KEEP IMPROVING: MODERNITY AND ITS ANXIETIES IN CALI, COLOMBIA TRANSPORTATION SYSTEM

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Abstract

The metropolitan areas in Colombia, as well as the metropolitan areas of Latin America, face similar problems related to the urban transport. Despite multiple efforts to promote the use of the MIO in Cali, people are using alternative transport solutions. The present work is a historical approach to understand the multiple processes occurring in the MIO Bus Rapid Transit developed in Cali, Colombia, since the planning for the implementation. In this work, I propose historically informal dynamics have shaped the city building in Cali Colombia. I will argue first, that the implementation of the new urban transport system reflects the historical process of urban planning in Cali. Second, that the city administration depends on their institutional capabilities to respond to the transportation needs within the city. And third, that the governance in Cali, historically requires of informal supply of public services that later are formalize, creating a cycle of informal-formalization that is repeated in the urban planning.

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INTRODUCTION

In 2015, was released a campaign to improve the "culture" inside the MIO with a song[1]. In its lyrics, the singer invites to stand in line in the stops and the stations, to wait until the people leave the buses before entering, and to be "good users". Positive attitude towards the journey implies also positive thoughts on the system and the progress in the city. The song presents the improvement in life quality that people in Cali are enjoying with the system, happiness and comfortable commuting "with air conditioning" and easy connections between the origin and destiny of the users. To avoid misbehaves, the song proposes to wait calmly and not "push doors" to see if the bus is arriving because the "system informs when the bus is coming and where to stop". The song is sung by *Los Traviesos*, a local group of salsa choke, a genre mixing salsa with reggaeton and Pacific region folklore tempos, after the solicitude of Metrocali, the municipal company in charge of the system. Despite its effort, the song was caricatured as inaccurate and fictitious as the actual waiting times are not the ones displayed in the charts. The song continues and reminds Cali's inhabitants that waiting is not only for the bus, but to wait for the system which is constantly improving, because at the end, "the wait will be worth it"

In Colombia, transportation services within the cities before the year of 2000 were based on buses companies, private owned, that serve defined routes. Those companies operate without a central control by the municipalities. The deficiency to enforce transit laws over the bus companies and its excesses was a reason given to implement a new and integrated transportation system in Colombian cities. With the old system competition between different companies could be fierce and traffic crash were common. The new system, now 17 years old system, promised order and control for municipalities which implemented in Colombia. Bogota's

[1] The song was popular for some month during 2015 and later dismissed. The video can be seen in the Metrocali's account in Youtube: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RhH5j435-3g

Transmilenio was the first Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) system in the country starting its operation in the year 2000. Nowadays six Colombian cities have its own version of BRT. But the formally planned system coexists with the organically planned old system.

The metropolitan areas in Colombia, as well as the metropolitan areas of Latin America, face similar problems related to the urban transport. Issues such as population growth in cities, increased transport of people and the rise of private cars and motorbikes are some of the problematic situations that local and municipal Governments in Colombia are facing. Government responses to solve these challenges are related to the recovery of public space, alternative mobility, the disincentive to the use of the particular vehicle and the construction of Mass transit System solution in the form of Bus Rapid Transit.

Urban public transport in Colombia is defined as a public service, planned, regulated and controlled by the state. Its benefit is mainly in the hands of private operators within a market economy in which the National State finances the infrastructure needed for its operation at its central level, and the municipalities as subsidiaries (CONPES 3166, 2002)[2].

In Cali, Colombia's third largest city, the new system was planned and centralized in a public municipal company called "Metrocali," but operated by four private companies. The system was named MIO[3] and starts its operation in 2009 and is based on the BRT experience of Bogota's Transmilenio. MIO's order promise implies it will change Cali's face. MIO will be the landmark after which a new city arises, a new city with improved traffic. A new Cali facing the

[2] The acronym CONPES stands for *Consejo Nacional de Política Económica y Social* or National Council for Social and Economic Policy produced by the Colombian National Department of Planning (*Departamento Nacional de Planeación, DNP*).

[3] *Masivo Integrado de Occidente* can be translated as Western Mass Integrated. At the same time, the acronym *MIO* in Spanish (*mío*) means "mine".

21st Century, "an opportunity to build a new city for the kids and not for the cars" as Enrique Peñalosa said in the local newspaper *El Pais* (2004-02-22).

The problems manifested after the implementation of the MIO in of Cali, Colombia, cannot be explained as consequence of neoliberalism imposition as some voices in the city suggest. However, maybe as the continuation of preexisting informality. The Market logic that local state hardly controlled At least not only in economic terms nor to simplify the multiple relations that connect in this case. In this sense, seems that dichotomies between public and private overlaps in Colombia, and such antagonistic categories are not clearly defined. In Cali, the public capital was used to build the roads and stations that are used by the MIO, but buses and tickets are managed by four private companies founded after the merger of some of the most prominent bus owners and cooperatives under the old system. In any case, everyday commuter's manifest aversion to the new system because perceiving that their traveling conditions worsened compared to the old buses. For them, the promise of progress is not palpable in their experiences. Urban transportation policies reflect anxieties of modernity in Colombian State-level planning, aimed to the development of a healthy economy for the post-conflict country which is emerging as an essential actor in the Latin American region; and for the municipalities that are trying to steer the urban development in Colombian cities.

Literature review

Neoliberalism

Liberal capitalism produces discomfort in the societies because the free market is not able to regulate aspects of social life. For David Harvey (2007) neoliberalism was a movement to "disembed capital" for the constraints of social and political spheres, which regulates the economics (Harvey, 2007: 11). Neoliberalism for him is characterized by "strong private

property, free trade and free markets" that was imposed to the highly industrialized societies David Harvey's approach highlights the processes of privatization lived mostly in the US and major economies of Western Europe in the late 70's. He even recognized that "For much of the Third World, particularly Africa, embedded liberalism remained a pipe dream. The subsequence drives towards neoliberalization after 1980 entailed little material change in their impoverished condition." (Harvey, 2007: 11). It is necessary to recognize that the social and economic context of Cali and Colombia for the present case the neoliberalism does not imply privatization in the public industries, nor deregulation to the market. Both characteristics because Colombia does not begin with the same conditions of the embedded economy than industrial societies aforementioned.

Infrastructures are charged with values which enhanced state rule over urban space. Brian Larkin proposes that infrastructures, quoting Michel Foucault, "are interesting because they reveal forms of political rationality that underlie technological projects and which give rise to an 'apparatus of governmentality'" (Larkin, 2013: 328). Sandro Mazzadra points out that modernity as totalizing idea emerges after the unification of diverse processes into a coherent history. For him, in Europe and the colonial world, modernity is inherently heterogenic, and the pretended homogeneity of European modernity is "part of a strategy to establish European primacy" (Mazzadra, 2011: 153). This approach allows me to see modernity as a contested field, in which definitions of modernity are negotiated and take physical form in projects of infrastructure. Infrastructures are not only the steel and concrete but the act of defining an infrastructure is also a categorizing moment (Larkin, 2013: 330); and infrastructures do not merely exist, it has to be invented in one's imagination (Mezzadra, 2011: 152).

Building infrastructures are the materialization of modernization plans. Several cases showing how societies enter into modernization processes, existing infrastructures as one visible aspect

of modernity. Dimitris Dalakoglou (2012) argues that infrastructures were central for the modernization during the socialist period, and how infrastructures were reinterpreted during and after the transition to market economy in Albania. In both moments, infrastructures were not just the road of the bridge as material objects. During socialist Albania, infrastructures also serve to establish subjectivities of socialist modernization. For him, "road construction has to be perceived as a key measure of social engineering, since […] what was primarily created via the production of road materiality were new human subjectivities." (Dalakoglou, 2012: 572). With the Albanian transition to capitalism, socialist infrastructures were spaces of dispute. Old values of socialist modernization clash against new impetus for consumption and its previous materiality becomes blurred.

