Radical Responses: Architects and violence in Medellín, Colombia.
Abstract

Medellín, Colombia has seen one of the most remarkable turnarounds of any city of the last century. From Most Violent City in the World in 1991 to The Wall Street Journal’s Most Innovative City in the World 2013 and host of the UN Habitat World Urban Forum in 2014; a transition indicative of the indomitable spirit of the ‘Paisa’ people. The city is being held as an example in urban regeneration in Latin America and “Brand Medellín” is becoming an attractive option for international investors.

Some say this turnaround was down to the innovative urban regeneration which has become known as ‘social urbanism’ that started under the guidance of Mayor Sergio Fajardo in 2002. This dissertation looks at this ‘social urbanism’ with a specific focus on the architects and their innovative responses to the underlying causes of the violence. The study builds on the literature relating to urban violence by looking at the overlaps between urban regeneration and conflict transformation and how architects can fit into this model.

It’s through this lens that the case of Medellín is portrayed. Based on primary qualitative research and secondary quantitative research and reports, the study offers personal perceptions of the responses adopted by architects in tackling the socio-economic problems in marginalised areas of the city.

The finding show that the greatest innovations that came out of the responses were the adoption of collaborative approaches, building on community strengths and the development of a multi-disciplinary, collaborative approach to design that increased social, human and physical capital and contributed to increasing the legitimacy of the state.
Statement of Originality

This thesis is the result of my own independent work/investigation, except where otherwise stated. Other sources are acknowledged by explicit references.

Signed……………………………. (candidate) Date …26th September 2013…………………………

I hereby give consent for my thesis, if accepted, to be available for photocopying and for inter-library loan, and for the title and summary to be made available to outside organisations.

Signed……………………………. (candidate) Date …26th September 2013…………………………
Acknowledgements

This study is first and foremost dedicated to the amazing, inspiring people of Medellín that welcomed me like only they know how to. For three years I was part of their ‘Paisa’ family and were it not for their kind spirit and overwhelming desire to impart their knowledge this study would have been impossible. My appreciation for the key informants that offered insightful perceptions into the case of Medellín is enormous. They went above and beyond their obligations and received me like an old friend.

A special thanks goes to the staff at the Centro de Desarrollo Cultural de Moravia who opened up both emotionally and physically in recounting their personal stories which were both touching and inspirational.

I would also like to thank Professor David Sanderson for his expert input, advice and guidance in both the development and execution of the study. Also I am grateful for the insightful guidance of Dr. Brigitte Piquard and Professors Georgia Butina Watson and Nabeel Hamdi who all had direct involvement in the dissertation and all of the DEP lecturers and colleagues who imparted their expert knowledge throughout the year.

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<td>Plan de Ordenamiento Territorial</td>
<td>Territorial Ordering Plan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EPM</td>
<td>Empresas Publicas de Medellín</td>
<td>Public Businesses Medellín Energy Company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FARC</td>
<td>Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia</td>
<td>Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (Leftist guerrilla rebel group)</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Ejercito de Liberacion National</td>
<td>National Liberation Army (Leftist guerrilla rebel group)</td>
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<tr>
<td>AUC</td>
<td>Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia</td>
<td>United Self-defences Colombia (Paramilitary organisation)</td>
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<tr>
<td>BACRIM</td>
<td>Bandas Criminales</td>
<td>Criminal Gangs</td>
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<tr>
<td>EDU</td>
<td>Empresa de Desarrollo Urbano</td>
<td>Urban Development Company</td>
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<tr>
<td>PRIMED</td>
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<td>Programme for the Integral Improvement of Subnormal Neighbourhoods in Medellín</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UPB</td>
<td>Universidad Pontificia Bolivariana</td>
<td>University in Medellín</td>
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Key Terms

**Antioquia:** One of thirty-two departments that make up the Republic of Colombia.

**Municipality of Medellín:** The capital of Antioquia and municipal area under jurisdiction of the Mayor of Medellín. Population 2.44 million. Referred to in this dissertation simply as Medellín.

**Metropolitan Area of Medellín:** Urban agglomeration of ten municipalities including Municipality of Medellín. Population 3.5 million.

**Comuna:** An administrative area of Medellín. 16 comunas make up the municipality of Medellín and each has an administrative organisation.

**Barrio:** Administrative municipal division or loosely defined neighbourhood. Several barrios make up a comuna. Medellín has 249 barrios.

**Estrato:** A hierarchical system of ranking designates a level or ‘estrato’ to each barrio indicating its socio-economic standing. This can affect tax rates, service costs and even university entrance fees. There are 6 levels with 1 being the lowest and 6 the highest.

**Paisa:** Person born in the Department of Antioquia. A form of identity for the region and city of Medellín. Usually an endearing term.

**Cartel:** A highly organised criminal organisation that usually consists of several gangs.

**Militia:** Private vigilante group formed for the protection of a barrio.

**Metro Medellín:** The rapid train system that serves the Metropolitan Area of Medellín.

**Metro Cable:** A cable car system that was built to connect two comunas located on the upper sides of the valley to the Metro.

**Combo, pandilla, banda:** Slang names for small-time criminal gangs

**Sicario:** Professional hitman often operating on motorcycle.

**Pablo Escobar:** Infamous head of the most powerful drugs cartel in the world in the 1980s and 90s, operating out of Medellín.

**Oficina de Envigado:** Pablo Escobar’s drug cartel.

**La Violencia:** A violent period of ten years during the 1950’s that claimed the lives of 200,000 people.

**Displacement:** The forced removal of people from their lands or homes by use or threat of violence.

**Forced Disappearance:** The murder of a victim and the hiding of the body as a means to avoid evidence. Often the bodies are dumped in rivers or rubbish dumps.

**Radical:** The Oxford Dictionary (3rd Ed.) defines ‘radical’ as “relating to or affecting the fundamental nature of something” and as “Characterised by departure from tradition; innovative or progressive”.

**Architect:** For the purpose of this dissertation the term architect refers to anyone who has studied architecture in university or who works in a professional manner under licence from the Colombian Architectural Society.
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1 Introduction

1.1 Background

With over 50% of people now living in urban areas and over 1 billion people living in slum areas there is an increasing trend in urban poverty, particularly in the developing world where social mobility is impeded (IFRC, 2010). Urban regeneration is seen as a strategic and important method of reducing the vulnerability of both individuals and communities by addressing the social, economic and physical inequalities of cities, towns and villages (Pelling, 2003).

When poverty-related vulnerabilities are coupled with high rates of political or gang violence, not only are the problems exacerbated but also the interventions needed are made more complicated. It has been noted that in some cases, attempts at poverty alleviation or urban renewal has had the effect of increasing levels of violence by reducing communities’ abilities to challenge the perverse organisations that control certain neighbourhoods (Moser, 1998).

Gaffikin and Morissey (Morrissey, 2011) have outlined two distinctive categories of divisions that exist within all cities; socio-economic inequality or ethno-political division. These divisions often lead to violent conflicts and contestation of space and Medellín, Colombia offers the complexity of experiencing both types of division simultaneously with each aspect intrinsically intertwined.

Hamdi (Hamdi, 2004) argues that spatial planning can provide the interventions needed to address the issues underpinning these divisions, building on some of the inclusive and sustainable models posed by great urban thinkers like Jane Jacobs (Jacobs, 1961). Spatial theorists have long argued that space is crucial to democracy but can also be used to constrain socio-political movements and is therefore a powerful tool in the building of peace (Kohn, 2003). It is in this capacity that this dissertation studies how architects can operate as drivers of positive social change.

1.2 Context

Urban regeneration involves a vast array of elements including economic, political and social strategies yet there is a growing trend of design-led regeneration in cities across the world, trying to echo the success of cities such as Bilbao which was spurred on by the Guggenheim Museum in 1997. Medellín, Colombia has experienced significant change in the past fifteen years, moving from the most violent city in the world in 1995 (Bahl, 2012) to the Most Innovative City in the World in 2012 (Journal, 2012), and much of this shift has been credited to urban regeneration and the modern, socially conscious architecture employed in the design and construction of several large public projects that include libraries, public squares, parks and sports centres all of which serve a social purpose while also attempting to create a new identity and physical discourse within the city.

While the regeneration of Medellín has been hailed by many as a success, others have voiced their discontent at how some of the projects were implemented, the cost involved, corruption in the construction sector, the foreign aesthetic and the marketing of Medellín as a tourist destination while many of its inhabitants live well below the poverty line and in situations of extreme threat of violence.

With the UN Habitat World Urban Forum held in Medellín in 2014, the year of the study, and the rise of Medellín to the status of the poster-boy for urban regeneration in Latin America (Bahl, 2012) a study that can offer a unique perspective on how changes in planning and architecture were implemented and how they manifested is timely and can contribute to the debate on urban violence, urban regeneration and architecture simultaneously.
Map 1. Map of Colombia showing location of Medellín.

Map 2. Map of Valle de Aburrá showing location of Municipality of Medellín.
1.3 Scope and Objectives

This dissertation aims to examine the response of architects working within the framework of urban regeneration which addressed the underlying causes of violence in the city. An analysis is offered of the importance of design, in conjunction with the social, economic and political strategies usually applied in regeneration, in driving deprived areas towards achieving a higher standard of living and reducing poverty and inequality by focusing on the changing role of architects in the city over the last twenty years.

This dissertation aims to expand the discourse on ethical approaches in architecture by examining perceptions of architectural responses in the context of urban violence but the objectives of the study are to highlight the wider reaching responses to social issues that can promote the application of a more ethical and socially aware approach to architecture that can be applied in any location that experiences similar social issues such as inequality, poverty, informal settlement and environmental vulnerability.

This is done by firstly looking at the specific violence in Medellín, establishing the underlying causes and studying the varying manifestations of violence before examining the urban regeneration that took place in the city and the policy changes that were needed to carry it out and the strategies applied. Finally a discourse on the specific interventions realised by architects within this regeneration is presented and offers unique insight into the capacity of the profession as drivers of social change.

The dissertation poses three guiding questions;

What are the underlying causes of violence in Medellín?

How does urban regeneration address the underlying causes of violence in Medellín?

How did architects within the framework of urban regeneration respond to the high levels of violence in Medellín in the late 1990s?

1.4 Overview of Dissertation

The dissertation is divided into four parts.

Part 1 is the introduction to the study and contains two chapters. Chapter 1 is the introduction which provides a context and background to the study explaining the rationale behind the decision of Medellín as a case study Chapter 2 presents the methodology explaining the study design and approach adopted.

Part 2 which is composed of Chapter 3 is a review of the existing literature on the topics of urban violence, urban regeneration and finally architecture and attempts to identify the overlapping elements of all three and offers something of a lens through which the case of Medellín has been examined.

Part 3 provides the specific analysis of the case of Medellín firstly drawing a comprehensive picture of violence in Medellín in Chapter 4, examining the background to the violence and identifying the underlying causes. Secondly Chapter 5 looks at the ‘social urbanism’ in Medellín that has its roots in the late 1990s and looks to address the socio-economic problems of the city by altering the physical fabric. Chapter 6 provides a discourse on the role of architects, combining the perceptions of architects, planners, sociologists, community leaders and community members with documented historical accounts and government literature in an attempt to provide a unique perspective on the changes that have taken place in the city Chapter 7 offers a very brief and non-comprehensive overview of some of the changes in violence in the city in order to provide a context on how the city is currently experiencing violence.

Part 4 is the concluding chapter. Chapter 8 poses a summary of the dissertation and the findings of the study before moving on the provide recommendations, an evaluation of how the objectives of the study were met and possibilities for future work.
2 Methodology

2.1 Study Design

The aim of this study is to build a stronger understanding of the important role that architects as a profession can play in contributing to the positive social changes entailed in the transformation of conflicts and violence in our cities by examining the links between architecture and social changes in Medellín, Colombia. To this end, it was imperative, first, to refine the research question through a review of the existing literature and through discussions with experts in the field. The question went through various incarnations before being finally honed down to its current form. This allowed for the formation of hypotheses and the methodology that would proceed.

In order to examine if and how any theory posed can be applied successfully to real-life cases, it was essential to examine the case study through the lens of a hypotheses formed through an analysis of the existing literature. The benefits of this is to offer the ability to build and understand a full context in which these theories have been carried out, the meanings that they have for those involved and their outcomes. The strength of choosing to examine a case-study lies in its uniqueness and singularity, offering depth and insight which offsets the difficulties and limitations that also accompany this approach.

2.2 Literature review

This research began with a review of the literature relating to three central aspects of the study, urban violence, urban regeneration and architects.

The first area of study approached was the area of urban violence and existing approaches to conflict transformation as this formed the basis of and gave an informed perspective on other areas of research. It was felt that the other areas should be approached from the context of a conflict situation at all times, thus focusing and informing future avenues of research.

To this aim, it was decided to understand better the idea of the city in conflict or the ‘divided city’ (Morrissey 2011) as described in further detail in the Section 3.1.1 and to identify the different and distinct forms of violence that can be seen in and against cities.

Secondly, the various aspects and approaches of urban regeneration were studied in order to identify the areas of conflict transformation that urban regeneration can address. Since this is not always a process involving or related to conflict, this provided a more focused perspective, informing a holistic view-point and a multi-disciplinary perspective.

Thirdly, further research into how architects and architecture can adopt approaches that can contribute to positive social changes with specific respect to violence and conflict was carried out, identifying common themes between the two previously discussed areas.

Further analysis of government and local municipality strategic plans such as Plan de Desarrollo 2012-2015 (2012-2015 Development Plan), Medellín - Un Hogar Para La Vida (Medellín - A Home For Life) and El Plan de Ordenamiento Territorial (the Territorial Planning Strategy) was carried out and this reading built on personal experience and previous research which has formed the basis for this proposal.

2.3 Methodology

In order to limit the risk of the case study lacking validity in a larger context, triangulation was made an integral methodological part of this dissertation in an attempt to instill additional rigour to the study, which is why it relies on three types and sources of data; the theoretical literature, primary data and archival records.
2.4 Collection and analysis of data

The analysis of the literature informed the creation of a protocol for semi-structured interviews and the identification and selection of key informants such as architects, sociologists, community leaders and members using personal and professional connections. Key informants were selected on their ability to communicate a unique perspective on urban regeneration and questions were tailored to each interviewee to make the most of their expert opinions or informed perspectives. It was essential not to limit the study to the perspectives of professionals and those with vested interests in the line of study but also to incorporate community members who often offer valuable and unexpected inputs.

