





PERSPECTA 50

URBAN DIVIDES

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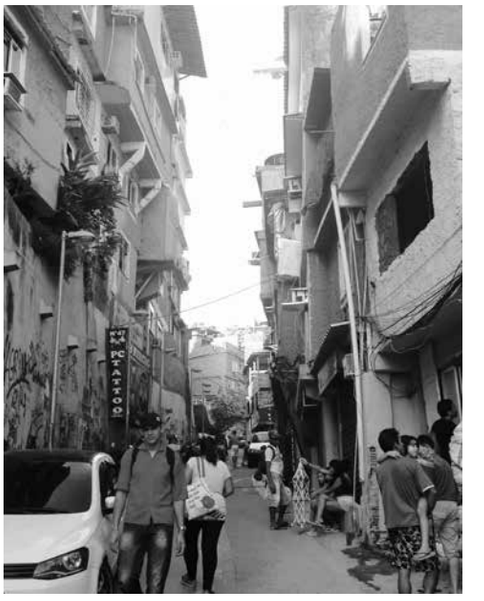
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RIO'S FAVELAS: THE POWER OF INFORMAL URBANISM

BY THERESA WILLIAMSON



View of Cantagalo, overlooking Pavão-Pavãosinho



Colorful pedestrian street in Rocinha

It was Saturday March 10, 2012, an hour before sunset, and I had offered David Fortin, an architecture professor from Montana State University, a visit to Cantagalo, a favela overlooking Rio de Janeiro's iconic Ipanema beach. I had been working in the favelas of Rio since 2000, when I founded a small NGO called Catalytic Communities that supports Rio's favelas by highlighting and building on their existing social assets. Over the years we have supported over 250 of Rio's one thousand such communities.

David and I met at the southernmost metro station of General Osório Square, amid shiny new cafés, expensive restaurants, twenty-story buildings, banks, and a prime tourist destination of Rio's elite South Zone. In a matter of seconds, we had traveled up the new, flashy state-sponsored glass elevator from the metro station to the top of Cantagalo and walked out into another world. The atmosphere of the square below—a feeling of isolation among strangers passing by, the emphasis on commerce, the intensity of modern construction, and the noise of car traffic —had, in seconds, given way to a vision of human-scale development, earthen materials, light bouncing off textured surfaces and colored tiles, the buzz of intense social interaction, and music at every corner. Children were playing freely in alleys. Cats lay on steps. Dogs watched from roofs. Chickens were plucking along. It was, after all, a late summer Saturday afternoon.

The visual and sensorial experience was overwhelming. David, turned and said a long, slow, "Wow," as I experienced the same sense of awe at the energetic rush of this moment in this time and place. As we walked through Cantagalo's alleys, the feeling intensified with every turn, with each visible color pattern grabbing our attention anew, due to the diverse improvised lighting fixtures and doors left wide open as residents chatted in front of their homes. External textured walls carved their marks into our senses, driving home that there can be intense beauty in the "unfinished" exteriors of Rio's favelas. Barbecues were set up. On this day, a feeling of ease and celebration dominated the community. A world apart from the formal city, visible below.

This was not the first time I had visited Cantagalo, nor would it be the last. But that experience never repeated itself, there or elsewhere. Not because my other experiences of Rio's favelas have been less or



View of Cantagalo, overlooking Ipanema



A trash pile in a narrow street of Cantagalo

more impactful, but because, with their informal nature and iterative development, Rio's favelas are constantly changing, and every experience of them is unique. Due to the variety of circumstances that produce them—some are on hills, others in low-lying areas; some were settled one hundred years ago, others in recent decades; some are favored by abundant local employment or easier access to public services, others are not; some are shaped by the cultures from which residents migrated or the personalities of leaders during the community's evolution; some have become easy targets for organized crime, while others resisted—the experience of each of these communities is completely and utterly unique.

A close study and appreciation of the tremendous diversity of Rio's favelas is thus in order—in our narrow perspectives on what constitutes "good" planning, architecture, and design, have our stigmatizing and stereotyped views led us to overlook a source of insight for cities around the world?

