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ANALYZING SUSTAINABLE AND EMERGING CITIES: THE
INTER-AMERICAN DEVELOPMENT BANK AND SPATIAL
TRANSFORMATIONS

Abstract

This research analyzes the Inter-American Development Bank's (IDB) Emerging and Sustainable Cities Initiative (ESCI) through examination of the transfer of innovation between an influential city, Medellín (Colombia), and a host city, Xalapa (Mexico) which participated in the ESCI. It uses categories of quality of democracy to evaluate decision-making in the regionalization process of urban transformation initiatives. The study illustrates how Medellín's experience of social urbanism is not exportable due to particular existing conditions which are not repeated in other Latin American cities, such as Xalapa. Furthermore, this research demonstrates the existence of a dysfunctional standardized region embodied by the processes proposed by the IDB.

The Inter-American Development Bank developed the Emerging and Sustainable Cities Initiative between 2012 and 2019 in 77 cities of the American continent. This initiative is influenced by Medellín, which institutionalizes a model of spatial intervention known as 'social urbanism' or 'transformation of Medellín.' The IDB exports the publicized success of the Medellín model to intermediate cities in various countries with varying results. In the case of Xalapa, Mexico, the initiative had a negative effect because it did not go beyond the implementation stage. The causes of non-execution are symptoms of a problem in the design of the regionalization strategy that fails to homogenize urban planning techniques between diverse territorialities.

The objective of the research was to analyze a transfer of urban development programs between territories at the nano-level and regional institutions at the macro-level, which create a new regional integration system through urban planning projects.

The analysis of the implementation of macro-regional programs in nano urban regions was carried out through a multilevel analysis and a comparative study, combining qualitative and

quantitative mixed approaches in Medellín and Xalapa. Data collection included a literature review utilizing the PRISMA method, elaboration of a map of actors, and semi-structured interviews. Data was analyzed through the categories of Quality of Democracy.

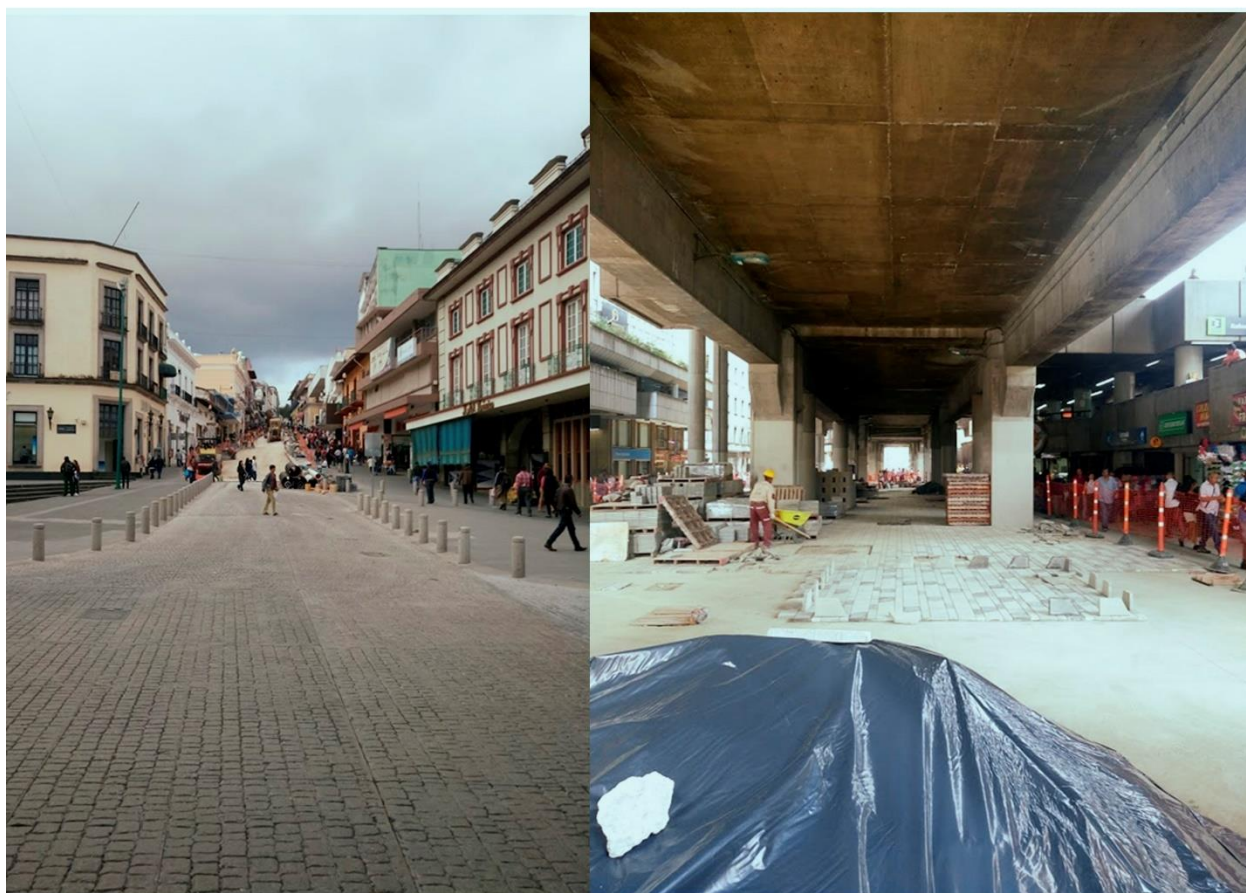
As a result, I developed categories extracted from the Quality of Democracy for the analysis of urban projects. The results of a triangulation of interview-type sources, a review of indicators, and press releases yielded values that show no incidence of democratic quality in decision-making processes for the implementation of regionalized projects. This opens discussions on legality, accountability, freedom, equity, and auditing in the implementation of regional initiatives.

I conclude that there is a parabola of regionalization of citizen initiatives whose origin is in nano territories. This initiative is regionalized by the Inter-American Development Bank through the Emerging and Sustainable Cities Initiative, in a dysfunctional standard regionalization process. This process fails due to structural divergences in political culture, normative design, decision-making processes, and normative incoherence among the cities participating in the parabola.

Keywords: Inter-American Development Bank, quality of democracy, regionalization, social urbanism, Medellín, Xalapa

ANALYZING SUSTAINABLE AND EMERGING CITIES:

The Inter-American Development Bank and spatial transformations



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List of abbreviations

CAN:	Comunidad Andina.
COREQ:	Consolidated criteria for reporting qualitative research.
DSR:	Dysfunctional standard region.
ESCI:	Emergent and Sustainable Cities Initiative.
EPM:	Empresas Públicas de Medellín.
IDB:	Inter-American Development Bank.
LAC:	Latin American cities.
MERCOSUR:	Mercado Común del Sur.
MSU:	Medellín's Social Urbanism model.
NRT:	New regionalism theory.
OAS:	Organization of American States.
POT:	Plan de ordenamiento territorial (Land use plan).
PRISMA:	Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analyses.
PUR:	Polycentric urban region.
QoD:	Quality of democracy.
SDG:	Sustainable Development Goals.
UNASUR:	Unión de Naciones Suramericanas.
ZCX:	Zona conurbada de Xalapa.
ZMX:	Zona Metropolitana de Xalapa.

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Xalapa Medellin



Introduction

Different forms of regional integration characterize Latin America, and each model merits a careful analysis of its particularities. Studies about the configuration of an integrated region have become popular across disciplines in contemporary academic literature. Currently, the region offers scholars the opportunity to analyze theoretical proposals for regional integration developed after the wave of integration processes in Europe during the 50s and 60s, and the spread of free trade agreements promoted by the Washington Consensus during the 80s and 90s. Some regional models, like the *Mercado Común del Sur* (MERCOSUR) and the Pacific Alliance, are market-based and aim to make member states more competitive in the global arena. Other models, like the *Unión de Naciones Suramericanas* (UNASUR) and the Andean Community (CAN), pursue equitable development within their member states. Nationalist populism in member countries has undermined these attempts at regional integration in many cases. Specifically, the recent backlash against UNASUR, the most ambitious integration project in the region, has prompted academics to revise theories of South American regionalism that originated in Europe and North America (van Klaveren, 2018; Nolte, 2019).

Classical integration models, based on building regional blocs from trade agreements, have not been the only means of regional interaction in the continent (Anderson, 1999; Cienfuegos & Sanahuja, 2010; Isbell & Nolan García, 2017; Sanahuja J. A., 2013). During the second half of the twentieth-century different integration initiatives developed across the continent through economic treaties or political and military agreements (Vitelli, 2017). Currently, several exchange mechanisms allow for the incorporation of local actors who are not typically considered by the classical literature on regional integration processes. The rise of localities as politically relevant stakeholders has meant a change in regional interaction networks. Governors, mayors, and local

leaders have gained relevance for public policy operationalization alongside nation-state bodies (Rhodes-Purdy, 2017). Localities are becoming more relevant, in some cases, than higher levels of government, like sub-national regional governmental institutions or States. Local decision-makers and community initiatives have become mechanisms for the exchange of wealth and know-how (Montambeault, 2015).

These political transformations imply a novel understanding of integration and political architectures, ranging from international public law to citizen participation schemas. Latin American countries have acknowledged challenges to the consolidation of regional integration. Consequently, pitfalls in the deepening and strengthening of ties between citizens have caused regional integration processes to decrease in number, as well as the appearance of ephemeral agreements that reflect the ideological tilt of the governments in power.

The operationalization of regionalization processes in Latin America can be divided into two channels. On the one hand, regionalization from economic tax unions aimed at robust integrated markets based on geographical and chained production infrastructures in globalized economic systems. The literature identifies this as ‘open regionalism’ (Bown, Lederman, Pienknagura, & Roberston, 2017). On the other hand, regionalization from integration schemas focused on open market treaties following the European Union model that incorporate measures beyond the economic sphere (Anderson, 1999). Early and contemporary scholars have proposed several types of categories for the diversity of integration processes amid a proliferation of conceptual approaches. One of them is *post-hegemonic regionalism* that focuses on changes in the international system and regional governance (Benzi & Narea, 2018; Riggiozzi, 2012). However, the concept of *postliberal regionalism* developed by Chacón (2004) and Sanahuja (2010) should

be extended to incorporate the body of interactions among states through a more comprehensive framework, which includes exchanges between local actors in different countries.

This regional integration context can be understood as a regionalized space. In this space, there are connections, inputs, and outputs that interact within, and across, official, political dimensions, and ordinary citizens from various territories. Within a regionalized space, urbanism, as a field of knowledge, is another important space where interactions between actors across levels develop. In Latin America and the Caribbean, which has the highest index of urbanization in the world, cities have gained importance. In 1960, approximately 49% of the population was urban; by 2017, 80% of the Latin American population lived in cities (United Nations Population Division, 2018). Urban agglomerations in the region agglutinate structural, social, economic, and political troubles resulting from historical settlement patterns that cause income distribution inequality, weakness of the rule of law and an unplanned urban fabric (Coalición Internacional para el Hábitat, Oficina para América Latina, 2015; UN-Habitat, 2012). One question that remains open in the debates about urban studies asks: What roles do regions play in the regionalized spaces that connect cities?

As a possible solution for urban challenges, many cities in the region have introduced a large variety of master plans, urban projects, and urban public policies, all of which are characterized by a focus on sustainability and participatory mechanisms (Duran Calisto, 2019; O'Toole, G., 2018). International summits on sustainability have marked a global agenda that has been followed by municipalities and urban actors who seek a balance between urban growth and socio-environmental sustainability.

The present text is the result of research based on my interest in the role of new democratic mechanisms for public participation from local communities in region-building processes. It uses

an innovative perspective based on the Quality of Democracy (QoD) framework to show the importance of urban projects. Specifically, this research focuses on a regional initiative led by the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB). The IDB proposed the ‘Sustainable and Emerging Cities Initiative’ (ESCI) (IDB, 2014) to develop a technical intervention strategy in selected secondary cities in Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC). This initiative is creating a new region with particularities that allow thinking on the appearance of a new region with different features, especially the citizen incidence in decision making.

The governments of the participating cities were asked to develop action plans which were then applied through urban planning projects. The Colombian city, Medellín, has implemented a model of urban intervention and planning that has become famous throughout the world. After decades of violence, the municipality developed an integrated framework of urban interventions known by scholars and politicians as the ‘Medellín Model.’ During the years of 2008 to 2014, the implementation of this model has coincided with a reduction in the rate of murders (Bedoya, 2017; Restrepo Montoya, 2014). Related or not, the positive changes in the *urban fabric*, understood as the physical form of a town, brought about by sustainable participatory projects were published by city officials and local academics as successful experiences that decreased violence levels and established a more efficient city in terms of public facilities and multi-dimensional security.

In principle, the model of social urbanism developed in the Medellín Model proposal, also known as the ‘Transformation of Medellín,’ was exported to cities across the region through a strong advertising and academic support apparatus (Mazo González, 2016). Hence, the IDB proposed the ESCI initiative based on the paradigm of sustainable cities and regionalized a model that originated at the nano, local level (see, for instance, 2018 built ‘Pedestrianization of Bolívar

Street' in Medellín). This means the IDB is reproducing experiences that originated at the nano-level origin and have been evaluated as successful.

Thus, this research examines regionalization processes in Latin America from a Quality of Democracy framework (Anderson, 1999; Guilhaon Albuquerque, 1999). The dynamic influence of globalization and regional integration affects spatial planning projects all around the globe. Latin American cities face challenges concerning their configuration, territorial planning, and settlement patterns. Different measures of efficacy of these planning projects result in the reproduction and adaptation of the same schemas of urban planning in different places. Citizen participation under the focus of sustainable participatory development gives new meaning to the definition and implementation of public policies. This text uses the Quality of Democracy framework to introduce a view of regionalization processes as a parabola of interactions between stakeholders at different levels of government. Local leaders in Medellín uploaded their program to the IDB through the promotion of its initiatives. The IDB then downloaded the program to Xalapa, Mexico, where local leaders could see the ESCI as a tool for regionalizing urban planning technologies.

Quality of Democracy is an appraisal framework in which the success of a regional integration process focuses on the involvement of new actors (Diamond & Morlino, 2004; Morlino, 2010). The regionalization of urban planning experiences is the subject of this dissertation, foreseeing the existence of a new type of region ruled under a new logic. However, instead of simply assessing the QoD in Medellín and Xalapa, this study uses the QoD categories as a tool for understanding the new regionalization process.

The present text is the result of four years of research divided between desk research and four fieldwork stages in México and Colombia. The research results make three analytical contributions to the fields of political sciences and urbanism. After a brief genealogy, this text questions the

social urbanism model and its relevance towards multilateral institutions. It also promotes inquiry about the existence of a new type of region under the new regionalism approach. Lastly, this thesis uses the Quality of Democracy method in an original way that surpasses traditional inter-state comparative studies. The Quality of Democracy framework shows results that could orient public policy design according to measures of the democratic health of a standardized planning model.

I. Chapter One: exploring regionalization in Latin America

I.1. The research questions

I.1.1. Research subject

The subject of this research is a regionalization process carried out by the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) that focuses on the principles of sustainable development and proposes a regional initiative for technical support to Latin American and Caribbean secondary cities. The IDB's Emerging and Sustainable Cities Initiative (IDB, 2014) allows for the reading and analysis of regional, sub-regional, national, and local planning scales, which in turn makes it possible to analyze the participation of citizens in and their impact on sustainable development processes.

This research presents an analysis of the ESCI. This initiative is the source of the policies and strategies used in urban planning projects supervised by the IDB. The research will focus mainly on citizen participation as a channel for understanding the transfer of knowledge between 2014 and 2017 in Medellín, Colombia, and Xalapa, Mexico.

This research analyses the relevance, efficacy, efficiency, and sustainability of the territorial transformations that result from the schema of action exercised by IDB (IDB, 2016). The assistance of multilateral institutions in urban planning decision-making processes and the financial and development mechanisms they use require permanent evaluations. For their part, the spatial configuration models were successful after performance evaluation. The regionalization process led by the ESCI had two key moments: 1) the uploading of the spatial transformation model, and 2) the downloading of the model by a regional program.

The world is moving towards a configuration of neoliberal cities (Baeten, 2012; Castells, 1978; Harvey, 2008; Peck & Brenner, 2013). The free market develops neoliberal cities with

minimum state intervention (Brenner T. N., 2005; Pinson & Morel Journal, 2017; Swyngedow, Mouleaert, & Rodriguez, 2002). There is a need for the recognition of emerging problems, such as gentrification or land value speculation, from different perspectives. This research introduces a new approach to the observation and analysis of multilateral urban planning decision-makers. It also identifies the bottom-up and top-down correlation of policy-making processes within wide-ranging funding initiatives. This study takes into consideration three entities of urban planning: 1) public participation, 2) sustainability paradigms, and 3) their relationship with region-building. Moreover, this dissertation examines financing institutions, such as regional development banks and local administrations, to propose concepts and measures to evaluate their decision making in multisided territorial planning projects.

I.1.2. Research questions

The following research questions guide this dissertation:

- How does regionalization affect territorial transformations in Latin American cities?
- How democratic are the different stages of the regionalization of urban planning models in Latin America?
- How does the regionalization of local initiatives affect citizens at the neighborhood level?

I.1.3. Hypothesis

Currently, the IDB is involved in the process of regionalization of local urban planning and intervention initiatives throughout Latin American and Caribbean cities. This research engages this process and hypothesizes the following: regionalization of planning initiatives born in a

local/nano-level lacks important characteristics of the Quality of Democracy framework that undermine its effectiveness.

I.1.4. Objectives

The primary objective of this research is to analyze the transfer of urban development programs between territories on a nano-level, regional institutions at a macro level, and the ways urban development is being used to propose new regional integration processes. It proposes a dialogue between nano-level actors in projects at the nano-level and decision-makers at the regional level that enables a new expression of region-building.

Therefore, the secondary objectives of this research are:

- To build a conceptual framework for development in emerging cities through the Quality of Democracy framework, transfer of knowledge, and regionalization processes.
- To provide a general description of the regionalization process.
- To build an analytical framework for understanding the operationalization of the transfer of knowledge between levels of government.
- To examine the transfer of knowledge between two projects based on the Quality of Democracy framework.

I.1.5. Originality

This research presents an approach for analyzing sustainable development merging two fields, urban and regional studies, adding quality of democracy as a tool for understanding decision-making processes. Using the QoD approach as a tool is a proposed originality considering its use as an indicator of democratic health within and between States. Furthermore, the research

proposes the concept of ‘dysfunctional standard region’ to describe the results of the urban regionalization process and the implementation conducted by macro-level institutions. This concept encompasses the characteristics of a network of cities in which grassroots communities promote sustainable projects at the local level, and the pitfalls in the implementation of planning initiatives guided by regional institutions. It also suggests measures to evaluate decision making in multilateral territorial planning projects.

The research is original in that it connects two levels of territorial planning and public administration: the regional and the micro/nano. The micro/nano levels are usually not connected to each other, particularly in studies on urban planning and project finance. Thus, it is essential to consider scholarship on how to approach the concepts of region and regionalism in Latin America to analyze the dynamics between macro and nano levels.

Additionally, this dissertation is original because it studies a regionalization process in which a series of actors working with the IDB regionalize local initiatives by attempting to reproduce these programs in other localities. The study examines the upload and download strategies used in this specific regionalization process.

I.2. Methodology

This thesis examines the regionalization of local programs related to sustainable urban development in the ESCI. Specifically, this research studies Medellín and Xalapa.

This research seeks to evaluate this initiative through the analysis of the implementation of macro-regional programs in nano-urban regions, considering their theoretical and practical origins in Medellín. A multi-level analysis and a comparative study, with qualitative and quantitative data,

was used to conduct this research. Additionally, this study presents the relationship between citizen participation mechanisms and the achievement of sustainability conditions within spatial transformation projects in local territories.

The research developed over four phases:

- I) The first phase focused on a qualitative approach through a content analysis of the current literature in order to develop a conceptual framework for the Quality of Democracy. In this phase, a literature review was conducted following the PRISMA guide principles for online databases and searching in local repositories in the two selected cities.
- II) The second phase focused on gathering qualitative and quantitative data through document, legal, and statistical review.
- III) The third phase focused on collecting primary information to contrast with the analysis done in the previous phases. This phase included content analysis, discussion groups, and interviews. Content analysis was used to review indicators, their incidence and results, and mechanisms of citizen participation. Also, I collected in a discussion group and an academic forum with key actors to appraise a matrix of stakeholders and decision-makers and the effectiveness of participatory mechanisms in each city. This method was coupled with semi-structured interviews with key actors. I used a theoretical sample for interview participants, who were chosen by a snowball sample. The sample considered inclusion and exclusion criteria under the actors' selection method.

IV) The fourth phase analyzed the relationship between the mechanisms of citizen participation and the achievement of sustainability conditions within the Quality of Democracy categories. I analyzed the interviews following the COREQ methodology.

Information collection occurred in different stages:

The first stage focused on conceptual revision. During this stage, documentation of previous and ongoing research was collected to review the originality of the approach and incorporate findings from similar works. This stage identified sources through the PRISMA guide for systematic literature review and meta-synthesis elaboration (Moher, Liberati, Tetzlaff, Altman, & Prisma Group, 2009; Urrútia & Bonfill, 2010).

The second stage consisted of data collection in the field, in the Colombian cities of Bogotá and Medellín and the Mexican cities of Mexico City and Xalapa de Enríquez.

In order to resolve the questions and objectives for the third and fourth phases, this research followed sequential steps, starting with the general objective and then moving through questions, specific objectives, sub-hypothesis, assumptions, tools, the definition of actors, place and time, and finally the expected results.

Accordingly, each research question was linked to specific objectives:

Table I.2-1	
<i>Research question linked to specific objective</i>	
<u>Question</u>	<u>Specific Objectives</u>
Q1. How does regionalization affect territorial transformations in Latin American cities?	To build a conceptual framework for development in emerging cities through the

	Quality of Democracy framework, transfer of knowledge, and regionalization processes
	To provide a general description of the regionalization process.
Q2. How does the regionalization of local initiatives affect citizens in the neighborhood?	To build an analytical framework for understanding the operationalization of the transfer of knowledge between levels of government.
Q3. How democratic are the different stages of the regionalization of urban planning models in Latin America?	To examine the transfer of knowledge between two projects based on the Quality of Democracy framework.

Table I.2-1: Research question linked to specific objective. Source: Own elaboration

I created a sub-hypothesis for each specific objective in order to develop the objective fully. These sub-hypotheses do not change the general hypothesis. Each sub-hypothesis was coded, as shown below. For the interviews and tools, I assigned a number to each interviewee and each tool.

Codes: A: assumption. AC: actor. ER: expected result. H: sub-hypothesis. Q: question. SO: secondary objective. T: tool.

The next step was the operationalization of each sub-hypothesis. Appendix 3 contains the methodology logical framework designed for to visualize each method step. I split each Sub-hypothesis into assumptions. The assumptions are followed by the tools that offer the data for proving the assumption. Then, each tool is followed by the actors, location, and timing that correspond to each specific tool over two years of fieldwork. Finally, there is an expected result for each sub-hypothesis.

According to this methodology, the interviews served as a data source 51 times. These interviews were the starting point for conducting the snowball technique and interviewing as further sources.