The researcher recorded interviews with a small recording device and allowed for flexibility in questioning. Anonymity of respondents was offered in order to guarantee safety and frankness and informed consent always acquired. Interviews were transcribed from Spanish into English by the researcher who is fluent in both languages and then analysed using Nvivo qualitative research analysis software in order to identify common themes and nodes through coding (coding results can be seen in Appendix E). This extensive and intensive analysis of data provided integral perspectives and outputs that led to unexpected and insightful content which added greatly to the study.

The design and implementation of questionnaires came out of initial findings from the semi-structured interviews. Interview questions and questionnaires can be seen in Appendix C and Appendix D respectively.

2.5 Case Study

The case study provides an interesting and often overlooked perspective on approaches to urban regeneration and architecture within a context of violent conflict since Medellín does not offer the typical case study of post-conflict reconstruction in that the city did not suffer a significant amount of damage to the physical fabric of and much of the urban regeneration was implemented or started at the height of and as a response to the violent conflict of the 1990s rather than in a post-conflict context as much of the current literature tends to focus on.

The case study is presented firstly through offering insight into the historic context of Medellín as a city which cannot be fully understood, as key informant and architect, Respondent 2 states, without first looking at the history of the conflict within the country as a whole. A study of historical accounts and literature combined with candid discussions with locals and interviews with key informants sets the scene for the analysis of the interventions carried out within the city. The aim of this study is to then discuss the impact of these interventions as viewed by a small sample of community members and professionals and to study the social impact which, the theory proposes, can help to reduce violence and increase peaceful resolutions.

The initial plan for the research trip to Medellín was also to identify and study a particular neighbourhood within the city which has seen a positive transformation possibly as a result of the construction of physical intervention and try to establish a connection between this transformation and the ‘architectural intervention’. Having spoken to several key informants over the first weeks, it became clear that it would be difficult in many areas to separate the effects of infrastructural upgrades, gang treaties, improved security forces and the building of public spaces or buildings. Finally, the neighbourhood of Moravia was identified as the most suitable area to focus on having been the subject of clear and marked reductions in violence and also the location of a cultural centre designed by the most recognised and respected Colombian architects of the last century. Several visits to the Centro de Desarrollo Cultural (Cultural Development Centre) in the neighbourhood were made where discussions with workers and visitors were carried out and transect walks of the neighbourhood done with community members. Visits to the homes of several residents were made and photos taken.
2.6 Framing the Research

Having lived in Colombia from 2008 to 2013 and as someone who studied architecture at university level, the impact of this type of intervention was something that had fascinated the researcher as both an informed outsider and involved insider. Without in depth research and investigation it was never previously possible to establish or understand the true impact and to fully appreciate the mechanisms and the complex negotiation of extremely tenuous relationships that make them possible.

2.7 Limitations

This study was limited mostly by time and resource constraints and by the inherent difficulties and limitations of working within an area of high levels of violence.

Time constraints limited the amount of primary research that could be collected as the researcher had only a month in the city of Medellín, in which to gather data and to identify and select a suitable case study neighbourhood. Additionally the limited sources of statistical data regarding violent crime reduces the validity of examining social changes particularly in the area of violence reductions as most sources are state sponsored or government bodies. An attempt to overcome this was made by approaching other sources such as international observers but many of these also rely on state bodies for statistics.

Personal bias of the researcher is an additional limitation that must be considered. Interviewees and key informants were limited to those who the researcher had first, second or third-hand contact with. Luckily this was actually quite a large pool of people but it may have benefited the study more to have access to other professions such as humanitarian workers, politicians or even journalists who can also offer insightful perspectives. Likewise a more in-depth study of community members would have provided a more nuanced perspective.

One of the greatest difficulties was in making the link between social change and architecture. Qualitative research and personal accounts provided a socially nuanced and less politicised view of the process of regeneration in Medellín but the researcher found difficulties in getting past the ‘official’ narrative with some informants. This study should be considered in the context in which it was carried out and within its limitations.

2.8 Ethical Considerations

Informed consent was always obtained from the interviewees with a brief but thorough explanation of the studies and their implications and the option of anonymity offered. An ethics form can be seen in Appendix F.
3 Literature Review

In this chapter, the study focuses on the existing literature that has informed the research and led to the formulation of the research question. There is an attempt at producing a coherent overview of the three principal aspects of the study, beginning with urban violence before moving on to urban regeneration and finally the role of architects and architecture in both of these. The researcher has attempted to identify how urban regeneration can contribute to transforming conflict and violence by identifying the common approaches to both and then study how architects and architecture have historically fit into the link between the two as shown in the Diagram 1 below.

3.1 Urban Violence and Conflict Transformation

This section of the study provides a general understanding of urban violence by firstly examining the various types of urban violence and their root causes. Finally different approaches and theories behind the resolution and transformation of urban violence are outlined.

3.1.1 Urban Violence Overview

In medieval times, the European city was essentially a focal point for the accumulation of capital and thus an important tool for war-making and state-building. Nowadays, the interconnection of state and city has become far more complex, especially in the developing world where many post-colonial port cities and capitals, such as Sao Paolo, Manila and Lagos have grown rapidly due to the extraction and exportation of resources (Beall, 2013). As a result, in many countries urbanisation has continued without the social structures and political classes needed to engage the state that usually prevent the contestation of space, social divisions and political affiliations that define ‘divided cities’ or cites at conflict. This idea of a divided city is one that offers some ambiguity since it can be argued that all cities are in some way ‘divided’ (Morrissey, 2011).

While developing countries are not alone in experiencing urban violence, and while violence is not limited to cities, due to the growing strains on resources, the intensity and impact of violence here can be greater than in other areas with the common perception being that violence in many cities in developing countries is reaching endemic levels (Winton, 2004). The highest levels of violence in Brazil are not in the poorer, rural states to the North-East of the country, but in the wealthier, metropolitan areas of Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo (Briceno-Leon, 2002a).
### 3.1.2 Types of urban violence

#### 3.1.2.1 Overview

“...21st century violence does not fit the 20th century mould...Violence and conflict have not been banished...But because of the success in reducing inter-state war, the remaining forms of violence do not fit neatly either into “war” or “peace”, or into “political” or “criminal” violence.” (World-Bank, 2011)

Violence and conflict are distinct phenomena and a distinction should be drawn between the two. Conflict can be defined as contestation or antagonism as a necessary aspect of human societies and their development. Contestation of space and territory can even be seen as positive in many cases when resolved without resorting to violence (Morrissey, 2011). The World Health Organisation defines violence as “…the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community, that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment or deprivation.” (WHO, 2002).

Moser (2004) identifies four categories of urban violence based on their political, institutional, economic and social motivations while defining the types of violence and their manifestations. By combining these categorisations of violence with Beall's division of the various forms of conflict we can include the role of cities (Beall, 2013). The following categorisation offers a brief overview, bearing in mind the over-lapping and cross-cutting nature of violence given that violence can be viewed as a continuum constantly shifting location and the form in which it manifests itself. See Table 1 below.

#### 3.1.2.2 Political violence

Political violence is that which is driven by a will to maintain or seize political power. Beall (2013) has sub-divided this particular category into sovereign, civil and structural violence noting how these too can also become entwined and overlap or transition from one to the other.

**Sovereign violence** is defined by Beall (2013) as any conflict that involves two international actors engaged in warfare that threatens the sovereignty of one state. This can result in invasions, aerial bombardment of cities, missile launches or the funding of civil conflicts by foreign states in an attempt to destabilise national governance since the city and in particular the capital represents the centre of sovereignty.

**Civil violence** refers to violent interaction between two or more groups within the sovereign boundaries of a state that are politically and militarily organised and driven. The government or state is generally engaged with one group such as rebel groups, warlords, mafias and private militias attempting to wrestle some part of control away from the state. During civil conflicts, cities can serve as safe havens or refuge and can become economic hubs that fund wars (Moser, 2004).

While traditionally civil conflicts were seen out in rural areas out of reach of the government's control, recent conflicts in the Middle East and South Asia have shown that the social infrastructure of the city has provided the breeding ground for armed uprisings and resistance to the state (Kalyvas, 2000). Displacement from rural areas due to civil conflict results in rapid growth of urban areas and increases in the rate of growth can be indicative of rates of violence as illustrated by the 103% rise in homicide rate in Sao Paulo between 1979 and 1998 compared to a 35% rise in the slower growing Rio de Janeiro during the same period (Briceño-León, 2002).

**Institutional or structural violence** recognises that not all violence is physical and can be a process with no evident actor that is engrained or mainstreamed in social, political or economic structures rather than an event or act (Galtung, 1969). This can manifest itself in the unequal distribution of resources and access to education, employment, medical services and political representation. Deprivation, inequality and marginalisation are the most evident forms of structural violence in urban areas.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category of violence</th>
<th>Sub Categories</th>
<th>Types of violence by perpetrators</th>
<th>Manifestations</th>
<th>Role of cities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Political Conflict</strong></td>
<td>Sovereign Conflict</td>
<td>• Cross-border conflict between states</td>
<td>• Cross-border conflict between states</td>
<td>• Capital cities as containers of sovereignty</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Invasion</td>
<td>• Capturing of capital cities (sometimes aerial bombardment)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• International intervention</td>
<td>• Cities as sites of post-conflict reconstruction</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Civil Conflict</td>
<td>• Non-state actors against state</td>
<td>• Guerilla conflict</td>
<td>• Cities as sites of resistance</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Paramilitary conflict</td>
<td>• Cities as sites of post-conflict reconstruction</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Political assassinations</td>
<td>• Cities as sites of recruitment</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Territorial control struggles</td>
<td>• Endpoints for wars fought in rural areas</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Conflict between opposing political parties/ideologies</td>
<td>• Can be safe havens or eyes of the storm</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Key in war-time economy, protected by elites and coveted by others</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• Safe cities can experience rapid growth</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Institutional/Structural Violence</td>
<td>• State violence against citizens</td>
<td>• Oppression of human rights</td>
<td>• Segregation of social classes</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Violence of state and informal institutions</td>
<td>• Inequality in access to services and basic life necessities</td>
<td>• Unequitable planning policies</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Including the private sector</td>
<td>• Physical and psychological abuse by health and education workers</td>
<td>• Lack of access to employment</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Communities and social structures</td>
<td>• Vigilante-led social cleansing of gangs and street children</td>
<td>• Primary sites</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Victims themselves</td>
<td>• Oppression, control of media, control of movement</td>
<td>• Higher concentration of institutional centres</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Lynching of criminals</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Civic Conflict</td>
<td>Economic Violence</td>
<td>• Organised crime and mafias</td>
<td>• Intimidation and physical violence as means of extrapolating economic gains</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Businesses and corporations</td>
<td>• Small arms dealing</td>
<td>• Primary sites</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Delinquents</td>
<td>• Kidnapping</td>
<td>• Cities experience higher concentrations of varying socio-economic strata</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Robbers</td>
<td>• Armed robbery</td>
<td>• Varying qualities of geo-spatial density and diversity</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Conflict over scarce resources</td>
<td>• Cities that were once ‘havens’ during previous conflicts</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Drug-trafficking</td>
<td>• Can be exacerbated by misguided reconstruction efforts</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Socio-economic Violence</td>
<td>• Gangs</td>
<td>• Territorial control struggles, turf wars</td>
<td>• Primary sites</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Street Children</td>
<td>• Petty theft</td>
<td>• Cities experience higher concentrations of varying socio-economic strata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Ethnic violence</td>
<td>• Communal riots</td>
<td>• Varying qualities of geo-spatial density and diversity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Social Violence</td>
<td>• Domestic violence</td>
<td>• Physical or psychological male-female abuse</td>
<td>• Cities that were once ‘havens’ during previous conflicts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Sexual violence in the public arena</td>
<td>• Physical and sexual abuse by family members</td>
<td>• Varying qualities of geo-spatial density and diversity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Child abuse</td>
<td>• Incivility in public areas such as road rage, bar fights and street confrontations</td>
<td>• The density of cities can amplify differences between genders and ethnicities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Inter-generational conflict</td>
<td>• Arguments that get out of control</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4. Categories of urban violence. Adopted from Moser, 2004 and Beall, 2013
3.1.2.3 Civic violence
Civic violence implies the desire to reorganise power relations without taking control of formal power structures as in civil conflict. It includes public protests and riots, terrorism, gang warfare and organised crime and tends to be centred round urban areas where reaction to issues of density, diversity and inequality, exacerbated by the absence of the state, mobilises groups, aided by the social, physical and demographic infrastructure offered by cities (Beall, 2013).

Depravation can be seen to include not only economic differences but also the lack of access to state sponsored social security, corruption, socio-spatial divisions, planning processes and stigmatisation of social classes or geographical areas. The absence of government in areas of ‘illegal’ settlements or ‘slums’ and the neglecting of state responsibilities to provide services and protect its citizens can cause a fracturing of the urban fabric and the marginalisation and oppression of communities (Briceño-Leon, 2002a).

Violence driven by the pursuit of economic gains can often be a result of political violence and the power vacuum left when governance is eroded by the redirection of resources to maintaining sovereign or civil conflicts and when counter-insurgent groups are armed to provide security (Moser, 2004). The proliferation of arms and the non-politicised ideals of these ‘paramilitaries’ can lead to the formation of gangs (Gutierrez Sanin, 2004).

3.1.2.4 Cross-cutting and overlapping
Kaldor (2013) points out that the transition from ‘old’ to ‘new’ wars, has seen the privatisation of conflict and the infiltration of what she calls ‘thugs’ and war these days is characterised by clashes between opportunistic groups rather than between civilisations. Kaldor theorises that the actors in these ‘new’ wars benefit more from the gains of the violence itself than from ‘winning’, leading to protracted and recurring conflicts that tend to inadvertently contribute to the dismantling of the state making it is increasingly difficult to distinguish between war, organised crime and human rights violations.