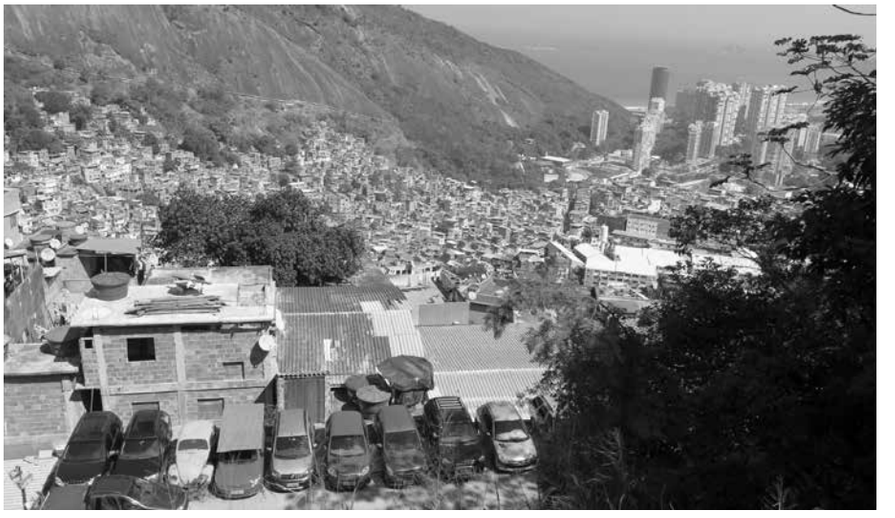
Cities globally have a stake in what happens in the laboratory that is Rio de Janeiro. Rapidly urbanizing, nearly one third of all humanity will live in informal settlements, mostly new ones, by 2050.[1] Rio's favelas, some of the oldest such settlements in the world, offer a unique window into informality when left to flourish, yielding not only well-known challenges but also essential lessons in urban resiliency, which could inspire new approaches to urbanism not only in developing contexts, but for cities around the world. Despite being marginalized, Rio's favelas, a fruit of *and* engine in the city's well-loved culture of informality, are essential to Rio de Janeiro's history and its future.

AND SLAVERY, COLONIALISM, THE BIRTH OF FAVELAS

The *New York Times* recently reported on a Dixie town in rural São Paulo that was established after the American Civil War when confederate families were invited to Brazil, where slavery was still prospering.[2] In fact, the slave trade in Brazil sped up during the nineteenth century as the rest of the world closed shop on one of the most despicable practices in history, and Rio de Janeiro solidified its position as the largest port-of-entry to enslaved



The Favela of Providência in 1927



View from Rocinha, overlooking São Conrado

peoples in world history.[3] Over nearly four hundred years, Rio received two million Africans forced to the New World, by some accounts more than four times those received in the entire United States.[4] Brazil as a whole received 4.8 million.[5]

Reflective of the Brazilian elite's unshakable commitment to slavery is the term ''É para inglês ver," or "It's for the English to see," which came into popular usage after an 1831 Brazilian law that declared Africans arriving into the nation's ports free. It was passed due to pressure from England to abolish slavery, but the law was not intended to be implemented. It served only on paper as an instrument for convincing the British that a law existed, while ultimately allowing those in positions of power to maintain the status quo. Ultimately, in 1888, Brazil was the last country in the western hemisphere to abolish slavery, just as it was about to assume a republican constitution in 1891.[6] By the late 1800s and into the early 1900s, Rio was not only a federal capital, but also a prospering world city, recognized for one of the first sewerage systems and tram lines, among many other developments leading it to be selected to host the 1922 World Expo.[7] Much of this was built on the backs of delayed abolition. At the same time, when Brazil was first established as a colony, the entire territory was owned and managed by just twelve families. Descendants of such colonial elites are still closely associated with power in Brazil today, ownership of massive tracts of land is still centralized, and powerful

interests benefiting from modern-day slavery remain.[8] This elite perceives low-income Brazilians' socioeconomic rise as a direct affront to their culture and status.[9] In the early twenty-first century, Brazil remains among the world's most extreme in land inequality.[10]