Table I.2-2			
<i>Number of interviews by country</i>			
<u>Colombia</u>		<u>Mexico</u>	
Total number of interviews	12	Total number of interviews	17
Academia actors	3	Academia actors	3
Government actors	4	Government actors	5
Associations	3	Associations	6
Regional actors	1	Regional actors	2
Nano-level actors	1	Nano-level actors	1

Table I.2-2: Number of interviews by country. Source: Own elaboration.

This thesis is looking for a description of the regionalization process. As such, this research is not an evaluation of results, nor an econometric analysis of impacts; it focuses on the political decision-making process. Defining actors is important because political wills are the key to understanding the workings of regionalization. To this end, the research uses some ideas from the social actor-network methodology. The goal is to precisely define who is a relevant actor and how s/he interacts within the network of decision-making. The social network analysis lets us understand the incidence of each relevant actor in the decision-making process. (Bandyopadhyay, Rao, & Sinha, 2011).

Local participation was the base of the ‘social urbanism’ model. Participation means diverse actors work together at the, often tense, intersections of their interests. Participation also

means accepting the democratic game of tug-o-war between a constellation of actors seeking power (Verba & Almond, 1963). As stated by Lauman and Pappi (1976):

the term social network refers to the articulation of a social relationship, ascribed or achieved, among individuals, families, households, villages, communities, regions, and so on. Each of them can play dual roles, acting both as a unit or node of a social network as well as a social actor. (Bandyopadhyay, Rao, & Sinha, 2011, p. 1)

Using Lauman and Pappi's work, this research will focus on the '*positive relationships*' between stakeholders. These relationships can be dyadic or asymmetric, implying a minimum of two actor-actor nodes. Each actor can decide their position about a particular issue. Also, the analysis assumes that a social network is not a '*social group*.'

The study incorporated two dimensions for data collection. One is the multilevel interaction between decision-makers and stakeholders throughout the regionalization process of the ESCI. The second is the interactions between nano-level actors in two nano-level projects of pedestrianization of streets in city centers.

The research conducted twenty-nine semi-structured interviews. Each interview was transcribed, analyzed, and assigned a category by type. The preliminary results were presented to the participants as a falsification criterion.

Independent Variable: Quality of Democracy. Chapter Three will present the empirical methodology regarding the operationalization of the QoD in detail.

Dependent Variables: Regionalization and territorial transformations (nano-region).

It is essential to clarify that this research is not a comparative study. Comparative studies are a standard method used for the analysis of regionalization processes. Despite criticisms, like

the risks of cultural relativism when studying two different contexts, comparison can generate an analysis of the characteristics of a regionalized process that avoids ethnocentric biases or the extension of a world vision. This research does not use the comparative case study method, but it is a case study of how the IDB ESCI model is rooted in Medellín's experience and replicated by local planning agents in Xalapa.

How to measure how regionalized a territory is? This question requires a statement about the methodological and theoretical approach. I, in an instrumental sense, define the processes of regionalizing initiatives. The definitions of regionalism are 'methodological procedures performed by the researcher himself' (Haesbaert, 2019, p. 40). My discussion of the regionalization process does not have a theoretical-conceptual character, but an operational one which allows for measurement.

There are two expected results of the investigation: 1) to demonstrate the existence of a new regionalization process promoted by a regional financial institution, and 2) to review the operation of this process with the Quality of Democracy categories. I hope to produce a report that summarizes the characteristics of this regionalization process in order to bridge the gap between urban planning and studies about regions.

The text has four chapters. Chapter One presents the topic and research design. Then, the chapter describes the entities and the antecedents of the three key moments that mark the parabola of regionalization. Chapter One shows the characteristics of the ESCI, the instrument that materializes the transfer of innovation between Medellín and Xalapa. The parabola, as I named the transfer of innovation between the nano and macro levels, starts with an approach to social urbanism in Medellín. Finally, the chapter, and the parabola, end with a discussion of the key ideas in the Xalapa Action Plan. Chapter Two provides a theoretical framework based on a review of

the literature about problems associated with the region and regionalization. Then, it explains the conceptual approach to QoD and its categories as a proposed method of reviewing the technology transfer process. Finally, I propose the nano-level as an important analytical tool for territorial study, as well as discussing the concept of transfer.

Chapter Three shows the results of the revision of the parabola from the QoD categories. Chapter Four contains a brief approximation to two examples of nano-level urban projects, the pedestrianization of the Carrera Bolívar in Medellín, and the improvement of spatial conditions on Calle Enríquez in Xalapa, that connect the territories within the technological transfer.

Finally, the concluding chapter presents the results of the analysis, the challenges encountered, and suggestions for future research on the subject.

I.3. Analytical frameworks for region-building in Latin America: pitfalls and challenges

The literature, in both English and Spanish, on regionalization processes usually focuses on interactions at the level of foreign policy between states, or on regional development projects that are supported economically by multilateral financial institutions. Chapter Two delves into the characteristics of regionalization in detail.

There are many perspectives in the specialized literature on regionalization in Latin America. My research started with a database search inspired by the indications of the PRISMA guide for metadata analysis. I tried to understand how to approach the topic and discard similar works. The search did not fully develop the 27 steps proposed in the guide (Moher, Liberati, Tetzlaff, Altman, & Prisma Group, 2009), but focused on the steps indicated in the method, result, and discussion sections. My search recognized the phases proposed by the guide (identification, screening, and inclusion). Key container concepts of the broadest scope were identified, both in English and in Spanish, with a commitment to minimizing selection biases. The search strategy for identification consisted of consulting the metasearch engine 'a-z.lu,' which encompasses 390 databases with access to publications indexed in top journals. However, it is essential to note that many Latin American publications do not participate in indexed journals. Although they are peer-reviewed, many Latin American Publications are not registered by search engines in the region such as Redalyc or Dialnet.

To include potentially useful papers, the search extended to the databases and institutional repositories of the two most prestigious universities in the countries included in this research: The National University of Colombia and the National Autonomous University of Mexico.

The syntax used followed the next logic:

Example:

i) (Regionalization [Title]) AND local [Title] AND initiatives [Title]; ii) TITLE-ABSTR-KEY (Regionalization) and TITLE-ABSTR-KEY (local) and TITLE-ABSTR-KEY (initiatives); iii) TITLE-ABSTR-KEY (Regionalization AND local initiatives); iv) SRCTITLE (Regionalization AND local initiatives); v) (tw:(Regionalization)) AND (tw:(local initiatives)).

Screening or application of inclusion criteria:

a) Articles that include the search strategy in the title and summary, and b) Texts in which the primary objective is the regionalization of initiatives. The temporal restrictions were from 2010 to 2018. The year 2010 was selected because it is the year the IDB created the ESCI, and. c) Peer-reviewed papers.

Exclusion criteria:

Two exclusion criteria were taken into consideration. One was the presence of texts outside the field of knowledge of urbanisms and political science. The second one was the absence of multilevel analysis in the article content.

I searched on two occasions: 1) in: May 2018 with a cut that year and 2) in November 2019. Table I-3-1 shows the results.

Table I.3-1

Search results in databases on previous works

Database	Syntax (search done in English and Spanish)	Number of entries found in searches	Number of additional entries found in other sources	Number of filtered entries	Number of related entries	Useful source
a-z.lu (which takes data from 83 libraries and 390 databases.	Regionalization + Quality of Democracy	1	0	1	0	
	Regionalización + calidad de la democracia	0	0	N/A	0	
	Regionalización + calidad democrática	7	0	7	0	(Jenne & Razeto, Integración regional y la política exterior de Chile. ¿Paradoja o acomodo?, 2018) (Frenkel, 2016)
	Inter-American Development Bank + Quality of democracy	7	0	6	0	
	Banco Interamericano de Desarrollo + Calidad de la democracia	3	0	3	0	
	Inter-American Development Bank + regionalization + planning	66	0	65	3	(Riggirozzi, Region, Regionness and Regionalism in Latin America: Towards a New Synthesis, 2012) (Schoburgh, 2012)

					(Malamud, 2010) (de Andrade & Franceschini, 2017)
Banco Interamericano de Desarrollo + regionalización	7	0	6	1	(Calvento, 2016)
Quality of democracy + urban project	8	0	8	1	(Tebaldi, 2016)
Calidad de la democracia + proyecto urbano	4	0	3	0	
Calidad democrática + proyecto urbano	35		29		(Rocchi & Venticinque, 2010) (Viesca, Márquez, & Sánchez, 2013)

Table I.3-1: Search results in databases on previous works. Source: Own elaboration.

The overall number of papers related to the research unit: 0.

There is an extensive bibliography about the impacts and results of the territorial transformation projects (Campoli, 2007; Kwartler and Longo, 2008; Powell, et al., 2010; Smolka and Martim, 2015). Nevertheless, the results did not recognize any research on the relationship between the macro and nano levels of urban planning initiatives conducted by multilateral funding institutions in the context of Latin America and the Caribbean. There is also a shortage of literature on the IDB and neoliberal regionalization. Most of the studies about region-building in Latin America focus on political structures such as MERCOSUR or the CAN. The literature on the IDB focuses more on development impacts and development finance.

No scientific publications on the experiences or results of the ESCI were detected, perhaps due to the short time elapsed since the implementation of the first project in 2012. Due to this reality, bibliographic information about the ESCI was reviewed in IDB manuals and management reports. The only publication observed about the ESCI was the internal audit of the program, written by the IDB Office of Evaluation and Oversight (IDB, 2016). Although there are examples of literature on similar territorial planning projects in the Latin American context, my search did not find literature whose object of study was a planning program for emerging cities, or planning projects sponsored or accompanied by a multilateral financial institution.

I.4. The three stages of the regionalization process

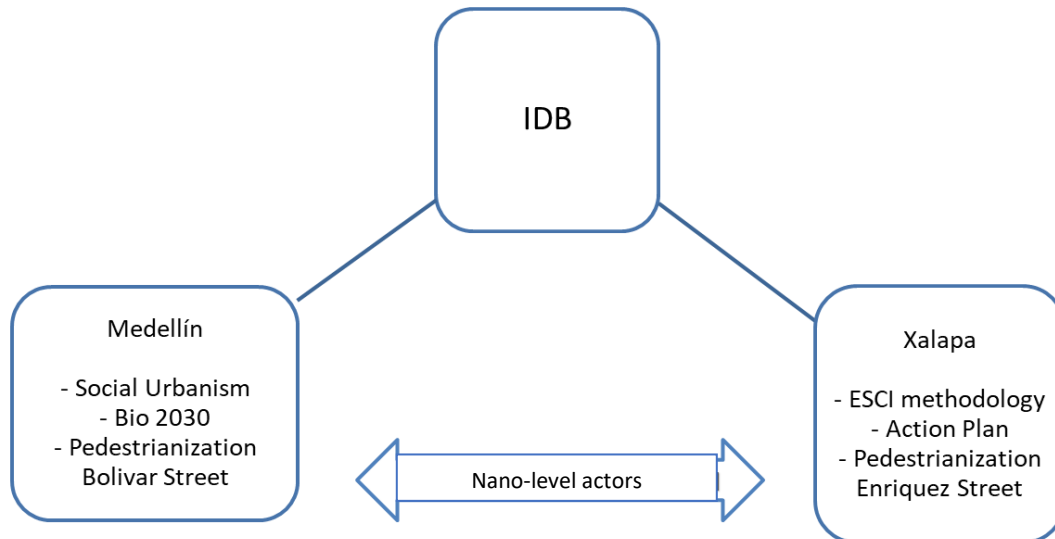


Figure I-1: The three stages of the regionalization of local initiatives led by the IDB under the ESCI: Source: Own elaboration.

I.4.1. The ‘Emerging and Sustainable Cities Initiative’

The accelerated rate of urbanization on the planet concentrates the efforts of academics and panels of experts in the search for instruments to face the challenges of an expanding urban world. The cities of the industrial revolution focused on the creation of wealth through the expansion of neighborhoods, exchange chains, and the mobilization of labor. Conversely, contemporary post-cold-war cities specialize in accumulation and concentration of wealth without a pattern of equitable distribution. These are the cities of services with growth obtained from the increase of the financial sector, speculative intermediation (Antolín Iria & Fernández Sobrado, 2016; Sassen, 2019).

Cities became protagonists of significant demographic changes when in 2007 50% of world inhabitants were urban. This figure reached 54% for the year 2015 (UN-HABITAT, 2016, p. 1). By 2015, data showed that cities produced 80% of the world's gross domestic product (2016, p. 27), making it evident that urban agglomerations are the engine in the generation of wealth and jobs. As shown by Carlucci et al. (2020), urban demographic growth is explained by multiple variables; this growth is framed within cycles of sequential growth that require adjusted tools for the planning of each city depending on the cycle in which it is found, be it of accelerated or slow expansion.

In Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC), macro cities, or megalopolis, did not mark the demographic expansion that was seen in other continents. The global trend shows a stagnation of 'hyper-cities' that concentrated massive accumulations of capital in what Felipe Vera calls 'the creation of urban spectacles of global resonance' (Vera, 2016, p. 15). These mega-cities maintain sustained or decreased rates of growth when compared with expansion rates prior to the 90s.

Interestingly, intermediate cities have grown exponentially in a secondary network of urban agglomerations under construction.

Cities are also responsible for environmental transformations. They produce 70% of the global emissions of carbon dioxide. Similarly, cities have a growing ecological footprint that corresponds to increased population and built area.

A global sample of 120 cities observed between 1990 and the year 2000, shows that while the population grew at a rate of 17 percent on average, the built-up area grew by 28 percent.¹⁸ It has been projected that by 2030, the urban population of developing countries will double, while the area covered by cities would triple.¹⁹ Such urban expansion is not only wasteful in terms of land and energy consumption but increases greenhouse gas emissions. (UN-HABITAT, 2016, p. 7)

As population grows in cities informal settlements also increase. According to UN-HABITAT, 31.6% of the world's population lives in slums. Despite a global reduction in the percentage, the trend in the developing world is ambiguous. It went from 42.2% in 1990 to 29.7% in 2014, but the figures for the number of inhabitants increase. 880 million people lived in informal or precarious settlements in developing countries in 2014 (2016, p. 14).

Additionally, the urban footprint of emerging cities tends to grow above the percentage of population growth. The growth of urban footprint results in lower population density while increasing the demand for infrastructure in public and environmental services. Extending the urban footprint makes it necessary to extend network coverage, and results in longer travel times and higher costs associated with the distribution of goods. Expanding cities require higher institutional capacity, technically and in terms of governance and democratic quality, to manage their growth. In Latin America, growing cities also face the challenges of being resilient in the face of their vulnerability to climate and disaster risk. In a 2016 study, which is one of the few systematic

reviews on what is an *emergent city* in urban projects, the authors show that one of the reasons for including environmental issues in urban planning is due to environmental footprint:

With some exceptions, in the last two decades, the average annual growth of the urban footprint of the cities studied is 3-4%, higher than the average annual growth of the population of 1-3%, which means a Density reduction, an unnecessary expansion of the footprint and the invasion of natural, productive and vulnerable areas. There are cases such as Cuenca, Huancayo, Paraná, Valdivia, Valledupar, Florianópolis, Tegucigalpa, and Santiago de Los Caballeros, where in proportion, the footprint has increased twice as much as the population. (Terraza, Rubio Blanco, & Vera, 2016, p. 29)¹

Considering that cities concentrate that growth, the need for adequate planning is urgent. Intermediate municipalities do not have enough capacity to incorporate the new urban spots into their formal urban fabric, producing urban segregation (van Lidth de Jeude, Schütte, & Quesada, 2016). According to the IDB, the main problems of emerging cities include:

- Disordered, discontinuous, and poorly consolidated growth in the city limits; lack of definition between urban and rural areas; invasion of ecological and productive areas.
- Low density and presence of urban voids or fattening lots; the existence of a high percentage of vacant land, distributed in large and small lots or vacant lots.
- Strong socio-spatial segregation and social injustice; the highest classes in multifamily buildings or in large houses that occupy a lot of space, located in more central locations, and the most

¹ Original in Spanish: ‘Salvo alguna excepción, en las dos últimas décadas el promedio de crecimiento anual de la huella urbana de las ciudades estudiadas es de 3-4%, mayor que el promedio de crecimiento anual de la población de 1-3%, lo que significa una disminución de la densidad, una expansión innecesaria de la huella y la invasión de áreas naturales, productivas y vulnerables. Hay casos como Cuenca, Huancayo, Paraná, Valdivia, Valledupar, Florianópolis, Tegucigalpa y Santiago de Los Caballeros, donde en proporción, la huella ha aumentado el doble que la población.’ (Terraza, Rubio Blanco, & Vera, 2016, p. 29)

vulnerable crowded into minimum dwellings or in excessively small lots, towards the periphery; an uneven and centrifugal model.

- The social construction of risk and the proliferation of marginal settlements in vulnerable areas.
- Lack of new centralities and deterioration of the center; substitution of residential use for exclusively commercial use and / or services.
- Increase in GHG emissions due to mobility, change in land use, poor management of solid waste, and unnecessary expansion of the urban footprint.
- A low endowment of green areas and public space, and inequitable distribution in the most vulnerable neighborhoods.
- Poor road structure and mobility deficit in public and non-motorized transport; the vehicle is replacing the person. (Terraza, Rubio Blanco, & Vera, 2016, p. 30)

In this context, the formulas for planning the post-industrial city are skeptical of the design instruments and principles formulated by CIAM,² the so-called 'crisis of the modern movement.' Nowadays, the discussions on urban planning move towards alternative solutions for the problems of post-industrial cities. In this context, international bodies and summits have pushed for the implementation of new urban agendas.

Another important milestone for encouraging the planning of emerging cities was the adoption of the commitments agreed upon in the Millennium Development Goals and later in the Sustainable Development Goals (UN, 2019). Both strategies incorporated minimum conditions associated with suitable living conditions for the population. The 17 sustainable development

² Congrès International d'Architecture Moderne. CIAM is an international panel of modernist architects founded in 1928, which promotes principles for modern cities that are followed by urban settlement all over the world. The main feature of the CIAM model is functionalist planning which is characterized by a car-orientated urban design.

objectives have a predominately urban territorial dimension because most of the population resides in cities. The goals considered the correlation between economic development and municipal services and infrastructure. Thus, cities must provide physical infrastructures such as mobility networks, drinking water supply, basic sanitation, disposal, and treatment of waste, and energy supply at affordable costs, as well as infrastructure in education, health, effective public space, and programs to reduce disaster risk and adapt to climate change. Goal 11 aims at comprehensive urban development considering habitability conditions from a broad perspective. This objective includes recent concepts such as resilience and heritage value for sustainable economic development.

Box 2.1: Goal 11— Make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable

<p>11.1 By 2030, ensure access for all to adequate, safe and affordable housing and basic services and upgrade slums</p> <p>11.2 By 2030, provide access to safe, affordable, accessible and sustainable transport systems for all, improving road safety, notably by expanding public transport, with special attention to the needs of those in vulnerable situations, women, children, persons with disabilities and older persons</p> <p>11.3 By 2030, enhance inclusive and sustainable urbanization and capacity for participatory, integrated and sustainable human settlement planning and management in all countries</p> <p>11.4 Strengthen efforts to protect and safeguard the world's cultural and natural heritage</p>	<p>11.5 By 2030, significantly reduce the number of deaths and the number of people affected and substantially decrease the direct economic losses relative to global gross domestic product caused by disasters, including water-related disasters, with a focus on protecting the poor and people in vulnerable situations</p> <p>11.6 By 2030, reduce the adverse per capita environmental impact of cities, including by paying special attention to air quality and municipal and other waste management</p> <p>11.7 By 2030, provide universal access to safe, inclusive and accessible, green and public spaces, in particular for women and children, older persons and persons with disabilities</p> <p>11.a Support positive economic, social and environmental links between urban, peri-urban and rural areas by strengthening national and</p>	<p>regional development planning</p> <p>11.b By 2020, substantially increase the number of cities and human settlements adopting and implementing integrated policies and plans towards inclusion, resource efficiency, mitigation and adaptation to climate change, resilience to disasters, and develop and implement, in line with the Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction 2015-2030, holistic disaster risk management at all levels</p> <p>11.c Support least developed countries, including through financial and technical assistance, in building sustainable and resilient buildings utilizing local materials</p>
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11 SUSTAINABLE CITIES AND COMMUNITIES

Source: United Nations, 2015a.

Figure I-2: Goal 11 of the Sustainable Development Goals. Source: United Nations, 2015.

Global demand is begging for a framework of action for growing cities that focuses on ways to operationalize the political will for what the UN calls a 'new urban agenda' (UN-HABITAT, 2016, p. 25). This agenda was discussed in the global panels before the Habitat III Conference on housing and sustainable urban development held in Quito in 2016. Subsequently, the Conference decided on the adoption of the new urban agenda (United Nations, 2017), including

the 'declaration on sustainable cities and human settlements for all.' The agenda contains principles for the kinds of urban interventions needed to operationalize the concept of sustainable development within sustainable cities. It is possible to see the changes in topics in urbanism from the narrative of the World Cities Report, which in the 2016 edition says:

The shift towards an increasingly urbanized world constitutes a transformative force which can be harnessed for a more sustainable development trajectory, with cities taking the lead to address many of the global challenges of the 21st century, including poverty, inequality, unemployment, environmental degradation, and climate change. Cities have become a positive and potent force for addressing sustainable economic growth, development, and prosperity, and for driving innovation, consumption, and investment in both developed and developing countries. (UN-HABITAT, 2016, p. 29)

It is important to note that the definition of a sustainable city expands to the provision and demand of ecosystem services (Dobbs, C. et al. 2019). Cities are decisive in environmental balances outside their geographical or administrative limits. In turn, the environmental and sustainable agenda plays a role in the circuits of donating resources and transferring technology for development aid. Global philanthropy turned to 'urban solutionism' after recognizing that cities have the greatest impact on environmental but also economic sustainability (Montero, 2020).

In addition, within the urban territory, sustainability contributes to the increase in the value of the land after achieving environmental balances in infrastructure and living conditions. It is what authors like Aruna and Rexford call 'Eco-aesthetic' (2018), meaning an environmental practice that requires green investments as the pillar of resilience.

Contemporary studies about cities are related to economic strengths, the movement of capital, and relations of production inside a political context, not only to the natural aggregation

of people in the territory. Scott (1991) said, ‘Globalization and city-region development are but two facets of a single integrated reality’ (Jones, 2019, p. 142). Admitting that implies to accept the triumph of globalization. In this context, several authors, among them John Friedman (city framework), Saskia Sassen (global cities), Manuel Castells (network society), Peter Taylor (flows rather than attributes), Allen J. Scott (regional scale), have opened a discussion. Recently, works such as that of Francisco Colorado (2020) show the need to broaden the indicators used to measure urban sustainability conditions to include aspects that affect the competitiveness of cities within a system of cities.

Additionally, cities gained relevance as they increased their competence and functions as a result of administrative decentralization processes. Thus, ‘in more than 130 countries, ‘the notions of *autonomía local*, ‘local self-government,’ ‘*Selbsverwaltung*,’ and ‘*libre administration*’ have gradually become the norm in territorial administration in every region’ (UN-HABITAT, 2016, p. 10).

Cities have become the vanguard of new forms of good governance to ensure resilience and sustainability. Governance becomes a requirement that allows optimal local management capacity to solve regional or global problems. Jabareen discussed the coincidence of new governance practices focused on urban resilience:

A more resilient city is one in which governance is able to quickly restore basic services and resume social, institutional and economic activity after a disastrous event. Weak governance, on the other hand, lacks the capacity and competence to engage in participatory planning and decision making, and will typically fail to meet the challenges of resilience as well as increase the vulnerability of much of the urban population (Jabareen, 2013, p. 223)

Cities opt for local governance, but they are also actors of global governance facing planetary challenges like climate change. Furthermore, cities function in what recent research coined as 'networked urban governance' (Davidson, Coenen, Acuto, & Gleeson, 2019). These networks of cities are determined by the economic powers within them that impose their interests on the agenda of creating connections with other cities.