3.1.3 Transformation of urban violence
3.1.3.1 Resolution or Transformation?
As outlined in Section 3.1.2., violence is a physical outcome of conflict and as such any attempt to address violence must address conflict. Conflict is a spectrum that is constantly being transformed and changing in form and location over time with levels of ferocity fluctuating between apparent peace time and open violence. Kriesberg (2005) identifies several phases through which conflicts tend to pass; eruption, escalation, failed resolution, institutionalisation, de-escalation, transformation, termination and finally recovery.

Pacts between national or local government bodies and non-stated actors often result in only temporary reductions in violence that, without really tackling the underlying problems and causes of conflict, create new patterns of power that only perpetuate antagonism and power-struggles. For this reason a solution that seeks constructive change rather than ‘getting rid’ of conflict is preferable and is why this section looks at conflict transformation rather than conflict resolution (Lederach, 2003).

With the ultimate goal of any peace-building process being reconciliation and reconstruction of peace, it is essential to approach peace-building as a transformative process that recognises conflict as a normal and dynamic element of human relations. Conflict is a response and is essential for change and must be addressed as an opportunity for growth and development (Lederach, 2003). The needs, issues and positions of all actors must be considered in any resolution process without letting prejudices, stereotypes or discrimination reduce the application of any peace-building framework (Fisher, 2000) to enable both government bodies and community members to achieve appropriate solutions that neither side could carry out alone. Only in this way can the traits of individuals and smaller scale
groups be understood and the structural issues addressed (Moser, 2004).

Moving from conflict resolution to transformation involves shifting from negotiating and confidence-building to reconstruction of both the physical and relationship damage inflicted during conflict. The use of the word ‘resolution’ fails to involve the idea that conflict is dynamic and ever-present and fails to address the advantageous possibilities that conflict can provide. Lederach (2003) argues that we must be looking to not only end something but also to build something new. This approach is relationship-centred and promotes constructive change processes.

Moser (2004) identifies and outlines several different approaches to the reduction of urban violence (See Table 2). The trending development is towards an holistic approach that tackles a myriad of causes through a diversity of interventions and while context-specific approaches vary, there are several common themes that can be seen in cities across the world, such as a mistrust of the state in tackling violence sometimes leading to the creation of civic action and the formation of vigilante groups.

3.1.3.2 Legitimation

It is by addressing this lack of trust in the state that legitimation has the power to transform conflict into something more constructive. Kalyvas (2000) proposes the theory that violence in war is a product of territorial control, that when control is contested violence is more prevalent and when one group fully controls a territory a reduction in contestation and thus violence can be seen.

In establishing a peaceful environment in which ‘normal’ life can resume, priority should be given to establishing strong, permanent and respectful governance (Lamb, 2010). Related to the building of trust and to territorial control, the presence of the state is key in securing and maintaining the neutralisation of criminal organisations and gangs through dissuasive measures as opposed to coercive measures. While the presence of state security forces is essential for short term reductions in violence, it is not a durable solution and cannot work as a stand-alone intervention. This must be coupled with social, economic and physical interventions by the state.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Policy Approach</th>
<th>Objective</th>
<th>Types of Violence</th>
<th>Innovative urban-focused interventions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Criminal Justice</td>
<td>Violence <strong>deterrence and control</strong> through higher arrest, conviction rates and more severe punishments</td>
<td>Crime, Robbery, Corruption</td>
<td>Judicial Reform</td>
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<td>Crime, Robbery</td>
<td>Police Reform</td>
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<td>Delinquency, Robbery, Family Violence</td>
<td>Accessible Justice systems</td>
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<td>Mobile courts</td>
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<td>Family Violence</td>
<td>Community Policing</td>
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<td>All-women police stations</td>
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<tr>
<td>Public Health</td>
<td>Violence <strong>prevention</strong> through the reduction of individual risk factors</td>
<td>Youth violence</td>
<td>Youth policies/social protection</td>
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<td>Education reform</td>
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<td>Entrepreneurship</td>
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<td>Youth violence</td>
<td>Vocational skills training</td>
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<td>Cultural and recreational activities</td>
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<td>Promotion of behavioural change</td>
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<tr>
<td>Conflict transformation/Human rights</td>
<td>Non-violent <strong>resolution</strong> of conflict through negotiation and legal enforcement of human rights by states and other social actors</td>
<td>Political violence</td>
<td>Traditional systems of justice</td>
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<td>Government human rights advocates or ombudsman</td>
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<td>Civil society advocacy NGOs</td>
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<tr>
<td>CPTED/Urban Renewal</td>
<td><strong>Reduction</strong> in violence opportunities through focussing on <strong>settings</strong> of crime rather than on the perpetrators</td>
<td>Economic violence, Social violence</td>
<td>Municipal-level programmes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Citizen/public/community security</td>
<td>Set of cross-sector measures to <strong>prevent or reduce</strong> violence</td>
<td>Economic violence, Social violence</td>
<td>National-level programmes</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>Municipal-level programmes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2. Policy approaches to violence and associated urban-focused interventions. Adapted from Moser, 2004
3.2 Urban regeneration and urban violence

3.2.1 An overview

As seen in the categorisation of violence (Section 3.1.2) it has been noted that while sovereign conflict is on the decline, civil and civic violence is increasing with a greater number of ‘new wars’ that have their roots in the pursuit of economic gains and in reaction to identity (religious, tribal or ethnic) conflicts that are exacerbated by structural inequalities and economic, spatial or physical marginalisation of groups (Kaldor, 2013). Post-Cold War peacebuilding has taken an approach that integrates socio-economic and developmental concerns with political stability and human security by tackling the structural and underlying causes of violence. In contrast to resolution, transformation is a mid- to long-term solution (Section 3.1.3) and it is within this framework we can see the potential for urban regeneration in achieving the construction of the conditions for change that can address many of these issues.

Urban regeneration must be understood as distinct from post-conflict reconstruction since this process is not always carried out following the cessation of violence nor is it always carried out where there has been damage to the physical fabric of the city. It has the potential to readdress ethnic and social inequalities and divisions created through the preferential distribution of services and planning policies that favour certain groups. Addressing issues of spatial inequalities, access to essential services, house and land prices, proximity to employment and representation in aesthetic and spatial discourses can unite divided groups (Watson, 2006a).

3.2.2 Economic Development

Many post-conflict cities tend to view neo-liberal economic development as key to conflict transformation in an attempt to rebuild international images and draw foreign investment back to the city and the country with particular focus on city centres but very often these approaches exclude the populations of the city and the projects become political and territorial tools (Charlesworth, 2006). Beirut displays the symptoms of a city further fragmented during reconstruction and territories that existed during the war have been further delineated, dividing ethnic groups and displacing poorer residents of the city centre through real estate speculation and gentrification (Pullan, 2012).

Attempts at rebranding cities by the construction of improved housing, infrastructure and investment in tourism are driven by the belief that investment in physical capital can drive economic development which in turn can drive political settlement but in reality it can be cosmetic in nature without addressing the root causes of territorial contestation, cultural identity clashes and deeper lying deprivation issues as seen in the property led approach adopted in Belfast that amplified divisions and led to riots in 2013 (O’Dowd, 2010).

Inequality in access to infrastructure, employment, housing, education, health and social services and to economic markets compound socio-economic divisions and segregation that can lead to civic conflict and it is through addressing these issues that economic regeneration can serve as a conflict transformation tool. Hence any regeneration aimed at reducing inequality must simultaneously adopt culturally sensitive approaches that involve collaborative, participatory processes that ensure democratic planning policies and representation of identity of all parties (Al-Harithy, 2010).

3.2.3 Building Social Capital

The World Bank (1998) defines social capital as “the institutions, relationships, and norms that shape the quality and quantity of a society’s social interactions. (...) Social capital is not just the sum of the institutions which underpin a society – it is the glue that holds them together.”

In the building of peace and transforming conflict it is essential that all actors are represented and a
building of social capital be actively pursued and respect towards varying and differing viewpoints be shown. Identity recognition is not just an acceptance of ‘the other’ but a process in itself that builds trust and understanding between actors, initiating public discourse, humanising ‘the enemy’ and expressing a recognition of the freedom of expression regardless of how much one values the identity of the other (Lederach, 2003).

Planning and urban regeneration has the ability to alter and influence the creation of a shared city through ambitious vision, proactive intervention and community participation. It can write new stories of public space as life enhancing, exciting, safe and inclusive places (Watson, 2006b). Shared public spaces offer the amenity for encounters, sociability and expression of identity, acknowledging the right of inclusion for all, building trust and dismantling barriers. In this context a collaborative and participatory approach to urban regeneration is a powerful tool that builds meaning through cultural, political and religious representation of a collective community that offers a model that moves towards a collective re-identification that allows for a radical and plural conception of democracy (Mouffe, 2007).

Disputes over the restoration of the old fabric and historic buildings of Bint Jbeil in Lebanon following the conflict in 2006, resulted in revealing a contested identity for the city and by opening up the debate to multiple actors, the hegemonic discourse of the dominant political group was challenged openly (Al-Harithy, 2010).

3.2.4 Human Capital

Adam Smith defines human capital as “the acquired and useful abilities of all the inhabitants or members of the society” and claims that “Those talents, as they make a part of his fortune, so do they likewise that of the society to which he belongs” (Smith, 1776).

The productive power of a society or community is dependent on the division of labour and investment in human capital is key to the economic and social development and innovation that can be seen to reduce marginalisation and exclusion that is so often the cause of conflict. Conflict can have a severe negative impact on human capital starting with the direct impact of deaths and casualties resulting from violence and indirectly when states redirect investment to military operations rather than to educational projects and development (Pullan, 2012). A lack of opportunities for economic gains and social issues arising from unemployment can result in further marginalisation and exclusion of communities and individuals creating disenfranchised citizens that seek out livelihoods through perverse means.

Investment in education, health, psychological health and culture can reduce human capital ‘flight’ which is the loss of trained or skilled population from a city that so often occurs during times of violent conflict and can offer incentives for foreign investment and can demonstrate a state’s dedication to investing in its people and not just in physical or transferable capital. Coleman (1998) argues that building social capital leads to the reinforcement of human capital, illustrating the mutualistic relationship of all three of these forms of capital.
3.3 Architects and architecture in conflict

3.3.1 Overview (200)

“Only by facing the insanity of wilful destruction can reason begin to believe again in itself”. Lebbeus Woods, (1993)

So where do architects and architecture fit into the puzzle? This study does not claim that architects or architecture have magical powers in resolving deep rooted conflicts nor even in being key agents in conflict transformation but it does aim to highlight some aspects of the architectural skillset that can contribute to a holistic approach to reducing conflict and in building the ‘scenery’ in which a more equitable and peaceful future can be dreamed and achieved. This dissertation examines how architects can be a link between conflict transformation elements of urban regeneration and the community due to their multi-disciplinary professional formation and proposes the adoption of a more socially aware approach to design by architects. This dissertation studies both the role of the architect as a spatial engineer and designer and the capacity to formulate new methods of innovative social interventions. As a means of distinguishing between the two, this section first looks at the role of the architect and then at the role of architecture in conflict.

3.3.2 The role of architects

3.3.2.1 During conflict

Once moves towards resolving conflict are attempted, the architect then becomes an important participant in urban regeneration as symbolic restoration, reconstruction and new construction projects are realised and while much of the existing literature focuses on architects in post-conflict reconstruction much of this literature fails to address the equally important role of architects in cities when this is not the case.

The architectural profession can respond to the emergency situation that conflict and high levels of violence pose to change or alter conditions in order to improve the possibility of reaching resolutions. Charlesworth (2006) identifies several archetypes of architects as agents of peaceful change two of which are the architect as ‘pathologist’ and the architect as ‘social reformer’.

To follow the medical metaphor, as pathologist, architects have the ability to excise ‘diseased cells’, healing social wounds and stitching together the urban fabric. This can sometimes take the form of the ‘open-heart surgery’ needed to rescue a city back from the brink of disaster by the implementation of innovative interventions that can unite communities in conflict.

Conflict can impact on the formation and self-image of architects, imbuing a radicalisation of the profession, pushing the boundaries of what an architect is and does. Within the wider policy of urban regeneration as a means of repairing the torn fabric of cities in conflict this radicalisation can even become a peaceful form of resistance, self-expression and cultural empowerment in itself (AKTC, 1998).

The role of the architect as an agent of social change is diminished in countries where planning structures are weakened or even non-existent. However, architects can act as advocates for tackling these issues by adopting political action that affects the spatial and social fabric of our cities by conceiving the city as more than a series of mere objects. As a profession, architects can and have taken political stances on conflicts, expressing condemnation of issues seen as unjust, as in the RI-BA’s calling for the suspension of Israel’s architectural body from the International Architects Union (Thompson, 2014).
3.3.2.2 After conflict

"Only groups, social classes and class factions capable of revolutionary initiatives can take over and realise to fruition solutions to urban problems." (Lefebvre, 1996)

In the book ‘Architects Without Frontiers: War, Reconstruction and Design Responsibility’, Charlesworth (2006) offers a framework in which architects can engage in the reconstruction process of a post-conflict context and points out that any romantic visions of reconfiguring the city are deluded and demonstrates how architects can contribute to the social reconstruction as much as the physical reconstruction of divided cities.

Just as conflict can be seen as an opportunity for growth and development as outlined by Lederach (2003)(Section 3.1.3), so too can the post-war city and reconstruction be an opportunity. As new hierarchies emerge from conflicts and new governments take power, the rush to imprint a new image of prosperity and glory, large scale, iconic projects are funded. Also, the rebuilding of iconic buildings of the past is taken on, such as the reconstruction of the Stari Most Bridge in Mostar (Beall, 2013).

But the role of the architect does not lie solely in these iconic interventions or in reconstruction. The architect is, by definition, someone who is a thinker, creator, creative, and works and implements in a structured and intellectual framework; traits which lend themselves well to more holistic approaches and interventions. The problem lies with the vision of the architect as the simple designer of housing and iconic buildings and not of less physical interventions (Bevan, 2006).