Infrastructures are the materialization of modernity projects and the containers for the imagination of modernity. Bruno Latour proposes that the social network is constituted by actors connected in a network, and to study the network through its mediations. For him, actors are mediators and not intermediaries. The difference is that the last exists, while the first "do something" (Latour, 2005: 128). Then, to "do something" is not only a human characteristic. Actors can be non-humans (Latour, 2005; Callon, 1986). According to Brian Callon, the issue is how to recognize the same intrinsic value for human actions and the actions of non-human beings. His proposal is a sociology of translation which gives an account of the actors, associations and how those entangles together. To study infrastructures as actors in the network brings the problem of definitions that must solve before beginning the analysis.

For Brian Larkin, the study of infrastructures and center the analysis in the "system building" implies the contextualization of the process. For him, "A technical system originates in one place, growing in response to particular ecological, legal, political, and industrial techniques native to that area" (Larkin, 2013: 330). In this sense, the principle of generalized symmetry, in

Callon terms, is contextual to the case. Then, in each case how infrastructures operate as apparatuses of governmentality. The answer, according to Larkin is to seek not only in the local case but in its connection with broader processes that are related. For him, the system is building to form a global system of assemblages in which technologies entangles with politics, and "becomes the grounds around which forms of citizenship are contested" (Larkin, 2013: 331). Technopolitics is the theoretical framework used by Timothy Mitchell to characterize the contemporary times in which modernization projects are beyond a limited case by locality or territoriality (Mitchell, 2002: 15).

Bus Rapid Transit and Transport informality

In Third World cities, and also in the USA, traditionally transportation has been provided by private operators. In Latin American cities, the formalization of public transportation by BRT systems was the municipalities' policy to regulate the chaotic transport services, characterized as deregulated and fragmented bus industry. Such system, demands little regarding fiscal and regulatory capacity from the state (Paget-Seekins, Flores and Muñoz, 2015). Constraints of weak enforcement institutions and limited budgets are characteristic of Third World cities in Latin America. In such contexts, local governments throughout have long relied on the informal provision of urban mass transport to meet the demand for transportation services. While bus system provides almost universal and relatively low-cost service "to a vast, transit-dependent population" (Paget-Seekins, Flores, and Muñoz, 2015: 424), produce negative effects including unsafe traffic conditions, pollution, and congestion. In deregulated regimes with high passenger demand and low labor costs, the incentive for operators is to increase frequencies and fares. Such organizations draw their revenues from membership dues and not from fare revenues and thus have the incentive to increase their membership base, not to optimize their supply of services. (Paget-Seekins, Flores and Muñoz, 2015: 426). Against the unwanted externalities, "many government authorities in cities across Latin America now focus their attention toward

regulatory reforms aimed at consolidating the transit industry into a smaller number of regulated operators" (Paget-Seekins, Flores, and Muñoz, 2015: 424).

For Hidalgo and Graftieaux (2008), traditional bus services provided by private companies resulted in ample number of users at low cost but produce an oversupply of buses, "inadequate vehicle sizes, a high average age of the fleet, long routes with inefficient operation, lack of vehicle and infrastructure maintenance, high levels of accidents and emissions, and very low speeds" (Hidalgo and Graftieaux, 2008: 77). Their paper is a study of cases in Bogotá, Santiago, and México. For them, the characteristic of traditional transit services before BRT implementation was the competition of individual vehicles for passengers. Similar characteristics are part of the pretended contextualization in Cali's case, but is important to recognize that Cali is a secondary city in Colombia, while the studied cities are usually the most populated and often capital city in Latin America countries (Ardila, 2007; Ardila, 2005; Hidalgo and Graftieaux, 2008; Paget-Seekins et al., 2015).

According to Paget-Seekins (2015), Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) creates contradictions in the neoliberalism premises of privatization and deregulation. BRT projects are affordable mass transport infrastructure for the cities that require firm municipal control on the transport market, and the transit and road provision. BRT in Latin American cities is aimed to restructure informal bus sector in developing cities. For her, the dominant model of BRT implementation creates a market for bus service based on large private companies where the local governments attempt to build a 'world class' city that can attract mobile foreign capital. However, BRT and the formalization of the old bus system can increase the power of urban residents by putting transport issues in the public sphere of discussion. Also, the BRT as formal transportation system facilitates that bus drivers have incentives for collective action in workers unions. While the informal buses system, the labor rights are usually absent as drivers are paid on a daily basis,

with no social security. In this sense, the implementation of BRT in Third World cities implies some form of formal jobs in the transportation sector, and an increased opportunity to regulate the unregulated transport industries.

Laurel Paget-Seekins (20015) also points out that BRT prioritizes urban space for buses over cars, which means that streets are focused on mass mobility and not on private cars mobilizing one person each. The characterization made for her is focused on the general idea behind BRT in Third World cities. She recognizes that particularities may differ between cities with BRT system. In her article, an invitation to contextualize cases in each city, which I try to develop in the present work. BRT implementation process result after urban planning entangle with economic interest, that not necessary were the same in the different cities that implemented such transit solutions. How users and workers take advantage of the contradictions also differ within historical characteristics and contemporary context in the cities.

According to Hidalgo and Gutierrez (2012), BRT projects have changed since the development of the concept in the late 1960s and initial in Brazil in the1980s. Now is a feature in about 120 cities worldwide, but especially in developing countries. The rapid growth is because of its intrinsic low cost and rapid construction in Third World cities. For them, BRT has improved live quality in Third World cities, but recognize that "there are outstanding issues that need to be solved as well as institutional and financial constraints, not necessarily associated with BRT" (Hidalgo and Gutierrez, 2012: 12).

Neoliberal adjust in Latin America

In some countries in Latin America, popular responses to neoliberalism appear during the late 90's and the first years of 21st Century. The first, and most notorious, was Venezuela in 1998. Kenneth Roberts problematize the so-called "left turn" in Latin American governments as a

reaction to "a decade-and-a-half of free market or neoliberal reform, when technocrats throughout the region forged a powerful policymaking consensus around the virtues of free trade, deregulated markets, and private entrepreneurship". (2009: 1). Such process hardly represents an alternative to free-market liberalism, as is not homogeneous and have taken different forms in the countries where left is in power. For him, "it is far too early to claim that Latin America has entered a post-neoliberal era of development". Nevertheless, the shift to the left shows a repoliticization concerning development in Latin America, "that is, a demise of the 'Washington Consensus' for free market capitalism and the onset of a highly contested search for alternatives that lie 'beyond neoliberalism.'" (Roberts, 2009). He proposes two dimensions of this repoliticization of development: policies and process. In its policy dimension, means that neoliberalism is no longer "playing alone" in Latin America. In terms of process, repoliticization requires the emergence popular movements contesting technocratic policymaking. Therefore, repoliticization contains "a reciprocal interaction between the rise of new actors and an expansion of the issue agenda to include a broader range of alternatives" (Roberts, 2009: 2)