Initiatives led by multilateral institutions appear in the discussion about new urban leadership within development planning. The Inter-American Development Bank is betting on the design of planning methodologies for the cities of the future. It aims to prevent the mistakes of the overflowing industrial cities of the past. The IDB is an international financial organization that seeks to finance viable economic, social, and institutional development projects and promote regional trade integration in Latin America and the Caribbean (IDB, 2018). An emerging city should be 'a place where designing functional reconfigurations is more important than the construction of the architectural body, where the open prevails over the rigid and the flexibility over the rigor' (Vera, 2016, p. 13).

The IDB has theorized the emerging city. In the initial version of the initiative (2010), the Bank defined the emerging city as:

Emerging City is that urban area that is classified as intermediate, according to the total population of each country, and which also shows a population and economic growth sustained within an environment of social stability and governance.³ (IDB, 2014, p. 6)

In LAC, the Bank identified 242 cities with emergent-city characteristics. These cities produce close to 30% of the region's gross domestic product (Roberts B. H., 2015). The objective

³ Original in Spanish: Ciudad Emergente es aquella área urbana que se clasifica como intermedia, de acuerdo con la población total de cada país, y que además muestra un crecimiento de población y económico sostenido dentro de un ambiente de estabilidad social y gobernabilidad.' (IDB, 2014, p. 6)

of the ESCI is 'to contribute to the environmental, urban, fiscal and governance sustainability of the cities of the region' (IDB, 2014).

Constant, global urban expansion requires broadening the concern for megacities towards the incorporation of intermediate cities. The elaboration of global policies, as well as local public policies, have begun to migrate towards the recognition of the relevance of secondary cities within the panorama of urban growth. For example, the World Bank noted in its World Development Report that 'Just as a primary city forms the core of a country's metropolitan area with other adjacent cities, other large urban centers or secondary cities act as regional foci for both the economy and society' (World Bank, 2008, p. 51). Around 75% of the world population lives in urban settlements with less than 500.000 inhabitants (Roberts B. H., 2014, p. 13). According to City Alliances, there are more than 2,400 secondary cities on the planet (p.14).

Table I.4-1			
<i>Global relevance of emergent cities</i>			
<u>Emerging cities in Latin America</u>	<u>Percentage of GDP produced by EC</u>	<u>Cities in the world with more than 100000 inhabitants</u>	<u>Cities in the world with a population between 100000 and 750000 inhabitants</u>
242	30%	4000	2400

Table I.4-1: Global relevance of emergent cities. Source: Own elaboration based on (Roberts B. H., 2014)

These cities are in the process of conurbation and metropolitanization with larger cities (Villalba Ferreira, Geske Dijkstra, Quadros Aniche, & Scholten, 2020), but at the same time, they are cities with a higher growing margin. In contrary to primary cities, secondary cities have a wide margin of growth. These urban settlements have a trend of demographic, economic, and environmental footprint increase considerably higher than the megalopolis. Cities that are larger

in population and extension have a smaller growth margin because they have reached limits of geographic and infrastructural expansion. Similarly, productive chains and means of production tend to slow down growth rates.

Another element to highlight the relevance of secondary cities is the dispersion of the urban footprint. In secondary cities, urban sprawl is more significant than in the main cities. This is due in part to the use of undeveloped land, which is no longer possible in the main cities that have already exhausted their soil or reached the limits of neighboring cities. This is how conurbation processes begin. One of Roberts' main findings, citing Angel (Angel, Parent, et al., 2012), is the apparent paradox of secondary cities in terms of the growth of their urban footprint and the decrease in population density. This phenomenon forces public administrators to think about new alternatives for managing scarce resources in a scenario of high demand for service infrastructure expansion.

Overall, the rate of growth in urban areas and fall in density in secondary cities appear one to two times that of major urban centres. This has important implications for the resource planning, efficiency, and competitiveness of secondary cities. (Roberts B. H., 2014, p. 48)

According to Roberts, it is difficult to find a definition of a secondary city, mainly due to the multiple criteria for their measurement. Some studies focus on the relevance of the secondary city within the national city system, others on the impact of their economy on national and global chains. Accordingly, recent studies show the functioning of networked cities (Hall, 1996).

The definition of a secondary city no longer depends exclusively on its population within a hierarchical system of cities (Roberts B. H., 2014, p. 22). Other criteria are considered based on the recognition of the complexity of a city and the system of cities with complementarity in the productive chains after the advent of the modern functional city. Thus, the cited text considers two

approaches, based on the hierarchy, to define city systems. One approach is a functional hierarchy, popular in the 20s of the 20th century, which focused on a succession of lower orders (K factors) to which the central city provides its services. Another approach is the global system of cities which reflects on levels of relationship, not pyramidal or circumscribed to a state entity.

For the UN, a secondary city is one with a population that ranges between 100,000 and 500,000 inhabitants (UN Habitat, 1996. p. 22).

The lack of a universal definition for the term ‘secondary city’ does not preclude the usefulness of studies that investigate the attributes and problems associated with their development. Secondary cities perform important functions in the national and global system of cities. They are secondary hubs, spokes, and centres in a complex network of production-distribution supply chain and waste-management recovery systems connecting different spatial levels of human settlement at both a national, but increasingly global, system of cities. (P.23)

Another element to be considered in defining a city as secondary are the limitations faced when trying to solve problems without the support of national governments or higher-level institutions. The functional specialization of secondary cities means that they depend on regional economic and infrastructure networks.

A similar functional typology is defined by Song (2013), who argues that ‘secondary cities are less defined by population sizes, surface areas, or other statistical measures than their structural positions within urban networks and regional, national, and global economic systems’ (Roberts B. H., 2014, p. 34)

Spatial, Scale, Functional, Framework for Defining Systems of Secondary Cities							
Order of city	Functional & market orientation	Supra 50 m	Mega 10 m	Metro 5-10 m	Meso 1-5 m	Micro 0.2-1 m	Mini > 0.2 m
Global	Large multiple clusters of high-value services and manufacturing engaged in global trade						
Subglobal	Clusters of services and manufacturing engaged predominantly in regional trade						
National	National government, logistics, services and manufacturing centres						
Subnational	Subnational provincial government, logistics, services and manufacturing centres						
District	District-level government, services and processing						
Subdistrict	Resource rural-based service industry centre						

Figure I-3: Framework for defining systems of secondary cities. Source: Roberts, 2013.

A secondary city is one that has a continuous growth trend. Elements of secondary cities include size, function, specialty, logistics, commercial importance, and competitiveness. Secondary cities are associated with sub-national and sub-metropolitan regional development. City Alliances defines a secondary city as the following:

A secondary city generally falls into one of three types:

- (a) Subnational urban centres of administration, manufacturing, agriculture or resource development.
- (b) Metropolitan clustered secondary cities, which develop on the periphery of metropolitan or urban regions and take the form of new towns, spillover growth centres and linear cities. These could also include migrant and refugee cities.
- (c) Corridor secondary cities, which develop as growth poles along major transportation corridors.

(Roberts B. H., 2014, p. 37)

The IDB acknowledged the new importance of secondary cities and alternative models of intervention for contexts of institutional conflict or weakness in its quest to create a continental investment and intervention platform for emerging cities. The IDB includes the concept of new economic geography (Roberts B. H., 2014; World Bank, 2008), to understand the network of interactions within the city system and the role of national and transnational economic systems. The IDB has its definition of an urban area. Nevertheless, UN-Habitat also suggests how an urban area could be understood in Chapter XVI of the Urban Indicator Guidelines (UN Habitat, 2004, p. 6).

The Inter-American Development Bank issues the ESCI in 2009 and started implementation by 2012. This initiative aims to stimulate the development of secondary cities in North and South America, with the exception of the United States and Canada, by providing technical and financial advice for urban planning.

The Bank has its own definition of an emerging city: ‘Emerging cities are urban areas classified as intermediate in relation to the total population of each country that also have steady population and economic growth, in an environment of social stability and governability.’ (IDB, 2014, p. 4). In the same way, the IDB defines the ESCI as:

The Emerging and Sustainable Cities Initiative is a non-reimbursable technical assistance program that provides direct support to central and local governments in the development and implementation of urban sustainability plans.

The ESCI uses a comprehensive and interdisciplinary approach to identify, organize, and prioritize urban interventions to address the main obstacles to the sustainable growth of emerging cities in Latin America and the Caribbean. This cross-cutting approach is based on three pillars: (i)

environmental sustainability and climate change; (ii) urban sustainability and; (iii) fiscal sustainability and governance. (IDB, 2016)

The initiative includes a methodology for the diagnosis and characterization of problems in urban management that transcends the Bank's investment space and can be used to support the design of public policies.

In 2010, the Inter-American Development Bank formed a division focused on technical and methodological assistance for the financing of urban interventions and development projects. This division defined the guidelines and requirements to be followed by any territorial entity that wishes to apply for financing from the IDB. The Mc. Kinsey consultancy (<http://www.mckinsey.com>), a company specialized in data management and analysis for companies and States, is behind the technical design of the methodology.

Conceptually, the Bank understands Latin American cities from the historical legacy of Spanish urban layout in a checkerboard, or *damero*, whose grid around water sources is present in most of the continent's cities (Banco Interamericano de Desarrollo, 2016). The city is understood as a space that generates wealth. Economic development is generated in the region by the dynamics of flow and exchange of goods in cities. The traditional hierarchical organization of cities based on population changed due to a vision that focuses on the flows and exchanges of goods, services, capital, and information, making space for the use of a large combination of variable to assess the importance of a city.

The Bank identifies Latin American urbanization as a process in crisis. This crisis turns into vulnerability. Planning is inadequate when confronted with the urban growth that goes beyond the administrative capacity of municipalities. The Bank mentions that the danger of crime and the

threat of violence mark social spaces. (Roberts B. H., 2015). This happens in the context of a change in the urban growth rate; it is not the megalopolis that leads to urban growth; it is the secondary and intermediate cities that have growth rates above the national average (IDB, 2014).

Political and administrative decentralization creates a new scenario with uncalculated challenges in traditional regional planning mechanisms. The Bank found that intermediate municipalities, now with greater autonomy, do not have the institutional and financial capacity to respond adequately to the challenges of population growth and demand for associated services.

Thus, teleologically the IDB speaks of a shift towards an 'equitable' and 'sustainable' city paradigm that prioritizes 'people and the environment' (Banco Interamericano de Desarrollo, 2016). The paradigm also incorporates resilience into IDB language, and it links sustainability to fiscal feasibility. Additionally, objectives such as the democratization of public space with automotive park reduction and an increase in the ratio of *effective public space*⁴ through pedestrianization projects in urban centers are included in the paradigm.

By sustainable city, the Initiative understands:

It is one that offers a good quality of life to its citizens, minimizes its impacts on the natural environment, preserves its environmental and physical assets for future generations, and thereby promotes its competitiveness. In the same way, it has a local government with fiscal and administrative capacity to carry out its urban functions with the active participation of the citizenry. (IDB, 2014, p. 18)

Without going into an explanation of the errors to be avoided, the IDB outlines its proposal for a sustainable city as a mechanism to prevent the errors committed by large metropolises. This

⁴ Effective public space is an indicator that shows the sufficient or insufficient availability of public space. For instance, in Bogotá the minimum rate is 15m² per inhabitant. (Alcaldía de Bogotá, 2020)

approach is aimed at an economic and quantitative reading of population dynamics and intervention possibilities:

...these cities are at a stage where it is still possible to exploit economies of scale, control the costs of agglomeration, and thus increase overall efficiency. In addition, these cities have a scale that facilitates the effectiveness of sustainability-oriented interventions. (IDB, 2014, p. 19)

IDB definitions and data articulate with official UN-Habitat statistics, emphasizing the positive trend in the rural-urban migration curve. According to the Bank, 60% of the Latin American and Caribbean populations live in urban agglomeration. However, the LAC cities are not sustainable, 25% of the population lives in informal settlements, and 20% of the wastewater is discharged into tributaries. Regarding security, LAC cities have a rate of 20 homicides per 100,000 inhabitants -the world average is 7-. In the region, cities account for 80% of CO₂ emissions, and urban population growth is expected to be 86% by 2050 (Banco Interamericano de Desarrollo, 2016). The United Nations' 'World Urbanization Prospects, the 2011 Revision' stands out among other reports cited by the IDB (IDB, 2014).

Accordingly, the ESCI is operationally anticipated to the New Urban Agenda (ONU, 2016). The Initiative includes the principles agreed upon in the literature and specialized forums. It becomes an exercise of regional-scale before the New Urban Agenda anticipating part of its content. ESCI structure, which was not created within the framework of the United Nations, is limited to what the former director of UN-HABITAT, Joan Clos, defined as the pillars of the urban agenda:

In a triangle between three planning that must go together: legal and political; physics, urbanism; and the economic and financial, so that the activity and employment of cities do not decline, which

is one of the challenges of citizen coexistence. There are perfectly designed but empty cities.⁵
(Clos, 2016)

In response to this, in the introduction of the third edition of its methodological guide, the ESCI expressly includes the principles defined by the international environmental and habitat summits:

It is also worth highlighting the importance and opportunity of the work that the Bank and the Initiative have been carrying out when considering the historical moment, we are going through. On the one hand, the recent adoption of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) by the United Nations in September 2015 marked the shift towards a renewed and ambitious vision of the future of nations, including specific objectives for urban space. On the other, and within the framework of Habitat III, we find the definition of a new urban agenda that includes the urbanization process as a source of sustainable development and as a tool for social integration and equity.⁶ (Banco Interamericano de Desarrollo, 2016)

The ESCI adheres to environmental principles oriented towards sustainability. The concept of ‘sustainable city’ comes from the Brundtland Report, ‘Our Common Future,’ (1987), the developments of the environmental summits of Rio 92, Rio +5 and +10, and the Conferences of the United Nations Program for Human Settlements Habitat II and Habitat III. Habitat III focused on sustainable urban development. In this way, the Initiative defined a sustainable city within the

⁵ Original in Spanish: En un triángulo entre tres planificaciones que deben ir juntas: la jurídica y política; la física, el urbanismo; y la económica y financiera, para que la actividad y el empleo de las ciudades no decaiga, que es uno de los retos de la convivencia ciudadana. Hay ciudades perfectamente diseñadas, pero vacías.’ (Clos, 2016)

⁶ Original in Spanish: ‘Es de resaltar asimismo la importancia y oportunidad de la labor que han venido realizando el Banco y la Iniciativa, al considerar el momento histórico por el que estamos atravesando. Por un lado, la reciente adopción de los Objetivos de Desarrollo Sostenible (ODS) por parte de las Naciones Unidas en septiembre del 2015, marcó el cambio hacia una visión renovada y ambiciosa del futuro de las naciones, incluyendo objetivos específicos para el espacio urbano. Por otro, y en el marco de Hábitat III, encontramos la definición de una nueva agenda urbana que comprende el proceso de urbanización como una fuente de desarrollo sostenible y como herramienta para la integración social y la equidad.’ (Banco Interamericano de Desarrollo, 2016)

principles of recognition of the productive vocation of cities within a multisectoral framework of environmental services.

We understand the sustainable city as the one that presents a defined urban limit, does not contain diffuse transitions towards the rural, offers a structure and urban plot of a certain compactness, is socially cohesive, generates spaces of sociability, presents a good endowment of green areas and public space, it is resilient in the face of natural disasters, it creates a territory that is close to services, encourages the encounter of activities and allows the development of community life.⁷

(Terraza, Rubio Blanco, & Vera, 2016, p. 204)

The ESCI is also defined as a technical instrument for international cooperation. This means that partnerships with local administrations does not go beyond the implementation stages, with the safeguard that the IDB can choose to finance projects arising from the Initiative within its ordinary lending channels. Thus, the ESCI seeks to promote the installed technical capacity for local management and planning, fundamentally in the improvement of the urban planning diagnoses and the homologation of criteria of planning.

In 2010, the Bank designed the methodological guide to select cities for intervention. To date, this guide has three editions (2012, 2014, and 2016) (Banco Interamericano de Desarrollo, 2016). In the IDB organizational chart, the Initiative is located in Sector of Climate Change and Sustainable Development within the Division of Housing and Urban Development.

⁷ Original in Spanish: ‘Entendemos a la ciudad sostenible como aquella que presenta un límite urbano definido, no contiene transiciones difusas hacia lo rural, presenta una estructura y trama urbana de cierta compacidad, está cohesionada socialmente, genera espacios de sociabilidad, presenta una buena dotación de áreas verdes y espacio público, es resiliente frente a los desastres naturales, crea un territorio con cercanía a los servicios, propicia el encuentro de actividades y permite el desarrollo de la vida en comunidad.’ (Terraza, Rubio Blanco, & Vera, 2016, p. 204)

The novelty of the ESCI is to mix bottom-up strategies with the emerging city typology. The inclusion strategies of bottom-up citizen proposals are common in urban planning literature. However, in essence, these early studies pursue the same elements pointed in the community approach discussed by Jane Jacobs in the Architectural Forum in the 1970s (Architectural Forum, 2019). This perspective of citizen initiatives differs from that expressed by local governance focused on 'to what UN-Habitat called <governance and democracy at the local level>' (UN-HABITAT, 2016, p. 10) where States must operate according to the principle of subsidiarity of public responsibilities exercised by the electorate through local officials.

Since the 1990s, the Bank began to include citizen participation as a principle. In the beginning, the Bank incorporated the concept of participation as an alternative to the traditional customer relationship between the citizen receiving technical concepts from external experts. As Rabotnikof shows (1999), the IDB's reasons for migrating to a participatory framework are as much about guaranteeing the viability of projects as they are about strengthening social actors. The IDB has shown that participation improves the quality of the project, reduces costs in gathering information and subsequent supervision, and mitigates the possibility of conflict between actors. (p. 34). In 1996 and 1997, the Bank published the 'Resource Book on Participation' (IDB, 1997), which indicated the balance of the citizen collaboration in the IDB projects.

The ESCI regionalizes elements from the Medellín model. Many elements demonstrate the influence of the Medellín Model of social urbanism on the ESCI (see interview results in Chapter Three) (IDB, 2018; Navarrete, 2014). By recognizing the Medellín Model, the ESCI trusts the benefits of participatory budgeting and local planning at the neighborhood level as a mechanism to reduce physical levels of violence. Then, the ESCI innovates by migrating the model to a secondary, emergent, and sustainable city.

Another fundamental characteristic of the ESCI is that it respects the complexity inherent to growing urban agglomerations. Division of labor creates urban functions and forms that adjust to the variety of productive activities and the needs of workers and their families.

When working with secondary cities, the ESCI does not discuss urban typologies of a regional or metropolitan nature. It is not that the ESCI does not know about connections between a city, its environment, and surrounding networks, but it is not its goal to plan the development of the city surroundings. Thus, the ESCI does not have a preference for polycentric (Thomas, 1973) or monocentric (Burgess, 1925) cities, neither for in the subcategories of sub-centric cities or border cities. In this sense, the Initiative proposes a holistic view of the multiplicity of variables that affect urban patterns and interactions. It leaves the choice of typologies to local decision-makers and even advocates the possibility of mixing typologies.

The ESCI accepts the fact that most of the cities in the continent are not autarchic, they are embedded within a network of nodes. Perhaps the closest theoretical proposal is the polycentric urban region (PUR). A PUR is defined as a region with two or more historically and politically separate cities in reasonable proximity to each other that share functional connections without a clear hierarchical ranking (CEC, 1999). This categorization avoids the debate about the problems of PURs. These debates center around the following questions: What is considered 'reasonable proximity'? How are functional interdependencies to be measured? Thus, the Initiative contemplates strategies for identifying regional potentials and promoting ventures in accordance with the comparative advantages of each locality.

Based on its methodological guides, the ESCI proposes a definition of a polycentric city but on an intra-urban scale. Polycentricity at an intra-urban scale refers to a polycentric urban

region characterized by separate and distinct cities or smaller settlement which interact with each other to a significant extent (Dieleman & Faludi, 1998).

However, the Initiative does not venture into planning at an inter-urban scale. This level of planning is beyond the scope of diagnostic and intervention strategies. The Initiative can be analyzed within what has been coined an inter-regional scale. This concept has ascendancy in studies on institutions of continental levels, the European Union, for example, noting its normative rather than analytical nature. When the Initiative extends to Latin American cities, it could generate a new regionalization process, in other words, a local planning at an inter-regional level. The regionalization of a planning framework has similarities with what Constantinus Dioxiadis called *ecumenopolis* (Dioxiadis, 1962). According to him, modern cities tend to an expansion in their interactions. They create a world-city comprising of interconnected settlements across the planet, forming a continuous system that covers the whole of the habitable earth. This conception could be accused of innocence, but its principles in terms of global interactions are congruent with long-term IDB plans about implementing the ESCI.

In 2011, the IDB presented the ESCI to the public in Trujillo, Peru. At the time, the Bank identified 140 emerging cities in the region; these emergent cities had a population of 70 million inhabitants (Banco Interamericano de Desarrollo, 2011). This figure is the estimated population to be impacted by the extension of the Initiative across the continent.

The IDB based its intervention strategy on four principles: 1) Emerging city, 2) Sustainable city, 3) Methodology, and 4) Results, solutions, and actions. In the 2011 Trujillo presentation, the Bank defined an emerging city as a city that meets the following characteristics: 1) intermediate city according to the total population of the country, 2) a city with accelerated economic growth, 3) a city with an environment of social stability and governability, and 4) a regional reference city

for its quality of life and potential to integrate with the world (Banco Interamericano de Desarrollo, 2011).

The Bank mentioned a critical condition that is not considered within the methodological guide or in the associated documentation: the city as a regional reference and integration potential.

The ESCI has also extended to other cities outside the IDB's capacity to intervene. Models of association with national entities that have adopted the ESCI methodology have developed. However, these entities have the power to modify stages of the operation according to local needs. The alternative ESCI implementation models are:

- Findeter Model, Colombia. Expected participation of 10 cities.
- Caixa Model, Brazil. Expected participation of 10 cities.
- Banobras model, Mexico. The National Public Works and Services Bank will finance the implementation of the ESCI in the cities where it will function as an operator. It will also fund the implementation monitoring process. Expected participation of 10 cities.
- YPF Model, Argentina. Focused on two Argentine oil cities (Añelo, Las Herras) but expected to expand to five cities.

The Bank expected that upon completion of the ESCI operations stage in 2018, these entities would continue to implement the model independently in new emerging locations.

In literature production associated with the program, the IDB administers *The Blog of Cities*, as a space for knowledge dissemination, as well as the university competition 'UrbanLab,' for the development of associated proposals. Moreover, the Bank maintains the 'Sustainable Cities Data Platform,' a regional database with official statistical information for urban diagnoses, which the Bank defines as:

The Urban Dashboard allows you to explore and compare more than 150 quantitative indicators, public opinion surveys and interactive maps of intermediate cities in Latin America and the Caribbean. These are cities of outstanding demographic and economic growth that receive technical assistance from the IDB's Emerging and Sustainable Cities Initiative (ESCI). (Banco Interamericano de Desarrollo, 2016)

The advantage of this tool is the ability to produce graphs and comparative maps between 50 cities that have already completed the program based on standard indicators.