These three conditions—severe land inequality, combined with the delayed end to a voluminous slave trade, during a period of early and intense urbanization relative to other developing contexts—produced the settlements that have become known as favelas. Rio's favelas were born within ten years of abolition, as former slaves and their descendants, along with rural migrants, made their way to the then federal capital and largest city in Brazil. The first favela, today known as Providência, appeared in 1897. Though they were the majority, Afro-Brazilians and laborers were disempowered politically and arguably still are to this day.[11]

Providência's story is emblematic of the treatment of favelas historically. It was formed when veterans of the Canudos War in Brazil's northeast were promised land in Rio as payment for serving battle, but upon arriving, found no such land available. They awaited their promise by squatting in front of the Ministry of War in Rio's downtown. As a way to keep them at bay, a colonel gave the veterans permission to occupy a nearby hill, which they named "Morro da Favela" after the robust and spiny favela plant typical of the Canudos hills where they had spent many nights in battle. Over the following decades the community grew as freed slaves and new European migrants joined the early settlers. The various new informal settlements that appeared across the city became known generically as *favelas*.[12] This eventually led the community to be renamed Morro da Providência, or Providence Hill. Now one hundred twenty years later, Providência is still chronically under-serviced, and residents suffer regular eviction threats.[13]

FAVELAS AND THE DIVIDED CITY

While North American and European cities instituted slum clearance policies at the height of the industrial revolution and later developed comprehensive master planning strategies, Rio de Janeiro did nothing about its slums nor planned for affordability. Favelas were deemed convenient, because they provided cheap nearby labor without requiring public investment. Since 1890, the dominant policy has thus been neglect and avoidance of Rio's favelas, leaving them to develop on their own. This policy was broken for short intense and traumatic periods of forced evictions in the name of urban renewal, most notably during the early 1900s, the 1960s and 1970s, and during the most recent Olympic administration.[14]

Simultaneously, a lack of investment in public housing has made favelas the default option.[15] Favelas often are even preferable because residents are able to slowly invest in their homes. The formal housing market, even today, is incredibly exclusive and unaffordable.[16] This exclusivity, combined with yet another policy—the criminalization of poverty—has exacerbated the proliferation of favelas.[17] The stigma generated by favela residents' historic criminalization is frequently used as justification for maintaining these neighborhoods that are precarious and underserved by public services. Rio today has over 1.4 million citizens living in favelas, comprising nearly twenty-four percent of the city's population.[18]

To this day Rio is clearly segregated along racial lines, with favelas housing the



Guerrilla infrastructure in Pica-Pau



Precarious Cantagalo houses and pedestrian street

majority of the city's black residents and racial maps showing clear delineations where favelas begin and the formal city ends.[19] The psychological damage of such a system must be contemplated. To historian Katiuscia Barbosa the challenge of fighting racism in Brazil stems from the "job very well done" by established sectors of society that result in Afro-Brazilians rejecting their own culture such that "the oppressed wants to be the oppressor and wants to occupy the spaces of the oppressor, even though they will never be theirs."[20] Hence, favela residents have also been led to look down upon themselves, their own spaces, communities, customs, and history.

The deep rift that is perceived as dividing Rio—between formal and informal, beauty and blight, what is good and what is bad in the city—has led locals to refer to Rio as the *cidade partida*, or "divided city," with Rio's beach-facing formal South Zone neighborhoods on one end and the city's approximately one thousand informal favelas on the other.[21]

This divide is reinforced by local labels and colloquialisms. In popular usage, when *cariocas* (Rio natives) describe informal and formal areas of the city, they use the terms *favela* and *asfalto*, or "asphalt." Favelas are understood as areas where public services, including paved roads, do not reach. Not coincidentally, the main declared legacies of the 2016 Rio Olympic Games have been enormous investments in transport, requiring the removal of tens of thousands of people from their homes.[22] These investments have yet to produce savings in the most important indicator, home-to-work commutes.[23] Instead, the long bus corridors allowed the government to relocate a huge portion of Rio's low-income residents significantly further to the west, in poorly-built and militia-controlled public housing.[24]