For Goldfrank (2009), the arrival to power of Hugo Chavez in Venezuela, the Workers' Party (*Partido dos Trabalhadores*) in Brazil and the Broader Front (*Frente Amplio*) in Uruguay, is an interesting feature in Latin America during the early 21st Century. Those three cases have in common a turning to left after neoliberal adjustments. For him, was interesting, to say the less, and surprising because the left parties were supposed to be moribund since the late 80's. According to him, "most scholars viewed the spread of neoliberal reforms in the 1980s and 1990s as the final nails in the coffin for left parties". (Goldfrank, 2009: 43). He proposes that the emergence of leftist parties in some countries in Latin America was not surprising, because such parties were alive at local level. Goldfrank based his thesis on historical process in which the Broader Front was in power in Montevideo (Uruguay's Capital city) since 1990; Workers'

Party rule Porto Alegre between 1988 and 2004; and in Caracas, Venezuela a left movement called Radical Cause (Causa Radical) were in power from 1993 until 1995 as antecedent to Chavez ascent in Venezuela. In opposition to some scholars that argue that alternative left governments in Latin America don't represent a danger for neoliberal policies in the region, Goldfrank invert the argument and propose that neoliberalism haven't represent a danger for left movements in Latin America. Furthermore, neoliberalism produced three positive effects for the strengthen of left alternatives. First neoliberal decentralization opened spaces for the left in local and municipal governments, and at the same time, municipalities gained relevance in its respective countries. Second, neoliberal reforms centered in reducing inflation but haven't produced strong economic growth nor decrease inequality and poverty, give space for left candidates. Also, neoliberalism has been associated with authoritarianism and corruption in Latin America. Third, neoliberalism creates incentives for leftist movements to unite against a common enemy "connected in many ways to undemocratic or weakly democratic politics, as well as to the United States" (Goldfrank, 2009: 46). This facilitated for leftist movements to be labeled as anti-neoliberalism, but also as "anti-imperialist" and pro popular democracy. The coordination "across movement organizations and other political actors" strengthen emphatical protests that "demanded that the state reclaim a stronger role in economic development and the provision of welfare" (Silva, 2009: 4) in response to neoliberal adjustments.

According to Margarita Cervantes-Rodriguez (2009), in Nicaragua neoliberal policies were imposed under "a high-intensity tutelage of the United States in designing" macroeconomic policies since the early 70's. For her, the quick adjustment during the authoritarian regime of Somoza opened the door to clientelism and corruption in agrarian sectors "aimed at deterring the Soviet and Cuban influence." With the triumph of *Sandinista* movement in 1979 a radical rejection of Neoliberal policies aimed "to the shrinking of the role of the private sector and the

augmentation of the role of the state and surrogate entities as the owners of means of production (Cervantes-Rodríguez, 2009: 198).

In the 90's, after the *Sandinista* rule, a new impulse to neoliberal policies emerged. Cervantes-Rodriguez characterized the period between 1990 and 2006 as Doctrinaire neoliberalism in which neoliberal formulas based on multilateral organism tutelage to fix the debt produced during the *Sandinista* regime. For her, during mid-2000's, Nicaragua was articulate with regional and global circuits of accumulation based on private enterprises, and the idea of state provision of public goods was displaced by "the idea of individual advancement and the ideology of competitiveness" (Cervantes-Rodriguez, 2009: 199). Her chapter is a useful model of how to narrate a historical process in which policies are implemented in response to precise moments in countries' history. In her words, she pretends to make a history of neoliberalism in Nicaragua, as developmentalism showing its continuities and discontinuities in the process (Cervantes-Rodriguez, 2009).

In Colombia, neoliberalism has a different path than the narrated by Goldfrank (2009) or Cervantes-Rodriguez (2009). According to with Sonia Garzon (2017), the implementation of a neoliberal regime in Colombia during the first years of Cesar Gaviria presidency (1990-1994) was aimed to "increase international trade" to "reduce the fiscal deficit" (Garzon, 2017). In her PhD dissertation, Garzon propose shows that neoliberal discourses focused in reduce State size and lowering corruption by a limited political agency over infrastructure and public services, operates simultaneously in a country where "public sector was too weak and small to deal effectively with security, globalization and social change" (Olivera et. al., 2010 in Garzon, 2017: 32). A distinctive Colombian feature, compared with other Latin American countries, is that pro-market measures occur at the same time with a "reinforcement of political and financial powers"; with a wider coverage in basic social services. She is in line with ex-Finance Minister,

Guillermo Perry, for whom "Colombian neoliberalism has attempted as much market possible, as much state as necessary" (Garzon, 2017: 33). The last implies that Colombian state was too small even for the neoliberal project, making necessary to strengthen some aspects to facilitate accumulation and capital circulation.

For Benjamin Goldfrank, successful neoliberal reforms require either strong presidents who imposed the adjustment over congress deliberation, or bureaucratic agencies free of accountability "In other words, neoliberalism presupposes a minimal democracy at best" (Goldfrank, 2009: 52). For Garzon, in contrast, neoliberal opening coincides with a key moment in social and political struggles in Colombia. Neoliberal reforms occur at the same time than the establishing of a new Constitution in 1991. The 1991 Colombian Constitution is commonly seen as an instrument "to overcome the fragile legitimacy of political elites," a product of social exclusion, limited political participation and constant violation of human rights (Garzon, 2017). She remarks that the Constituent Assembly and the further democratic opening respond to the peace process with M-19 guerrilla (Garzon, 2017: 32-33), opened the door to democratic participation to Colombian society sectors traditionally excluded: afro-Colombians, women, indigenous, peasants and religious different to Catholicism to demand its rights, or in Aiwha Ong terms, to invoke exceptions to neoliberalism. However, the characterization made by Cervantes-Rodriguez and Goldfrank does not seem suitable for the present case. While their empirical cases have in common that Venezuela, Brazil, Uruguay, Nicaragua and even Argentina have some sorts of authoritarian regimes that implement neoliberal policies. In Colombia, liberalization was a process in the early 90’s after the proclamation of a new Constitution, a product of democratic deliberation (Garzon, 2017).

Methodology

Archive review

With archive review, I intend to construct a history of BRT implementation in Cali looking for the particularities in the process experience in the city, and that can be common characteristics in other similar cities. I collect material from the municipal council, decrees from the mayor office, State-level laws that frame the urban planning scope. Moreover, references from the Colombian National Planning Office. The Documents subject of analysis are primarily the laws at Colombian national level and Cali's local level. The second group of documents is news in media during the BRT project approval, its construction and during the implementation. The third group of documents was those made by Metrocali, including written and publicity material.

This kind of methodology permits a historical approach to the case. With laws, I look for the reasons given at national and local level to formalize public transportation, and with this problematize the initial plans around the MIO, and the current result of the BRT system in Cali. With the newspaper's review, I look for the process of the discussion and implementation of the system. I collect a total of 1040 files from the year 2000 to 2017 and select amongst of all the material around 80 files which were used to reconstruct the historical discussion for the new transport system in Cali. News analysis permits me to see the discourses in public opinion around the MIO and identify moments of support to the new system and those moments where the media attack the system. News analysis also shows the going back and forwards in the studied case. Finally, I use the visual archive of the Valle del Cauca region[4], to look for to

[4] Colombia is divided in 31 administrative regions called *departamentos* and one Capital District (Bogota). Cali is the largest and capital city of Valle del Cauca.

illustrate some of the claims I am making about the context of Cali and the planning within the city[5].

Quantitative and Qualitative Data Analysis

Quantitative data produce by yearly opinion surveys. I am interested in produce analysis over the survey "*Cali como vamos*" to contrast the laws and Metrocali campaigns with the perception of the city according to the survey. "*Cali cómo vamos*"[6] started in 2005 and is made yearly. The survey intends to show inhabitants perception about different issues in the city of Cali. One of the items in the survey is those about mobility. In Colombia, twelve cities produce its own "*cómo vamos*" surveys. Nowadays cities with these surveys compare each other, and are part of a group denominated "how are we doing, cities?", In which its local newspapers conjoin with their respective Chambers of Commerce. Fortunately, quantitative data produced from 2005 to 2017 by the surveys are open, and the access is available online.

