is actually doing the planning in the South American context, as their relations are embedded by strong community ties, grassroots democratic institutional construction, sharing space with realities of utilitarianism, entrepreneurialism, hierarchies and insider arrangements. Here, an element as structural for city construction such as transportation is challenged by structures, which in many cases do a better work in providing ways for people to move around the city space. For theoretical construction, this is essential in order to understand that is actually these groups of self-governed people who are actually constructing the reality of Urban Planning in the region.

The use of different rationalities is necessary to understand the nature of cities for the future, and in this case, taking into account that civil society is the one that took upon itself the actual responsibility of engaging with the city, is the way to embrace new forms of understanding urban governance and policy. By the means of the study of emergent and self-organized mechanisms, a new discourse on how to engage with the urban problem in a more realistic way can be elaborated.

The intersection of emergent orders together with the study of governance alternatives and especially polycentric governance (E. Ostrom 2005; V. Ostrom, Tiebout, & Warren 1961, 831-842; Boettke, Palagashvili, Lemke 2013) present here an alternative in the discussion of how cities are studied, intervened and transformed worldwide. Aiming for a recognition of the importance of emergent models and bottom up approaches, vs. a vision characteristic of recent public policy literature. In them, the nature of emergent processes is understood independently from theories dealing with dependency and structuralism, and which actually understands the particularities of developing countries building a much-needed bottom-up perspective (Choplin 2012).

Although conflicting, the concept of complex orders in social constructions such as cities goes along with the idea of understanding freedom as centered on the responsibility of the individual. Accompanied by a reality that individual knowledge establishes the best for a locally defined issue or problem, taking the point towards the construction of social structures by individuals, which directly and indirectly conflict with the established regulation. There is acknowledgment crisis of responsibility of duties division, linked to a predictable change in state and society's roles, in relation with city production. As is elaborated by De Roo and Porter (2007, 60), where they state there is a need to 'rethink the nature of political processes' and in particular processes that are moving away from models of command of control and being replaced by undefined or 'fuzzy' models of governance.

Named that way because the roles and responsibilities that are expected to be taken by planning authorities, are not as direct as the activities of independent actors, mainly civil society, could be:

'...rethink the 'nature of policy processes' and in particular processes that are moving away from the coordinative or 'command and control' models of governance. The straightforward models are being replaced by 'fuzzy' modes of governance, so called because the roles and responsibilities that planning authorities are expected to take are no longer straightforward as there are to the activities of a wide range of parties including other than governmental bodies.'

This responsibility in Urban Planning and Governance, derived as a social construct, can help disband the position for the creation of an utilitarian (failed) order, as is also exposed by Alexander (1975, 10) in his critique to the concept of master plan, and planning in general regarding the complexity and organicity inherent to cities:

'...the master plan, as currently conceived, cannot create a whole. It can create a totality, but not a whole. It can create totalitarian order, but not organic order. We shall argue, in short, that although the task of making sure that individual acts of building cooperate to form a whole is real, the conventional master plan—based on a map of the future—cannot possibly perform this task.'

For Alexander, the current nature of Urban Theory and its application by urban planners is incapable to create a built environment in which the variety and organic order pretended are achieved. In this concept, an organic equilibrium can only be achieved by the work of a community in which every member shapes the parts of the environment it is familiar with, a premise telling that only the people living in a place can recognize and know their needs.

Urban planning which intervenes on the social fabric and capital has clearly the non-intended outcome of reducing or destroying incentives, familiarity and trust of economic actors, due to the imposition of external and unnatural requirements and preconditions. Therefore, a new vision and conceptualization should seek, most of all, to achieve minimum standards for the disrupted actors, which act in response to acquired rights, but not look for intervention in the artlessness and ease of actual self-regulation mechanisms present naturally in civil society.

4. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN URBAN PLANNING, EMERGENT INSTITUTIONS AND FORMAL GOVERNANCE: A CONCLUSION.

Together with the previously proposed conceptualization, it's interesting to see that various voices in the realm of Urban Planning have already alerted about a necessary shift in the way the cities are studied and thought. In 2015 at the annual convention of AESOP (Association of European Schools of Planning) a subject of utter relevance for understanding the future of urban studies was proposed as *Definite Space, Fuzzy Responsibility*, in which the limitations of planning in relation to governance and institutions were debated (AESOP Prague 2015):

While many of the initiatives and powers moved outside public control, the sense of responsibility for spatial change and sustainable development of cities and regions hardly overstepped the domain of city halls and ministries, and planners as their experts. The gap between sprawled powers / potency and blurred sense of responsibility should be the focus of the Congress debates.

Our cities are spreading, the distances that most of us have to travel for jobs, shopping, entertainment, etc. are steadily increasing, and money available for maintenance and improvement of roads, utilities and public services is shrinking. Rich people are retiring to gated communities while some others may remain trapped in social and ethnic ghettos.

All these problems are expected to be tackled by planning as an instrument for urban and regional management. But planning itself was affected by drift from hierarchical control by state and local governments, through public-private partnership projects, to governance where the actual field of municipalities' and states' action is dissolved and shared with business.