This lopsided view of development happily serves the construction and real estate sectors while depriving communities of crucial public services. Sadly and ironically, "asphalt" has been associated with deaths in favelas, where paving works have resulted in increased erosion and landslides.[25]

The topic of planned roads has arisen numerous times during my visits with favela community leaders since 2000. A new road can dramatically change a community, slicing through it and thus removing homes and pedestrian areas, or traveling past it with immense volumes of traffic. Rarely has one of the community leaders denied

the right of a road, no matter the negative consequences it would bring. “Progress is progress, who am I to get in the way of progress,” Carlos Alberto “Bezerra” da Silva, President of the Asa Branca Residents’ Association in the West Zone, once told me about such a road. I have heard this echoed numerous times, from Cantagalo in the South Zone to Pica-Pau in the North.

This concept of a deep divide, accentuated by planning policies, continues to dominate public opinion to the present day. Yet recognition of favelas as legitimate parts of the city dates back to when Brazil re-democratized in the 1980s. Following many decades of favela development in the face of government neglect, housing rights groups successfully lobbied for the federal constitution to recognize urban squatters’ rights, or adverse possession.[26] The new Brazilian constitution of 1988 established the right to adverse possession, so that after occupying land without contestation for five years, citizens in Brazilian cities gain the right to acquire or inhabit that land.[27]

By the 1990s, favelas achieved recognition within the architectural, engineering, and legal establishments. From the Brazilian Regional Council of Engineering and Architecture (CREA) to the Brazilian Institute of Architects (IAB), technical experts have recommended favela upgrading as a primary solution.[28]

In 1994 Rio began implementing a large-scale informal settlement upgrading program called Favela-Bairro. Under the program, 140 favelas received upgrades.[29] It was predicated on Rio’s 1992 master plan with its goal of “integrating the favelas into the formal city” and “preserving their local character.” These laws and others were a far cry from the “favela as aberration” language of Rio’s 1937 building code.[30]

CHALLENGING THE BINARY OF INFORMAL VS FORMAL

My British aunt, a lifelong social worker who worked with refugees to the United Kingdom, recently commented about how wonderful she found the “flexibility” on my family’s Brazilian side. When a family friend’s child needed a home, my Brazilian mother was simply able to “adopt” him, take him under her wing, and raise him as her own. Whenever a problem emerged, a solution was at hand. My aunt reminisced about the days when, as a social worker, she would take groups of refugee youth on holiday to the Welsh seashore. She would persuade local businesses to provide the children with free canoeing and cheap boat rides around the islands, where they would swim, climb, and play football. Today, she sadly explains, the same kids would be stuck in an apartment, because the permissions to do such a trip would be too costly, and their social workers would not approve it. Today, in the hyper-regulated context that is much of the developed world, informality has been banished. Could it be that the broad assumptions we make in applying anti-informality principles, often blindly, are lacking in common sense? Might we benefit from a dose of *gambiarra*, a local Rio term for “improvised solution”?

Generally, there is an implicit assumption that formalization is good, and informality is bad. This assumption has been used to legitimize a number of policies in recent years, from cracking down on street vendors to impeding *cariocas* from dribbling footballs and eating traditional cheese sticks on the beach, from blocking improvised favela connections to the energy grid to forcing favela businesses to close if they cannot afford the bureaucratic requirements of the formal market.[31]

Ironically, Rio's culture as a whole hinges on informality. Not only in the favelas, but in the formal city as well. The *jeitinho*, for example, is a widely used and basic cultural practice, relying on informal relationships and strategies to get by. Brazilian studies professors Stephanie Dennison and Lisa Shaw reflect on this term:

> Although similar mechanisms exist throughout the world, in Brazil the *jeitinho* has become an accepted feature of everyday life, which helps to eliminate hierarchies of ethnicity, gender or class. As [anthropologist] Livia Neves de H. Barbosa says 'the *jeitinho* is a flexible way of dealing with the surprises of daily life, a way of humanising the rules that takes into account the moral equality and social inequalities of persons in the society… [it] works as an equalizing ritual… It also emphasizes the side of Brazilian society that privileges the *human* and *natural* aspects of social reality over the legal, political and institutional ones.'[32]