Finally, I use the platform created by the MIO Users Committee on Facebook to follow the discussions, denounces, complains and explanations provided by the administrators and some users. More than 12000 Facebook accounts follow the Users Committee. The insight gathered with this approach, permit me to contrast some claims of the survey *Cali como vamos* or to further explanations of user perceptions after a complaint in the Facebook group.

[5] The archive is called *Archivo del patrimonio fotográfico y fílmico del Valle del Cauca* or "Photographic and Film Heritage Archive". Is a common property of the *Valle del Cauca* Public Library, but managed, curatorship and digitalized by an private university in Cali, the Icesi University.

[6] Translated as "How are we doing, Cali?" The survey is organize by the local Chamber of Commerce and receive contributions from the local newspaper *El País*, foundations of Corporate Social Responsibility, and local universities

CALI AND THE MIO

CALI

Cali is a city located in the Western side of Colombia. The city is inhabited according to the Colombian Statistics Office, by 2'420.114[7], which makes the third largest city in Colombia by population[8]. The city is usually described as flat in its topography and its located at an elevation of 1018m above sea level. With the lowest part at a high of 955 in the Eastern neighborhoods at the banks of Cauca river, and the highest neighborhoods rising to an altitude of 1350m approximately. The city was founded in 1536 by the Spanish conqueror Sebastián de Belalcázar, who separates himself from Francisco Pizarro to seek the mythical gold city of El Dorado. Santiago de Cali is the official name, but today the city is commonly known without the prefix "*Santiago de*," and only Cali emerge as its name. Cali is also one of the oldest cities founded by Spaniards in today's Colombia.

During the 20th Century, Cali was one of the centers of industrial development of Colombia benefited from Colombia's insertion into the world market thanks to the coffee exports. However, the initial industrialization in the city and further industrial development during the 40's and 50's import substitution period conjoins the mixture of modernization and tradition,

[7] According to the population projection The National Statistics Office for 2017. The most recent proper Census was in 2005 and according to with that, the total number of people living in Cali was 2'119.843. The new national census is being held between March and June 2018. http://www.dane.gov.co/index.php/estadisticas-por-tema/demografia-y-poblacion/proyecciones-de-poblacion

[8] Bogota, the capital city and most populated in Colombia had an estimate of 8'080.734 people. Medellin had a projected population of 2'508.452. Barranquilla with 1'228.271 and Cartagena with 1'024.882 complete the list of the cities with more than one million in Colombia. For all the cities, the population corresponds to the city proper, excluding metropolitan areas and nearest municipalities. The five largest cities represent the 30,96% of the total Colombian population. In Colombia, the five biggest cities and two more have BRT systems and only Medellin has its BRT integrated with a Mass Rapid Transit Metro system.

the industrialization of the incubated in a premodern structure, its early capitalism forged between pre-capitalist activities. According to Edgar Vasquez Benitez (2001), the coexistence of tradition and modernity was the reflection of "mixed mentalities" in the local elites allowing them to act as modern entrepreneurs and at the same time, enjoying their traditional colonial privileges (Vasquez Benitez, 2001: 91).

Cali is a diverse city in the composition of its population and its imaginaries. Some say it is a civic city, others that is the sports capital, both seem to have its origin by the time of the VI Pan American Games made in Cali in 1971. Cali is said to be the city of the seven rivers and a "dream crossed by a river."[9] One of the imaginaries about Cali sees the city as a city-woman. Since the modernization of the city has tried to define, Cali clean, beautiful "feminine, flirtatious and seductive" (Ulloa, 2000:161-162), but Cali as a woman city is resistant and, subject (object?) of special protection. A campaign raised in 2008 by Jorge Ivan Ospina, city's mayor from 2008 to 2011, highlighted the strength of Cali to host people from different backgrounds because their ability to adapt is admirable, and as a good mother selfless, sacrifices so that their children of blood and adoptive could prosper. As the Mayor in 2008, Jorge Ivan Ospina said, "We have the best territory and the best people from all areas of the country and all cultures. People who, with their own hands, have helped to build the city we have Today". Such an affirmation emphasizes the work together and on the multiculturality of Cali's inhabitants, which gives rise to the inclusion of those who have not rooted in the city, but who arrived in Cali, and she welcomed them with affection.

[9] Colombian poet, Eduardo Carranza composed a poem dedicated to Cali, named *Cali en mi corazón* (Cali in my heart). The last verses after a literal translation:

"And the word Cali, since then, perfumed me. / The memory, the poetry, the blood, the time and the summer / and a name. / And another name like a continuous jasmine / My face perfumed, and my dreams. / And it was Cali a dream crossed by a river.

Cali and Colombia arrive at the Twenty-first Century with a socio-demographic composition characterized as "multicultural and *multiethnic*" (National Constitution, 1991)[10]. The role of Cali and its history, from the Spanish conquest and the colony, appears in the contemporary reality in the city. From the resistances of indigenous and black, continuing through the independence struggles (as a promise of freedom for the Slaves) and the consolidation of some form of nation-state, until our days. According to Castillo (2012) in Cali has been a corresponding between the color of skin (ethnic and racial belonging) and the place within the society is occupied, which is not different to other places with colonial heritage. The ethnic relationship has been a constant in the history of the city and the region, which has its beginnings also at the time of the conquest and in our days is also present producing racialized subjects (Vasquez Benitez, 2001).

Figure 1. People walking in Terron Colorado.

[10] The National Constitution in its article 7 recognize and protect "the cultural and ethnic diversity" of all the peoples who live in Colombia. And its article 13 establishes the obligation to promote the equality before the law, no matter "racial, sexual, nationality, kin, language, religion, political or philosophical opinion", and affirm special protection to the groups whom historically have been "marginated or discriminated".

For the case of Cali and its growth can be seen dynamics of emptying the center. Also, that growth has given to the peripherical settlers both for buying new homes and appropriation by invasion or "pirate urbanization" as some may call (Davies, 2006: 37-38). According to the Municipal Planning Department, was in the 1960s that an "urban explosion" occur. The city built in all directions from the center (Municipal Planning, 1993: 45). Cali, like other big cities in Colombia, receives hundreds of thousands of Internal Displaced People fleeing from the conflict areas in the Colombian countryside (Davis, 2006: 40, 49). In the history of the city, different forms of resistance exerted by the various socio-ethnic strata, have allowed the formation of Cali as a city through the difference of class and race (Castillo, 2012; Vasquez Benitez, 2001).

In this sense, the spatial distribution of lower income inhabitants is located in the Eastern part of Cali and the hilly neighborhoods of the West and Southwest, after the process of invasion and later regulation. The demand for transport of the inhabitants of such pirate neighborhoods that was attended by private companies or cooperatives, serving the users with buses and 4x4 campers in the hilly neighborhoods[11].

[11] In Cali, the campers which supply the transport service are known as *Gualas*. The service in the hilly neighborhoods is not well supplied by the MIO, even if the system has one cable line called "MIO cable". The *gualas* are still rolling to transport people to the flat part of Cali.

Figure 2. Torres Reina, B. (2005). Gualas en Siloé.

The dynamics lived in Cali caused the growth of the city without a technological growth in transport according to the needs of each moment. In other words, while the city received more inhabitants by displacement forced by the armed conflict or motivated by economic reasons, the supply of public transport to the inhabitants did not grow in capacity to meet the necessities of the demographic growth. In Cali, any other transport projects try to respond to transportation needs, integrating the city with all its inhabitants and with the neighboring municipalities.