This defined 'fuzzy responsibility' is where the resolution for the needed proposition of new types of governance in relation to the city gets its inception, how it is related to the transgression against old models of governance which do not answer to the realities of social developments in urban environments. Here its pertinent again to name the work of Jane Jacobs (Jacobs 1961, 60) and her idea of the 'complex order' structured by movement and change, described eloquently as a dance, not a simple and precise one (say guided) but created by distinctive individuals, full of improvisation:

Under the seeming disorder of the old city, wherever the old city is working successfully, is a marvelous order for maintaining the safety of the streets and the freedom of the city. It is a complex order. Its essence is intricacy of sidewalk use, bringing with it a constant succession of eyes. This order is all composed of movement and change, and although it is life, not art, we may fancifully call it the art form of the city and liken it to the dance — not to a simple-minded precision dance

with everyone kicking up at the same time, twirling in unison and bowing off *en masse*, but to an intricate ballet in which the individual dancers and ensembles all have distinctive parts which miraculously reinforce each other and compose an orderly whole. The ballet of the good city sidewalk never repeats itself from place to place, and in any once place is always replete with new improvisations.

Here it is impossible to not make a close relation with (Hayek 1948, 86-87) and its development by (Machan 1988, 230). An evolutionary social and economic theory of the impossibility of centralized planning, with relation to the importance of the individual and its paper both in society as a whole, and in this case of study, in the city, but even most importantly, how the individual eventually build this participation on the social and urban construct:

Persons are not able to escape their humanity—they are human individuals. Treating them as isolated monads or atoms—an idea promptly seized upon and denounced by socialists—has to be rejected. And with this we must reject the impossibility of any degree of political-economic collective “planning,” the notion from Hayek that gives anarchists so much intellectual fuel. With respect to their equality as moral agents, individuals must be understood to share certain features which require a human social order to be constituted in certain ways.

As exposed by Hayek (1948), the importance of the individual falls in the very edge of the limits of centralized planning, specifically in the idea of knowledge dispersion. In this view, time and place are related to whom it inhabits, as there is the recognition of a de-organized knowledge (non-scientific in the sense of a knowledge of ‘general rules’) but the knowledge of circumstances of place, and time, circumstances of location, and this can be applied to the context of local knowledge in the cities we inhabit. An organic or emergent order, as exposed previously is prevalent in Colombia, Latin America and the Global South, and cannot be grasped beforehand and it can only surge gradually inside a community sharing patterns and a process of diagnostic, and which takes responsibility of the consequences of its propositions. Central planning on the other hand ends up generating structures of such conceptual simplicity that determine a simplification of the essence of the city, what makes it work.

A CONCLUSION

The construction of urban reality in the global south and Latin America and Colombia in particular, refers to the prevalence of informal processes that cannot nor should they be ignored and addressed by a simple elaboration of regulatory policies. Being here where the need arises for a study of the role of each individual’s personal responsibility in society, and how he or she create new forms of self-governance. Not only to recognize the ingrained quality of informality, but also to give an account of the power associated with this phenomenon. Moreover, to be able to give an answer to the issue of both economic and human development for the global south where most of the Urbanization will be concentrated in the 21st Century.

Presented conditions emergent transportation cases, context of cities in Colombia, and the construction of informal governance mechanisms, it can be concluded there is an evident willingness in Colombian cities to transgress an imposed order. As there is also a willingness to respect the established social pre-existent constructions, confront the inefficiency of the imposed system vs. the emergent and informal scheme, and not supporting the groups of interest involved in the provision of the regular transportation system (State, private contractors, transportation companies) in favor of the small emergent providers.

Formal governance and centralized planning inability to fulfill its duties of enforcement, causes a detriment in the business of transporting people as we have seen in the nature of irregularity and informality is not going to stop by issuing a law. Future policies addressing these issues need to be evaluated in the context of emergent business models that have significant implications for society. Policymakers need to consider

the importance and relevance of community innovations, and policy proposals need to take into consideration the impossibility of centralized urban governance and planning in spaces as complex as cities in the global south. It is necessary to recognize the entrepreneurial spirit behind these phenomena, the true nature of the relations between people on the ground.

In emerging and developing countries, attention should be fixed on the need to empower people to be entrepreneurs and innovators and build community innovations that therefore produce the condition for their own welfare. These are the people who are doing the Planning, and where attention from Urban Planning should be focused on.

NOTES

1. In the case of the City of Medellín, the situation is more complex. The efforts and relative success of its governmentally led Urban Planning had been praised internationally (Secretaría de Movilidad de Medellín, 2017). Its conceptualization of social urbanism, together with the promotion of varied transportation investments, and urban acupuncture interventions (Echeverri and Orsini, 2011, 17-20) earned the city the award of the Lee Kuan Yew World City Prize in 2016. However, informality in transportation is still present in varied forms, wherever the structured integrated mobility system of the city do not reach, or where the informal means still provide a better alternative of mobility for people, especially in marginalized areas (Valdes Zambrano, 2014, 43) of the city.
2. In the scope of organizational theory and institutional analysis used for terminology of this thesis, the term self-management, also meaning autonomous administration), is understood as the use of any method, skill and strategy through which the participants of an activity can guide the achievement of its objectives with autonomy in the management of resources. It is done through goal setting, planning, programming, task tracking, self-evaluation, self-intervention and self-development.
3. Reference: fr.forumviesmobiles.org

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