The *jeitinho* is used equally by all Brazilians. It is learned in childhood and applied throughout life. The assumption is made that "there is always a way." Creativity is the most important ingredient.[33] It is most closely associated with the brand of acceptable informality described by economist Ravi Kanbur as adjusting activity to move out of the ambit of regulation, though not necessarily applying to regulation, but certainly involving adjustment to assumptions or rules that are initially held.[34]

Favelas and the formal city of Rio are not two separate worlds, but rather two sides of the same coin. Informality is seen in everything, from the chronic and accepted tardiness of *cariocas* to the frightening vigilante police mafias, known as *militas*, that run huge swaths of the city today. Yet there is consistently a general rejection of this in others and an acceptance of it in oneself (such as with home extensions, a common practice in formal and informal neighborhoods), either because "everybody does it" or because it is simply the best way to do something.

Beyond recognizing informality's role in the culture of the formal city, there are daily physical exchanges between the formal and informal city, mostly at the scale of the body. Many favela residents work in the construction of the formal city; they provide the inexpensive labor for many businesses in the formal city. The drug trade also has a complex network that surpasses the formal/informal divide. Residents of the formal city rarely set foot in favelas, but some have rental properties or businesses that benefit from the favela economy, while others run businesses based on favela tourism.

At the same time, favela culture itself is increasingly appropriated by other parts of society, such as in funk-themed parties or expensive T-shirts featuring the word "favela," and even in the visuals of the 2016 Olympic Opening Ceremony.[35]

In response to a quick recent survey on Facebook, thirty-one expats who live in Rio, along with a few *cariocas*, gave the following words they use when broadly describing Rio to friends abroad (see facing page):

PLAYFUL
FUN-LOVING
SPONTANEOUS
JOIE DE VIVRE
VIVACIOUS

FUN
JOYOUS
EXTRAVAGANT
CHILL
EXCESSIVELY INDULGENT

RELAXED
EASYGOING
COOL
LAID-BACK
CASUAL

HEALTHY
BEACH-GOING
DANCING
INCONSIDERATE
NONPUNCTUAL

FLAKY
FICKLE
CONTRADICTORY
JEITINHO
CREATIVE

TRICKSTER
OVERCOMING
MAKING A PLAN B
FATALISTIC
DELIGHTFULLY CHAOTIC

ILLOGICAL
ENERGETIC
VIBRANT
PASSIONATE
COLORFUL

WARM
AFFECTIONATE
FRIENDLY
CORDIAL
EMOTIONAL

INTELLIGENT
HELPFUL
KIND

Simply defined, informality refers to "the state or quality of being informal," which in turn hinges on not being "ceremonious," on being "casual," and on "not being in accord with prescribed regulations or forms."[36] What could be more Rio? And why is it presumed bad?

Some informal behavior is incredibly productive (responding to basic needs as they arise), and other informal behavior is not (enacting laws you have no intention of implementing simply to maintain the status quo). In other cases it may or may not be socially productive (*jeitinho*). While formalization in developed contexts is now being criticized at times for lacking in common sense, informality is criticized for its association with illegality. This binary ignores the potentially healthy role of informality, as well as how integral informality is to local Brazilian culture in all parts of the nation's cities.

A HEALTHY DOSE OF INFORMALITY

The question then arises, when and where should we encourage healthy informality? Does this vary from society to society, depending on context and conditions? That is, perhaps each place could have a continuum of its own, integrating a certain amount of both healthy formalization and healthy informality.

Rio's favelas have been a practical laboratory for such nuances since 2008, when programs began to be implemented by the city and state governments aimed to formalize the favelas, either by granting them business and land rights, or by relocating residents to formal public housing. The programs were seen as positive, given the widely held assumption that formalization is in and of itself a positive trend. This process would begin with the arrival of at times violent Police Pacification Units, followed by the arrival of paid cable television, water, and electricity. Lastly, the formalization of community businesses would begin, requiring owners to pay to register their businesses and meet legal and tax requirements. This would sometimes be followed by land titling and subsequent property tax payments.