Figure 3. MIO Cable from Cañaveralejo station. Taken by Isabel Arciniegas.

As an intend to solve the transport in the hilly sector of Siloe, Metrocali and the municipality implement a cable service known as Miocable. It is composed by a single line connecting the the MIO station Cañaveralejo-Unidad Deportiva, in the red line display in the figure 4 to three stops in neighborhoods that started as pirate urbanizations from the second half of the 20th Century. MIO Cable was a solution in the last moment, proposed to solve the continuous blockages that *gualas* drivers were doing to protest against the imminent dismantlement of the 4x4 service to the mountainous part of Cali (El Pais, 2007-10-11; 2007-10-18). Despite Cali have at least three more sectors built in the mountains after invations, and now regularizated, Metrocali have not express plans to built new lines of MIO Cable. Meanwhile, MIO Cable in Siloe is not the only mean of transport in the neighborhood. *Gualas* and informal motorcyclist refer to as "*motorratones*" serve to those users who find the cable stops far from their destiny.

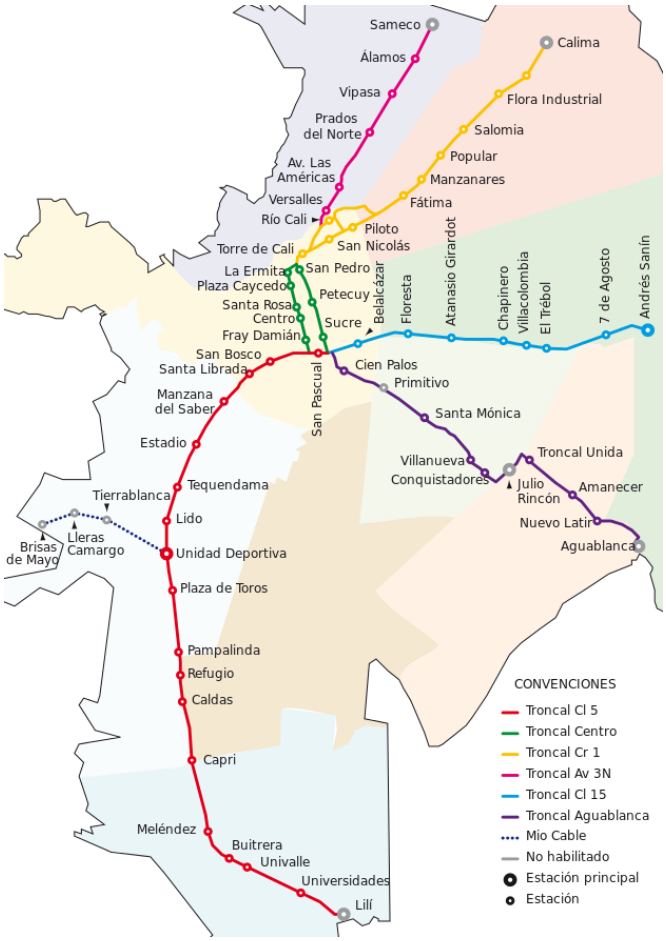

Figure 4. Map of MIO's main lines

THE MIO

The MIO's spatial configuration centralize the transport in the city's old center (in the short green lines) which correspond to the Spanish colonial center. The main lines go from different parts of the city but requiring a connection in the central areas. The red line, the longest one in the system, are covering most of the South-North routes but making longer the travel for those users near the purple or blue lines when requires to reach the south part of the city.

Operators

Metrocali is the firm in charge of administrating the BRT System in Cali; this includes the buses, stations, stops, also regulate the buses frequencies and communications with the users.

In its administrative duties, Metrocali oversaw managing the resources for the project of Mass transport in Cali. According to the CONPES 3166 (2002: 4), the total cost for the project was anticipated in US $663.4 Million in 2002. Public resources were calculated in US $409.3 Million, and the private investment up to US $254.1 million[12].

Bus description

Figure 5. An articulated bus in Menga terminal. Picture was taken from Metrocali.

The MIO in Cali uses three types of buses. The main lines are served by high platform articulated buses with a right-of-way on exclusive lanes build for this purpose and a capability of transport 160 passengers in each bus. The passengers in the articulated buses only can enter and leave the buses at the stations on its left side. The bus platform coincides with the station platform, which permits the passengers to use its four doors to enter and leave simultaneously.

[12] In other words, public resources represent the 61.7% of the total and private money the 38,3%. The public component was shared by the Colombian national government budget and the municipality budget. This includes public debt contracted with multilateral banking. And according to the law, National budget finance the 70% of the public component, while the municipality the 30% (

Figure 6. MIO Standard bus. Picture taken from Metrocali.

The secondary routes are served by mixed platform standard buses, with a maximum capability of carrying 80 passengers. These buses make few stops in stations in which case; passengers use the bus's left side doors. Most of its routes are in the non-segregated avenues and streets, sharing the public space with cars, motorbikes other motor vehicles and bicycles. When stops in the street, passengers enter and leave the bus its right side. In those cases, to reach the high platform level, users must use the steps. If a passenger is using a wheelchair, some buses have an elevator in the middle right side door.

The terminating dates in which the old buses must end was adapted to occur depending on the license of each case, and only if the MIO is serving with routes, the areas served by the old buses. In August 2015 a proposal to integrate the old buses within the MIO system was raised. In that, Metrocali presented to the four MIO operators the idea seeking to integrate some buses from the traditional service to the mass transit system to cover areas that the MIO do not reach. Appealing, the language in which the functionaries refer to the buses before MIO changed from

“old” to “traditional.” Traditional in this case are idiosyncratic, have value to protect at least until the MIO met its planned 97% of spatial coverage, and 70% of the demand for transport inside Cali, the traditional buses will be coexisting parallel to the ordered system. Order and disorder, development and informality coexist in the urban plans, and for the case in Cali seems that informality complements the planned reality.

Figure 7. Feeder bus. Picture taken from Metrocali.

The third type of bus is the feeder, which serves complementary routes. As its name indicates, those buses feed the MIO's main lines. Usually, feeder buses use streets and small roads inside neighborhoods, to pick up passengers to the nearest station where users can change to an articulated bus. This buses only have a low platform, which makes impossible to drop the users at the level of the station platforms. When the feeder bus arrives at the station, makes the stop outside and passengers must enter the stations.

UTR&T, a private consortium, operates the vending machines, the ticket boxes where users load with Colombian pesos the contact card and. To enter the station users place their full cards

in the turnstiles which allow the entry when is subtracted the necessary amount use the MIO ride[13]. When the user is waiting for the bus in street-level stops, he or she must touch with the card the turnstile in the front door in the bus. Articulated buses are not provided with turnstiles as only makes stops in the stations. Finally, the fare permit bus changes within 90 minutes after the first registration and in cases when the connection time exceeds that time, UTR&T withdraw another ticket fare to the card.

Figure 8. Manzana del Saber Station. Picture taken by Isabel Arciniegas.

[13] For 2018, the tariff was fixed in 2000 Colombian pesos, approximately €0,60.

NATIONAL LAW FOR METROPOLITAN AREAS

In Colombia, the figure of the urban mobility Plan was regulated in the law 1083 of 2006, which establishes that those municipalities that must implement land use planning. According to the article 1 of the foregoing law, those Colombian municipalities with a population more than 100.000 inhabitant should formulate and adopt mobility plans "in order to give priority to mobilization in alternative modes of transport, understanding pedestrian displacement, cycling or other means Pollutants, as well as public transport systems that operate on clean fuels".