3.3.3 The role of architecture

Lefebvre (1996) speaks of the power of the built environment as a system in forming our ideologies and significations and how revolutionary urban reform can subvert the structures and daily relations of society. He argues that this urban reform cannot happen without social and political support and without the action of the working class as the only group capable of reconstructing the centrality destroyed by segregation. Architecture has the power to mobilise this support through the embodiment of knowledge.

Architecture is the converging flow of several streams, coalescing societal activities. Architecture brings together the public and private, art and science, capital and labour and has the power to form new ideologies based on politics, nationality, race or religion (Charlesworth, 2006). Architecture offers a landscape of dialogue onto which projections of enforced beliefs are cast altering hierarchies and creating new ones as argued by Mouffe (2007). Architecture is a complex layer of uses, reuses, form, function and structure, an interwoven fabric of culture, society and history. Cities absorb the hierarchies that govern and form them and over generations come to represent different things to different groups, offering subjective views through symbolism, spatiality and social structures (Bevan, 2006).

Woods (1993) argues against the restoration of important historical buildings which are often seen as the means by which hope and civil activity can be restored to pre-war states. Woods argues that this approach denies present conditions and impedes emergence from conflict times by parodying previous eras in an attempt to recapture what has been lost reflecting the approach to conflict transformation outlined in Section 3.1.3.

It’s through addressing issues of collective identity and memory though, that architecture can offer paths to discourse and peace. Not to rebuild or build new would be to admit defeat.
4 Violence in Medellín

The violence in Medellín is a complex interworking of many actors, all with inter-related political or economic roots with alliances between groups, fluidity of members and location and a wide array of violent crimes being committed by many of those concerned.

This section of the dissertation provides an overview of the violence in Medellín. Firstly, a background to the violence that exists is provided through a conflict analysis that examines the root causes of urban violence in this while also looking at the various manifestations of violence and how these have affected the city. This provides context for a discussion of the measures carried out in the urban generation described in Chapter 5. The complexities of the violence in Colombia and specifically in Medellín are so complex that any attempts at identifying links of causality between this urban regeneration and any reductions in violence is far beyond the scope of this dissertation.

4.1 Civil Conflict

The conflict and violence in Medellín has been described as a “whirlwind” and “incomprehensible” (Brand, 2013) and the contemporary urban violence in Medellín must be contextualised within the country’s historic civil unrest. Systemic inequalities in land ownership and livelihood opportunities that date back to the 1500s led to La Violencia in the 1950s, a decade of intense aggression resulting in the deaths of an estimated 200,000 people and the displacement of many more (Livingston, 2004). Sustained oppression of land rights against the peasant population led to the formation of the FARC (Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia) and ELN (Ejército de Liberación Nacional) in 1964: Leftist rebel groups fighting for agrarian reform.

These groups began a campaign of targeted attacks against the military and official governmental infrastructure, leading to the decree of Law 48 in 1968 allowing the use of force in self-defence against rebels. This resulted in the formation of private militias funded by land-owners, cattle-ranchers, government officials and drug cartels to maintain territorial control through the forced displacement of peasant workers, mass murder and extortion, further advancing disparities in wealth and societal tensions (HRW, 1996).

Many of these paramilitary groups united under the umbrella group of the AUC (Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia) which was active from 1997. This was followed by the implementation of Plan Colombia, a U.S. funded military operation to eradicate the drugs trade and combat leftist guerrilla rebels (Restrepo, 2004). The significant reduction in conflict-related deaths following Plan Colombia and the subsequent election of President Alvaro Uribe culminated in the 2004 disarming of the AUC paramilitaries. However, the failure to successfully reintegrate and disarm these groups resulted in the formation of armed illegal gangs known as neo-paramilitary or “BACRIMs” (Bandas Criminales) who continue the drugs trade and related forced displacement.

The FARC and ELN groups have continued their attacks but have been severely reduced in numbers and funding as these BACRIM groups seize control of drug cultivation areas. The weakened guerrilla groups are now seeking political recognition through peace talks with the government. Although there was initial scepticism from the general public and victims, the peace talks have gained support as more progression has been made in this round of peace talks than in any previous attempt with agreements on agrarian reform, the drugs issue and progress on victims’ reparations.

The civil conflict, although seen out mostly in rural areas has had severe impacts on the urban areas of Colombia due to the enormous numbers of displaced people arriving in cities for safety and work opportunities. With the Department of Antioquia being one of the areas of Colombia with the highest concentration of civil unrest and guerrilla and paramilitary groups, Medellín has been a centre for recruitment, drug trafficking, extortion, money laundering and attacks (CODHES, 2013).

Further analysis of the civil conflict can be seen in Appendix B.
Graph 1. Timeline of the conflict from 1900-2012 showing casualties due to conflict. Adapted from HRW, 1996; Brand, 2013; Restrepo 2004.

Graph 2. Timeline of the conflict from 1982-2014 showing casualties due to conflict. Adapted from HRW, 1996; Brand, 2013; Restrepo 2004.
4.2 Civic Violence

The civil conflict over territory saw the deterioration of social conditions in Medellín. Reductions in traditional authority and the formal economy no longer being able to provide employment and hope, lead many young people to turn to informal means of acquiring income: drug dealing, stealing and killing for money (Bahl, 2012).

With the emergence of the more organised gangs or ‘cartels’ and the proliferation of drugs, crime in Medellín began to reach endemic levels. The rapid rise of Pablo Escobar’s Oficina de Envigado epitomised the pursuit of economic gains at any cost. At one point Escobar formed the group known as Muerte a Secuestradores (Death to Kidnappers) with the stated purpose of putting an end to Colombia’s insurgent groups and began a killing campaign that saw the hanging and shooting of suspected insurgents and leftists sympathisers all over the country demonstrating the blurring of the lines between guerrilla, paramilitary, drug trafficker and mafia that became par for the course (Lamb, 2010).

Escobar and other cartels recruited from the poor barrios and it was estimated that by the end of the 80s up to 3,000 young people were working as hired assassins. These paid assassins formed themselves into groups known as pandillas, bandas or combos, committing drive-by shootings and robberies that often ended in murders which would lead to further revenge killings and the cycle of violence began to increase in the peripheral barrios.

This economic violence went as far as the assassination of powerful politicians and even presidential candidate Luis Carlos Galan in 1989. After his death, the government declared war on the drug traffickers and in turn the traffickers declared war on the Government who were now facing violent resistance from the leftist guerrillas, the cartels and paramilitary groups, meaning extreme pressures on resources and a reduction in the capabilities of maintaining the normal functioning of a government. The over-stretched police force and military responded with arbitrary arrests, torture, executions, massacres and forced disappearances. The 90s were to become “the bloodiest escalation of violence in the history of the country” (Marquez, 1997) with Medellín as the centre of much of this violence See Graphs 3 and 4 below.

The violence instigated by Escobar and the Medellín Cartel continued and other gangs and other mafia bosses were waiting to take their places but their greatest legacy is seen in the construction of entire barrios for the marginalised population of Medellín who were ultimately forgotten by the state and stigmatised by the rest of society. Equally insidious is the culture of violence and the idea of ‘easy money’ that still persists in Medellín and the idea that ruthlessness can get you where you want to be.

The breakdown in authority that still lingers means that trust in the government, the police and community structures has been damaged severely. A report on security in Medellín in 2013 shows that only 33% of crimes were reported in comparison with 49% in 2012 and 40% in 2011, with the majority of victims stating a lack of trust in the police as the principle reason for not reporting (ComoVamos, 2013a).
Graph 3. Homicide rate per 100,000, Medellin 1984-2013. Adapted from HRW, 1996; Brand, 2013; Restrepo 2004.

4.3 Structural Violence

4.3.0.1 Inequality

“These are areas that, over the years, are extremely susceptible to violence due to lack of mobility, public space, environmental conditions, sports facilities and these deficiencies generate inequality which in turn leads to violence.” Respondent 2

Inequality in Colombia in 1991 was measured at 0.554 using the Gini Index (Arango Quintero, 2005). In 2010 the World Bank measured the Gini Index to be at 0.559 illustrating a very small change. Since then Medellin’s inequality dropped 11.1%, to 0.500 in 2012 (Medellin Como Vamos, 2013) but inequality is still above the average for Colombian cities. The richest 10% in Medellin earn 50.7 times the income of the poorest 10% leaving Medellin as the most unequal city in one of the most unequal countries in Latin America, the most unequal region of the world (Lopez Morena, 2014). Within the city itself, the Human Development Index for the comunas displays further disparity and inequality. Although there has been an overall improvement in HDI between 2004 and 2011, in 2011 there was still a difference of 18.59 in between Comuna 1 (73.72) and Comuna 14 (92.72) (Medellin, 2012b). See Graph 6 below.

Graph 5. Gini Index Medellin 2008-2013. Adapted from Medellin, Como Vamos 2013

Graph 6. Human Development Index per Comuna 2010 and 2013. Adapted from Medellin, Como Vamos 2013
4.3.0.2 Corruption

On the principle commercial road of the city, La Oriental, there is a prominent graffiti which reads “Fuera constructoras. Hijos de la miseria” which translates roughly as “Get out constructors. Sons of misery” and is a clear indication of the perceived corruption in the construction industry in Medellín. This is due to many factors but a very large one is the speculative nature of certain developers in the city.

When asked about this perceived corruption in the construction industry, Respondent 1, a well-known architect involved in public projects since the 1990s, said that this may have been because “there has not been the same controls and rigorous laws that there should have been” due to the high levels of violence and lack of state presence.

This corruption is not limited to the construction industry and is perceived by many as a problem at local, city and national level. Medellín is the Colombian city with the third lowest rate of credibility after Cúcuta and Bogota (CEJ, 2001). This perceived corruption is also visible in the lack of faith in the government. Community Member 2, who works in La Casa de la Memoria, expressed this when asked if the state supports the victims. “The state never supports the victims. They only support each other through corruption. Because they are guilty.”

4.3.0.3 Stigmatisation

The administrative division of the city into ‘estratos’ which is the social stratification system, which ranks zones depending on average household income and governs the cost of public services, university entrance fees and council tax among other things has created a divided city physically and socially, perpetuating the social and cultural segregation of groups from certain parts of the city, resulting in stigmatisation. See Map 4.

Community Leader 1, a founder of the Centro de Desarrollo Cultural in Moravia, expressed her frustration and anger at having been excluded from employment processes due to being from Moravia. “When I graduated from university I couldn’t work in a lot of places because I come from Moravia but now people envy me. Once they said that they wouldn’t hire me just for living here.”

The linking of certain areas to violence further confounded these stigmatisations, where those from higher socio-economic areas were afraid to visit areas related to high levels of violence, restricting cross-community communication and integration.

“If you are ‘estrato’ 1, or if you’re from Comuna 13, or Comuna 12, it’s a sign that you are an unpleasant or violent person, you are practically related to being a hitman (sicario).” Respondent 1

This stigmatisation was confirmed by a questionnaire carried out by the researcher in which either out of twenty one respondent mentioned violence when asked what they think of Moravia. Fourteen respondents had generally negative perceptions of Moravia and only six of the twenty one respondents had actually visited the neighbourhood (See Appendix D).
Map 3. 16 Comunas of the Municipality of Medellin.

Map 4. 'Estratos' of Medellin.
5 Urban Regeneration in Medellín

“You have to touch people’s lives. There are plenty of beautiful plans drawn up by architects but they require political action to implement”. Sergio Fajardo, Mayor of Medellín, 2003-2007 (Hylton, 2007)

The past two decades have seen politicians, engineers, architects and urban designers of different generations, under the patronage of progressive mayors, enhance the livability of some of the areas of Medellín worst affected by the violence that stemmed from social problems highlighted previously. While violence still persists, there has been a dramatic social transformation that has been, in part, accredited to the ‘social urbanism’ movement, the radical social agenda, modern governance practices and set of urban interventions envisioned by a tightly-knit network of individuals, political departments and public and private entities that came about as a response to the high levels of violence in the city (Webb, 2011).

5.0.1 Social Urbanism

The period from 2002-2010 saw the social ‘movement’ that has become known as ‘social urbanism’. The model was the manifestation of an approach with emphasis on tackling the underlying causes of violence in Medellín. Education, culture, entrepreneurship, inclusion and social coexistence became the core principles of social urbanism which was a complete re-imagining of the approaches to development of the city and involved targeted and strategic restructuring of how the Mayor’s office and the public sector worked together with massive revisions to planning policy. One of the principle changes that allowed for the adoption of this new approach was the decentralisation of government decisions to a municipality level in 1986 (Restrepo, 1996).

The creation of PRIMED (Programa Integral de Mejoramiento de Barrios Subnormales)(Integral Program of Subnormal District Improvement in Medellín) in 1993 was funded partly by the Colombian state, the municipality and the German state through the KFW Bank with the aim of addressing the violent crisis in low-income neighbourhoods through formalisation of informal neighbourhoods and incorporating these areas into the city both physically and socially (Betancur, 2007). This organisation set a precedent for the implementation of some basic principles such as improvement in municipal administration, community participation in planning, upgrading of infrastructure and services, legalising of tenure and improvement of housing all with the aim of reducing risk in the most marginalised neighbourhoods through inter-institutional projects. In 1996, there were 100,000 illegally settled housing units in the city accounting for 30% of the total and 7,000 in high risk zones (Restrepo, 1996).

At the same time Empresas Publicas de Medellín (EPM), the publicly owned energy company, became a huge funder of many urban projects throughout the city which involved the construction of public spaces such as the EPM Public Library and the Parque de Pies Descalzos Park. Specialised teams were formed for each Strategic Urban Project which planned, executed and monitored the projects under the supervision of the Private Municipal Secretary. The projects were defined as instruments of planning and physical intervention in zones of high levels of marginalization, segregation, poverty and violence in an attempt to increase the physical presence and perceived investment of the government and mayor (Echeverri, 2010).

Importance put on access can be seen in the provision of some innovative infrastructure projects in the form of, first the Metro and then the Metrocable, combining transport technology usually reserved for tourism with traditional urban transport. Building on the history of Medellín as a centre for trade and commerce which was connected to other parts of the country by train, planning of the metro line began in the 1980s and opened in 1995 linking the industrial north of the city to the economic centre of Poblado, passing through the city centre and thus linking strategic zones for development.