A study conducted in Santa Marta, the first favela to pass through this formalization process, is telling. It found that the rise in numerous expenses associated with this process made business costlier, and that families' limited budgets were now overtaken by such costs, leaving fewer resources to spend in the community.[37] Additionally, to make up for increased costs, informal local family businesses were forced to raise prices. As a result, residents could no longer afford to frequent their own community's business, opening the floodgates for gentrification. According to the study's authors, this policy "gives the community an ambiguous sentiment of pride that they are part of a formalized space, next to a great insecurity generated in relation to the consequences of this process over the lives of each individual and the community as a whole."[38] As if this is not enough, cost increases led to rent increases, which generated insecurity among renters: a 200 percent increase in prices at the top of the vertical community, and 74 percent at the bottom.[39] Formalization is thus not a panacea, and can ultimately be an instrument of social exclusion, not to mention denying a society of the inherent qualities of its culture.

This was more visibly the case with efforts to formalize favelas by demolishing them and relocating their residents to public housing. Jane, a resident of Vila Autódromo, fought vehemently, but was ultimately removed from her community in the name of Olympic redevelopment. Nearly a year following her relocation to



Precarious Cantagalo houses and pedestrian street



Street barber in Asa Branca



Boys on bikes in the street of Asa Branca

public housing, she told me: "What I most miss about living in the favela is the freedom. The freedom to get together with my neighbors and create a Christmas tree on the main street. The freedom to join the association and work together to build a daycare center. Now, in public housing, there is no freedom. When we came together to erect a Christmas tree last year, security came in and told us we couldn't do it."[40]

FAVELA ASSETS? YES!

The idea that favelas have assets worthy of recognizing, strengthening, supporting, and preserving is slowly—but increasingly—gaining traction.[41] Rio's 1992 master plan recommendation to "preserve their local character" was somewhat visionary. Despite the widespread agreement to not tear down favelas, many organizations and governments promoting slum upgrades do not publicly recognize the assets of informal settlements—beyond their affordability. This goes for the World Bank and the United Nations, whose websites discuss "rights and needs" but not assets.[42]

Despite this, favelas do have a significant and growing number of well-documented assets, both sociocultural and economic/urbanistic.[43] Those which I have identified so far, in seventeen years of work in over a hundred of Rio's favelas,[44] can be broken down as follows:

SOCIOCULTURAL ASSETS OF FAVELAS

In comparison with the formal city, Rio's favelas exhibit greater:

- Cultural production[45]
- Sociability[46]
- Atmosphere of play[47]
- Strong undeniable sense of community
- Culture of collective action, or *mutirão*[48]
- Intricacy in solidarity networks[49]
- Use and early adoption of social media[50] [51]
- Adaptivity and talent for improvisation[52]

Rio's favelas also dramatically further the city's:

- Aesthetic qualities[53]
- Linguistic and musical production[54]
- Independence from the media monopoly[55]

URBANISTIC AND ECONOMIC QUALITIES OF FAVELAS

Rio's favelas exhibit a number of qualities that the urban planning and development fields today advocate for:

- Affordable housing in central areas, providing residences close to workplaces[56]
- Low-rise, high density, mixed-use neighborhoods[57]
- Flexible and need-based architecture[58]
- Narrow streetscape favoring pedestrians and engendering safe leisure spaces
- High usage of bicycles and public transportation
- Creative and adaptive, cutting-edge use of technology[59]
- Economies generated through mutual support
- High rate of entrepreneurship and growing upward mobility[60]
- Improvisation of public services at times, making them more affordable than public provision[61]

These are assets uncovered in our own research to date at Catalytic Communities,[62] which can be generally observed in most favelas in Rio. Furthermore, each specific favela reflects individual assets due to a unique compilation of factors.