Prominent external donors of the ESCI⁸:

Table I.4-2	
<i>Prominent donors of the ESCI</i>	
<u>Organization</u>	<u>Country</u>
MOF	Austria
SECO	Switzerland
Government of RPC	China
Government of Japan	Japan
Government of Korea	Korea
NDF	Norway
MV	Peru
International Community Foundation	
FEMSA	Mexico
Banamex	Mexico
YPF	Argentina
Banobras	Mexico
Caixa	Brazil
Findeter	Colombia

Table I.4-2: Prominent donors of the ESCI. Source: Own elaboration based on (Banco Interamericano de Desarrollo, 2016)

⁸ Different from the lender countries.

Twice per year, the IDB conducts the survey '*Mega ciudades e infraestructura en América Latina, lo que piensa su gente*' ('Megacities and infrastructure in Latin America, what people think') (Serebrisky, 2014) to measure public opinion about their participation in urban planning projects. This document provides data for exercises in comparative policies, which is one of the primary sources of data collection during the ESCI diagnostic stage.

Equally significant for this project is the document 'Sustainability Report of the IDB' (IDB, 2014). It offers an accurate quantitative measure of the sustainability of financed spatial planning projects.

I.5. Operationalizing region-building, the ESCI at work

The ESCI selects the cities participating in the program based on the characteristics of each country. However, the model generally uses the following guidelines. First, intermediate cities within the country are determined according to Bank criteria (cities between 100,000 and 2,000,000 inhabitants). Subsequently, the Bank chooses emerging cities from the identified intermediate cities, that is, cities with a population growth above the country average, per capita GDP growth, and that have positive figures in governance index that allow coordination between the IDB and the local executing entity (IDB, 2014, p. 8).

The IDB identified 140 cities with the characteristics that define 'emerging cities.' The Bank evaluated in which of these cities to implement the Initiative. To do this, it reviewed the characteristics of each city according to the three pillars that make up the ESCI: urban development pillar, environmental and climate change pillar, and fiscal sustainability pillar.



Figure I-4: ESCI pillars. Source: IDB. <http://www.IADB.org/es/temas/ciudades-emergentes-y-sostenibles/dando-respuesta-a-los-desafios-de-desarrollo-urbano-de-las-ciudades-emergentes,6690.html>

Similarly, the IDB defined the sustainable city in 2011 as:

‘One that offers a high quality of life to its inhabitants, minimizes its impacts on the natural environment, and has a local government with fiscal and administrative capacity to maintain its economic growth and to carry out its urban functions with citizen participation’ (Banco Interamericano de Desarrollo, 2011, p. 10)

Then, the IDB proposed that the sustainable city operates in three dimensions:

- Environmental sustainability and climate change:
 - Management of the environment and consumption of resources.
 - Reduction of vulnerabilities and adaptation to climate change.
 - GHG mitigation, pollution, and promotion of alternative sources of energy.
- Sustainable urban development:
 - Growth control and adequate human habitat.

- Promotion of sustainable urban transport.
- Promotion of competitiveness and sustainable local economic development.
- Provision of social services and citizen security.
- Financial and government sustainability:
 - Appropriate government mechanisms.
 - Adequate management of income.
 - Appropriate management of public expenditure. Appropriate management of debt and tax obligations.

Methodologically, the IDB proposed to develop the initiative in five phases based on the version of city vision selected by each city (IDB, 2014):

- Definition of action areas based on indicators: Data collection. Analysis of indicators. Understanding of initiatives in progress. Greenhouse gas inventory. Maps and vulnerability strategy.
- Prioritization of action areas: In conjunction with local authorities and actors, based on four criteria: Public opinion. Economic impact. Vulnerability to climate change. Quality of initiatives in progress.
- Identification and definition of solutions: Development of solutions in conjunction with local authorities and actors. Prioritization of solutions based on two criteria: Feasibility; Economic benefit
- Financial and execution plan: Definition of concrete actions. Design of a scoreboard for monitoring and evaluation by the administration. Identification of financial needs and possible sources of resources for projects.
- Monitoring systems: Support and implementation of a citizen external monitoring system. Support and implementation of an internal monitoring system.

Within the principle of Results, solutions, and actions, the IDB proposed to start with a rapid diagnostic survey, divided into three sub-stages:

- Environmental sustainability and climate change: soil, water, energy, air, noise, greenhouse gases, solid waste, wastewater, disasters, public health.
- Sustainable urban development: planning, housing, land use, urban inequality, modality, mobility, pollution, crime, perception, effectiveness, police management, participation, productivity, employment, education, innovation.
- Fiscal and government sustainability: participatory planning, auditing, finance and administration, revenue, debt, management by results, monitoring of management, modernization of the administration.

The Initiative uses 120 indicators to collect information that produces a diagnostic view of the condition of the city. The process works in two phases with six stages each. Technical advice begins with a twelve-month study and planning stage. The IDB agrees with the municipalities to create a joint team of experts from the Bank and the territorial entity. This team conducts a rapid analysis based on the 120 indicators and three baseline studies: CO₂ emissions, urban spot growth dynamics, and a map of risks and vulnerability. (IDB, 2016). Each dimension has 11 pillars, 23 themes, and 59 sub-themes.

Before the proposal projects stage, called the 'Action Plan,' the Bank conducts an opinion survey, an economic study, and a sectoral adaptation to climate change for the locality. From there, it uses the evaluation methodology to prioritize the problems encountered. A system of indicators emerges from this prioritization that enables the monitoring and measurement of results. After preparing the diagnostic, the project develops a grid of indicators for implementation monitoring and observation based on the model of the organization '*Bogotá cómo vamos.*' This self-described

'citizen initiative' produces three technical documents annually: 1) Quality of Life Report, 2) Citizen Perception Survey, and 3) Monitoring and Evaluation Report on the performance of the Bogotá City Council D.C. (Colombia) (Red Colombiana de Ciudades Cómo Vamos, 2018). Also, the Bank uses the 'Nossa Sao Paulo' observatory in Brazil (IDB, 2016). Thus, the Bank centers citizen participation on a 'citizen monitoring system.'

Following this stage, 'pre-investment and monitoring' continues for three years, in which the sector's feasibility studies are financed in detail, and a monitoring system is created. The investment stage begins in the fifth year with the execution of the Action Plan and public bidding for the works to be executed.



Figure I-5: ESCI methodology phases. Source: IDB (Banco Interamericano de Desarrollo, 2016)

Subsequently, the ESCI methodology proposes ten themes, 15 sub-themes, and 17 indicators. That is the general methodology for all cities, with possibilities of modification and extension according to the local peculiarities (Inter-American Development Bank, 2014).

Metodología

Fases



Actividades

Recolección de información	Primera misión Panorámica general de la ciudad	Aplicación de los filtros	Formulación de planes de acción para estrategias identificadas	Financiamiento de estudios en sectores priorizados	Diseño y puesta en marcha del sistema de monitoreo	Ejecución del plan de acción
Formación de equipos	Completar indicadores	Opinión pública Costo económico	Estudio inicial	Factibilidad económica	Indicadores de áreas priorizadas	Proyección listos para licitación y financiamiento
Identificación de actores	Ejercicio semáforo	Cambio climático	Crear plan de acción detallado; validar plan de acción	Ingeniería ambiental	Percepción ciudadana	Proyección listos para licitación y financiamiento
Contratación de insumos técnicos	Estudios base	Especialistas Áreas críticas para la sostenibilidad de la ciudad		Elaboración de CT vertical	Temas de interés	Proyección listos para licitación y financiamiento

Entregables

Lista de actores interesados	Conjunto de indicadores con análisis de semáforos y comparadores con ciudades	Lista de áreas y sectores priorizados	Plan de acción de alto nivel	Conjunto de acciones definidas con descripciones básicas	Sistema de monitoreo	Provisión de servicios y de infraestructura pública
Visión inicial de fortalezas y áreas problemáticas						

Núcleo de la metodología
Desarrollo del plan de acción - 1 año

Pre-Inversión y monitoreo
Ejecución del plan de acción 3 años

Figure I-6: Action Plan methodology design. Source: IDB, 2014

Methodologically, the ESCI works on long-term projections with a goal for the year 2050. The initiative develops in three future scenarios: the trend, the optimal, and the intermediate. (Terraza, Rubio Blanco, & Vera, 2016, p. 204). This long-term projection differs from local planning dynamics that are aimed at achieving results in the short-term to meet electoral deadlines.

As of 2017, seventy-one cities were participating in the initiative: 26 cities in the regular program and 45 cities in an additional program. The regular program began as a pilot project in 2011 in five cities (Goiânia, Montevideo, Port of Spain, Trujillo, and Santa Ana).

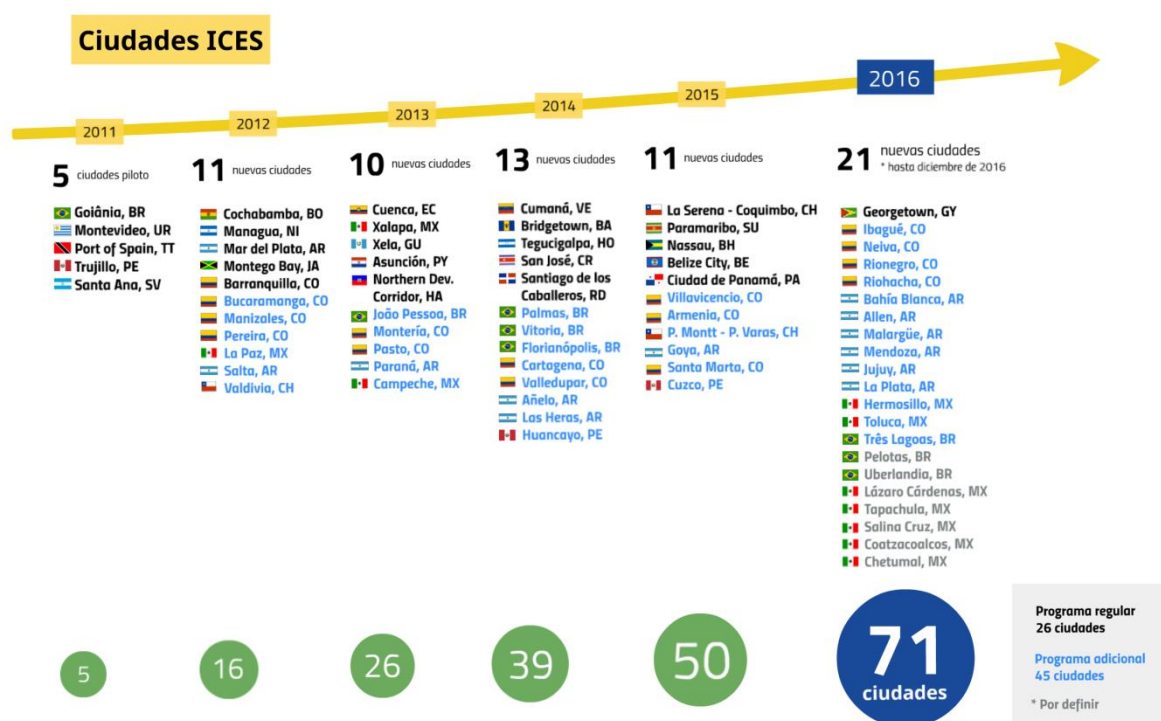


Figure I-7: Participating cities in the Initiative. Source: IDB (Banco Interamericano de Desarrollo, 2016)

In some countries where the number of cities within the intermediate and sustainable categories exceeds the Initiative's intervention possibilities, the IDB filters cities by regions and to spread investment across various territories.

Administratively, the IDB creates teams for the ESCI operation in the field as follows:

The Initiative Coordinating Group (GCI) is led by a general coordinator, who reports to the Vice Presidency of Sectors (VPS), and two managerial coordinators: one representing the Infrastructure Management (INE) and another from the Management of Institutions for Development (IFD). For individual work in each city, the Bank forms a technical team made up of: i) a specialist who will fulfill the role of team leader, for which the ideal is to be based on the Bank's representation in the country, ii) a sector coordinator, responsible for supervising the programs in a group of countries, and iii) experts with knowledge and experience in each of the topics of the ICES dimensions. On average, the technical team should have between seven and nine specialists for all the areas included in the analysis.⁹ (IDB, 2014, p. 32)

In the same way, the Bank requires the participating city to create a technical team that acts as the local counterpart as follows:

... A local counterpart team made up of at least one coordinator responsible for interacting with the different areas of the local institution and with the implementing teams, coordinating visits and agendas, coordinating and agreeing on actions and missions, etc. It is recommended that the person acting as the coordinator is a person from the executive level of the local administration, with access to the mayor/mayor, as well as to the key areas (Finance-Finance, Planning, Infrastructure).¹⁰ (IDB, 2014, p. 32)

⁹ Original in Spanish: 'El Grupo Coordinador de la Iniciativa (GCI) está liderado por un coordinador general, el cual depende de la Vicepresidencia de Sectores (VPS), y dos coordinadores gerenciales: uno en representación de la Gerencia de Infraestructura (INE) y otro de la Gerencia de Instituciones para el Desarrollo (IFD). Para los trabajos individuales en cada ciudad, el Banco conforma un equipo técnico integrado por: i) un especialista que cumplirá el rol de jefe de equipo, para lo cual lo ideal es que se encuentre con base en la representación del Banco en el país, ii) un coordinador sectorial, responsable de la supervisión de los programas en un grupo de países, y iii) expertos con conocimiento y experiencia en cada uno de los temas de las dimensiones de la ICES. En promedio el equipo técnico debería tener entre siete y nueve especialistas para todas las áreas incluidas en el análisis.' Own translation.

¹⁰ Original in Spanish: ...un equipo de contraparte local integrado por al menos un coordinador responsable de interactuar con las distintas áreas de la institución local y con los equipos implementadores, coordinar visitas y agendas, coordinar y acordar acciones y misiones, etc. Es recomendable que quien actúe como coordinador sea una

To evaluate and weigh its 120-indicator model the IDB compares with international standards used by similar agencies, or with previous experiences using a traffic light rating system. In parallel, the IDB team writes sector files that qualitatively describe the conditions supported by the data and indicators focused on the territorial jurisdiction. Besides, the ESCI team makes a compendium of past and current projects developed in the city where the Initiative is going to start, looking for incorporating them into the ESCI and avoiding overlap them. Interventions in the pre-investment stage can be in soft or hard infrastructure (tangible or intangible goods).

Consequently, the Bank develops the initiative in the following phases:

First stage: Development of the Action Plan:

Phase 0: Preparation (three to four weeks)

- Approval of the national government and agreement with the municipal government through a letter of commitment. How to do it is not specified. Ideally, the Bank prefers to develop the Initiative in a city where the mayor is beginning the term of office. A focal point office should be designated in the city, which coordinates between the IDB team and the municipality.
- Formation of work teams.
- Information gathering for the creation of indicators.
- Map of actors for future citizen monitoring network.
- Definition of the city's vision of growth scenarios: current trends, smart growth, and compound growth. It is done through two workshops for each study.

persona del nivel ejecutivo de la administración local, con acceso al alcalde/ intendente, así como también a las áreas clave (Hacienda-Finanzas, Planificación, Infraestructura). Own translation.

- Delimitation of the functional and physical perimeter of the city, which may include spaces beyond the political-jurisdictional limits.
- Hiring baseline studies: vulnerability (carried out with consultations with local actors), inventory of greenhouse gases, urban growth. Approximate duration of six months. The GHG study is carried out under the methodology of the 'Global Protocol for Community-Scale Greenhouse Gas Emissions (GPC)', developed by C40 Cities Climate Leadership Group (C40) and Local Governments for Sustainability (ICLEI), in cooperation with the World Bank, the United Nations Environment Program (UNEP), the United Nations Human Settlements Program (UN-Habitat), and the World Resources Institute (WRI).' (IDB, 2014, p. 48) They also develop additional baseline studies on specific topics with a duration not exceeding three months.
- Hiring a consulting firm for an opinion poll.
- Study of economic impact.

Phase 1: Analysis and Diagnostic

- Launch mission and start-up workshop. This workshop invites stakeholders to a plenary meeting.
- Interviews and data collection from official entities in sectoral meetings.
- Estimation of data for indicators. Indicators contained in the Annex-ESCI Indicators document (IDB, 2013), preferably georeferenced.
- Comparison between the results of the indicators obtained and international standards or similar cities in the region. The 'traffic light' method is applied to evaluate adequate management (green), with management difficulties (yellow) or if it is deficient (red).
- Validation of the results obtained with municipal officials.

- Sector files are prepared for each topic, which includes the description of the problem and local managers.

Phase 2: Prioritization

- Due to the difficulty of achieving in all areas in the medium term, needs are prioritized according to four weighted filters:
 - Assessment by citizens based on the zoned public opinion survey. Prioritization begins with public opinion on the subject with all the problems it represents. The survey is based on citizen perception and seeks to gain legitimacy. The Bank defines the survey goal as:

‘It provides information about how the population perceives the priority level of the topics under analysis of the methodology. In order to achieve broad citizen support, what the population thinks is important for the future of the city must be known and incorporated into the process.’ (IDB, 2014, p. 63)
 - For this survey, the interviewee prioritizes the issues according to a scoring system of 1 to 5 for each of the 23 ESCI topics. The question to be answered is: 'Since the government has limited resources and has to prioritize its areas of action, what are the three areas (in order of importance) that you consider should be priorities for the government?' (IDB, 2014, p. 63) This filter has a value of 25% for weighting.
 - The economic impact of each issue is measured as the coefficient between the cost of current inaction and the socioeconomic benefits of project implementation. It is done using ‘qualitative decision of economic impact: multi-criteria matrixes’ methodology. Three impacts are evaluated: 1) GDP growth, 2) employment

generation, and 3) improvement of the municipality's competitiveness. This filter has a value of 20% for weighting.

- Relationship of the topic with climate change and mitigation of hazard. A correlation is made between the indicators and the subtopics. This filter has a value of 15% for weighting.
 - Interrelation of the subject with other sectors through a matrix. This filter has a value of 10% for weighting.
- A score of 1 to 5 is assigned for each topic and is weighted according to the score obtained. Local officials validate then the results.
 - Additional studies in fiscal management, motorized transport, urban space, connectivity, water and sanitation, solid waste, energy, and public safety are prepared.
 - The final weighting adds the traffic light exercise created in Phase 0 to the other four filters. The traffic light will have a score of 30%.

Phase 3: Action Plan

- Identification and development of strategies to intervene in prioritized issues.
- Each project includes its schedule, financial structure, and responsible municipal office. Projects must be executed within the medium- and long-term plans. The Bank insists that 'This Plan constitutes the city's navigation chart on its path to sustainability' (IDB, 2014, p. 23). In the end, the corresponding instances must validate the Plan (No hint about who are the corresponding instances).
- The Plan seeks to reduce study times through rapid diagnostics and concrete proposals.
- The implementation of the Action Plan, with advice from the Bank, begins.

Second stage: Execution

Phase 4: Pre-investment

- The ESCI provides technical assistance for the preparation of the terms of reference for contracting the first prioritized interventions.
- The IDB and the city establish the base for the search for long-term financing.

Phase 5: Monitoring

- The Bank understands monitoring as a process that begins with the participation of stakeholders in the initial information gathering processes. 'A monitoring schema, based on principles like those of the 'Network of Cities How We Go,' is suggested to bring together a group of independent citizens (academia, press, chambers of commerce, and others) that create a light institutional schema that has economic and technical capacity. These schemas seek to give technical, and impartial, annual follow-up to priority issues that citizens consider important for the sustainability of the city (IDB, 2014, p. 24).
- The ESCI provides the funds for creating a citizen monitoring system or strengthening an existing model managed by an independent civil society organization.
- The IDB is creating a platform for information exchange and data comparison between cities called 'Urban Dashboard.'

Of the 50 completed experiences, eight themes are most regularly prioritized in the planning phase (Inter-American Development Bank, 2016): 1) mobility and transport, 2) sanitation, 3) drainage and flooding, 4) Solid waste management, 5) conservation of historical heritage, 6) land use, and zoning, 7) fiscal management, and 8) citizen security.

The Bank identifies the generation of integrated multisector solutions that facilitate inter- and intra-institutional and sectoral management as the most critical challenge.

According to the IDB, the Initiative goes beyond the institutional framework of multilateral cooperation to be taken over by local-regional institutions and social organizations. Because the methodological toolbox is an open-access instrument, institutions such as Findeter in Colombia, La Caixa in Brazil, international architecture firms, like Gehl, and universities, like ETH Zurich, have developed projects based on the Initiative.

I.5.1. Medellín and the exported social urbanism model

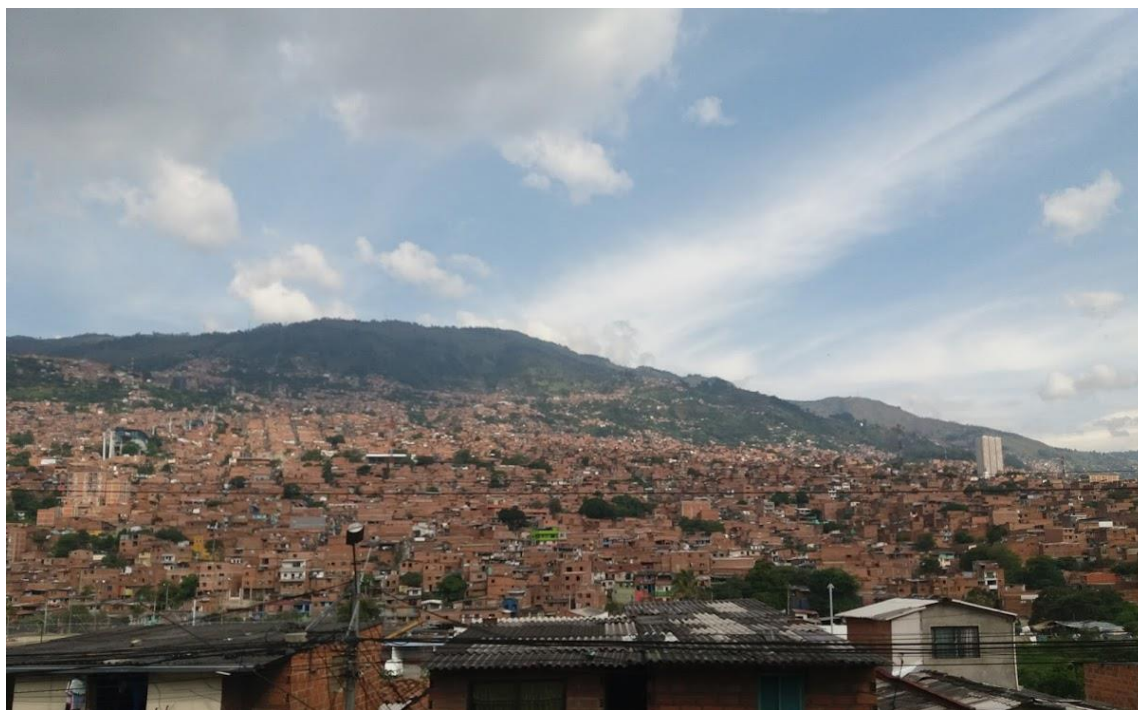


Figure I-8: Landscape of the Medellín's Northside. Source: Author's collection

This research studies the process of regionalization of local initiatives at a nano-level. It hypothesized that the ESCI originated from the experience of the streets of Medellín, Colombia. Medellín is the capital of the Department of Antioquia. It is the second most populous city in the

country. Medellín's economy is in transition from industrial to service based. It is the central node of communications and infrastructure in the connection between the Caribbean coast region and the *Región Cafetera* in the center of the country. The Antioquian capital rests over the Aburrá Valley, in the central Andean mountain range in the central west side of Colombia.