Since 2002, the Mayor’s office has brought together all of the municipal secretaries, decentralised institutions and public and private entities to create what is known as the Plan de Ordenamiento Territorial
(POT) which sets out objectives, policies, strategies, goals, programmes, regulations and implementations for the physical development of the city for a long-term period of usually 3 mayoral terms to ensure continuity of vision. This strategy is complimented by the Plan de Desarrollo which covers all aspects of development for the city including security, education, health, culture and sports and recreation over a single mayoral. Both of these are set out and agreed upon with the contribution of public round-table meetings that involve participation of members of the public which has become a key policy at all levels of planning.

The urban project became the driving force for inclusion and social development as an alternative to violence in the city. Behind the execution and planning of the projects was the active participation of the users in the process accompanying the social workers and communicators in their work. The users formed neighbourhood groups to represent themselves at a political level due to the size of the area of influence covered by the projects. One example of these groups is the Talleres de Imaginarios (Imagination Workshops) where the community participated directly in the definition of the design of cultural projects within barrios across Medellín. This participation helped to increase leadership, ownership and the level commitment of the communities. (Echeverri, 2010)

5.0.2 The Barcelona Model

Many of the principle architects and planners involved in the urban development of Medellín were greatly influenced by the new urbanism that had come out of Barcelona before and after the Olympics in 1992 that reconstructed the urban fabric and rearticulated a sense of cultural identity and place. (Brand, 2013) Many of these architects studied or worked for a period in Spain and as dean of UPB Jorge Perez Jamarillo, who studied in Barcelona, invited architects from Europe to share their experiences and he has said that “the new democracy of Spain exemplified what could be achieved through architecture and urban design”. (Webb, 2011)

There are three key characteristics of the Barcelona model. Firstly, dialogue between architecture, planning and infrastructure at all levels promotes multi-disciplinary integration of plans, and projects. The second is highly urban, dense and compact planning and the third is a tight collaboration of politicians, professionals and citizens. The critical foundation on which the success of the model was built was a socially inclusive and architect-led design approach based on extensive research and archiving of the urban environment, including its existing public spaces and infrastructure (Marshall, 2000).

Jorge Perez Jaramillo, the dean of the Pontificial Bolivarian University (UPB) architecture school from 1993 said, “As young people we were fearless in experimenting with new ideas…the crisis of the 1990s spurred our efforts to explore solutions in workshops and conferences”. Perez Jaramillo’s influence was seen throughout the city with graduates going to work with their teachers or starting their own offices. (Webb, 2011) This radicalisation of planning processes under the leadership of reformist mayor and son of an architect, Sergio Fajardo, who began his term in 2003, created the environment in which architects could “touch people’s lives”. This transformation involved political action that would permit the implementation of the projects envisioned for the most problematic areas of Medellín.
Diagram 3. Web diagram showing network of architects involved in social urbanism and their relationships. Adapted from Architectural Record, 2011.
6 The role of architects

6.1 Introduction

The Oxford Dictionary (3rd Ed.) defines ‘radical’ as “relating to or affecting the fundamental nature of something” and as “Characterised by departure from tradition; innovative or progressive”.

This chapter documents the various radical changes to design approaches and principles within the architectural profession and individual architects that attempt to address the fundamental nature of violence within the framework of urban regeneration discussed in Chapter 5. This section illustrates the perceptions of interview respondents in supporting this theory through interviews with several key informants in the fields of architecture and urban planning, community leaders and community members.

Many told of changes at community level and the drivers for these changes such as a strengthened sense of community or an increase in education. These emerging themes quickly started to merge under the collective themes of building social, human and physical capital. This section focuses on human and social capital as the areas that saw the most innovative changes but analysis can be found in Appendix A. With further analysis of these themes through coding (see Appendix E), it became clear that these collective themes supported the building of the legitimacy of the state which is paramount to driving a sustainable reduction in violence as shown in Section 3.1.3.2. (See Diagram 4).

![Diagram 4. Building legitimacy of the state through building capital.](image-url)
6.2 Increase Social Capital

In Moser’s study of violence reduction in Colombia (Moser, 2000) 54% of respondents in Medellin cited increasing social capital as being the most important form of reducing violence. This view is echoed in the three most important interventions mentioned by interview respondents for this dissertation; developing communication and collaboration through participation, representing collective memory and identity and building family and community values. Consequently, this section analyses how the perceptions of community members and leaders are reflected in the work of architects and vice versa.

6.2.1 Communication and collaboration through participation

“We are trying to improve the forms of communication, the most difficult thing between people, within the community, between the state and the community.” Respondent 4

Central to reducing violence and building intra-community support and relations, eroded by violence is the construction of scenarios in which communication within communities and between the state and citizens can build on existing social connections and promote positive interactions. Architects have adopted a participatory approach to their design which has become almost mainstreamed in public projects. The design of the Centro de Desarrollo Cultural in Moravia, by Rogelio Salmona involved collaborative and participatory workshops involving community members, which have ensured user satisfaction and sustainability. 100% of visitors who responded to a questionnaire expressed satisfaction with the centre and all had positive emotions including calm, safe and creative within the space (See Appendix D). The centre itself also promotes intra-community communication and collaboration through cultural events.

“We decided that it should be a group of young people, the ones who would use the space and enjoy the space, that will take part in the design so that they continue occupying the space in the future.”
Community Leader 2

Collaborative approaches to design are seen as important and even essential by the vast majority of key informants and community members and leaders.

“I think there is always time for participation. Here we have to clarify the theme of participatory architecture. The architects have to be prepared and trained to do this.” Respondent 2

However some criticisms were levelled at the perceived tokenism of participatory approaches in certain projects with one respondent claiming that the EDU enforce the use of this approach but rarely is it applied to a suitable level of coverage at all stages of design and implementation. Respondent 1 also criticised the blanket application of a participatory approach to all projects stating that it can be limiting and when in an emergency situation, as he considered the city to be in during the height of violence in the late 1990s.

“There are too many conflicts of interest and it’s going to take too long. When it is a political project funded by the government if you don’t finish the project in 2 years, the money has gone and you missed the opportunity. My projects were very successful and they didn’t have any participation from the communities. It’s not down to ego. I’m being frank. Projects can be successful without participation.” Respondent 1

Nearly all interview respondents told of difficulties in the participatory process, the most interesting of which was an account from Respondent 4 who told of a particular community that requested improved footpaths to improve access during a participatory workshop. When the respondent returned for a monitoring evaluation of the project six months later she was greeted by gang members who were delighted at being able to escape from the police more easily because of the new paths.
Photo 5. The internal centre courtyard of the Centro de Desarrollo Cultural in Moravia where concert performances, theatre presentations, dance, martial arts and many other activities are done on an almost daily basis. This centre was designed through the participation of many of the young people who would eventually come to use it. The design of the centre echoes traditional rural architecture of the region which tends to be centred around a central courtyard with rooms radiating out from it.

Photo 6. El Parque de los Deseos, designed by Respondent 1 which was one of the first large public spaces to be built as part of the 'social urbanism' period of urban regeneration. This is one of the most popular public spaces in the city where families gather daily and at weekends the square becomes an open-air cinema. Respondent 1 claims that this successful project was done without a participatory approach and in fact was not the design he was contracted to do but convinced EPM to build it.

Photo 7. "We are the people who make the barrio". Seen on the "morro" (hill) of Moravia this shows the ownership that the people have over the development of the neighbourhood. This is down to extensive participatory approaches to the regeneration of the area although not all residents are happy with the progress (see Appendix 1).
6.2.2 Collective Memory and identity

“All of this is memory. We need to stitch together these memories.” Community Member 2

Maintaining perspective and awareness of the past is important when carrying out built environment projects in times of conflict or violence for several reasons (See Section 3.2.3). Firstly memory is essential for the healing of victims. It is very important for the stories of victims to be told in order for them to deal with suffering and to have recognition from the state and from their perpetrators. The construction of collective identity is essential for building empathy among and between communities and establishing common ground that can help to heal conflicts of the past and offer paths to discourse of the future (Bevan, 2006).

“The memories of these people are forgotten more and more over time and it’s important to maintain their presence in our memories. They help us to integrate and live in the shoes of others. The process of memory is very important.” Community Member 1

Besides the functional and practical abilities of a building like the Centro De Desarrollo Cultural which has a Community Memory section, architecture has the ability to contain and represent memory and identity through visual representation and symbolic significance such as the selection of materials and spatial organisation.

Rogelio Salmona, the architect of the centre, was widely known for his considered use of red brick in most of his works, which echoes both the traditional materials of Colombia and of the Spanish colonisers (Téllez, 2006). The spaces within the centre are designed in a manner that borrows from the model of a traditional country home with a ‘courtyard’ in the centre and rooms that radiate out from it. Although the building seems a little out of context with the rest of the neighbourhood in the standard of finishes, these subtle references acknowledge the community and their roots in rural Colombia.

Secondly, documentation of conflicts helps to avoid returning to the situations and underlying causes of the violence. Inter-generational education can serve to establish boundaries that protect communities from the reoccurrence of traumatic events by passing on coping and avoidance strategies.

“If you don’t have in mind what happened before it’s difficult to imagine what will come. The youth have no idea what happened in the city during the 90s. If you visit a barrio and you see a child telling the story it’s important that they know why these things were built and the story of his parents so he doesn’t follow in their footsteps.” Respondent 5

The Museo Casa de la Memoria (The House Museum of Memory) is a Mayor sponsored building that aims to promote actions that contribute to the reconstruction, visualisation and inclusion of the historic memory of the armed conflict in Medellín in an attempt to “remember to not repeat”. This architectural statement breaks from the traditional but follows the aesthetic line established by the Biblioteca de Espana in its monumentality, indicating its importance in the fabric of the city (see Photo 16). Many of those that work in the building are direct victims of violence and working in this building is a healing process for many of these people.

Community Member 1, who was a victim of displacement and whose husband was murdered in a massacre, said

“Oh it’s great. It’s a recognition of that past. All of this is memory. I can tell you this because I have psychological help, help from associates, friends. I feel very at home here.”
Radical Responses: Architects and violence in Medellín, Colombia.

Photo 8. El Museo Casa de la Memoria is a museum and monument to the victims of the armed conflict in Colombia and Medellín. Many victims work in the museum which, for them, is a healing process. The iconic nature of the design and prominent location in the city centre demonstrates the state’s dedication to preserving the memory of the victims.

Photo 9. A map of violent incidents in the Museo Casa de la Memoria “stitches together” the memory of victims of violence such as displacement, attacks, disappearances and social violence.

Photo 10. Preserving the memories of the conflict is a form of resistance for the victims. It is a way of keeping the violations of their perpetrators alive.

Photo 11. Victims of disappearances are remembered in an exhibition inside the Museo de la Memoria. For the workers in the museum who maintain the exhibit it is a means of keeping their memory alive in the eyes of the world.
6.2.3 **Family and community values**

“These public spaces are places in which people can congregate and develop a community with equality and a high quality of life.” Respondent 2

The Centro de Desarrollo Cultural in Moravia is a clear example of how state support in punctual built environment interventions can help to instil community and family values. The building itself is a physical representation of the long, arduous and dangerous work that community members have done in the past to create recognition of the community’s cultural wealth and their work in uniting the community through cultural activities. Workers at the centre spoke about the positive change in people when they come to the centre.

“I am sure it generates other forms of living for the community. I’m convinced. This centre is above all a centre for the creation of conviviality. A person who comes here is going to learn by having moments of interaction with others which teaches communication, to be tolerant, work in teams.”  
Community Leader 1

But while the centre offers a unique platform for positive interactions, it is the community members and leaders themselves that have created the impulses for change. The power of the architecture in this sense is the enormous pride that the community takes in having such a well-designed and important building in the area that represents their work and represents the history of their struggles.

“This (community cohesion) is down to the interventions but principally due to the internal organisation and impulses from the community. We don’t want this to be forgotten. We want the community to take the credit for these changes. This work has hurt us a lot.” Community Leader 1

Interestingly, it is the architect himself, Rogelio Salmona, the most well-known and most respected Colombian architect in the history of the country (Téllez, 2006), and the status that his cult of personality brings, that truly represents a moment of exception for the community organisations. For the community leaders it has been a recognition of their hard work and can only serve to encourage future work among them and other community groups. When asked what it meant to have a centre designed by the country’s most respected architect, Community Leader 2 responded,

“Imagine. It was like a gift from God. Imagine having someone so important as well as the Minister of Culture and the Mayor, all involved.”

**Photo 12.** An image of the architect adorns the entrance door to the Centro de Desarrollo Cultural in Moravia, illustrating the importance of the architect to the community and especially those that work in the centre. Throughout the centre posters explain the theory behind some of the design elements, promoting awareness and appreciation of architecture.
6.3 Increase Human Capital

Increasing human capital has been reported as one of the principle approaches to reducing violence identified by residents of certain sectors of Medellín (Moser, 2000). By increasing human capital through drug rehabilitation, improved education, providing recreational alternatives to gang recruitment and others are central to reducing the marginalisation of large sections of society in Medellín, which is a root cause of much of the violence. During interviews carried out for this dissertation education was the one element of human capital identified in which architects had an important role.

6.3.1 Education

Central to the principles of ‘social urbanism’ was the promotion of education as a means of addressing the inequality between barrios. The strategic plan known as “Medellín, La Mas Educada” (Medellín, the Most Educated) recognises the obligation of the Mayor of Medellín to provide the plans and programmes, budget and construction of the facilities necessary for developing the educational framework that can serve as a catalyst for transformation (Fajardo, 2007).

Respondent 2 referred to the importance of education by saying

“One of the largest problems is that there are very few opportunities for young people and if opportunities are not generated through education and the generation of employment it’s very difficult for the building to be more than a simple makeover.”

The construction of the Biblioteca de EPM (EPM Library) in 2005 was the first public library built in the city in over fifty years following the foundation of the Biblioteca Pública Piloto in 1952. This construction signalled a shift in approach, which marked the beginning of city scale investments in public education.