Bogotá adopts the master plan of Mobility in its Capital District Decree 319 of 2006. Medellin also in the year 2006 signed the Pact for the mobility in its metropolitan area, document understood "as a civil commitment on the part of the public and private entities committed with the improvement of the mobility of a Metropolitan area formed by 10 municipalities and more than 3.3 million inhabitants (Gonzalez, 2011: 31).

On the contrary, Cali was the only one of the three main cities in Colombia, which had not yet been fulfilled the formulation of urban mobility plans and the issuing of its respective Municipal decree which adopts it. This situation of anomaly motivated a group of citizens to make a demand for enforcement action to force Cali's mayor to formulate the Mobility Plan (Gonzalez, 2011), the lawsuit that was failed in favor of the group of citizens, in the local tribunals. This verdict obliged the municipality in Cali to issue the decree adopting the mobility Plan of the city, in an unextendible term of 30 days.

It was thus, as on November 10, 2008, by Decree 0615 of 2008, the Integral Plan of urban mobility of the municipality of Santiago de Cali was issued. However, this, unlike the decrees with which the mobility plans of Bogotá and Medellín were issued, did not have a technical definition of what constitutes the mobility plan itself. This situation shows an urgency to

comply with an administrative and legal procedure, rather than the product conscious urbanizing deliberation.

This absence is evident in practice since the local administration has ended up making decisions about the most recent mobility projects in the city. Based on the road Plan, transit and transport of the Municipality of Cali (Municipal Agreement 13 of 1993) that dates back almost thirty years, and whose obsolescence lies not only in its antiquity but above all, in the transformations in demographics, mobility and urban need that has experienced Cali since then.

Formalizing Cali's transportation system

Since 1940, the development of public transport in Cali was linked to the continuous and accelerated growth of the city. The proliferation of new neighborhoods and the continuous and accelerated expansion of the city required greater primary services supply such as potable water, electric power, roads, and transportation. According to Diana Vinasco (2017), some services began to be supplied by the same inhabitants in the informal neighborhoods, and in many of the formal ones that had been delivered by state housing programs but without essential services. Water was acquired through public fountains and energy through illegal connections made by the inhabitants themselves. The precariousness of the roads made it difficult for the inhabitants of the informal and peripheral neighborhoods to communicate with the formal city. However, these sectors, despite the problem they represented for the city, were also their primary source of labor, which was why it was necessary to ensure their mobility to the city center and industrial zones. The municipal Decree 492 of 1964 was a first regulation of the transportation private supplied in which "using the municipal statute is established the system of assignment extension of urban bus routes that operate in the city of Cali." In other words, was intended to regulate the competition and the routes distribution within the growing city.

The accelerated change in mobility patterns in Colombian requires the regulation of the transport inside the cities. The main concerns are twofold: reduce the use of private vehicles and promote public transport systems. On the one hand, the growth of the private cars, and motorbikes. In the main Colombian cities, the public supply of public roads is not balanced with the increasing demand for use in a private vehicle (whether car or motorbike). This situation has produced negative externalities and increases preexisting traffic congestion, air pollution and higher accidentality on the streets. On the other hand, the chaos in which urban transport has operated for decades, with an apparent absence of planning, and without any regulation from the local authority of the service provided by private companies, entrepreneurs, and cooperatives.

To alleviate this situation, the implementation of public transport systems based on BRT systems. The MIO, as BRT solution, has meant a complete transformation of the business structure, with the creation of a coordinating consortium that, in association with other public entities of the city, is in charge of the planning and the management of the public transport offer with optimization criteria. It has also promoted the implementation of other measures aimed at regulating public transport, such as integrated public transport systems, which comprehensively manage all the existing public transport offer in the city. Moreover, as far as the private vehicle is concerned, programs have been implemented to reduce its use within the city streets. In Bogota first, and in other Colombian cities later, were implemented traffic restrictions to private cars. Depending on the last digit of the registration plate correspond a given weekday in which cars cannot circulate during rush hours during weekdays.

The proposal of the mass transit system for the city of Cali received the favorable concept of the National Council of Economic and Social policy of the National Department of Planning. In the document, CONPES 2932 of 1997, "Service system Public urban mass transport of

passengers of Cali and its area of influence." Furthermore, was subject to several subsequent modifications (CONPES 3166 of 2002, CONPES 3369 of 2005 and CONPES 3504 of 2007).

The CONPES 2932 of 1997 for the commuting inside the city proposed a mass transit system for Cali based on light rail[14]. It was planned to have six lines when complete, one central line to connect the North with the South and with five crossing West to East connected with the first line. The document also presents an estimate mean demand for the year 2000 of 189.135 passengers per day and 236.088 passengers during weekdays and projected the demand for users in the year 2010 shows an increase up to a mean of 295.244 daily passengers and 366.615 for labor days.

Although initially in the document CONPES 2932 was proposed the implementation of a light rail with an underlying network of two lines, in the following document CONPES 3166 was finally opted for the implementation of the integrated system of mass transport, MIO based on "High-performance buses" (González, 2011: 33).

	Planned	**2009**	**2010**	**2011**	**2012**
Total passengers	390.550.000	25.663.110	68.189.419	97.089.717	130.552.702
Daily mean	1.070.000	70.310	186.820	265.999	356.701
Workday mean	-	84.977	225.793	321.489	432.293
	Planned	**2013**	**2014**	**2015**	**2016**
Total passengers	390.550.000	150.196.117	145.946.075	147.542.463	139.621.922
Daily mean	1.070.000	411.496	399.852	404.226	382.526
Workday mean	-	497.338	483.265	488.551	462.324

Figure 9. Chart with the planned users totaled by year and expected daily mean, versus the actual demand.

[14] The Light Rail system is often known as LRT, the trains are similar to trams but Its main characteristics are the right-of-way and the higher capacity. In the case of Budapest, the Trams 1, 4 and 6 conform to this definition.

The MIO started operation in March 2009 after several years of late construction and additions to the initial budget, is currently Cali's flagship, mobilizing about 185.000 passengers a day in its initial months (Gonzalez, 2011). The expected commuters using the MIO of 1.070.000 per day (COMPES 3166) was not met yet, the promise is still alive (El Pais, 2017-01-22). In 2013 and 2014 the MIO attend a daily mean of 477.626 and 471.969 users per day, respectively. While in 2016, the most recent numbers available, the daily mean was 393.150. Since its start of operations, the installed capacity of the system is not entirely demanded. Users are less than expected, and after a peak during 2013-2014, the daily users decreased. Meaning not only that the MIO is not attractive for all the possible commuters, but that the commuters in Cali have found ways to solve its transportation needs.

MIO Culture

In December 2017, in the local newspaper, was published a press note in which the primary concern was the misbehave users have inside the MIO. Whether inside the buses, in the stations and stops or queuing to purchase the ride, seems that "civic behavior" are absent in the practices of MIO users. The note regrets that the campaigns driven by Metrocali in media outlets were not successful. In fact, at that moment, almost eight years have MIO as the new transport system, and its promises of order, cleanest and civic values are still expectations. As the song propose to wait, the wait continues. Keep improving is the promise but keep waiting is the reality. However, what is waited, maybe wanted? The MIO plans tend to generalize the city as homogeneous, but users complains express that promises are not yet met, and probably never fulfilled.