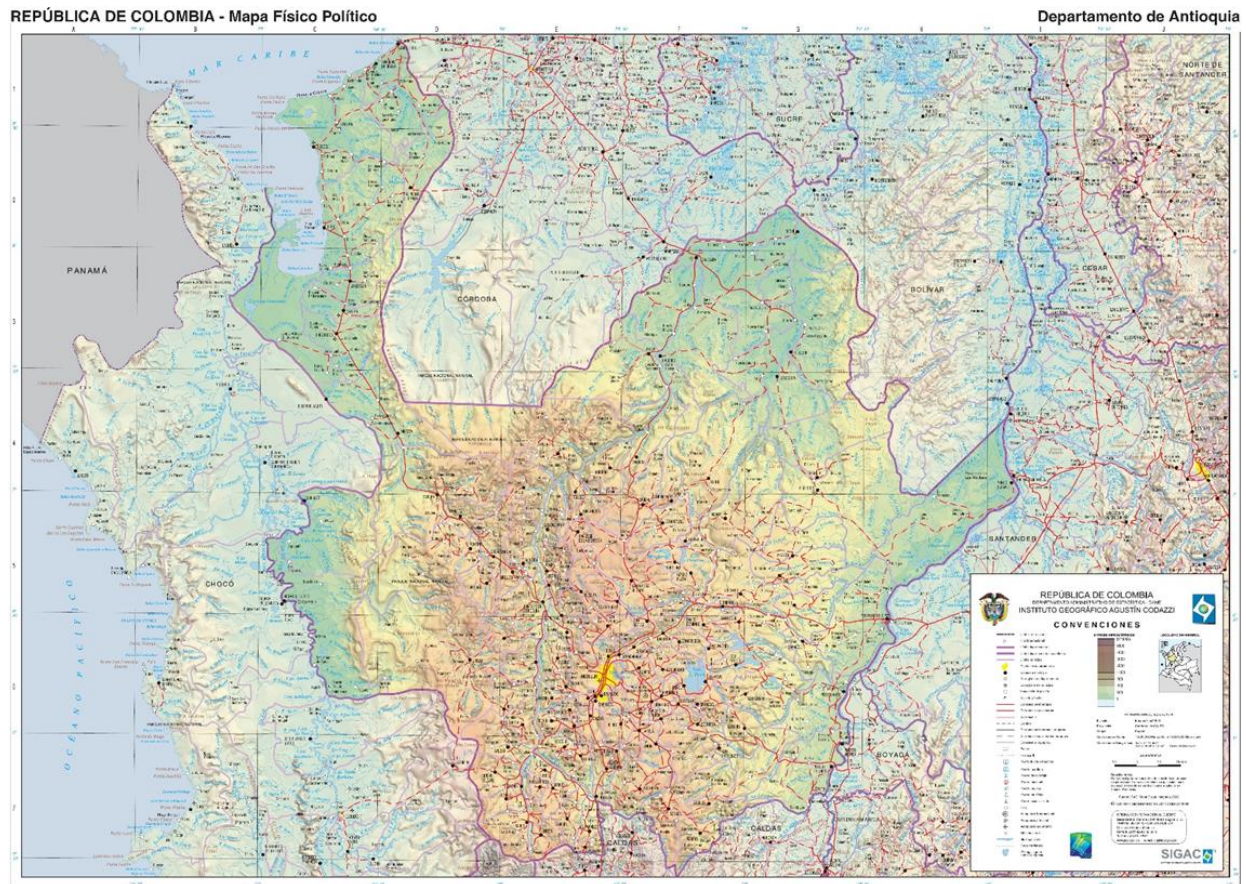


Figure I-9: Department of Antioquia map. Source: IGAC. 2018.

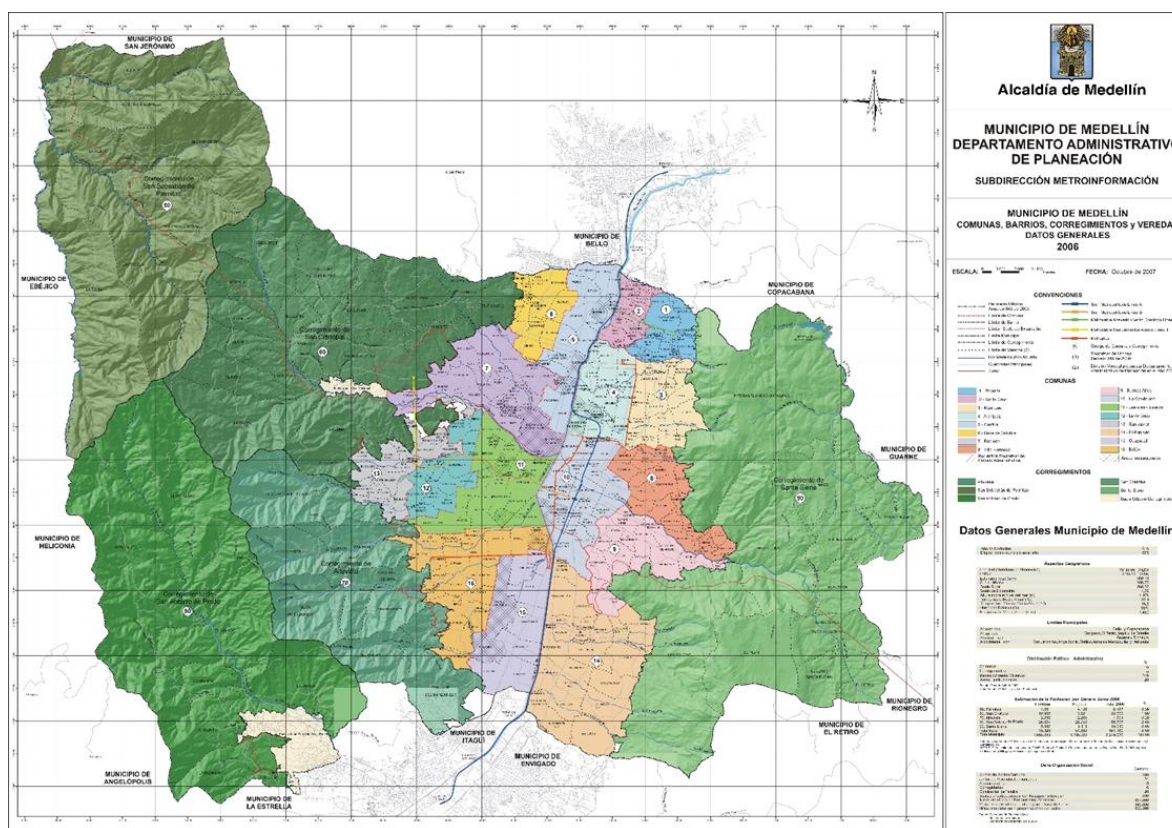


Figure I-10: Medellín's administrative jurisdiction. Source: Alcaldía de Medellín. 2018.

Since 2004, Medellín has developed a planning model that addresses specific territorial needs based on two factors: 1) the levels of violence and inequality in the distribution of income, and 2) the disparity in access to public and private goods and services (Levy & Dávila, 2017).

There are two opposing views about the transformation of Medellín. First was a critic to the economic and political motivations to develop an intervention model. The second perspective highlights the ethical agreements between citizens and the political establishment that seek to achieve political stability and economic growth.

The so-called Medellín Model is neither accidental, nor is it the result of a transient innovative exercise by a government in office. It obeys a consolidation process of three dynamics: 1) a critical mass of thematic experts, 2) citizen participation as the axis of public debate, and 3)

the search for innovative agreements as solutions to problems whose origin escapes the locality (Caicedo Hinojos, 2018). The history of urban planning in Medellín cannot be separated from the particularities and exceptionalities of the city's recent political and social history. The capacity of Medellín for facing its urbanization processes is the product of a convulsed history. The city found the answers to overcome ungovernability in innovative planning (Patiño Villa, 2015).

According to the research of the Institute of Urban Studies of the National University of Colombia, in association with the Planning Secretariat of Medellín, it is necessary to understand three phenomena that marked the case of Medellín. The first is the extension of the urban mesh outside the geographical and orographic boundaries offered by the Valley on which the city sits. This complexity forces the continuous search for administrative-structural solutions for the management of twelve autonomous but interdependent territorial entities.¹¹ The Metropolitan Area was subsequently created as a coordinating entity among the twelve mayor's offices. A second consideration indicates that Medellín is a permanent population recipient, and is, in turn, a node of national geostrategic routes. The third phenomenon is the fight against criminal dynamics. The city responded collectively to these three situations. City stakeholders proposed an agreement that seeks to limit the incidence of drug trafficking and territorial control by criminal gangs by increasing social investment, economic development, and the valuation of the territory from a planning perspective.

The experience adopted by the IDB is called the 'Transformation of Medellín,' based on the 'Social Urbanism Model,' or in sum, the 'Medellín Model.' The most remarkable goal attained

¹¹ This consideration includes the ten municipalities belonging to the Metropolitan Area of the Aburrá Valley: Medellín, Bello, Envigado, Itagüí, Sabaneta, Caldas, Girardota, Copacabana, Barbosa; plus the municipalities of Rionegro and Guarne in the sub-region of Oriente Antioqueño closer to the east side of the Valley.

by the transformation was the decrease in the number of murders from 395 murders per 100,000 inhabitants in 1991 to 21.5 homicides per 100,000 inhabitants in 2016 (Giraldo Ramírez, 2008).



Figure I-11: Murder rate in Medellín from 2000 to 2016. Source: Colombian National Police.

Medellín has a long experience in urban planning processes (2017). It has been the national vanguard for planned urbanization attempts, although the private sector control of municipal institutions has largely determined spatial configuration (Castrillón Aldana, 2013). Since the last decade of the nineteenth century, the city experimented with dissimilar planning models to face the singularity of the topographic limitation (Melo, 2017). The city sits on the steep slope of a valley making accessibility and connection with the rest of the country and abroad difficult. The city's remoteness means that the planned urban design needs to prioritize transport corridors and look for alternatives to the lack of available urban land.

Additionally, the city has a population density index of 19,700 inhabitants per square kilometer, making it the third most dense city in the world, after Dhaka and Mumbai, in 2017.

Table I.5-1		
<i>Housing density in Medellín</i>		
	<u>2004</u>	<u>2011</u>
<u>Houses/Ha.</u>	15	18

Table I.5-1: Housing density in Medellín. Source: Own elaboration based on (Medellín, 2012, p. 253)

The 'Society of Public Improvements,'¹² established in 1899, promoted urban renewal and the development of 'progressive' projects (SMP, 2019). This organization meant that the city had from an initial period an investment fund destined for projects and urban planning, which would mark its capacity to invest in infrastructure projects in the future. Thus, the city experimented with several tools and models. Medellín experimented with nineteenth-century hygienism theory, the scientific urban planning of Cerdá (developed in Barcelona), models from the North American school of city planning, as well as the garden city, dormitory city, radial metropolis, and the compact city model (González, 2007).

However, levels of informal construction and the expansion of the urban sprawl have exceeded the projections of centralized planning exercises. Entire neighborhoods were built by inhabitants who enlarged their houses to provide housing for their children and their families. These districts were also built by national government projects which tried to regulate a wave of sprawl that created irregular neighborhoods without respecting environmental or risk regulations.

¹² In Spanish: Sociedad de Mejoras Públicas.

Risk management considerations are a must for a city with frequent landslides, flooding, and seismic activity. (URBAM EAFIT, 2013).



Figure I-12: Escalator project in the informal suburb of San Javier, Medellín. Source: Author's collection.

Incorporation of the environmental agenda in Medellín has not been easy. Florian Koch (2016) shows that there are limitations to the insertion of environmental principles in the ten main Colombian cities due to the clash of this agenda with others that were previously implemented. Even Medellín and Bogotá, which have the best institutional capacity to receive environmental adaptation policies, have problems with the clash of political programs and sector pressures.

Various factors explain the particularities of Medellín's growth process. Medellín had an industrial impulse from the beginning of the twentieth century until the 1990s. Since the end of the 19th century, Medellín has been an industrial core with an accumulation of proto-industrial

capital. Surplus from mining operations in the Occidente Antioqueño and Bajo Cauca sub-regions and commercial initiatives are deposited in the city for investment in developing brewery and industrial textile centers (Valencia Restrepo & Melo, 1996). It is in this context of industrial expansion that the design of working-class neighborhoods was led by the industrial elite driven by the Public Improvement Society and *Progreso* Magazine. During much of the twentieth century, the city served as an alternative development pole to Bogotá. Medellín encompasses the economic dynamics of central-western Colombia, from the Andean coffee region to the plains of the Caribbean coast.

Medellín's industrialization efforts responded to the national policy of import substitution. The objective of the import substitution model was the mercantilist protection of local production and the creation of an industrial base (Sánchez Jabba, 2012). This industry-oriented approach, fostered by the accumulation of income from the mining and coffee trade sectors, provoked a wave of urbanization from migrant peasant populations (González, 2007). The multiple 'violences' that took place during the 20th century partly explain rural migration to the departmental capital (Palacios, 1995). This wave of rural-urban migration, without being the first or the last, shaped the metropolitan character of Colombian cities that had been little more than disconnected villages until then.

Bogota, Medellín, Cali, and Barranquilla began to concentrate the largest number of urban inhabitants of the country, from 8.76% of the total population in 1938 to 14.15% in 1951, 25.45% in 1973, and 26.91% in 1985 when the growth rate had already decreased ostensibly. (González Escobar, 2011)

The armed conflicts of the 20th century had a profound impact on the urban configuration of the city. The partisan violence of the 20s and after the *Bogotazo*¹³ modified the demographic composition with the arrival of rural migrants to cities in search of security. Urban growth followed recurring attempts by guerrillas, in search of financing, recruitment, and political positioning against the State, to control peripheral areas of the Aburrá Valley. The '*Partidista* Violence' of the 50s will be the one that will define the Medellín's urban layout, influenced by a growth model of modern functional style or one based on the *garden city* concepts. The arrival to Medellín of new labor forces boosted industrial growth, with the subsequent inauguration of workers' neighborhoods and a road system to communicate the industrial zones with the peripheral or newly founded districts.

From the 1980s to the present, guerrilla, paramilitary and drug trafficking violence (Palacios, 2012), impact urban configuration and citizen participation processes for the formulation and design of territorial plans. Medellín lived decades of permanent urban fighting in its slums (Bedoya, 2017). The influence of armed actors in the design and configuration of the new informal settlements on the mountainous land of the valley characterized these struggles. Similarly, the State response for fighting communist groups determined the scenario of urban struggles and geospatial controls by illegal armed groups. The city received half of a million new inhabitants in ten years.

¹³ *Bogotazo* or *Violencia* are the terms used to refer to the riots occurred Bogotá in 1948 after the murder of the presidential candidate Jorge Eliecer Gaitán. That murder was the turning point for the Colombian conflict and spread the violence across the country.

TOTAL POBLACIÓN								
Año	Total	Hombres	Mujeres	0 a 4 años	5 a 14 años	15 a 49 años	50 a 64 años	65 años y mas
2005	2.499.080	1.138.523	1.360.557	218.884	436.209	1.372.714	323.219	148.052
2006	2.525.902	1.150.743	1.375.159	221.233	440.891	1.387.447	326.688	149.642
2007	2.553.012	1.163.094	1.389.919	223.608	445.623	1.402.339	330.194	151.248
2008	2.580.414	1.175.577	1.404.836	226.008	450.406	1.417.390	333.739	152.872
2009	2.608.109	1.188.194	1.419.914	228.433	455.240	1.432.603	337.320	154.512
2010	2.636.101	1.200.947	1.435.154	217.391	437.713	1.406.736	398.110	176.150
2011	2.664.394	1.213.837	1.450.557	219.725	442.411	1.421.834	402.383	178.041
2012	2.692.991	1.226.865	1.466.126	222.083	447.160	1.437.095	406.702	179.952
2013	2.721.894	1.240.033	1.481.862	224.466	451.959	1.452.519	411.067	181.883
2014	2.751.108	1.253.342	1.497.767	226.876	456.810	1.468.108	415.479	183.835
2015	2.780.636	1.266.794	1.513.842	218.452	436.753	1.429.076	473.658	222.696
2016	2.810.480	1.280.390	1.530.090	220.797	441.441	1.444.414	478.741	225.087
2017	2.840.644	1.294.132	1.546.512	223.167	446.179	1.459.917	483.880	227.502
2018	2.871.133	1.308.022	1.563.111	225.562	450.967	1.475.586	489.073	229.944
2019	2.901.948	1.322.061	1.579.887	227.983	455.808	1.491.423	494.322	232.412
2020	2.933.094	1.336.250	1.596.844	224.618	446.878	1.471.390	525.799	264.409

Table I.5-2: Population of Medellín, 2005- projection 2020. Source: Alcaldía de Medellín.

Most of the new population were peasants from rural zones in search of refuge from the constant low-intensity conflict. Therefore, the city became denser, and pressure on the urban soil and the installed capacity of essential services increased. The 'collaborative informal construction projects'¹⁴ of the 70s in the hillside areas near the working-class districts, the invasion of the banks of the Medellín River and its tributaries to build new urban settlements, and expansion into neighboring municipalities through informal construction are all precedents for community mobilizations or joint planning exercises. That dynamic created a tradition of community-based planning.

In the war against the mafias, mainly against the Medellín Cartel, the city reached peak rates of homicide and terrorist attacks, in addition to the absence of state sovereignty in the peripheries, and crime infiltration in the State apparatus. The city entered a spiral of problems that made it ungovernable in a period when the entire country was classified for scholars and other

¹⁴ In local common language: convites.

countries as a failed state. In this way, after two decades of the unplanned reception of migrants, the city tackled various processes of reformulation of its planning strategies.



Figure I-13: Number of displaced by violence in Medellín 2002-2017. Source: Unidad de Atención a víctimas, 2018

Efforts to attend to a new urban context, full of ‘tugurios’ (hovels), was a priority for an incipient technocratic bureaucracy (González Escobar, 2011). All these efforts aimed to respond to the demands of population increase in the context of an armed conflict that was moving from the rural areas towards the cities. These historical facts are the prelude to the implementation of local participation strategies with the capacity to influence the execution of public expenditure.

In this context, the city embarked on an agreement between citizen sectors, the business sector, the ruling class, grassroots community organizations, and even ex-combatants participants in some guerrilla demobilization process - the so-called *popular militias*.¹⁵ The negotiation process between sectors defines the nature of future interventions that give rise to social urbanism (Pérez Jaramillo, 2019).

¹⁵ In 1995, urban militias associated with the Popular Liberation Army group and the National Liberation Army, participate in the process of reincorporation to civilian life led by the Presidential Council for Peace and Coexistence.

From the 2000s to the present, a boom in real estate development has resulted in an unprecedented increase in population and construction in the Metropolitan Area. The city has turned towards a development model with tall buildings, vertical construction, and a transport system based on the model of simulation of arteries connected to the metro. The permanent challenges of the city pressure its leading political class to formulate alternative solutions to traditional planning models, where local citizen participation is a guarantee of project execution. It is a municipality with resources to invest amid a citizenship that wants to be co-participant in urban design and public policy processes.

The current Colombian political constitution was issued in 1991 (Senado de Colombia, 1991). It was a result of the signing of the peace agreement with the guerrilla group M-19, hand in hand with a citizen mobilization (known as the 'Seventh Ballot') that claimed political rights within the framework of a renewal of the political culture of parish type towards a framework based on participatory democracy. This constitution proposes the defense of citizen participation rights never enshrined in previous constitutions.

Thus, Colombian citizens, especially residents of Medellín, developed a sense of grass-roots citizen participation. The recognition of *third-generation* (cultural, social, and environmental) rights propitiated the conditions for citizen empowerment (Chinchilla Herrera, 1997). The constitution incorporated mechanisms of citizen participation, the legal actions that materialize them, and the tools of political and legal control for the demand for collective rights.

Despite a State with a weak institutional presence and territorial control co-opted by illegal armed groups, various civic manifestations and political organizations emerged in Medellín. This new social fabric happened within the framework of what Jorge Giraldo (2008), citing Alonso,

Giraldo, and Sierra (2006) calls ‘the withdrawal of the State.’ The local government assumed to renounce territorial police control before the advance of the national armed conflict. A set of pacts and balances begins between armed groups, criminal gangs, community organizations, and municipal officials that will later be a particularity that affects the easy acceptance of the ‘Medellín Model.’ Neighborhood planning became a feeling with naturalized political value.

There was a sort of lurch that consisted in rejecting as mistaken the ‘repressive treatment’ of narco-terrorism and hired killers and that the strategy should focus on the ‘self-management of conflict’ by communities and the proper functioning of security services and justice, if participatory and concerted, so much the better. (Pérez y Vélez, 1997¹⁶ from Giraldo Ramírez, 2008, p. 102)

The growth of illegal neighborhoods, called *invasions* in Medellín, provokes solidarity and community networks to defend the invaded or ‘conquered’ space as a collective right. The new inhabitants plan the territory, build houses and infrastructure, and along the way they mold the neighborhood fabric semi-autonomously. The local regulatory framework remains in force, operated by planning secretariats, curators, and police inspections. However, the exercise of real power is shared with pirate developers, criminal gangs that sell lots, guerrilla groups with support in grassroots organizations, and drug gangsters who donate land and construction materials to gain legitimacy. It is what local research institutes such as the Escuela del Habitat Popular and the Instituto de Estudios Regionales have called ‘social construction of habitat’ (Franco Gómez, 2013).

In economic terms, the interdependence of the construction sector is not easily traceable in the bibliography and indicators. This is because it implies not only tracking the percentage of

¹⁶ In the original: Se produjo una suerte de bandazo que consistió en rechazar como equivocado el ‘tratamiento represivo’ al narcoterrorismo y al sicariato, y que la estrategia debía centrarse en la ‘autogestión del conflicto’ por parte de las comunidades y el buen funcionamiento de los servicios de seguridad y justicia, si participativos y concertados, tanto mejor.

participation of the construction sector in the global GDP of the city but also because the construction works associated with planning projects have other activities not incorporated in the measurement of indicators together. For example, planning involves technical consulting in architecture, urban planning and landscape, the purchase of specialized software and equipment, civil works consultancy, the purchase of lots and the associated legal processes. Table I.5-3 summarizes the planning tools applied in Medellín:

Table I.5-3		
<i>Medellín's urban planning tools</i>		
<u>Planning tool</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>School</u>
Villa delineation	1676	Damero (grid plan)
First plan of future Medellín (expansion plan of future Medellín)	1890	Haussman
Second plan of future Medellín	1920	Taylorism
Pilot Plan	1950	Mixture
Medellín master plan. Municipal agreement 92 of 1959.	1959	Modern functionalism
Comprehensive subnormal neighborhood improvement program	1993	Social construction of Habitat
Strategic plan for Medellín and the metropolitan area	1997	Participative
First territorial arrangement planning	1999	Territorial Planning Law
Comprehensive urban projects	2004	Social Urbanism
Territorial arrangement planning revision	2006	Participatory planning

Medellín Bio 2030 master plan	2012	Social Urbanism
Territorial arrangement planning revision	2014	Sustainable city
Ring Garden, Green Belt projects	2014	Pedagogical civic urbanism
River Parks project	2015	Pedagogical civic urbanism

Table I.5-3: Medellín's urban planning tools. Source: Own elaboration based on González (2012) and Melo (1997)

Of course, there are critical readings about the image marketing of Medellín's transformation project (González , 2018). Academics participating in the conceptualization and design stages of the social planning model and star projects wrote their experiences in academic articles. Some of these decision-makers were architects from the academic sector, who participated in the citizen agreement to rescue Medellín through urban laboratories.