Springing from the success of this park, the mayor, Sergio Fajardo, initiated the Parques Educativos initiative in the Plan de Desarrollo 2004-2007 with the aim of creating libraries which serve as integral centres for cultural and social development of barrios as well as educational services which saw the construction of five of these interventions in some of the more marginalised sectors of the city. The principles behind these libraries are the facilitation of exchanges, access to information, innovation and collaboration, meeting spaces and training.

Architecturally, these libraries have become iconic landmarks which have helped to not only educate but to change the minds of the inhabitants of the barrios and the city as a whole. The employment of nationally and internationally recognised architects for the design of these libraries was significant in the ambition and commitment the mayor displayed in the realisation of these projects. The Biblioteca de España has come to represent the dramatic positive changes in Medellín and above all in Comuna 8. This particular library, designed by Giancarlo Mazzanti, won the 2008 Ibero-american Bienal for Architecture in Lisbon. The unusual form of the library has drawn criticism for its alien nature that seems to reject the context of the surrounding neighbourhood but the architect has claimed that this futuristic form is a projection of hope for the city and for the people of the barrio (See Photo 14).

The success of this initiative is reflected in the continued support for the Parques Biblioteca programmes that involves the construction of 80 educational parks around the Department of Antioquia designed by local and national architects and architectural students, chosen through competition.
Photo 13. The Parque Biblioteca de Belen is just one of five ‘library parks’ built as part of the initiative Parques Educativas. This particular library was designed by the Japanese architect Hiroshi Naito.

Photo 14. The Biblioteca de Espana sits overlooking the city of Medellin below. The library has come to represent both the positive and negative aspects of the urban regeneration and is now an icon of the city.

Photo 15. The high standard of finishes in the Biblioteca de Espana have been criticised for their high cost and the failure and subsequent replacement of the costly facade has come to represent the corruption of the construction industry.

Photo 16. The municipality has also invested in smaller scale neighbourhood schools such as this in Moravia where much of the furniture is made from recycled material echoing the history of the neighbourhood which was built on a rubbish dump.
6.4 Legitimation

The legitimation of state powers essential for securing reductions in violence and maintaining security (see Section 3.1.3.2) has been achieved in Medellín through the application of the building of assets at local and city level. This resulted in the establishment of territorial control and improved trust in the state. It can be argued that the professional shifts outlined in this section were the non-deliberate outcomes culminating from the deliberate changes in approach highlighted in the previous section. Of course this study recognises that legitimation was not achieved solely by architects but this section seeks to explore how they contributed to a holistic, macro-level approach to urban regeneration that addressed the root causes of the violence.

6.4.1 Territorial Control

Periods of low violence in Medellín have generally been during times of tense peace treaties between violent groups that vie for control of different areas. These ‘tense treaties’ can result in the legitimation of one group, usually the dominant one and where these have resulted in the sublimation of other smaller groups into larger ones, it has led to reductions in civic violence (Lamb, 2010).

Both Respondent 4 and Respondent 5 confirmed these assessments with reference to specific cases such as the following reference to Moravia and Santo Domingo by Respondent 4.

“The biggest factor has been the truces between gangs. In some neighbourhoods, previously there were many groups who were fighting for control. This created invisible borders across which people couldn’t cross. In Moravia one group became so powerful that they are no longer contested by other groups so these invisible borders disappear.”

A report by the Personería of Medellín states that reductions in crime, and especially homicides, for which gang violence contributes 60%, could be a result of one group establishing a hegemony over a territory or for coalitions between groups (ComoVamos, 2013a).

Although several of these peace treaties have been brokered by the government or by the municipality in various capacities, the real involvement of the government comes after the peace has been established and state actors are able to negotiate the terms of intervening in the areas under control. Often it is essential for the government to build trust among the community in order to carry them out. Where neighbourhoods are controlled by violent groups and the interventions can be compromised or even impossible, points of entry are important and can often be found in the form of basic human rights interventions or emergency responses to health issues for example.

“They begin to enter with very small interventions with high impact to generate trust. These are communities to whom the government have historic debts and the first thing you have to do is generate trust.” Respondent 2.

There is very little discourse of territorial control in the official literature but many respondents confirmed the use of urban regeneration projects as a form of re-occupying the city and establishing democratic spaces accessible to everyone.

“When one intervenes in a public space, my perspective from a macro-political point is, that absolutely any corner of the city should be apt to be used by any citizen. …. If two people with knives are able to get rid of 3,000 children who have a right to use that space, I cannot allow those with knives to occupy that space.” Respondent 1

It must be noted that these interventions were carried out simultaneously with an increase in police and military presence and further measures for building trust as outlined in the following section, in certain areas which had previously been neglected or in which control had fallen into the hands of militias and would have been neither possible nor effective.
6.4.2 Building trust

As the authoritative structures were eroded during the violence of the 1980s and 90s when militias became the policing force in many neighbourhoods where the official state police were incapable of maintaining peace, it has been essential to try and restore an element of trust in the national and local government among all communities (Section 4.1.3). This aspect of building trust is related to the responsibility of the state and historic debt to marginalised communities that many respondents referred to. Speaking of the state’s involvement and responsibilities in the late 80s and early 90s, Respondent 1 noted the difference in policy then and now.

“The truth was the work was very far from working on the scale of the city, working on public spaces or in public buildings. I think that was the responsibility of the state, the government which at that moment, was basically limited in its interventions and its interactions with the city.”

The early 90s saw the shifting of approaches and policy, indicating a recognition that the municipality had to take action as the city had fallen under the control of armed groups. With the financial backing of EPM (Empresas Públicas de Medellín) several public spaces and buildings were designed and built that shifted the paradigm in the city. These were not just public spaces but they were public spaces with high levels of specification that included marble, stainless steel, expensive finishes usually reserved for private construction and were open to everyone.

“This was when Jorge and us, full of enthusiasm had the opportunity to do something in the city because it wasn’t coming from the municipality.” Respondent 1

EPM and this determined group of architects were taking on the responsibility of mending relationships between the state and the people and they did it through democratic design principles that altered the landscape of planning in the city and drove a more radical approach.
7 Violence Transformation in Medellín

7.1 Introduction

Since the implementation of the radical changes in planning policy and strategy known as social urbanism (Chapter 5) mobilised many of the city’s architects in punctual and city-wide interventions (Chapter 6), there has also been a dramatic shift in violence. As previously shown, legitimation has been identified as an important if not essential factor in establishing peace (see Section 3.1.3.2).

This section looks at the trends for some of the most prevalent types of violence in the city. Rather than attempting to quantify the direct causal links that this urban regeneration has had on violence, this is an attempt at showing that Medellín has shifted from a city in conflict to a post-conflict city moving towards explaining the more measured and considered approaches to interventions that are being seen in the city such as the Cinturon Verde (Green Belt) mega-project which aims to build a green belt around the city in order to increase density.

The sources used for estimating levels of violence are mostly government funded or municipality bodies resulting in a perhaps somewhat biased view of trends that offers a vision of reduced violence that the state and municipality would benefit from. To counter that, this dissertation triangulates this data with first-hand witness perceptions and statements from interviews.

7.2 Homicides

While violence and gang activity still persist in Medellín, it is clear from statistics that there has been a steady decline in homicide rate since the peak of 1991 with a spike in 2009 and has since been in decline. 2013 showed a decrease in homicides of 27% compared to 2012 (Medellín, 2013). This has been hailed as a victory by the state and has been publicised widely but homicide is not the only indicator of safety as demonstrated hereafter.

7.3 Rural to Urban Displacement

“I was a victim. I was displaced from the north east of Antioquia, displaced by massacre, 11 years ago. They killed my husband.” Community Member 1

Forced displacement from land is a systematic and long lasting strategy of securing territorial control implemented by the armed groups engaged in the civil conflict and by groups with economic interests such as the drug trafficking groups (See Section 4.1.2).

As of 2010 there were a total of 164,945 people displaced from outside of the municipality of Medellín. In 2010, 17,642 displaced people registered as having arrived to Medellín (CODHES, 2013). More recent trends saw a yearly increase from 2010 to 2012 and a considerate drop in numbers in 2013 (Graph 7).

7.4 Intra-urban Displacement

“I was not displaced from outside the city but I have always lived in ‘barrios populares’. First I lived in Comuna 13, then we went to Bello, and from there to El Picacho.” Community Member 2

The areas most affected by displacement are, in general, the areas with the lowest standard of living (Graphs 8 and 9). Comuna 13 has by far the highest level of displacement with 611 cases in 2012 and is among the comunas with the lowest standard of living in the city. The last five years have seen a yearly increase until 2013 which saw a 40% decrease on 2012 (Graph 8)
Graph 7. Displaced people arriving to Medellin per year 2010-2013. Adapted from CODHES, 2013

Graph 8. Intraurban displacement in Medellin, 2007-2013. Adapted from Personeria de Medellin, 2013

Graph 9. Intraurban displacement per comuna, 2012. Adapted from Personeria de Medellin, 2013
7.5 Disappearances

“The state killed my son. Instead of saving lives they are destroying them. They took him to a little town. They killed him. The army killed him.” Community Member 2

The use of forced disappearances benefits the armed groups because it avoids the attention of the authorities by hiding evidence, usually in hidden graves or rivers, and generates a form of collective intimidation among the population (GMH, 2013).

In accordance with the trend of homicides in Medellín, there was a spike in forced disappearances in 2009 and a steady decline each year following. 2013 saw a 58% decrease from 2009 (Graph 10).

7.6 Social Violence

“The violence was not always in the streets. Sometimes a mother might put the hands of a child on the stove in the house for example.” Community Leader 1

Social violence is the type of violence recognised by many in a 2000 report (Moser, 2000) as the origin of violence in the wider community. Social violence includes intra-family violence, attacks on women outside the home and attacks and discrimination related to ethnicity or sexual persuasion (Medellín, 2013).

The number of victims of intra-family violence increased by 72.7% from 2006 to 2011, but this may be due to improved detection processes in health centres, improved trust in police and an improvement in legal frameworks for prosecutions. See Graph 11 for violent intrafamily crimes.

7.7 Perceptions of Security

While some types of violence such as homicides have reduced drastically over the last twenty years, the last few years have shown increases in other types of violence such as disappearances and intra-urban displacement, suggesting an upsurge in gang activity but a shift in strategy with more focus on terroristic activities that avoid detection by the authorities. Also, while many barrios have experienced reductions across the board in violent crime, some such as Comuna 13 and Comuna 8 still experience extremely high levels of violence illustrating the inequality and exclusion that still persists in the city. However, the perception of the citizens of Medellín is that the security situation is much better now than it was four years ago with 73% of citizens perceiving the security in their neighbourhood as safe in 2013 compared to 49% in 2010 (Graph 12).
Radical Responses: Architects and Violence in Medellín, Colombia.

Graph 10. Unaccounted for disappearances Medellín, 2007-2013. Adapted from Medellín, 2012a

Graph 11. Victims of intrafamily violence Medellín, 2009-2013. Adapted from Medellín, 2012a

Graph 12. % of population that feel safe in their neighbourhood Medellín, 2009-2013. Adapted from Medellín, 2012a
8 Conclusion

8.1 Summary

The radical response of architects to violence in Medellín has been dramatic and innovative. Measures were taken that looked to address the underlying issues of violence rather than reactionary measures that could be viewed as an approach that takes many key principles from a conflict transformation framework (see Section 3.1.3). These approaches however were only possible due to several important changes and events that occurred beforehand or simultaneously such as inter-gang treaties, improved economic prosperity and changes in government.

Likewise, the measures adopted by architects were only made possible through the urban regeneration framework of ‘social urbanism’ which involved fundamental shifts in political structure at a national level demonstrating the dependence of the profession on a vast network of other disciplines if it hopes to achieve sustainable social change.

The changes adopted by the architects in Medellín have the potential to be applied in many situations and locations where social change is desired. These measures, while specific to Medellín, can be categorised in general terms and their applications can vary depending on context. This study concludes by offering the following findings as guidelines for an ethical and socially aware approach to architecture.

1. Adopt a multi-disciplinary approach to design.

Architects can operate in isolation but their real potential lies within working alongside other professions such as anthropologists, sociologists, urban planners, politicians, social workers, community organisations and many other disciplines. In order to drive social change, the architect must find his/her position within the holistic framework of urban regeneration as a whole. It is within this framework that architects can operate with a wider range, expand their professional knowledge and understanding of social issues and implement and mainstream holistic, informed approaches to design.

2. Adopt a large-scale vision

Punctual projects and interventions do have the power to drive social change as can be seen in the Centro de Desarrollo Cultural in Moravia (See Section 6.2) but a clear city-scale approach that incorporates community participation and economic, social and cultural interventions can have a much more widespread and sustainable impact. Of course in a conflict situation, this is much more difficult to implement since fragmentation of the city and planning policy deficiencies can result in more punctual, resource- and time-constrained interventions.

3. Participatory design is a tool rather than an end.

Participatory design for projects has been mainstreamed throughout all urban projects and is a mandatory element of all interventions in Medellín. However this approach must be evaluated on a needs basis and done so within the context of the target communities. It was recognised by several of the respondents that participatory approaches are not always appropriate where high levels of conflict exist among groups. Although these participatory processes can serve as neutral spaces where conflicting groups can work out political spaces, they can often become corrupted by the hegemonic elements of a community.

4. Increase focus on social capital.

By building social and human capital while simultaneously developing the economic development of communities, the social urbanism of Medellín has achieved what appears to be a sustainable and long-lasting impact on several of the most vulnerable areas of the city. This is perhaps where architects can have the biggest impact. The punctual nature of architecture and the design of buildings...
limits its impact on a city level but at community level it can represent many positive aspects of communities by bringing them together to encourage collective communication, cultural representation and identity formation, promote certain aspects such as education and, in violent affected areas, build state presence and trust in the government by showing dedication to the improvement of living standards.

8.2 Evaluation

The objective of offering a unique and personalised perspective on the changes to architectural approaches in attempting to address social issues has been met quite satisfactorily and it is hoped that this discourse can be expanded upon in order to develop the understanding of the potential of architects and the architectural profession to drive positive social change through both small-scale punctual projects and design and through participation in large-scale regeneration schemes and interventions.