With the new transportation system, the regulation from the municipality was beyond the business participation in the market. At least three decrees (67 of 2009, 20 of 2011 and 784 of 2013) were written to regulate user's manners inside the transportation system. In those decrees, the idea of "MIO Culture" appear. It seems that municipal government instances are intended to guide user's behavior to establish a certain idea of citizenship. The three decrees use culture as a polysemic concept, which appeals to a different interpretation by the one who interprets. According to the Metrocali definition, the MIO Culture is "Inter-institutional management model aimed at strengthening the concrete expressions of Citizen Culture and mobility in Santiago de Cali." It is striking first, that the Citizen Culture manifests itself in the mobility of the city. Moreover, second, the MIO Culture "seeks the modification of attitudes towards the new transport from the education on the conventional use and the exploration of new uses of the MIO," as the expected result of the management of the municipal administration.

As in many discursive approaches one thing is what is stated, expected and written, and another is the specific way in which it is going to be carried out, not to mention the results obtained. From the broad definition that Metrocali enunciates, appealing to the hope of adapting to the dynamics of the new mass transport system rather than to a concrete project of participatory socialization. The above is not surprising since Cali's development plans have been characterized by its exclusionary formulation and even more so during its implementation. This characteristic is similar to Matthew Hull presentation of technologies of government on neighborhood planning in Delhi, India. According to him, urban space is organized from the municipality to enhance civic behaviors between citizens and "healthy communities." Moreover, at the same time, the planning offices expected citizens do not demand accountability from the municipality (Hull, 2011: 783).

The MIO Culture is part of much broader development plans than the local one. In recent years there has been interested in shaping what is known as the city region with Cali as its center. In other words, it seeks to articulate the production of Cali, maybe as a kind of "metropolis" for its region, aggregating attributes of the surrounding municipalities, where access to the seaport means a window to international trade. Also, the references to the "MIO Culture," to improve the appropriation of the new transport system and the being caleño (from Cali), is not exclusive to the present case. Preferably, the Citizen Culture becomes a form of functional merchandise with the economic production of the cities. At the same time, MIO Culture seems to represent behaviors of expected citizenship, which hardly correspond to everyday people's life. This kind of citizenship is characterized by Hull (2011: 770) as a community of place, not kind. In which citizen are expected to interact face to face with their fellow citizens, and solve needs at the local level, in their neighborhoods and districts. However, their demands are not expected to escalate to government office.

The MIO is not attracting enough users

"Motorcycles and cars seem to multiply more and more in the Neighborhoods where the MIO is not fulfilling *caleños* needs" was the opening line of a news article in the local newspaper El País (2017-01-19). The main topic was that the informal transport is taking control over Cali's streets. Similarly than the pirate urbanism in the second half of 20th Century appear to grant housing to those in need, pirate transport emerged in response to MIO deficiencies. In the case of informal transport, the routes are between an MIO station and the nearest neighborhoods avoiding the waiting for the integrated feeder. According to the note, the fare for the service is the same than if using the MIO, which means that a person who uses pirate must pay double in case of transfer to the MIO. The MIO users committee, explains that the feeder routes are the ones that present more deficits in the services. For them, the waiting times from the moment

the user arrives in one articulate bus and must change to the feeder, the waiting times are usually of 20 minutes.

The findings provided by the survey *Cali como vamos* shows how the distribution in the transportation means had changed in the city over the years. When the percentage of the different options asked by the survey is compared from the year 2008 until the year of 2017, the most recent quantitative data available, the results confirm that the traditional buses contribution has reduced its contribution to the total of commuting within Cali. In 2008, the year before the MIO starts its service, the traditional bus service represents the 45% of the total commuting. In 2009 when the MIO finally was a certainty, traditional buses presents a reduction of 6%. By 2013 the participation of traditional buses decreases to one-fourth of the numbers five years before. From 2014 to 2017, the reduction continues but at a lower rate.

In contrast, the numbers of the MIO have never reached the percentage of traditional buses. In fact, the after a steady increase from its first year in service, the MIO reach peak participation in the total of Cali's transport in 2014 (39%), and then the BRT service starts to show a plummeting in its contribution. The years 2016 and 2017 reflects the stagnation in the growth of the MIO, being 34% the participation of MIO in the total of travels in Cali for both years.

	2008	**2009**	**2010**	**2011**	**2012**	**2013**	**2014**	**2015**	**2016**	**2017**
MIO		6%	12%	23%	29%	33%	39%	37%	34%	34%
Motorcycle	14%	14%	16%	15%	35%	38%	16%	20%	22%	24%
Car	18%	18%	21%	16%			12%	10%	15%	14%
Traditional bus	45%	39%	30%	26%	18%	11%	11%	10%	7%	5%
Bicycle	8%	5%	8%	5%	16%	12%	6%	7%	6%	5%
Walk	8%	11%	8%	8%			6%	6%	4%	5%
Taxi	4%	3%	4%	3%	2%	3%	6%	7%	5%	5%
Informal	-	-	-	-	-	3%	4%	3%	6%	7%
Uber	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1%	1%
Other	3%	4%	1%	4%	-	-	-	-	-	-

Figure 10. Means of transport used in Cali from 2008 to 2017. Chart based on data from Cali cómo vamos.

According to the survey, *Cali como vamos* in 2017, among the options of transport in people who do not have a private mean of transport (walk, bicycle, motorbike or car) the MIO was the tardiest mean of transport for the people who use a public service. On average, a person takes 51.5 minutes to move from origin to destiny using the BRT system. While in a traditional bus, the people consulted said that the commuting time was 49.5 minutes. Which means that for 2017 the difference between MIO and traditional buses was only 2 minutes, a not so significant difference as it was in 2016. The results show that on average, a person took 55,4 minutes to complete their trip using the MIO, whereas using traditional buses was 42,8 minutes the time required to complete the journey. In other words, people who answer *Cali cómo vamos* survey in 2016 took around 12 minutes less using the traditional buses than using the MIO. When compared with the informal transport, the reduction in commuting times is of 16 minutes versus the MIO and 4 minutes compared to the time expend using traditional buses.

In fact, the results in the perception survey for 2017 shows better perception on time frequencies for the MIO compare to its direct competitors. However, interesting is not a result of better frequencies or less commuting times, but of worst perceived conditions of the general times in the other transport means. Regarding mobility, the survey of user's perception stands out an increased favorable perception as the percentage of people who say that MIO provides better service than traditional buses, rising from 21% in 2016 to 30% in 2017.

	2015	2016	2017
Better	15%	21%	30%
About the same	27%	22%	31%
Worst	58%	57%	39%

Figure 11. Users perception of MIO service compared to traditional buses.

A contrast between the perceived service between MIO and tradition buses as is display in figure 11, and the Users committee claims. *Cali como vamos* introduces in 2015 a question for evaluate the perception of the people in Cali of the MIO in comparison to traditional buses and try to answer its reduction as a transport solution for the user's needs. The survey shows that for the 15% of the participants in 2015 the MIO have a better service than the traditional buses, reaching a 30% of favorable perception in 2017 The negative perception also corresponds to the trend, as from 2015 58% of the participants in the survey evaluate the MIO service as worse than the one served by traditional buses, to a 39% in 2017. By their own, MIO users committee continuously regret the transport solution in the city. For them, the service of the MIO is worse than the service carries by the traditional buses vis a vis total travel times, connection times and waiting times. Continually in their publications states that the MIO will be the preferred transport mean only when improving the travel frequencies. For the user's committee, the weakest point in the BRT system managed is the bus frequencies mainly in the routes outside the exclusive lanes, as the feeders and the secondary routes usually imply waiting times of around 20 minutes.