Furthermore, Medellín's GDP for 2014 represented 54.7% of the departmental GDP in 2012. The construction and real estate activities sector represented 9.0% of local production (Villa Durán & Giraldo González, 2014, p. 3).

The perception of being the pilot city for alternative territorial planning models remains in the collective imagination of the city. The resources of the *Empresas Públicas de Medellín* 'Public Facilities Company of Medellín' made possible the large investments for innovative planning. This public-private property company generates higher dividends for the municipality than municipal taxes and annual funds from the central government (Carranza & Bonilla, 2013). For example, in 2018, the dividends paid to the city amounted to 3 billion pesos, out of a total budget of 5.7 billion.¹⁷

¹⁷ USD 1.470.092.700.00 changed by January 2020.

Hence, Medellín has resources for infrastructure investment well above the capacities of the rest of the intermediate cities and provincial capitals in Colombia. These funds allow innovation. Here is an example of what public officers thought about the budget during Salazar's administration in 2012:

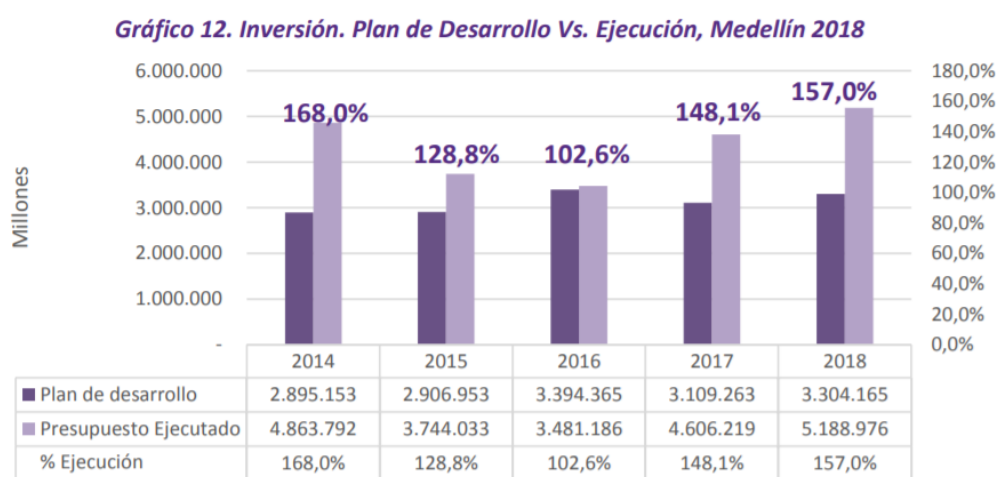
Medellín, concerning its income budget, is a rich city that, due to the structure of the Colombian State, has a lot of autonomy and investment capacity. The mayors of our cities have ample power over the budget and powers to execute it. The budget of the city is close to 1800 million dollars per year (Official Gazette No. 3959 Budget 2012, equivalent to an annual per capita figure of \$ 727 US dollars), and is mainly due to the payment of taxes, resources transferred from the Nation and the public companies of Medellín of municipal property. A budget of this magnitude, well managed, helps a lot to make important urban management.¹⁸ (Pérez Jaramillo, 2012)

Additionally, the Municipality of Medellín is not highly dependent on resource transfers from the central State through the 'General Participation System.' (Pérez, Espinosa, & Londoño, 2019, p. 28) Medellín's tax collection depends on what it collects in its territories, such as the industry and commerce tax and the property tax mainly. In addition to EPM transfers, the city's income gives it fiscal autonomy to carry out works above the national average. Despite having a low index of unsatisfied basic needs of 12,4, as well as an impoverished population according to the monetary poverty rate estimated in 12,4, the municipality is the wealthiest city in Colombia in terms of per capita income (Pérez, Espinosa, & Londoño, 2019, p. 16).

¹⁸ Original in Spanish: 'Medellín, en relación con su presupuesto de ingresos, es una ciudad rica que por la estructura del Estado colombiano cuenta con mucha autonomía y capacidad de inversión. Los alcaldes de nuestras ciudades tienen amplio poder sobre el presupuesto y facultades para ejecutarlo. El presupuesto de la ciudad es cercano a los 1800 millones de dólares anuales (Gaceta Oficial N.º 3959 Presupuesto 2012, que equivalen a una cifra per cápita anual de \$727 dólares de USA), y obedece mayoritariamente al pago de impuestos, recursos transferidos desde la Nación y las empresas públicas de Medellín de propiedad municipal. Un presupuesto de esta magnitud, bien manejado, ayuda mucho para hacer una gestión urbana importante.' (Pérez Jaramillo, 2012)

In this context, there is a political consolidation of a culture of citizen participation in territorial planning that goes beyond the contents of territorial ordinance law and the mechanisms of constitutional citizen participation. The last eight local administrations, taking advantage of the relative budget surplus, defined investment in public works as the priority, focusing on road infrastructure, services, and urban revitalization projects (Alcaldía de Medellín, 2015).

Figure I-14 illustrates the percentage of investment in public works between 2014 and 2018. During this time period, Medellín's ability to carry out investment works surpassed the expectations of the administration itself.



Fuente: Secretaría de Hacienda.

2014: Ejecución con recursos fusión UNE – Millicom (\$1,420 billones) y enajenación Emvarias (\$111.461 millones de pesos)

Figure I-14: Medellín's public works investment. Investment projection from Development Plan vs. implementation.
Source: (Alcaldía de Medellín, 2019, p. 29)

Two dimensions supported Social Urbanism. One was a physical intervention schema, that focused on the resettlement of housing in vulnerable zones based on risk. The municipality took advantage of the need for recovering a zone and developed a big-scale urban regeneration project, mostly under the legal figure of 'Master Plan.' The second dimension was political and based on

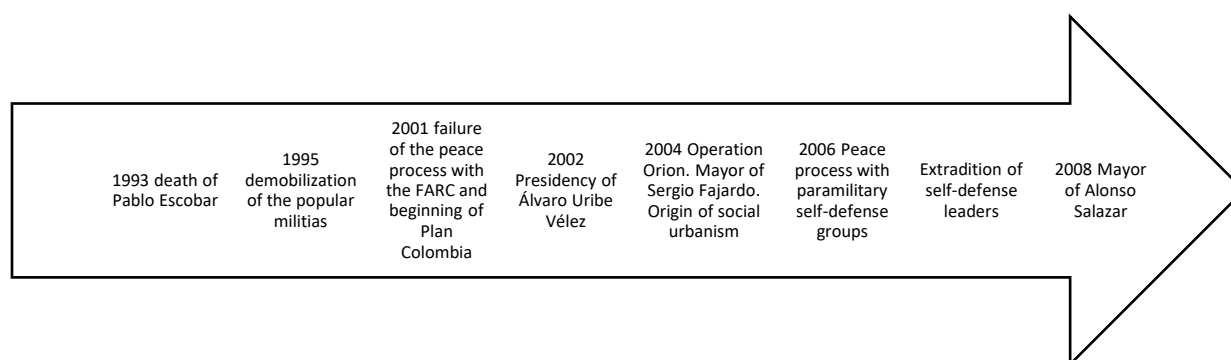
citizen participation. It called for resident inclusion during each stage of the design of the Master Plan.

The next table shows the categories of Medellín's Social Urbanism:

Table I.5-4	
<i>Medellín's Social Urbanism categories for intervention</i>	
<u>Improvement in habitability conditions</u>	<u>Cultural and participatory dimension</u>
Resettlement of housing in risk areas	Participation of nano-level actors in stages of design, execution of work, and monitoring
Territorial connectivity	Resettlement in the same territory
Generation, recovery, and expansion of public space	Creation of local housing and habitat committees
Titling and legalization of properties	Safety for residents
Housing improvement	
Strengthening productive networks	
Extension of the primary and secondary educational offer	Human safety

Table I.5-4: Medellín's Social Urbanism categories for intervention. Source: Own elaboration based on (Alcaldía de Medellín, 2009) (Alcaldía de Medellín, 2011)

Figure I-15 shows the reference timeline for the construction of the social urbanism model.



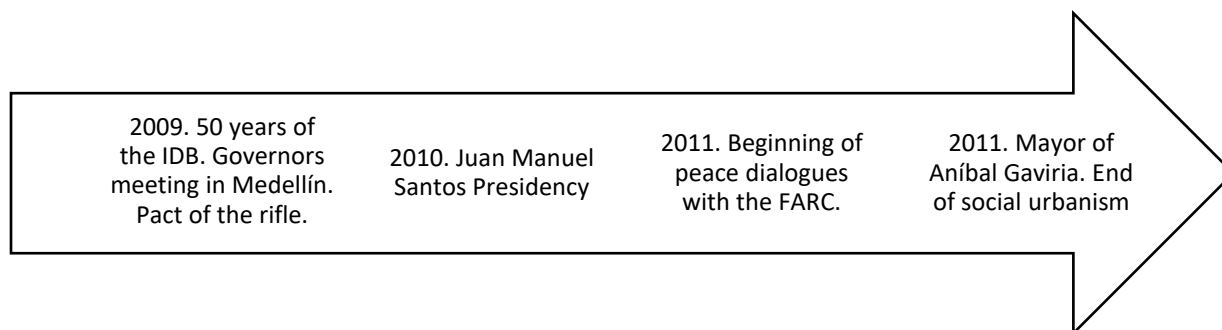


Figure I-15: Timeline of relevant dates for the Social Urbanism creation. Source: Own elaboration.

I.5.2. Xalapa and the Action Plan



Figure I-16: Carrillo Puerto crossing Enríquez Street, Xalapa. Source: Author's collection

Xalapa is one of the 77 cities in which the IBD conducted the ESCI. The city decided to participate in the initiative in 2014 under the municipal leadership of Américo Zúñiga Ramírez. At the time, the city saw an opportunity for improving its planning features by entering the ESCI which was looking for a second city in Mexico.

The Mexican urban context is facing changes and challenges in its spatial configuration (Hernández Bonilla & Martí Capitanachi, 2009) that fit into the UN-Habitat worries and IDB interest in developing the ESCI.

The context of urban growth in Mexico follows the regional trend of exponential growth, particularly in intermediate cities (García Moctezuma, 2010; Sobrino, 2012). The country reversed the population model and reached 80% of urban inhabitants and 20% of rural inhabitants by the year 2000 (López Velarde, 2014). In 2010, the urban population in Mexico amounted to 71.6% of the population, with a projection of growth to 83.2% by 2030 (Barreto Bermúdez, 2017).

In this context of growth, Mexican cities face challenges regarding their capacity to respond in terms of governance, resilience, and mitigation of environmental impacts (Cabrero Mendoza, 2011). The Planning Law of 1983, Development Plans (DOF, 2013), and the definition of metropolitan areas in Mexico (SEDESOL-CONAPO-INEGI, 2012) attempted to create a regulatory framework for the operationalization of public policies for solving problems associated with accelerated growth. In particular, the General Human Settlements Act of 1993 created the legal and institutional framework for the planning system. Thus, the focus within planning changed from an issue of distribution and access to rural land towards sustainable territorial planning of urban agglomerations within an urban reform framework. According to López, the new urban challenges in Mexico include:

- Five million uninhabited homes nationwide, according to the 2010 Population and Housing Census, out of a total of about 36 million homes
- Urban disorder and dispersion of the physical expansion of cities.
- Micro houses that do not represent decent and adequate housing.
- Colonies, neighborhoods, and subdivisions without equipment, infrastructure and essential services.
- Real estate speculation.
- Irregularity in land tenure and human settlements in risk areas.
- Aggravation of climate change, environmental pollution, and waste of natural resources, especially water and energy.
- The devastation of areas of ecological preservation, deforestation and soil erosion. (López Velarde, 2014, p. 31)

The IDB considered Xalapa as a secondary, subnational city (Ayuntamiento de Xalapa, 2014) because it is an administrative center, and its population exceeds 200.000 inhabitants. Xalapa population was 700.000 by 2016. The city has started a metropolization process with its neighbors (Zentella, 2005). Xalapa is recognized as a regional city and a regional capital because of this administrative expansion and its role as a state capital.

As background, it is essential to note that the nature of real estate in Mexico concerning public space does not incorporate conditions of spatial quality. Protection of the public good focuses on defending State ownership but not on principles related to spatial conditions (Martí Capitanachi, 2011). Urban interventions are open to the incidence of approaches and interests of each project.

Thus, urban renewal in Xalapa is a frequent topic on the agendas of municipal administrations. The antecedents are the 'State Programs for Territorial Planning,' the 'National Program for Urban

Development and Land Use Planning' (2006), and the update of the 'Urban Planning Program for the Xalapa-Banderilla-Coatepec-Emiliano Zapata Area and San Andrés Tlaxnelhuayocan' (Gómez Gómez, 2014, p. 25). Based on these initiatives, the need to incorporate elements of spatial quality in interventions from the perspective of sustainable development and early experiences of urban regeneration becomes clear

The Emerging and Sustainable Cities Initiative led by the IDB arrived in Xalapa in 2012. The Initiative was official with the 'technic cooperation documents' ME-T1234 y ME-T1237 of May of 2013. According to this agreement, the total budget for the ESCI project in Xalapa was US\$1.100.000 (BID, 2013). The ESCI began in Xalapa after ruling out the city of Puebla as a pilot for Mexico. Xalapa had ideal conditions in terms of what IDB literature understands as an emerging city. Being a state capital, it has a level of political stability and institutional strength that allows planning initiatives with technical feedback dialog between local planners and the Bank. The Municipality of Xalapa has not been a protagonist in crime within the context of violence associated with drug trafficking in Mexico.

In the case of Xalapa, despite being the seat of the State of Veracruz, the dynamics of political participation are weak in terms of urban governance. In this regard, Zentella (2005) already called it as municipal association *hecha a medida* (tailor-made), or what Barreto nominates as urban governance 'in delay' or 'emerging' (Barreto Bermúdez, 2017, p. 28). Consequently, interactions between municipal institutions and civil society organizations are scarce, even with civic opposition episodes (Maganda, Ruelas, & Koff, 2016). This local emergent condition became one of the ESCI factors to choose Xalapa. The interaction processes have their frameworks according to the peculiarities of the territory and the norms, but in the case of Xalapa, interactions can be condensed to what Barreto, citing UNEP and Paré and Fuentes, points out:

Actions that, among other aspects, are related to 1) logic in its demarcation, 2) adequate organizational design, 3) clear and appropriate legal and institutional framework, 4) stakeholder participation and transparency in decision making, 5) integrated financial planning system, 6) financial sustainability, 7) capacity development, and 8) rooting (Paré and Fuentes, 2015; UNEP, 2014; from Barreto Bermúdez, 2017, p. 20)

The urban footprint of Xalapa, driven by the arrival of rural migrants, has increased since the 1950s. Milestones such as the construction of the university area, the hospital, new road layout, modernization of infrastructure networks, and housing programs undertaken by INFONAVIT, IDECO, and INMECAFÉ accelerated the process. (Zentella, 2005, p. 241).

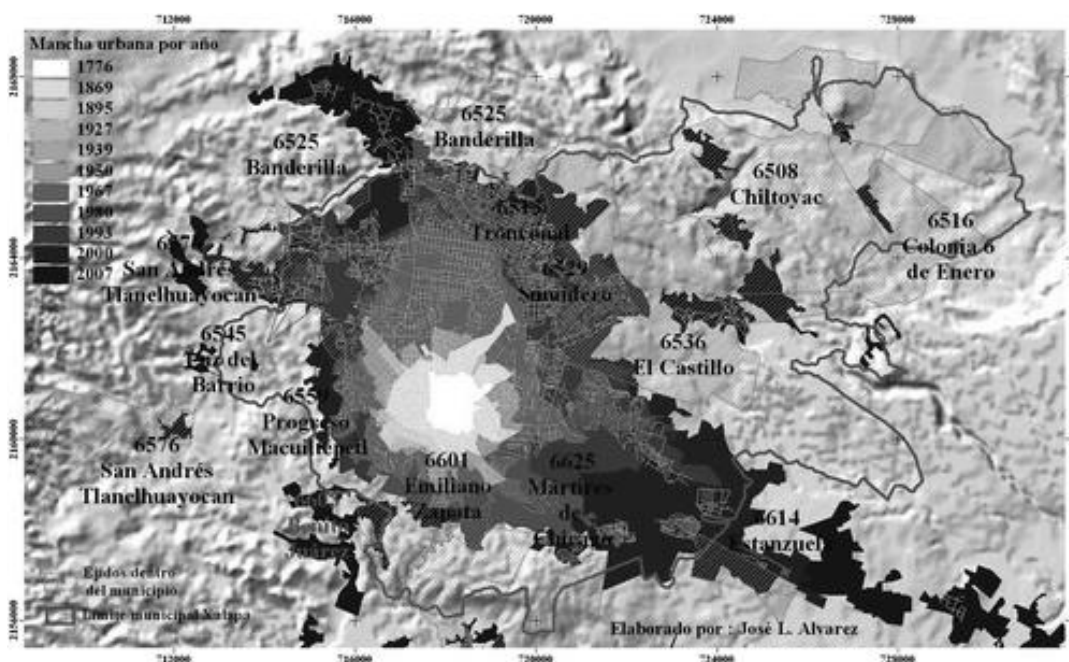


Figure I-17: The growth of the urban area of Xalapa (1776-2007). INEGI 2007. Source: (Benítez, Pérez-Vázquez, Nava-Tablada, Equihua, & Álvarez, 2012)

The Municipality of Xalapa is the capital of the State of Veracruz, which is located in the eastern part of Mexico between the Sierra Madre Oriental and the Gulf of Mexico. Xalapa is part of the administrative entity of the conurbation area called the Metropolitan Area of Xalapa (ZMX).

The ZMX belongs to the administrative ‘Capital Region’ that is one of the ten regions in the State of Veracruz.

The ZMX was born with the conurbation declaration in 1989. The ZMX is part of the State of Veracruz de Ignacio de la Llave, whose geographical extension represents 3.7% of Mexico's surface (INEGI, 2015). The ZMX is composed of the municipalities of Xalapa, Coatepec, Banderilla, Emiliano Zapata, and Tlalnahuayocan. The Municipality of Xalapa that gives rise to the Xalapa Conurbation Zone (ZCX) is located in the Central Region of the State of Veracruz, on the slopes of the Macuiltépetl hill, in the eastern foothills of the Cofre de Perote, a transitional zone between the Sierra Madre Oriental and the coastal plain of the Gulf of Mexico.

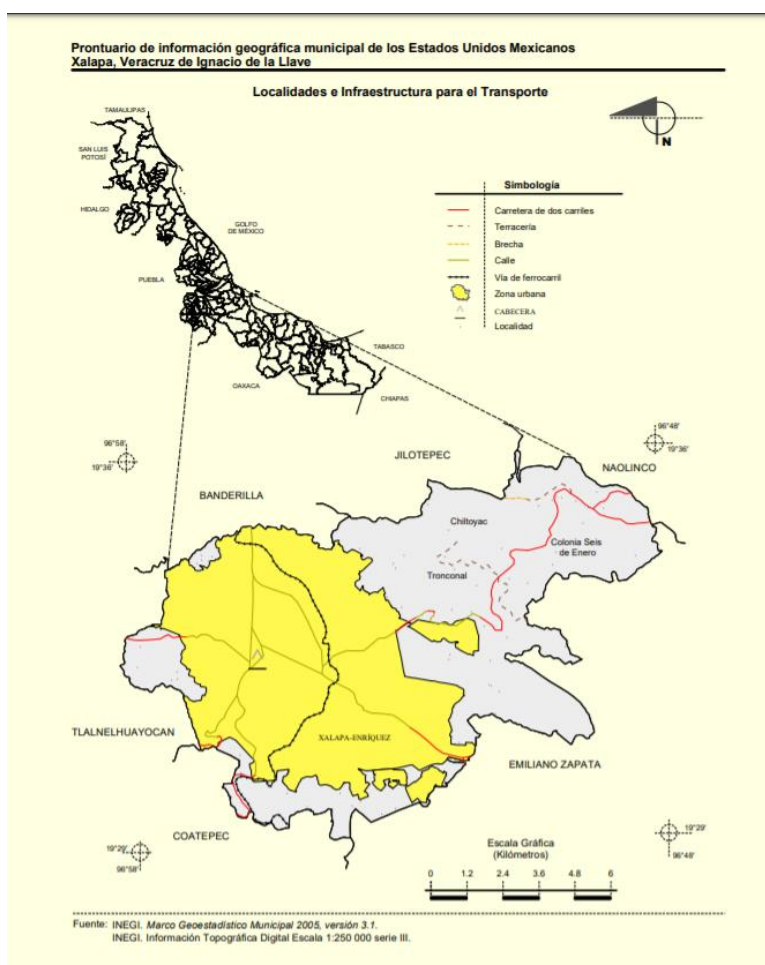


Figure I-18: Map of Xalapa and the State of Veracruz. Source: INEGI, 2005.

The municipal population for 2013 was 482,624 inhabitants (225,744 men, and 256,881 women), which represents 8.9% of the State population (INEGI, 2015). Between 1990 and 2000, Xalapa had a population growth rate of 2.6% and between 2000 and 2010 the growth rate was 1.8% (Barreto Bermúdez, 2017, p. 83). Its population doubled from 210,000 inhabitants in 1980 to 480,841 in 2010. However, the population grew at a slower rate than the urban footprint, which went from 9.17 km² in 1980 to 79.77 km² in the year 2010.

According to the 2010 national census, the human development index for 2010 was 0.8929. Other relevant indicators to understand the urban situation of Xalapa, according to 2010 CONEVAL data (CONEVAL, 2013, p. 48) are:

Educational lag: 17.2%

Lack of access to health services: 40.6%

Lack of access to social security: 57.5%

Lack of quality and housing spaces: 11.3%

Lack of access to essential services in housing: 8.7%

Lack of access to food: 22.1%

The population with income below the minimum welfare line was 12.9% in 2010. The population with income below the welfare line was 47.3% (CONEVAL, 2013, p. 65).

Table I.5-5					
<i>Local poverty estimation, Xalapa, 2010-2015</i>					
<u>Year</u>	<u>Population¹⁹</u>	<u>Poverty average</u>	<u>Moderate poverty average</u>	<u>Extreme poverty average</u>	<u>Gini coefficient</u>
2010	436,055	34,2	28,7	5,5	0,44
2015	451,769	37,6	33,9	3,6	0,42

Table I.5-5: Local poverty estimation, Xalapa 2010-2015. Source: Own elaboration based on (CONEVAL, 2015)

¹⁹ With information from the Ministry of Finance and Planning of the Government of the State of Veracruz, 2013.

In 2010, a population density of 3,681.7 inhabitants / km² was estimated based on total population and area (124.4 km²) of the Municipality of Xalapa.

Xalapa's urban expansion focuses on subdivision and condominium developments in the peripheral areas, along with informal construction processes in the center. However, the municipality's budget capacity restricts municipal support to expansion processes. Xalapa does not have a financial risk that prevents the administration from functioning, but its available budget for public works interventions is limited. Tax collection capacity is limited, while the dependence on resources from the federal level amounts to and exceeds 75% by 2015; that year was the date of operation of the ESCI.