While it took extreme levels of violence in Medellin to inspire these changes, it is hoped that these approaches can be adopted in other locations as preventative measures.

The study was approached in a methodological manner that involved first-hand accounts of the interventions and offers unique perspectives from within the architectural and urban regeneration while also being mindful of the importance of communities where the interventions are carried out, a perspective that is too often ignored.

8.3 Future Work

This dissertation offers an insight into how architects and the architectural profession responded to extreme levels of violence in Medellin, providing unique, insightful and personal perspectives of both professionals and users about the role or architects both in urban regeneration and in conflict zones. It is hoped that the dissertation can offer guidance for architects in other areas that suffer from violence or even in areas where architects are conscious of preventing violence by addressing social-economic and spatial inequalities.

A particular limitation of the study was the limited scope with regards to time and resources and it may have benefited from further analysis of more areas of the city and more detailed analysis of specific interventions.

While this dissertation has studied the responses of architects to the violence in Medellin through a framework of urban regeneration, it does not draw conclusions about the effect that these responses have had on the levels of violence in the city. Further study of the possible reciprocal relationship between the reductions in violence that enable interventions and interventions that cause reductions in violence could provide a much more nuanced and analytical study that could contribute heavily to the theory of radical approaches in architecture as possible conflict transformation measures. This would entail more extensive analysis of trends in violence and would be extremely difficult due to the numerous variables involved.
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Urbanisation, Vol 16.


Appendices
1 Appendix A

1.1 Increase Physical Capital (800)

Increasing physical capital can help to reduce marginalisation and vulnerability of individuals and large communities of people. Certain interventions in Medellín have been aimed at achieving this and the role of architects is doing this is reflected in this section. Three principle areas focused on have been the creation of jobs, formalising the informal and providing housing. Other aspects of physical capital were mentioned by respondents such as infrastructure but since architects are not directly involved in the provision of infrastructure this study instead focuses on three areas in which they are involved.

1.1.1 Housing (400)

“First you have two renovate the housing that is in a precarious condition or dangerous zone. Next comes education, security and social protection.” Respondent

Improving access to adequate housing is key to addressing underlying issues of poverty and exclusion that perpetuates violence. As recognised in the Plan De Desarrollo 2012-2015, housing embodies the interrelationships of biological, spatial-physical, socio-economic and socio-cultural elements of urban life and can form bonds between neighbours and community members. The creation of PEHMED (Plan Estratégico Habitacional de Medellín) indicates the municipality’s commitment to providing a sustainable housing response for the city through the development of the POT in line with the UN Habitat framework and the Millennium Development Goals by providing basic sanitary facilities and reducing the number of homes in precarious settlements by 4% (Medellin, 2012a).

However, not all interventions in housing have been successful as is evident in Moravia where many families were moved from the precarious area built on top of a rubbish dump to new high-rise apartment buildings in El Pajarito, Comuna 13, dislocated from the city centre where many of them worked. The dissatisfaction of the people with the process is evident in the fact that several families refuse to leave, having seen the effect the displacement had on previous community members. There is now a resistance movement that illegally occupies the area and one particular piece of graffiti speaks volumes having changed what means, “Moravia. The route of hope,” to mean “Moravia. The route of desperation and displacement” (See Photo below)

“On the morro, they have put little flags to indicate where families used to live and the family can put a word, any word they want, on the flag. We can see the flags right beside the houses that are still there. There has been an impressive displacement of people.” Community Leader 1

Respondent 1 addressed the issue of public perceptions that above all, people need houses not sports fields and water parks. This raises the issue of whether the allocation of funds is as democratic as the government literature would have us believe and puts the role of iconic public architecture in question.

“When you invest a lot of money in a park that could build 2,000 houses, or drinkable water, people begin to ask why build a building that is not needed and they call them white elephants.”

Respondent 1
Radical Responses: Architects and Violence in Medellín, Colombia.
1.1.2 Formalising the informal (350)

The unequal planning policies (see Section 4.4.1) of the city disadvantage a certain sector of the Medellin population, targeting those that are already vulnerable and victimised by the civil conflict, drug and gang violence and socio-economic inequality. Illegal settlements by internally displaced people, coming mostly from rural areas, but also from within the city itself, are not recognised formally by the city and are thus disadvantaged by a lack of service provision and insecurity of land tenure which can lead to further displacement. In several cases such as in Manantiales de la Paz and other ‘barrios’ of Comuna 8, the municipality of Medellin does not recognise their legitimacy because they fall within other municipality borders. In the case of Manantiales de la Paz, an area of informal settlement, the only road access to the area is via Medellin while it lies within the jurisdiction of Bello, thus resulting in being ignored by both municipalities and the lack of provision of essential services such as water, electricity and sewerage (See Map X).

Community Member 2, a resident of Comuna 8, commented on this inequality in planning, explaining how she was being re-victimised by unfair planning that essentially results in the price in land of some areas being driven far beyond the means of most of those not in ‘estrato’ 4, 5 or 6.

“Comuna 8 has 36 barrios, 3 of which are not recognised because they were invasions by displaced people and they spill over into Santa Elena. The people have to use contraband electricity and resort to other means of living to survive because the city doesn’t recognise them.” Community Member 2

However, huge strides have been made over the years towards legitimising informal and illegal settlements in Medellin. The Plan de Desarrollo for 2012-2015 recognises this need and has stated strategies for addressing the issues involved.

Architects have been increasingly involved in the upgrading projects of these areas which often involve the provision of improved public spaces, libraries, cultural centres and sports facilities offering symbolic recognition of the areas even if legal recognition is blocked by legislative issues.
1 Appendix B

1.1 Conflict Analysis

Characterised by half a century of civil war, Colombia and its 47 million inhabitants have been undeniably shaped by its impact (DANE, 2013). While it is middle-income country, it continues to be plagued by conflict, causing a large-scale humanitarian crisis that requires international assistance. Fighting between the multiple armed actors has engrained a culture of violence: all areas of the country have been affected, some as hostile war zones, and others as recipients of IDPs.

1.2 History of the Conflict

The contemporary conflict in Colombia must be contextualised within the country’s historic civil unrest. Since the colonial era in the early 1500s, massacre, slavery, rape and terror has been used as a weapon for the displacement of indigenous people from their lands. This action has contributed to a deep rooted ethic of violence witnessed today and continues to inform the systemic inequalities in land ownership and livelihood opportunities.

This has changed little over the years and in 1948 the assassination of Jorge Eliecer Gaitan, a Liberal Party Political candidate and champion of the people, led to 10,000 deaths; the trigger for what became known as La Violencia. This decade of intense aggression resulted in the deaths of an estimated 200,000 people and the displacement of many more (Livingston, 2004). After the creation of a coalition government in 1958, all other parties were outlawed. However, the sustained oppression of land rights against the peasant population led to the formation of the FARC and ELN in 1964: rebel groups fighting for agrarian reform.

FARC and ELN began a campaign of targeted attacks against the military and official governmental infrastructure, leading to the decree of Law 48 in 1968. Law 48 significantly allowed for the protection of land from rebel groups, sanctioning the use of force in self-defence. This resulted in the formation of security forces funded by land-owners, cattle-ranchers, government officials and drug cartels. These private militias maintained territorial control through the forced displacement of peasant workers, mass murder and extortion, further advancing disparities in wealth and societal tensions (HRW, 1996).

1.2.1 1982 to Present

From 1982, there have been several failed peace talks between the Colombian Government and guerrilla and paramilitary groups. This has led to an atmosphere of apathy among the Colombian population and pessimism towards the 2013 peace talks.

After the killing of Pablo Escobar in 1993 many of the paramilitary groups united under the umbrella group of the AUC. This was followed by the implementation of Plan Colombia, a U.S. funded initiative to eradicate the drugs trade and combat leftist guerrilla rebels (Restrepo, 2004).

The significant reduction in conflict related deaths following Plan Colombia and the subsequent election of Alvaro Uribe as president culminated in the 2004 disarming of the AUC paramilitaries. However, the failure to reintegrate and disarm these groups resulted in the formation of armed illegal gangs known as neo-paramilitary or BACRIMs. Funded by illegal mining companies and landowners, the BACRIMS continued the drugs trade and related forced displacement.
Radical Responses: Architects and Violence in Medellín, Colombia.

Conflict Actors - National Level

- FARC
- ELN
- Government
- Military
- Extractive Industry
- Neo-Paramilitaries
- Elicit Drugs Markets
- Private Industry

- Peace Talks
- Aggression/Violence
- Alliance/Assistance
- Funding

Secondary Support Actors
Secondary Actors
Primary Actors

Indigenous communities
U.S. Government
Venezuelan Government
FARC
Colombian Government
ELN
BACRIM
Civil Society
Mining Companies
Workers Unions
Catholic Church

NGOs
1.2.2 The Conflict Today

The FARC and ELN groups have continued their attacks but have been severely reduced in numbers and funding as these BACRIM groups seize control of drug cultivation areas. Due to the weakened positions of the guerrilla groups, they are seeking political recognition through peace talks with the government. Although there was initial scepticism, the peace talks have gained support as real progress has been made.

At the start of peace talks, 6 key points (agrarian reform, political representation, end to war, the drugs problem, victims and, implementation and verification) (GoC, 2012) were identified as key to reaching an agreement and so far two of the most contentious, land reforms and political representation have been agreed upon.

1.3 Actors

1.3.1 Government

Colombia is one of the oldest and most ‘stable’ democracies in Latin America. The ruling elite have maintained power over the vast majority of land and enterprise in the country. They maintain their power through wealth protection policies. Leftist rebels who threaten this power balance are countered with military action as has been seen since the 1960s with the FARC and ELN (Livingston, 2004). The government policy that legalised protection of privately owned land has led to the further creation of paramilitary groups. This has resulted in increased security problems for the government related to drugs and illegal mining. Recently, the government has gained ground over rebel groups due to substantial military funding from the U.S. government. The demobilisation of the AUC paramilitaries has been successfully negotiated and there are ongoing peace talks with the FARC. They have received much external pressure from human rights groups and foreign governments.

1.3.2 BACRIM/Neo-Paramilitaries

Following the demobilisation of the AUC paramilitary groups in 2004, the failure to successfully implement a country-wide reintegration programme led to the formation of several illegal splinter-groups (BBC, 2013). Now operating within rural and urban settings, these groups traffic drugs, causing forced migration to open lands for illegal mining, criminal activity in cities and extortion. These are highly organised internationally-operated gangs that have few ideals and are purely motivated by territorial and financial gains and currently the main cause of killings in Colombia.

1.3.3 IDPs

Colombia is home to over 5 million Internally Displaced People making it the country with the highest rate of IDPs in the world (UNHCR, 2005). These are generally rural farmers who have been displaced due to violent conflict between government and rebel groups or by illegal armed groups who force displacement in an attempt to seize land for cultivation of narcotics and illegal mining. The majority of IDPs are Afro-Colombian or indigenous people.

1.4 Conflict Dynamics

Due to the extensive history of the conflict in Colombia the dynamics between actors, is complicated and involves many underlying factors, fears and needs that are constantly changing and shifting. We have taken a snapshot of the current situation and isolated the most prominent and visible inter-actions between actors.

We have identified four key interactions that exist between actors as being:

- In peace talks
- Aggression/Violence
- Alliance/Assistance
- Funding

Peace Talks
Actor triangles

**FARC**
- Behaviours: Urban and Rural recruitment, Attacks on official points, Landmines, Bombings, Drug trafficking, Peace talks
- Context: Mostly rural, 60 years, Exploited forces, Bad publicity, In peace talks
- Attitudes: Seeking political representation, Contaminated by drugs, Lenin-Marxist ideals, Land reform, Human rights, Egalitarianism

**ELN**
- Behaviours: Mostly rural recruitment, Attacks on official points, Extortion, Landmines, Bombings, Propaganda
- Context: Mostly rural, 60 years, Exploited forces, Bad publicity, Not in peace talks
- Attitudes: Lenin-Marxist ideals, Hoping for peace talks, Land reform, Human rights, Egalitarianism

**Government**
- Behaviours: Victims and Land Restitution Law, Legal Framework for Peace, Increased Military Action, Peace Negotiations, Plan Colombia, No Ceasefire
- Context: History of Land Ownership, High inequality, Internal Pressure, External Pressure, Systemic Violence
- Attitudes: Awareness of International Pressure, Desire to quash rebels, Fear of Losing Power, Resentment

**IDPs**
- Behaviours: Work in informal employment, Victimised on arrival in city, Live in vulnerable parts of city, Turn to crime
- Context: Mostly indigenous and Afro-Colombian, Victimised by rebels and BACRIM, Mostly rural-to-urban, Over 5 Million
- Attitudes: Represented by Land Restitution Act, Seeking security in urban areas, Want to return to lands, Cant due to insecurity

**BACRIM/NEO-PARAS**
- Behaviours: Counter-insurgency, Forced Displacement, Massacres/Mass Rape, Drug Trafficking, Illegal Mining, Extortion
- Context: Demobilised AUC, No Integration, Lack of Protection, Poverty
- Attitudes: Frustration from stigmatisation, Fear, Hunger, Desire for Power
As indicated in the diagram the FARC are currently in peace talks with the government and they are making unprecedented progress. The ELN have expressed a desire to join the peace talks and although the government has indicated its willingness, this has yet to happen.

1.4.1 Aggression/Violence
Aggression, defined here as any action that causes physical, psychological or symbolic harm can be seen between all of the core actors however the direction of the aggression is a point of note (Krug et al, 2002). While aggression can be seen to work in both directions between the government and FARC for example, violence from the FARC/ELN, the government and Neo-paramilitaries towards the IDPs and non-combatant victims works in only one way.

1.4.2 Alliance/Assistance
Assistance here is defined as non-monetary or military assistance in any form. This can relate to political representation, medical, social and educational assistance and psychological support. This is where we have identified the support actors as shown in the actor onion (see figure Z). These are the heavily influential Catholic Church that provides support to victims but also has strong alliances with the ELN who were founded by Catholic priests. ‘Cabildos’ offer support to indigenous IDPs on arrival in cities and a number of NGOs offer medical, legal and political support to all IDPs.