Recognizing and applying such criteria across favelas has recently been made easier through the actions of architect Eliot Allen of Criterion Planners in Portland, Oregon. Allen worked with a Catalytic Communities intern, Julia Jones, to evaluate the favela Asa Branca in terms of LEED ND criteria (LEED for Neighborhood Development, a formal certification system for sustainable neighborhoods), and compare it to Ilha Pura, the Rio de Janeiro Olympic Village, which had acquired LEED ND status. As it turns out, the Asa Branca favela ranked higher: it claimed 60 of 110 possible points (gold status) compared to Ilha Pura's 47 (barely certified).[63] Similar ranking systems that take into account all favela assets and challenges could provide a fantastic starting point for the sustainable upgrading of such communities through community-led design.

AND THE INFORMALITY FUTURE OF CITIES

Rio's favelas offer a vantage point from which to reflect on what we want urbanization to look like, and how we want to view informality and its role in developing cities.

Rio's favelas are not to be seen as a temporary, ahistorical problem to fix; they have a long and deep history, as Providência's approaching 120th-anniversary celebrations attest. Given their age and history, Rio's favelas teach us that informality is the engine on which developing cities prosper. it is on informal businesses that new migrants depend; it is in informal housing that they raise their families and design their environment to suit their needs. It is in informal neighborhoods that they build a sense of common purpose, and as Providência community organizer and photographer Maurício Hora often comments, it is thanks to the economies generated through neighborhood solidarity that "no beggars live here." This has all led—despite systemic marginalization—to a growing middle class in these communities, along with a growing number of residents who feel proud of their communities.[64]

Looking deeper, informality provides a laboratory, which fosters and enables creativity, experimentation, responsivity to needs, freedom from bureaucracy and patriarchal approaches, low-cost solutions, and non-monetary-dependent development. Informality allows for a lifestyle defined by strong social capital, which includes developing skills associated with social intelligence (*jeitinho*), a sense of solidarity, and social networks that encourage collective cultural production. It is not a coincidence that cultural practices bred in Rio's favelas are socially interdependent—they thrive on informal exchange between performers and their audience to a greater degree than more formal cultural practices.

There is a growing recognition within the urban planning field, in light of the dramatic changes cities face today—migration, climate change, financial crisis, and cities' growing, central role—that too much planning and regulation may be an impediment to development and the resiliency cities need going forward.[65] The fact is that informality is essential to healthy community building and vital to urban planning. Many progressive planning ideas come from observing informal, organic use of space and engaging citizens in spontaneous and lively dialogue



Community protest against evictions and demolitions in Vila Autódromo, 2014

about priorities and preferences.[66] This includes informal housing.

Resilience is one of today's essential buzzwords given rapidly escalating threats—from climate change to violence. Resiliency represents the ability to absorb chaotic and unpredicted incidents and bounce back, or to be prepared outright in a way that reduces the impact of such threats. Whether in humans, neighborhoods, cities or ecosystems, the value of diversity and widespread experimentation is a basic premise of resilience.[67]

Favelas are inherently resilient. They are in and of themselves versatile, organic, and responsive. Residents are free to develop solutions to problems as they arise, without having to engage in formal processes, bureaucracy, or complicated rituals. Their built environment—low-rise, high-density, mixed-use, resourceful and highly interdependent—fosters large-scale cultural production and entrepreneurship. The more control people have over their own space in a collective environment of support, the more resilient they are.[68]

As a community journalist from Complexo do Alemão, Daiene Mendes, put it recently, "Favelas should not be thought about as something exotic, distanced from reality or pitiable. Favela residents carry with them the strength and energy to transform realities. I like to say that almost every favela resident is an activist, because resistance precedes activism, and the only thing that defines the favela context is struggle and resistance."[69]

Thus, the city of tomorrow, a great city, embraces informality. It experiments to discover the right balance between informal and formal, which continually changes due to context and situation. That flexibility is what the future calls for. We should look to Rio's favelas as signposts to tomorrow's city.

ENDNOTES

1 The United Nations predicts 3 billion will live in informal settlements by 2050 if current settlement patterns do not change. United Nations Department of Economics and Social Affairs, "Sustainable Development Challenges," *World Economic and Social Survey 2013* (2013), http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/policy/wess/wess_current/wess2013/WESS2013.pdf.

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