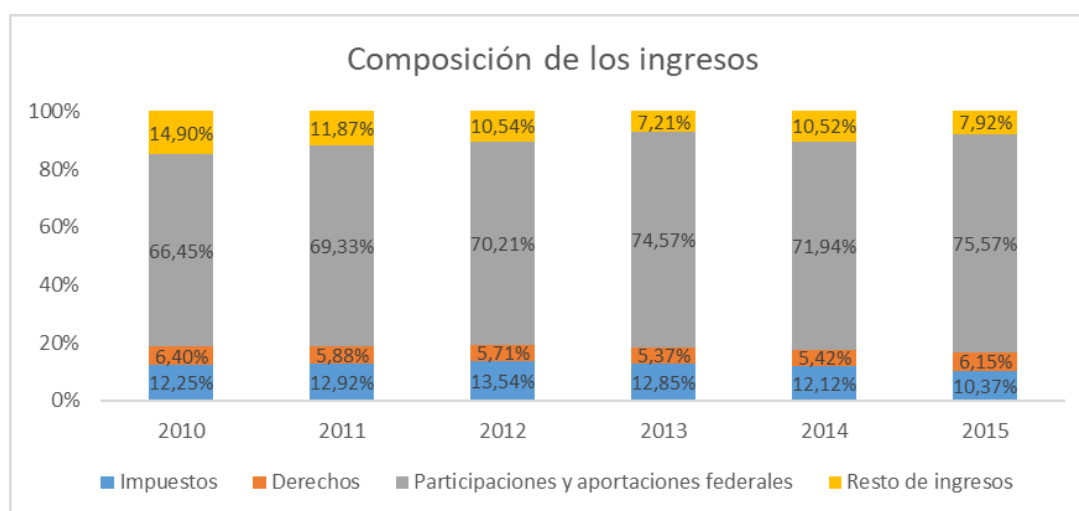


Figure I-19: Xalapa's income composition, 2010-2015. Source: (BID, 2016, p. 23)

However, there was a gradual increase in the percentage of investment in public works, which reached 26% of the total budget in 2015.

DIVISIÓN DEL GASTO	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Gasto de Funcionamiento	71%	75%	74%	72%	72%	74%
Gasto de capital e Inversión	21%	22%	21%	23%	24%	26%
Gasto para pago deuda pública	8%	3%	5%	5%	3%	1%

Figure I-20: Xalapa's outcome, 2010-2015. Source: (BID, 2016, p. 34)

In the framework of the Mexican administrative decentralization of 1983, Xalapa received the power to undertake territorial planning without the central State command. In 1991 the city approved the first urban planning program for the ZMX. However, it was not published in the Official Gazette until 1998, so it was already obsolete at the time of its launch (Zentella, 2005, p. 241). This delay is indicative of local planning processes in Xalapa.

Since very early on, Xalapa has hired specialized technical personnel private companies and consultants. Hence, municipal officials have not accumulated technical knowledge that could be passed from one administration to the next (Zentella, 2005). The municipalities within the ZMX, as well as Xalapean public servants, do not have the installed capacity for specialized technical planning, so they rely on consultancies or other municipalities within the principle of 'subsidiarity.'

This trend an antecedent to the arrival of the ESCI in Xalapa. The city already had a tradition of outsourcing territorial planning, which:

It seems to go beyond its classic technical advisory functions, as it must negotiate its proposals with each of the municipal teams and also intervene in the definition of the objectives, contribute to democratic participation, and even, the search for consensus, constituting thus a sort of 'negotiation space (Gaudin, 1999, p. 190; from Zentella, 2005)

The hiring of external consultants creates intermediation between the municipalities in the ZMX and between local and federal levels. The contractor assumes an essential role in the planning exercise. These private companies are rarely evaluated by citizens, as are the municipal technical teams, as Zentella already noted concerning the processes of interaction between several municipalities of the ZMX:

In this sense, the social and political construction of the metropolitan scale is still in lag with respect to the institutional framework and the current legal instruments, essentially of a technical nature, exercised by hermetic municipal teams and sheltered from public scrutiny (Zentella, 2005, p. 254)

These inter-municipal relations are relevant for the development of any planning instrument in the area. Xalapa interacts with the remaining four municipalities. There is a contentious history of infrastructure planning and access to water between the municipalities of Banderilla and Xalapa, recently expressed in the creation of the wastewater treatment plant or the construction of sanitary landfills 'El Atorón' in Coatepec and 'Pinoltepec' in Emiliano Zapata.

Another milestone in planning in Xalapa was the development of the road project called the 'Release of Xalapa' under the Puebla-Panama Plan (Morales, 2003). This plan sought to redirect heavy traffic around the urban perimeter of Xalapa on the route between Mexico City and the port of Veracruz. All these examples show that inter-municipal relations and inter-government scales have influenced local planning processes. Due to the territorial configuration of Xalapa and the exchange services with the associated municipalities, planning is not feasible without incorporating the other ZMX municipalities within the metropolitan area.

Xalapa's urban footprint has grown consistently over time (Benítez, Pérez-Vázquez, Nava-Tablada, Equihua, & Álvarez, 2012, p. 163), requiring an urgent planning instrument to direct the

provision of public facilities and the protection of ecosystem services on the outskirts of the city. It is in this context that the IDB proposed the ESCI in conjunction with the Zuñiga administration.



Figure I-21: The railway divides Xalapa. Source: Author's collection

Xalapa Medellin



II. Chapter Two: Region-building and the Quality of Democracy Framework

II.1. Conceptual approach

The Quality of Democracy (QoD) framework was chosen as the conceptual approach for this research. Chapter Three analyzes the literature on QoD. However, I will introduce why this approach is useful for developing the research objective.

Various methodologies for understanding the results of an urban project and describing regionalization processes exist. Urban projects have their own indicators and models for evaluating their impacts (IDB, 2009). Level of actor participation and incidences of regional influence in the development of local public policies make it possible to measure regionalization processes. Nonetheless, difficulties arise when trying to understand the interactions between actors located at different levels in different territories. The results of the regionalization of local initiatives require an understanding of a broad spectrum of factors. This is where a framework, like the QoD, becomes a useful analytical tool. It transcends the simple measurement of results in search of an understanding of the quality of interactions between actors.

Accountability, equality, freedom, responsiveness, and the rule of law are categories that allow a holistic study of complex regionalization. This research's objective, to understand a specific territorial transformation, requires the inclusion of these five criteria to ensure a broad reading of the multiple incidences of regionalization beyond the mere measurement of results in a single dimension.

A functional democracy correlates with material conditions and the guarantee of freedom to exercise political rights. Thus, it is impossible to think about a full democracy if the urban

framework limits the enjoyment of rights. For instance, if a city has a high murder rate, the fundamental right to life is taken away. Likewise, corruption can undermine the right to free political participation in grassroots urban projects.

The political framework, the political culture and the participatory context subordinate any model, and these conditions also determine the model in the case of being exported. In other words, territorial transformation models seek to improve urban dynamics based on a framework of relationships between the intervening actors and those who inhabit the territory. That is, territorial transformations modify power relations. The exported model must avoid reproducing established political conditions.

How can the relationship between urban projects and the strengthening of democracy be measured? Is it possible to evaluate decision-making processes in urban planning in micro-territories? The Quality of Democracy categories cover the whole range of political interactions between actors at different levels. The QoD framework considers the territorial implications of political dynamics to assure democratic quality. The smallest territories in Latin-American towns might represent the health of the entire national democratic system. Each step of public intervention, from idea design to fundraising, is included in the analysis of the Quality of Democracy criteria,

Using the QoD framework requires a suitable definition of democracy. In the QoD literature, Monica Duhem (2006) pointed out the differences among a procedural, evaluation or goal-based perspective (p.59). José Antonio Rivas Leone (2013) illustrated the interpretations beyond the original approach from polyarchy (p.29). The QoD, as a current of thought, is immersed in debates about the accuracy of the definition of democracy. In turn, a contextualized, localized democracy,

which is neither universal nor comparable, has achieved consensus, as referenced by Diamond and Morlino:

This stream of theory, methodological innovation, and empirical research flows from the notions that: 1) deepening democracy is a moral good, maybe even an imperative; 2) reforms to improve democratic quality are essential if democracy is to achieve the broad and durable legitimacy that marks consolidation; and 3) long-established democracies must also reform if they are to solve their own gathering problems of public dissatisfaction and even disillusionment. (Diamond & Morlino, 2004, p. 20)

This research uses the four elements proposed by Diamond and Morlino and the classic text, *Polyarchy, Participation, and Opposition*, by Robert Dahl to understand a ‘good’ democracy as functional.

Talk of a ‘good’ or ‘better’ democracy implies knowing what democracy is. At a minimum, democracy requires: 1) universal, adult suffrage; 2) recurring, free, competitive, and fair elections; 3) more than one serious political party; and 4) alternative sources of information. (Diamond & Morlino, 2004, p. 21)

Table II.1-1 shows the primary goals of an ideal democracy. These goals are used to analyze democratic development and urban projects in Chapter Three:

Table II.1-1
<i>Goals of democracy</i>
<u>Primary goals of an ideal democracy (Diamond & Morlino)</u> Political and civil freedom Popular sovereignty (control over public policies) Political equality

Table II.1-1: Goals of democracy. Source: Taken from Diamond & Morlino (2004), based on David Beetham.

The goals of Diamond and Morlino's ideal democracy are ends from a theory of democracy perspective. Nevertheless, I understand these goals as a method of appraising the proximity of specific conditions to theory of democracy ends. Consequently, I use these goals as categories for assessing democratic quality. However, the QoD tries to create a non-ideological framework, which is why the authors used nouns and concepts from merchandising and real production. For the authors, a functional democracy is:

The definitions above imply that a good democracy accords its citizens ample freedom, political equality, and control over public policies and policymakers through the legitimate and lawful functioning of stable institutions. Such a regime will satisfy citizen expectations regarding governance (quality of results); it will allow citizens, associations, and communities to enjoy extensive liberty and political equality (quality of content); and it will provide a context in which the whole citizenry can judge the government's performance through mechanisms such as elections, while governmental institutions and officials hold one another legally and constitutionally accountable as well (procedural quality). (Diamond & Morlino, 2004, p. 22)

Morlino has divided the dimensions of Quality of Democracy into two groups. One group includes the procedural requirements for the functionality of a democratic regimen and includes the set of available actions for governments and citizens. The second group embraces the substantive political principles required.

Table II.1-2 <i>Quality of Democracy categories by dimension</i>	
<u>Procedural</u>	<u>Substantive</u>
The rule of law	Freedom
Participation	Equality
Competition	Responsiveness
Vertical accountability	
Horizontal accountability	

Table II.1-2: Quality of Democracy categories by dimension. Source: Own elaboration based on (Morlino, 2010)

Nevertheless, these requirements are the minimum for the functioning of the national political system. They guarantee political rights and the basic structure of the political system. What happens at the local level? Local planning as a democratic exercise has advanced in international declarations (Medellín Chart, 2014; The New Urban Agenda, 2015; Sustainable Development Goals, 2015). However, democracy has extended to the practice of rights at the local level (referred to as nano in this thesis) in contexts of alternative territorial development models in developing countries. (Chapter Three will explain nano-level in detail).

Therefore, an extensive interpretation prolongs democratic participation in local-territorial planning as a fundamental right. In the Colombian case, the Political Constitution of 1991 recognizes citizen participation as a fundamental right by broadening the scope of ‘first-generation,’ or fundamental rights (Echeverri Jiménez, 2010). Those rights have an exercise framework; they work from the seven mechanisms of citizen participation contemplated in the Constitution, developed by the Law 134 of 1994, and the Sentence of the Constitutional Court C-180 of 1994.

Diamond and Morlino, among other authors, warned about the challenges of participation from lower levels in the context of globalized governance devices. When the Quality of

Democracy framework is used to assess the democratic conditions of a regime, it understands the State as a closed system. This means it can be difficult to incorporate the macro-level governance institutions into the analysis of QoD because domestic constitutions do not rule the practices of supranational bodies. Diamond and Morlino hinted at the challenge of the QoD method:

Even the most committed and well-meaning democratic leaders will not be able to please everyone. Finally, globalization imposes its constraints on popular sovereignty. Some of these are the immediate work of supranational governance institutions such as the European Union, while others (particularly in the developing world) come from the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, the World Trade Organization, and foreign investment capital generally. (Diamond & Morlino, 2004, p. 28)

Some questions remain about citizen satisfaction in a healthy democracy. Are regionalized urban projects likely to be evaluated over time? Alternatively, an apparent success can lead to errors in the export of an unproven model, a product of the emotion created by partial results?

In the reflections about national-level quality of democracy, Morlino points out that both legitimacy and legitimation are fundamental.

In other words, there is legitimacy when there is a widespread belief among citizens that, in spite of their shortcomings and failures, existing political institutions are better than any others that might be established. This notion can be applied to areas undergoing the processes of change and transition towards democracy. (Morlino, 2010, p. 211)

Moreover, referencing Schmitter and Karl (1993), Morlino says that ‘...democratic institutions, existing rights, and the decision-making process should not be constrained either by non-elected elites or by external powers’ (Morlino, 2010, p. 212). That is the reference to the value of equality in access to information and the non-constraint to participate.

This brief presentation of the Quality of Democracy method allows researchers to understand the possible uses and scope of a review of democratic characteristics within a regionalization process. The particularities of this review focused on extending the QoD method to a regional process led by the IDB, an institution that is not a proper subject of international law, as pointed out a report to the commission of international relations of the Senate of the United States of America (Lugar, 2010). The ‘International financial institutions: a call for change report’ refers to these institutions as ‘bureaucracies, answerable to no one government or constituency, yet subject to influence and suasion by many, including donors, borrowers, and other political actors. They often operate with little public scrutiny, and many times in challenging environments...’ (p. 2). However, the IDB promotes its activities in accordance with the democratic principles of the Charter of the Organization of American States.

II.2. Regions, regionalism and regionalization

This research focuses on a regionalization process based on nano-level planning initiatives led by the IDB. It is necessary to point out the characteristics and limitations of the concepts region, regionalization, and regionalism in order to develop the analysis of this process. The analysis requires a conceptualization due to the common and confusing use of the three terms (region, regionalism, and regionalization) in the media and the academic literature.

Understanding the regionalization of local initiatives requires an understanding of classic regionalization processes. The question is also how to discuss regionalization at a time when scholars are skeptical about what ordinary people denominate as a *region*. The concept turns permanently in a dynamic of use and disuse, oblivion, and retakes, as defined by Vidal de la Blache

as ‘life and death’ of the region (1982, p. 41). The *region*, as a possible category of analysis, is criticized as a result of the standardization of geographical spaces based on globalizing homogenization (Haesbaert, 2019, p. 38). Crises such as the United Kingdom's exit from the European Union, or the resurgence of mercantile customs policies in the United States are examples of setbacks in regional constructions. There is also tension between homogenizing cultural globalism and nationalist and independentist expressions in response.

Studies on regions have attempted to create a definition without achieving unanimity. An accurate explanation of the concept is complicated. The complexity of the characteristics by which a region can be composed and the diversity of approaches makes it confusing. In this sense, the use of the concept of *region* can be both a category of analysis used by a researcher for descriptive purposes, such as geography. The concept can be used as a description of the symbols and representations created by actors in the process of building the region. It can also be territoriality subject to political tensions that define it physically. This is a first differentiation needed to understand the concept — the region as an idea or as a physical fact.

From geography, a region can be a territory²⁰ and this territory can be non-physical, symbolic, or digital. Yet, a region can also be specific geography or the sum of several geographies with similarities in settlement patterns and political practice. These definitions even vary depending on whether the current of thought of ‘systemic geography’ or regional, regional geography’ or thematic is accepted (Haesbaert, 2019, p. 22). A region can also be an administrative structure like metropolitan units. The region is also a cross-border interaction that defines common political practices among subjects of different states. A region can also be a cultural connotation of roots to

²⁰ Territory in Latin America has a popularity in geography and regional integration studies comparable to Place in English.

the territory. In terms of approach, a liberal perspective can define a *region* as a commercial space with comparative advantages and chain processes. From Marxism, the region refers to the analysis of sub-national regional development in accumulation processes (Trucco & Romano, 2016). An institutionalist approach would understand the region as a superstructure.

In this regard, Caicedo Hinojos, in his disciplinary compendium on regions, summarizes this discussion about regions as follows:

In recent times it is possible to recognize the breadth of the regional issue at the theoretical level, in disciplinary terms, also outside of geography. Regionalisms, regional and/or regional identities, and regionalization are, or were, addressed by political science (at least, from the legacy of Antonio Gramsci and the southern Italian question as a regional problem) as well as by the regional economy (for example, in the works of Perroux, Boudeville, Richardson, Friedman, and Isard), for sociology (see texts such as Bourdieu and Giddens), for anthropology, for regional history, and literary studies. This, not to mention areas linked to the natural sciences, where hybrid concepts such as bioregion begin to be affirmed, through which there is a correspondence between “biophysical and cultural identity.” (McGinnis, 1999; Carr, 2004²¹; from Haesbaert, 2019, p. 23)

Furthermore, time enters as a variable. A region can be temporal if based on the combination of geographical space and historical space. Similarly, some authors have suggested a meaning that combines levels such as temporal space scales (Haesbaert, 2002; Söderbaum, 2004).

²¹ Original in Spanish: En los últimos tiempos es posible reconocer la amplitud de la cuestión regional en el plano teórico, en términos disciplinarios, también fuera de la geografía. Regionalismos, identidades regionales y/o región y regionalización son, o fueron, abordados por la ciencia política (por lo menos, desde el legado de Antonio Gramsci y la cuestión meridional italiana como problema regional)² así como por la economía regional (por ejemplo, en los trabajos de Perroux, Boudeville, Richardson, Friedman e Isard), por la sociología (véanse textos como los de Bourdieu y Giddens), por la antropología, por la historia regional y por los estudios literarios. Esto, sin hablar de áreas ligadas a las ciencias naturales, donde comienzan a afirmarse conceptos híbridos como el de biorregión, a través del cual se da una correspondencia entre “identidad biofísica y cultural” (McGinnis, 1999; Carr, 2004).’ (Haesbaert, 2019, p. 23)

II.2.1. What is a region?

The concept of the region has variations in its meaning, scope, and use within academic debates and political processes. The expansion of the neoliberal economic model in the 1980s promoted the appearance of free trade agreements, economic blocs, and the consolidation of multinational integration projects. According to Koff and Maganda (2011), this context, in which new regional configurations began to appear, popularized the concept of region:

The 1990s witnessed the development of regional economies, regional identities, regionalist ideologies, political parties, and social movements. In many cases, these transformations could not be contained by national boundaries. The notion of ‘borders’ has recently been replaced by ‘border regions’ as these areas have become accepted as socially constructed territories that transcend political and geographic delineations. (p. 2).

It is central to point out the semantic problem in the concept of region. The concept became popular in English and Anglo-Saxon literature. In English, the word’s meaning is dissimilar from the direct translation in Spanish and its different uses in technical jargon. In particular, ‘region’ could refer to a continent or several territorial divisions in geographical and administrative terms. The use of the ‘regional’ meaning implies a semantic problem in English and Spanish.

Region comes from Latin. Its original meaning differs from how it is understood today, but with a transformation towards ‘border’ or ‘province.’ Söderbaum explains ‘the concept of ‘region’ stems from the Latin word for ‘regio,’ which means ‘direction’ (Jönsson et al., 2000, p. 15). It is also a derivation from the Latin verb ‘rego’ which means ‘to steer’ or ‘to rule’ (Söderbaum, 2004, p. 88). There are statements contrary to the sense of region given in Spanish-American Spanish. Hettne and Söderbaum claim, ‘There are no ‘natural’ or ‘given’ regions, but these are created and recreated in the process of global transformation’ (Hettne & Söderbaum, 2000, p. 461).

The concept of region is, in turn, problematic not only for its semantic heterogeneity but also for the difference in its compositional characteristics. It is different to understand a region as a coherent territorial subsystem from another non-territorial subsystem within a global system (Hettne & Söderbaum, 2000, p. 461).

To establish a hierarchical categorization for methodological purposes, it is important to specify *region* according to a specific level. It is not the same to define a region at the macro level, meso-level, micro-level, or nano-level. With each level, the meaning of the word changes from a physical relationship of geographical extension to the creation of the symbolic sense of place.

As Philippe de Lombaerde mentions, the spaces in which the concept is discussed hide a whole definition:

The fact that regions are often overlapping further complicates their analysis. This overlap is both horizontal (i.e., partial or complete overlap between regions on the same level) and vertical (i.e., overlap between hierarchically structured regions). However, as regions –from a governance point of view- tend to specialize in particular functions, overlapping membership should be distinguished from overlapping competencies. (2010, p. 31)

According to the end goal, the concept of region changes its meaning and scope, as well as the range of actors. Traditional studies on the concept refer to two levels: macro and micro (De Lombaerde, 2010, p. 31). However, a common semantic issue appears, for instance, when the same author understands the Indian states and the Chinese provinces as micro-regions (p.31).

First, a macro-region could be a continent or the workspace of an international organization. In the English language, America is an example of a macro-region. Moreover, the

IDB is a regional institution. On the other hand, in Spanish, the IDB is a regional institution, as well as a continental one.

Second, meso-region could be a subcontinental zone or territories with physical or orographic similarities. Examples are the Andean region in South America and the Iberian Peninsula. In some cases, these regions share ethnic or cultural affinities, and in other cases, meso-regions only share commercial interactions. A meso-region can also be understood as an association of states. For example, the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) is an association states based on a subcontinental geographical region (the Caribbean).

Another expression of the concept of *region* at the meso-level is a state in which territory occupies a geographical zone with regional characteristics. An example of this is the Republic of India over the Indian subcontinent. The meso-level is also referred to in the geography literature as a subnational level. The meso-region takes the preexistence of the nation-state for granted (Haesbaert, 2019, p. 35).

Third, a micro-region starts with an interior geographical zone, like the biogeographic regions. Some examples are the Siberian tundra, the biogeographic Colombian Chocó, or the Sahelian region in Africa (USGS, 2019). At the micro-level, the concept of region is also an internal administrative division used by states. In some countries, the political division corresponds to a geographical region. In some cases, a *region* could be a union of administrative-territorial entities. Examples of these administrative entities are the Spanish administrative regions, like Murcia, or the Colombian figure of a ‘political region,’ defined in article 307 of the Colombian Constitution (Senado de Colombia, 1991).

A nano-region refers to the interactions between citizens, specific zones within cities, and their surrounding territories. An example is the practices of rural migrant communities that preserve ways of life from their places of origin and the subsequent flows of exchanges of goods and knowledge (URBAM EAFIT, 2013).

As a unit of analysis lacking a unified definition, the concept of *region* is flexible. It stretches across a widespread usages – spanning over a vast array of disciplines - while maintaining meaning despite its diverse application in research, debates, discourses, and policies. Such pliability perfectly suits the liquidity that arises from globalization, as fast-paced innovation processes seamlessly mold socio-economic arrangements and geopolitical relations. The concepts of state, city, identity, work, environment, and sovereignty have thus become porous objects with blurred definitions. Regions bring a holistic approach to landscapes, shining light on interwoven bundles of interactions that are taking place between different kinds of actors and at all dimensions and scales (ecological, economic, geographical, political, cultural, nano/micro/meso/macro-regions).