1.4.3 Funding
Funding here is defined as monetary assistance that helps support and maintain the conflict. The illicit drugs trade, the legal and illegal extractive industry and private industry and landowners all provide funding for the Neo-paramilitaries. The government receives funding from foreign governments, specifically the U.S.A. and from the legal extractive industry. The FARC receive the majority of their funding from the illicit drugs trade.

1.4.4 Marginalisation
We can see that IDPs are a marginalised group in Colombian society but within this group, indigenous groups are further marginalised and indigenous women further still. While there are support networks for these other groups, there exists little direct assistance for female indigenous IDPs.

1.4.5 Displacement
The most seriously affected regions of displacement between 1990-2008 are areas heavily populated by indigenous and afro-Colombians. This does not necessarily coincide with the areas affected by the official armed conflict, indicating that these areas are being targeted by armed groups for reasons other than the official conflict. The report ‘Basta Ya: Memorias de Guerra y Dignidad’ (GMH 2013) highlighted several strategies used to engender forced displacement such as SGBV, threats of violence, cutting access to food supplies, destruction of crops and purchase of lands at extortionately cheap prices. There is evidence that these areas are being selected as they offer financial and territorial gains. The inhabitants are more vulnerable to forcible displacement due to lack of access to education and formal employment. The vast majority of displacement has been from rural areas to the perceived security of the city. (GMH 2013) Although indigenous groups make up only 5% of the Colombia population, they count for 26% of the displaced population making them a disproportionately targeted group.
# 2 Appendix C

## 2.1 Interview Respondents

Table shows a list of respondents to semi-structured interviews as research.

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<th>Coded Name</th>
<th>Profession/Position</th>
<th>Organisation</th>
<th>Date Interviewed</th>
<th>Anonymity Requested</th>
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<td>Private</td>
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<td>Universidad Pontificia Bolivariana, Medellin.</td>
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<td>EDU and PRIMED</td>
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<td>Political analyst</td>
<td>Hábitat UNAL</td>
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<td>Respondent 6</td>
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<td>Universidad Pontificia Bolivariana, Medellin.</td>
<td>6/15/2014</td>
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<td>Respondent 7</td>
<td>Coordinator of Project, Barrios Sostenibles</td>
<td>Universidad Pontificia Bolivariana, Medellin.</td>
<td>6/15/2014</td>
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<td>Family Development Professional</td>
<td>Comfenalco Antioquia and Centro de Desarrollo Cultural de Moravia.</td>
<td>6/22/2014</td>
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<td>6/21/2014</td>
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<tr>
<td>Community Leader 4</td>
<td>Community Leader</td>
<td>Manantiales de la Paz</td>
<td>6/10/2014</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Member 1</td>
<td>Victim</td>
<td>Casa de la Memoria</td>
<td>6/23/2014</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Member 2</td>
<td>Victim</td>
<td>Casa de la Memoria</td>
<td>6/23/2014</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Member 3</td>
<td>Victim</td>
<td>Casa de la Memoria</td>
<td>6/23/2014</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGO Leader</td>
<td>Housing Project Manager</td>
<td>Techo Colombia</td>
<td>6/17/2014</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGO Leader</td>
<td>Regional Director</td>
<td>Techo Colombia</td>
<td>6/17/2014</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## 2.2 Interview questions

Table shows a list of some typical questions asked in interview. Further questions were asked depending on specialities and interests of respondents and not all were asked.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Target Info</th>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Potential Follow-up Question/s Question</th>
<th>Answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Architects in regeneration</td>
<td>Setting the scene and open interpretation</td>
<td>What do you see as the role of architects in urban regeneration?</td>
<td>Is it always a positive driver?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Importance of</td>
<td>Personal views on aesthetics</td>
<td>In what way do you feel that design is an</td>
<td>Was the presence of armed gangs in these areas something that had to be considered during the design and planning of</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difficulties of</td>
<td>Insight into working in areas where armed</td>
<td>What were the most difficult aspects of working on projects in deprived and sometimes violent areas?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>regeneration</td>
<td>gangs have more control than government</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Role of architects in</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>regeneration</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aesthetics</td>
<td>Aesthetics versus social</td>
<td>The social, political and economic aspects</td>
<td>Are aesthetics sometimes at the</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Can a new identity be formed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>forcefully or must it happen through</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>vernacular shifts?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Style</td>
<td>Aesthetics as identity</td>
<td>It could be said that there has been the creation of a Colombian style of architecture but it borrows a lot from what can be seen</td>
<td>Are architects sometimes at the</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social involvement</td>
<td>Social considerations</td>
<td>How much research goes into the social structure of the areas of intervention and</td>
<td>Are architects sometimes at the</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social change</td>
<td>Future hurdles</td>
<td></td>
<td>Can a new identity be formed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal experience</td>
<td>Insight into personal priorities</td>
<td></td>
<td>forcefully or must it happen through</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>vernacular shifts?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal experience</td>
<td>Insight into personal</td>
<td></td>
<td>Are architects sometimes at the</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Link between planning</td>
<td></td>
<td>Can a new identity be formed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>and poverty</td>
<td></td>
<td>forcefully or must it happen through</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>vernacular shifts?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spatial inequality</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Are architects sometimes at the</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Can a new identity be formed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>forcefully or must it happen through</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>vernacular shifts?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Politics</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Are architects sometimes at the</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Can a new identity be formed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>forcefully or must it happen through</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>vernacular shifts?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collaboration</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Are architects sometimes at the</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Architecture as</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Can a new identity be formed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agent of Peace</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>forcefully or must it happen through</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continuing violence</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>vernacular shifts?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Armed Groups</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Are architects sometimes at the</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Can a new identity be formed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>forcefully or must it happen through</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Participation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>vernacular shifts?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

62
The political commentator Chantal Mouffe has said that art in public spaces has the power to drive democratic change but the commercial appropriation of art has Colombia continues to have one of the highest rates of displaced people in the world. This leads to an element of tempo-

To what extent would you agree that the power of architecture has been reduced by its use as a commercial draw?

Is there an element of the Panopticon phenomenon in the design and position of the

## 3 Appendix D

### 3.1 Questionnaire 1

Table X shows the questionnaire for visitors to the Centro de Desarrollo Cultural in Moravia.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Respondent</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Do you live in Moravia?</th>
<th>How often do you visit the centre in a month?</th>
<th>When did you first come to the centre?</th>
<th>In which workshops have you participated?</th>
<th>Do you like the spaces of the Centre?</th>
<th>How do you feel in the Centre?</th>
<th>Do you feel safer or more comfortable in the centre than in the street?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Q00140-50</td>
<td>40-50</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>2-3 times</td>
<td>1-2 years</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Calm</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q00250+</td>
<td>50+</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>2-3 times</td>
<td>&lt;6 months</td>
<td>Gymnastics</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Active</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q00315-20</td>
<td>15-20</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>5-10 times</td>
<td>1-2 years</td>
<td>Music</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Safe</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q00450+</td>
<td>30-40</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>3-5 times</td>
<td>2-3 years</td>
<td>Handy Crafts</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Happy</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q0051 to 10</td>
<td>10 to 15</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>Once</td>
<td>&lt;6 months</td>
<td>Kindergarten</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Happy</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q00630-40</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>2-3 times</td>
<td>1-2 years</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Calm</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q00730-40</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>3-5 times</td>
<td>1-2 years</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Calm</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q00810 to 15</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>2-3 times</td>
<td>1-2 years</td>
<td>Painting</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Creative</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q00920-30</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>2-3 times</td>
<td>1-2 years</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Calm</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q01010 to 15</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>10+ times</td>
<td>3-5 years</td>
<td>Magic</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Safe</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q01120-30</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>3-5 times</td>
<td>3-5 years</td>
<td>Cheerleading</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Safe</td>
<td>Creative</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q01220-30</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>10+ times</td>
<td>3-5 years</td>
<td>Music</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Calm</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q01310 to 15</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Once</td>
<td>1-2 years</td>
<td>Painting</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Calm</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### 3.2 Questionnaire 2

Table X shows the questionnaire for residents of Medellin about the Centro de Desarrollo Cultural in Moravia.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Respondent</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Zone of city</th>
<th>Social Status</th>
<th>Knows Moravia</th>
<th>Perception of Moravia</th>
<th>Knows Cultural Centre</th>
<th>If yes, how?</th>
<th>If no, why?</th>
<th>Knows Architect</th>
<th>Would like a cultural centre in their area</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Q001</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>South-West</td>
<td>3 No</td>
<td></td>
<td>Bad reputation that now has a lot of social projects</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Doesn't know what it is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q002</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>South-West</td>
<td>5 Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td>Dangerous, poor, few opportunities</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Insecurity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q003</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Central-West</td>
<td>3 Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td>Poor, lack of resources, invasion, transformed</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lack of Publicity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q004</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Sabaneta</td>
<td>4 Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td>Old rubbish dump, transformed, infrastructure projects, culture</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Concerts, Conferences Curiosity, art exhibitions</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q005</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Central-West</td>
<td>4 Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td>Dangerous</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q006</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Central-West</td>
<td>4 No</td>
<td></td>
<td>Old rubbish dump, full of life and stories</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Work there</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q007</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Central-West</td>
<td>4 Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td>Full of life and stories</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q008</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Central-East</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td>Dangerous</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q009</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Envigado</td>
<td>3 No</td>
<td></td>
<td>Social problems, lack of resources</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q010</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Envigado</td>
<td>3 Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td>It has suffered, the people fight, live and go on.</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q011</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Central-West</td>
<td>5 No</td>
<td></td>
<td>Illegal, suffered, tragic, accumulation of gas</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q012</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Sabaneta</td>
<td>4 Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td>Forgotten by the government and citizens</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>News</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q013</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Bello</td>
<td>3 Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q014</td>
<td>26 North-West</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Rubbish dump, insecure, homeless.</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Insecurity No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
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<td>----</td>
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<td>-----</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q015</td>
<td>28 Envigado</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Attractive due to location, Lots of displaced people, from Uraba, Violence, paramilitaries</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Concerts, film festival</td>
<td>Yes Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q016</td>
<td>25 Envigado</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Concerts, film festival</td>
<td>Yes Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q017</td>
<td>19 Central-East</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Lack of Publicity</td>
<td>No Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q018</td>
<td>42 Centre</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Marginalised</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Lack of Publicity</td>
<td>No Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q019</td>
<td>31 Central-West</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Transformed, Integrated, Invasion</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Distance</td>
<td>No Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q020</td>
<td>29 Envigado</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Lack of Publicity</td>
<td>No Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q021</td>
<td>18 North-West</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Doesn't know what it is</td>
<td>No Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4 Appendix E

4.1 Coding

Image shows the coding frequency as analysed using Nvivo. The size of the box is proportional to the frequency of coding.
4.2 Word Analysis

Image shows the word frequency as analysed using Nvivo.
5 Appendix F

5.1 Ethics Form

Faculty of Technology, Design and Environment

Ethics Review Form E1

This form should be completed by the Principal Investigator / Supervisor / Student undertaking a research project which involves human participants. The form will identify whether a more detailed E2 form needs to be submitted to the Faculty Research Ethics Officer.

Before completing this form, please refer to the University Code of Practice for the Ethical Standards for Research involving Human Participants, available at http://www.brookes.ac.uk/Research/Research-ethics/, and to any guidelines provided by relevant academic or professional associations.

It is the Principal Investigator / Supervisor who is responsible for exercising appropriate professional judgement in this review. Note that all necessary forms should be fully completed and signed before fieldwork commences.

Project Title: The role of architecture as an agent for peace in urban regeneration. Lessons from Medellin, Colombia.

Principal Investigator / Supervisor: David Sanderson

Student Investigator: Martin Dolan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Does the study involve participants who are unable to give informed consent? (e.g. children, people with learning disabilities, unconscious patients)</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>If the study will involve participants who are unable to give informed consent (e.g. children under the age of 16, people with learning disabilities), will you be unable to obtain permission from their parents or guardians (as appropriate)?</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Will the study require the cooperation of a gatekeeper for initial access to groups or individuals to be recruited? (e.g. students, members of a self-help group, employees of a company, residents of a nursing home)</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Are there any problems with the participants’ right to remain anonymous, or to have the information they give not identifiable as theirs?</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Will it be necessary for the participants to take part in the study without their knowledge/consent at the time? (eg, covert observation of people in non-public places?)</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Will the study involve discussion of or responses to questions the participants might find sensitive? (e.g. own drug use, own traumatic experiences)</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Radical Responses: Architects and Violence in Medellín, Colombia.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7. Are drugs, placebos or other substances (e.g. food substances, vitamins) to be administered to the study participants?</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☒</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Will blood or tissue samples be obtained from participants?</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☒</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Is pain or more than mild discomfort likely to result from the study?</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☒</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Could the study induce psychological stress or anxiety?</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☒</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Will the study involve prolonged or repetitive testing of participants?</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☒</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Will financial inducements (other than reasonable expenses and compensation for time) be offered to participants?</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☒</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Will deception of participants be necessary during the study?</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☒</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Will the study involve NHS patients, staff, carers or premises?</td>
<td>☐</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If you have answered ‘no’ to all the above questions, send the completed form to your Module Leader and keep the original in case you need to submit it with your work.

If you have answered ‘yes’ to any of the above questions, you should complete the Form E2 available at [http://www.brookes.ac.uk/Research/Research-ethics/Ethics-review-forms/](http://www.brookes.ac.uk/Research/Research-ethics/Ethics-review-forms/) and, together with this E1 Form, email it to the Faculty Research Ethics Officer, whose name can be found at [http://www.brookes.ac.uk/Research/Research-ethics/Research-ethics-officers/](http://www.brookes.ac.uk/Research/Research-ethics/Research-ethics-officers/).

If you answered ‘yes’ to any of questions 1-13 and ‘yes’ to question 14, an application must be submitted to the appropriate NHS research ethics committee.

Signed: [

Principal Investigator

/Supervisor

Signed: [

Student Investigator

Date: 05/29/2014