When I seek answers from users, who use MIO and traditional buses, looking for their preferences of the BRT or the old buses I found that the factor which has most influence is the availability. In this sense, Sebastian a young man, who lives in the North, works in the city center and study in the south of Cali. He says that he uses the MIO for going to work because the traditional bus that used to transport him was suppressed. Sebastian recognizes that his commuting times are higher using the MIO, but he does not have an alternative service. In the cases of going to study and return to his house, he is happy to count with the traditional buses because first is faster than the MIO and second, “with the same bus cross all over the city without connections.” I ask him to elaborate on this point, and he recognizes that the need to

make changes between buses is something he does not like. In his words "is in the transfers that I lost my time. Instead, the same [traditional] bus transport me from the university to my house, only two blocks away".

For Alejandra, a working woman says that only uses the MIO when is necessary. The traditional bus route that transports to her workplace is still available. Moreover, she only uses MIO when her destiny is not covered by the traditional buses or when she must go anywhere near MIO stations, because "the MIO is the only option, but if I can choose, I choose [traditional] bus." She explains to me that to go to work using the MIO she must take a feeder to a station. In the station change to an articulated bus to another station where she transfers to a secondary route to her destiny, making the whole travel longer than the direct route provided by the old buses and "assuming the connections are on time."

the use of traditional buses and private cars decreased compared to 2016, the use of motorbike have shown increasing rates since 2014 as the second most popular means of transport to mobilize within Cali. As Ciro Jaramillo, a researcher in transport, puts it "The motorcycle is an economical, flexible and easy to acquire transport solution that is an alternative for the mobility in Cali because of the MIO transport system in the city" (El Tiempo 2018-01-19). Also, the survey *Cali cómo vamos* start asking for informal transport as an option in Cali since 2013, and the results show a steady increase year by year, going from 3% in 2013 to 7% in 2017.

Characteristic that is central in BRT systems is to make bus transfers, and the MIO culture was aimed to cultivate civilized behaviour in MIO's premises and buses, but were not working on the different logic of navigating the city that implies to change from a service which uses long routes without transfers to an integrated transport system that is focused in different nods.

DISCUSSION

While I was writing the closure of the thesis, Metrocali was formalizing vendors and artists inside the MIO's buses. People who find in the buses their workplace is not new in Cali. Singers, rappers, candies sellers were frequent in the now so-called informal buses when I was a child. The MIO was expected to be free of street vendors and beggars, but the transport system cannot be outside of the reality in the city and the country. The various attempts to eradicate them probe impossible as the reasons people beg for money, sell candies, sing a song or preach a prayer still unattended. Nine years after the MIO start its service in Cali, some of the informal goods and services offered in the buses were formalized inside the MIO. The project is temporal, according to Metrocali just for one year beginning from June. After the project ends in 2019, the vendors must leave the system and be entrepreneurs thanks to the tools learned in the system.

In the present MA thesis, I try to show that the implementation of the new urban transport system reflects the historical process of urban planning in Cali. In this sense, the policies regarding transportation within the city appear as solutions a posteriori than planning for the future, just as the regularizations in the sixties of buses companies to defined routes. In the case of MIO, despite being planned to serve a future to come, the implementation have to deal with multiple adjusts in the process. Which is a case of how in Third World, local administrations lack the resources to manage the cities. In this case, Cali municipality depends on its limited institutional capabilities to respond to the transportation needs within the city and to have plans to do so. Instead, the MIO implementation shows how the anxieties of the administrators look to the future, or in the words of Laurel Paget "where the local governments attempt to build a 'world class' city" while the social dynamics in the city required to solve problems from the past.

I also show that historically, to govern the city, Cali's administrators have required the informal supply of public goods and as the time goes by, the process of formalization was implemented. I propose that what the history of the city suggests, is a cycle of informal-formalization that is repeated in the urban planning a posteriori. For instance, the growth of the city in spatial and population terms was not matched by the institutional capability to manages the enhance need of the new inhabitants. Moreover, regarding transportation, the supply of public transport to the inhabitants did not grow in capacity nor technology to meet the necessities of the demographic growth. In Cali, transport projects try to respond to the imagined role of the city as a regional capital, integrating the city with all its inhabitants and with the neighboring municipalities. However, in fact, users at the end solve their problems on their own, despite the plans or not plans. Transportation needs are self-provided in those cases where the MIO is not enough, yet.

In the case of public policies in a country like Colombia, in which the political regime calls itself as participatory democracy, the question for the role of civil society in the formulation of public policies has a place. In the case of MIO, the relations of the citizenry with the decision making are not direct, but they are not non-existent. In 2007, Jorge Iván Ospina's campaign for the mayor's office in Cali presented the concern for the inclusion in the key of contemporary governance, from which our actions as citizens are expected to strengthen an everyday life. For this, active citizens are those with self-management and exercise control.

However, when it comes to bringing the proposals to the areas where decisions are made, the road is not so expeditious. The observers' who were elected among the citizenry to watch the construction were questioned in their independence when working because they did not seem to be so autonomous in front of the local administration but what is behind this characteristic is the disconnection between the state and civil society. In other words, the state which, in this case, takes the form of the municipality or National-level government establishes public policies that on the one hand seeks to produce answers that are applied in the society in charge.

Public policies appear here as one of how the State relates to society, give answers and propose solutions. However, in practices seems that the role of other actors in its construction cannot be unrecognized. Local government and economic groups have a preponderant role in the construction of the urban, rather than the action of civil society in the sphere of formal policy. Despite this, initiatives like the MIO Users committee give voice to some of the claims of the users. Moreover, sometimes are heard. One of the achievements of the Users Committee, according to their comments, was to pressure Metrocali to repair some broken doors in the stations. In exchange, the Committee also reminds the users to care the doors and not push it when the bus is not in the platform.

On the one hand, this interdependence constitutes a new form of urban governance in which economic groups require the legal support of the Government and, at the same time, the government if it wants continuity in its project, will seek the support of the first. Here the question is whether the measures are taken, the MIO, and other projects to recover central areas such as the boulevard in the river, or the "*Caleñidad*[15]" Square can respond to the needs of those who were not in the decision making. It seems that these projects can remain superficial and remain short to "regenerate the decadent urban economies and the underlying tendencies in the urban condition" (Harvey, 2007:389). On the other hand, actors who are in a position to make decisions can, and do so, push for public policies tailored to their interests. Here the issue forces that were presented during the discussion of urban renovation projects within the discussion of the new urban transport in Colombia, and how the MIO reflect the national law which frames the modernization of Colombian cities, facing the 21st Century.

The citizens, without formally linking to the circuits of the institutional policy make use of the public spaces and to the extent that in the boulevard converge the urban heterogeneity, other

[15] *Caleñidad* can be loosely translated as "values from Cali". The belonging feeling is required in the name of the square to enhance civic values (El Pais 2008-02-07).

circuits are generated, valid also to respond to the necessities perceived from the particular. In other words, what they plan from the municipal administration does not necessarily find its reflection with how we occupy, we use, we appropriate the public space. However, of course, some processes escape the citizen's reach. The sovereign decision lies with the rulers, yet, despite the degree of participation citizens can have.

Despite that in the plans MIO was projected as the solely urban transport provider within Cali limits, it has to compete with the previous buses for passengers in some routes and with taxis and private cars in routes served by the MIO feeders. In the first case, the old buses were planned to end its service when MIO start working. However, the due dates for the old buses were successively delayed. The reasons were given after a court ruling was that the old buses companies have the right to due process (El Pais 2012-07-14). In the case of terminating their service for open space for the MIO, the old buses cooperatives and owners were not heard in its objections nor given alternative proposals. For Alberto Hadad, head of Transit and Transport office in 2012, the protection gained in law courts represent “going back the progress of the city.” In this case, informality permeates the words of the policymakers, the rule of law can be left aside if at the end is assumed as fair.

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