Across disciplines, the region is a relative unit of analysis that can be explored within the following frameworks:

- The region as a broad indication for an economic, social, or geographical unit.
- The region as a portion of geographical space defined according to its ecological features and resources.
- The region as a broad indication for an urban territory, at halfway-scale between city and state.
- The region as a portion of the land of variable dimensions, having specific ecological features that differ from the broader surrounding environment.

- The region as a political unit, the geographical expression of administrative power.

Scholars also discuss the use of region, as a conceptual tool. For instance, from an institutional classification view (Centro Latinoamericano de Proyecciones Económicas, 1995) to a critical view of the concept's use as cliché (Chiaramonte, 2008), which prevents from acknowledging skewing effects on the field of inquiry, as well as groups of factors and variables excluded in the analysis. In any study, the definition of region chosen by the researcher could interfere with results.

The literature defines two main uses of region that are opposite of each other in terms of the researcher's standpoint. The first defines region normatively, as the result of political decisions and cultural-historical factors. Research based on this definition focuses on human activity, which allegedly underlies regional formation, and provides a list of activities that are taking place in the territory and of populations that participate in these activities. This is a flat representation that lends itself to regional narratives of identity politics. On the opposite side of this debate, the second approach opts for an analytical methodology, in which regions are defined as geographical spaces featuring some human or physical homogeneity. This leads to research on continuities over space defined by homogeneous factors like latitude, climate, or language. The focus on homogeneous and continuous elements disregards any difference between human or physical factors, as well as any economic factor. This approach only achieves an exercise of grouping equal abstracts objects. Discussing methodologies opens to manifold ways to approach the region. For instance, questioning the relationship between researcher and object of study reveals the political and ethical aspects of research, and to understand reflexivity as a way to allow for the observer to move beyond its standpoint, and involve the very actors into describing their world. These approaches offer different, vivid representations of the region as an expression of lived experience and local knowledge.

Furthermore, this approach helps to bring to the surface regional intricacies that have bonded nature and human societies over time. Specifically, scale provides regions with a privileged setting to experience these ancient, local bonds through knowledge of the landscape and thus recover testimonies of the vital dimension of human existence. This approach to the region overcomes the limitations of abstractions and methodological stiffness by including actors and objects who ‘do’ and ‘are’ the region itself. For this reason, the definition of region that will guide my analysis is: Region is a dynamic system of interaction between actors. The region understood as construction only studied from a regionalization process. Stakeholders are the main actors.

II.2.2. Generic use of regions

Geographical space in between and outside explicitly defined geographic objects leads to undefined contiguous objects that bear some resemblance to be established as a geographical space based on relative homogeneity and internal coherence. Halfway through the scale gradient between cities and states, the region stands as a specific unit of analysis. The region describes sub-specifications of geographic entities of a higher scale, like the state, that feature homogeneity across contiguous objects that bear geographic, social, economic or ecological resemblances.

A region is thus defined by the relative homogeneity of its internal geographic, social, economic, or ecological features, creating a specific, *regional* character. Such *regionality of regions* prevents any possible use of region as a generalized unit of analysis within the political science discipline. Every region, as described above, is *relative* to itself and defined by its criteria and features. Regions are radically relative geographical objects. Therefore, the concept ‘region’ does not deliver any potential for *regions*; renouncing it, on the contrary, would help research on the subject, which denies any chance for comparative studies to take over.

This is why, for example, in ‘Regional Pollution and Multinational Firms’ (Beladi and Frasca, 1996), *region* appears only once, despite being in the title. It remains unclear what order of magnitude the term refers to, preventing any deeper understanding or framing of the subject and why it is being researched. Likewise, ‘Regional Development or Resource Preservation? A Perspective from Japanese Appliance Exports’ (Fuse et al. 2011) employs the term extensively and in disparate contexts, hindering its potential as a unified unit of analysis. In this book, ‘region’ is used in reference to the European model. While the authors describe *how* the concept has been used, no other definition is provided. Indeed, they state that:

A relatively unexplored area of import/export flows is used products that cross-national boundaries for reuse elsewhere. The materials contained therein are not available for reuse by domestic industry, which must therefore import a new supply of materials to continue new product manufacture. This loss of materials may be particularly important for a country such as Japan, which has few natural resources of any kind, or for a region such as Europe which has few to no domestic resources of the scarce metals so vital to modern technology. (Fuse et al. 2011, p. 788)

In this quote, the definition of *region* is closer to that of a continent, and it does not contribute to the argument in any relevant way.

One crucial understanding of the region, as a component of a whole, emerges from the literature. Indeed, *region* appears as a designation of a sub-economic entity, as the developing area of a larger whole (Taylor), as a coherent, ecological and economic complex (Ninan and Sathyapalan’s, 2005), as the complex of administrative bodies operating within a national territory (Chakraborty 2001; England 2007), and finally, as a smaller part of a larger whole that is socially defined (Bostian and Herlihy, 2014).

Based on these examples, it is important to note that the term *region* identifies a sub-component of a larger geographical entity. Yet, it does not necessarily identify a homogeneous area. The implications of these understandings are relevant to the study of regions. Acknowledging this complexity informs a better space for discussing public policies at the regional level. This is important for my research because the territories included have local differences despite sharing a similar cultural heritage from a shared legal and political tradition.

Stating that landscapes, cultures, languages, economies, and resources are not independent variables, but rather closely related factors seems. As Waltert and Schläpfer (2010) stated, research and policy implementation in regions would greatly benefit from approaching regions from their specificities first. This approach would highlight local aspects and address regional peculiarities with a broader framework. This further reinforces the idea of a region as a universally unified unit of analysis based on the recognition of the diverse understandings of the region by its scale or political framework. A region is problematic as a universally unified unit of analysis. Thus, regionalization extends regions towards a collective region of parts that make up the whole and benefits discussion and the outcomes of research and policy implementation.

The functionality of the concept of *region* transcends its purpose as a territorial point of reference and adapts to political and economic transformations within the countries.

II.2.3. A socio-ecological unit

Another possible way to understand ‘region’ is by acknowledging it as the complex of social and ecological relations that occur within a geographical area. This is how the literature on sustainability and resource-based policy understands the term. This idea helps create a common understanding of the ecological ties existing in socially constructed environments such as

provinces, states, or cities. While this understanding undoubtedly helps to achieve a better approach to the region in both research and policy implementation, it remains subjective and yet informal and useful for the limited purposes of a single study or policy.

In ‘Valuing Ecosystem and Economic Services across Land-use Scenarios in the Prairie Pothole Region of the Dakotas, USA’ (Gascoigne et al. 2011), the notion of *region* is tailored around the prairies of the United States and bounded by state lines, which does not help to develop any further understanding of an ecologically defined region. Nonetheless, while addressing the relationship between natural resources and human activities in a way that is only grounded for Gascoigne specific research purpose, the authors reify the notion that particular environments require certain kinds of policy implementation for natural resource management. Pumphrey, Edwards, and Becker apply a similar approach in the claim that a region corresponds to a human-defined ecological unit of analysis in ‘Urban and Rural Attitudes toward Municipal Water Controls: A Study of a Semi-arid Region with Limited Water Supplies’ (Pumphrey, Edwards, and Becker, 2008). Yet again, the article addresses a specific geographical area, the High Plains, but is limited to the part of the Plains that falls under the jurisdiction of Northern Texas, which interrupts the ecological region since ecological ties extend beyond legal boundaries.

In these approaches, the region as a socio-ecological unit is a designation for human activities in relationship to resources. This definition cannot be static or consistent because the ecological and human environment are an interdependent and dynamic complex. While region appears again as a subcomponent of a broader entity, these contributions offer insights to how it can provide a framework for addressing ecological aspects and their corresponding social dimensions, which is particularly valuable for sustainable policy implementation in socially fragmented environments.

This understanding of region as an ecosystem unit is related to the idea of sustainable regional planning. For example, the Valle de Aburrá Metropolitan Master Plan in Medellín, encompasses the metropolitan region as an interacting ecosystem unit. In turn, according to the principles laid out in the ESCI Methodological Guide, the city is assumed to intervene as a systemic whole that offers environmental services.

II.2.4. A unit of political administration

One of the most common usages of region is in reference to a political and legal administrative area (Franco Restrepo, 2006; Sanahuja J. , 2010; Solís Trapero, 2008; Vidal Perdomo, 2001). As such, regions are the outcome of cultural-historical processes, and such designation endows them with a sort of lesser stately authority. In Latin America, regional councils have political representation at national levels, just like in Europe and Asia. In these cases, literature reports that these administrative bodies are more interested in addressing ecological awareness and sustainability rather than economic issues (Dickinson, 2007; Saguier, 2012).

Studies focusing on regions orient their ‘regional’ emphasis towards available data and develop comparisons between regions in terms of consumption, production, trade, or ecological footprint. Such availability of data seems to lend itself to those who promote more regional policy and autonomy. In other words, regional scale seems to address public policy implementation and sustainable management more effectively, encouraging regionalism as a means of political cooperation at the level of regional affairs.

Regional accounting systems that include economic, ecological, and social data would thus offer a clearer picture of interdependencies and better inform public policy for economic development (Gren and Isacs 2009; Mazzanti and Montini, 2010). From this perspective, the

region as a political and administrative unit does not merely suggest better administrative quality and more efficient decision-making, but rather a more comprehensive and better equipped administrative body to address social, economic, and ecological complexities at the local level.

Furthermore, the concept of region interacts with, and is influenced by, other concepts and categories in a constellation of vectors. The municipality, at the local level, receives inputs from the surroundings, or hinterlands (Tilly, 1990). The city is part of the legal framework for the hierarchical administrative structure. It functions inside the state while simultaneously competing for autonomy over the flow of capital, services, and data.

The city can have micro-regions that are defined by the cultural references and identity elements of inhabitants and their participation in trans-border networks.

Table II.2-1		
<i>Connections between city, region, and rural area</i>		
<u>City</u>	<u>Region</u>	<u>Rural</u>
City	State/Department	Administrative
City	Nation	Political
City	City network	Trade and flows
City	Nodes	Geopolitics

Table II.2-1: Connections between city, region, and rural area. Source: Own elaboration.

This proximity to the governmental dimension permeates epistemological developments in the region and regionalism. This epistemological approach will always be related to an exercise of government, of transmission of a prevailing will, or to a claim of dominance, whether legitimate or not. In this way, region maintains a relationship with the administrative rather than the cultural. Region refers to a continent, or 'world region' (Söderbaum, 2004, p. 87). Yet, in English language literature, there are examples of the use of the word region to refer to sub-national levels (Ziafati Bafarasat, 2016).

II.2.1. Region types

Economic and development studies proposed several categorizations for understanding region-building. The Economic Commission for Latin American and the Caribbean (ECLAC) proposed a categorization for economic analysis that includes three categories: 1) homogenous region, 2) polarized or nodal region, and 3) planning region (Centro Latinoamericano de Proyecciones Económicas, 1995).

An analysis of similarities or differences between several territories is the basis for these categories, in which differences in their features or interactions are the elements to be classified. Thus, ECLAC defined the classification according to the expected relationship, focused on the homogeneity of dependency between the analyzed territories (p. 31). The ECLAC perspective develops a series of indicators to measure the features of a region to establish its category. Marketing volumes, regional offer of goods and services, labor features, transport and infrastructure capacity, energy availability, public facilities, health, housing, and educational coverage are included in these indicators (CLPE, 1995). The ECLAC is an economic council, and as such, it conducts economic analyses of regions and cities using econometric tools and models that focus on how to establish criteria for territorial division (CLPE, 1995, p. 11).

In the same text, the authors show the semantic problem, using the word *region* for a process of zoning in some countries, as well as a reference for the entire continent or the sub-continent. For example, the authors write, ‘On the whole, it can be observed that the regionalization of the Latin American countries is at an advanced stage’ (CLPE, 1995, p. 13).

Thus, the perspective of Hettne, quoted by Söderbaum, presents the region according to sociopolitical categories such as identity formation or collective actions. That means the humans build regions and that their construction is not naturally occurring.

...Hettne (2003: 27) points out, ‘in the constructivist approach regions come to life as we talk and think about them.’ Seen from this perspective, regions are seldom unitary, homogeneous or discrete units. There are no ‘natural’ or given regions, but these are constructed, deconstructed and reconstructed—intentionally or unintentionally— from the outside or from within, by collective human action and identity formation. (Söderbaum, 2004, p. 89)

The notion of *region* is being reconstructed in response to the pressure of globalization on local territories. The economic meaning of *region* points to the concept of ‘economic base’ It requires the analysis of the main characteristics of a territory in order to identify it as a region. Under the ECLAC view, region exports and overall growth measure the region building (Richardson, 1995, p. 39). The ECLAC proposes the ‘theory of modernization’ to promote industrialization and change the forms of production. Heinz Sonntag summarizes this focus as a mixture of Keynesianism dependency and center-periphery theory (Sonntag, 1995, p. 55).

The *region* has also been understood as territorial division, or zones (CLPE, 1995, p. 3). The division of a territory is a common synonym used in the regionalization literature. In contradiction to Michael Keating, who limits the region to territorial space (Keating, 2011), region also refers to other spatiality like community connections between members of a particular group of interest, as well as the territory. However, Keating exposes the main differences in the use of the concept:

There is a conventional but still useful distinction between substate regionalism, studied traditionally by geographers, planners, sociologists, political scientists and historians, and supra-

state regions, studied by other geographers and in international relations and strategic studies. Economists may make use of both. A third conception is a transnational region, which cuts across the boundaries of states, taking in some but not all of the territory or more than one political community. (Keating, 2011, pág. 4)

Hence, understanding region as ‘a dynamic system of interaction between actors,’ as proposed by this research, avoids the geographical problems and fits the discussion of systems of interests and decisions.

II.2.2. Regionalism

Similar to the above discussion of region, Mumford’s regionalism can be understood as the systematic arrangement of philosophical dissertations and practical implications. More than a body of philosophical reasoning and ideological positions, it portrays a vision for future human cultural and spiritual development, in that it proposes practical indications as to how production and distribution can return to ecology by fostering democratic participation. As such, Mumford’s regionalism falls outside any purely financial account and does not claim any ideological or romanticized way of thinking about the region.

Regionalism as a modern social reality does not mean the resurrection of a dead way of life or the mummification of local customs and institutions; nor is it dependent upon excessive interest in the primitive, the naïve, the illiterate. It is, essentially, the effort to provide for the continuous cultivation and development of all the resources of the earth and of man; an effort which recognizes the existence of real groups and social configurations and geographic relationships that are ignored by the abstract culture of the metropolis, and which opposes the aimless nomadism of modern commercial enterprise, the conception of a stable and settled and balanced and cultivated life. (Mumford 1931, 157)

In this article, Mumford clarifies how regionalism should be devoid of any conservative or nostalgic vision of a past where man and environment lived side by side (a view still held by many regionalists). Instead, in his vision, regionalism stands as a step forward in human development, where technological advancements are inscribed and stem out of the awareness of their cultural and environmental impacts. Additionally, his regionalism is in radical opposition with any suggestion that may support identity politics, as well as any discourse that may advocate for industrial efficacy or large-scale centralized economic schemas.

On the contrary, Mumford seems to have understood the dangers of an economic system that favors profit, believing that regionalism should contrast with such a perspective and provide the right cultural and political environment for humankind and nature. Anticipating many ecologists of today, his understanding of regionalism results from concerns about the ecologically unsustainable outcomes of the economic system, and the urgent need for planned development that takes into account and cares for ecologically and humanly sensitive development and social interaction. Thus, *region*, from Mumford's perspective, is both a natural and social complex, setting the basis to understand human livelihoods as ecological systems where the *web of life* of the region stems from symbiotic relationships.

Another trend of thought in the debate about regionalism is the differentiation between an 'old' and a 'new' regionalism. 'New regionalism tends to refer to a multidimensional and multi-actor phenomenon that should be seen in the context of globalization' (De Lombaerde, 2010, p. 32). Hettne, Inotai and Sunkel (2000, 2001), Söderbaum and Shaw (2003), Breslin et al. (2002), De Lombaerde (2003), and Telò (2007) all relate to the phenomena mentioned above in the context of globalization (2010, p.37).

Regionalism appears as a concept within international relations in the 1950s. The approaches to regionalism used from the 1950s to the mid-1970s are cataloged as old regionalism within the tradition of *institutional reform*. Older definitions of regionalism focused on intergovernmental solutions for political issues such as economic growth and incipient discussions on environmental regulation, among others. This proposal advocates the creation of a new level of holistic government to generate ties and coordination with other levels of the same hierarchy in partner states. However, this rational, instrumental perspective ignores the existence of multiple autonomous or semi-autonomous local actors in intra-state territories and local governments.

Certainly from 1960 forward, with the creation of the Latin American Free Trade Association (LAFTA), the Central American Common Market (CACM), and later, the emergence of the Andean Pact in 1969, the motor of ‘regionalism’ in Latin America has been regional integration, defined as the process by which states within a particular region increase their level of interaction with regard to economic, security, political, or social and cultural issues. (Van Ginkel & Van Langenhove 2003: 4)

This research seeks a definition of regionalism that connects processes led by multilateral institutions.

II.2.3. New regionalisms

The *region* remains a difficult object to define. Indeed, it is a geographical space, but different geographical schools of thought and currents have different definitions. So, while sociologists, planners, historians, some geographers, and political scientists use the term to identify a sub-component of a more comprehensive complex, the State, other geographers, international relations scholars, and strategic studies use it to designate geographical areas larger than a single

state. Economists use both these definitions, in addition to a third way of employing *region* as a reference to a transnational entity. Nonetheless, all these meanings are deeply rooted in a nation-state understanding of geography, in which many scholars do not differentiate between ‘nation’ and ‘State.’

However, a more radical approach divides the region from both ‘the’ State and ‘a’ State and employs the term to identify an autonomous system based on various economic, cultural, historical, and institutional criteria. This understanding of *region* as an autonomous entity is behind the renewed interest from regional economics, sociology, political science, and international relations in regions and regionalism over the last 20 years.

New regionalism appears in the mid-1980s. It originates from *public choice* theorists (Ziafati Bafarasat, 2016, p. 119) from a critique of how institutional consolidation processes can hinder local autonomy. This opens the door for the appearance of groups, citizen organizations, and municipal councils. These actors begin to scale jump and interact with other actors located at different levels, where interests become relevant over the agendas of principles (Van Dyck, 2011). New regionalism has prevailed until today under the presupposition of being a meaning that helps the understanding of a non-bipolar world.

Additionally, new regionalism entered into a binomial relationship with globalization, almost as subsumption of the generating concept and, at the same time, the result of the processes of global interdependence (Hettne & Söderbaum, 2000, p. 457). By incorporating different levels, new regionalism does not establish hierarchical categories about the importance of participation of each level in the regionalization process. ‘It is not possible to state which level is dominant, because actors and processes at the various levels interact and their relative importance differs in time and space’ (2000, p. 457).

This new regionalism emerged from the economic and structural changes of the past few decades that have overcome fundamental functions of the State (such as sovereignty, authority, or representability), while favoring other socio-economical assets with their respective geographical dimensions and spatial scales. However, functions are not the sole causes of such changes. Actors influence the shape of these transformations; for instance, the European Union bears the shape of a transnational space, although transnationalism has assumed different shapes elsewhere. Many states across Europe have undergone internal processes of regionalization to address issues that could not be solved at the national level. As the examples show, regions are contested spaces where global causes have local effects that the current literature, which is still embedded in the paradigms of the nation-state(s), cannot grasp.

II.2.4. Post-hegemonic regionalism in Latin America

Regionalism can be a corollary of globalization (Haggard 1997) or a testing ground for governance (Söderbaum and Hettne 2005: 4), prompting some scholars to portray regions as a pillar of a new global order that seeks to overcome state regulations (Acharya 2009; Fawn 2009; Hettne 2005; Katzenstein 2005).

Ideas for improved redistribution and political renewal had already shaken the political arena well before the financial crisis of 2008 in Latin America. At the turn of the millennium, several countries chose to move away from the oversight of the IMF by repaying their loans with anticipation. These movements brought social claims, including indigenous people's rights and social mobility, to the forefront, drawing consensus from the region as a political reference - thus moving beyond the city and its established political representativeness. This finally led to the elections of governments from the Left or Left of Centre in Venezuela (1998), Brazil (2002, 2006),

Argentina (2003, 2008), Bolivia (2005), Ecuador (2006) and Paraguay (2008). As former Ecuadorian President Correa stated in his inaugural speech, this change took place ‘at the edges of liberalism,’ and with the explicit mission to include social development and community into the political agenda.

By breaking free from the urban, social and political base in favor of a broader, *regional*, framework, Latin American movements unveiled political fields beyond those of representative democracy. Furthermore, Schrim’s (2010) concept of ‘followership,’ highlights the radically different nature of Latin American regionalization. While successful leadership depends not only on good management practices but more crucially on the support of followers, ‘followership’ adds a relational character to leadership as opposed to hegemony (MacGregor Burns, 2003). Consensual views, expressed through the *persona* of the leader, are the basis for regionalization in Latin American countries (Nabers, 2010), which further overcomes hegemony. In this light, regions are once more contested spaces, but more specifically, they are spaces beyond hegemony.

New regionalist projects, such as UNASUR and ALBA, were conceived in this new regional framework. These kinds of projects aim at breeding consensus within the region as a spatial and political reference. While relying on state-led funding schemas, these processes take place differently from market-led regionalization. In this light, regionalism does not correspond to the mere institutionalization of transnational business practices, but it signifies the modification of the political composition and the transformation of the regional space. Wendt (1992) said, ‘regions are what actors make of it.’ Furthermore, regions reflect formal and informal exchanges occurring within ‘network societies’ (Castells 1996; Bøas et al. 2005).

This perspective allows regions to be seen as new spaces for state action, demanding for regions, and their purposes, to be re-thought. ‘Regionness’ (Hettne & Söderbaum, 2000) and

belongingness become concepts that reflect new ideas and domestic policies as an alternative to the ever-ingurgitating global system.

II.2.5. The use of region, regionalism and regionalization nowadays

The table below brings together the primary meanings of *region* and its derivations in five fields of knowledge:

Table II.2-2					
<i>Concepts and their disciplinary use: region, regionalism, regionalization.</i>					
	<u>Economics</u>	<u>Public Administration</u>	<u>Planning</u>	<u>Geography</u>	<u>Urban-rural Studies</u>
<u>Region</u>	Flows and growth. Potential comparative advantages and complementarity	Administrative division or physical territory	Zonification	Geographical zone. It could be micro or local as well as continental	Landscape
<u>Regionalism</u>	New regionalism (Schrim). Economic blocks and agreements	Identity movements. Boundaries and cross-border flows. People-oriented (ASEAN)			
<u>Regionalization</u>	Strategic regionalism. Center-periphery conception.	Regional consolidation. Participatory regionalism (Asharya)			Expansion of some features from urban areas to rural or vice versa.

Table II.2-2: Concepts and their disciplinary use: region, regionalism, regionalization. Source: Own elaboration.

There is a notable retreat of the concept *region* in the literature produced after 2000s. According to Google Books, a search from 1800 until 2008, concepts like region, regions, regionalism, and regionalization show fewer entries after 2010. The following tables illustrate the number of entries by term (region, regionalism, regionalization, regionalisation, regionalización, in Spanish):



Figure II-3: Region, Google books Ngram viewer. 2017.

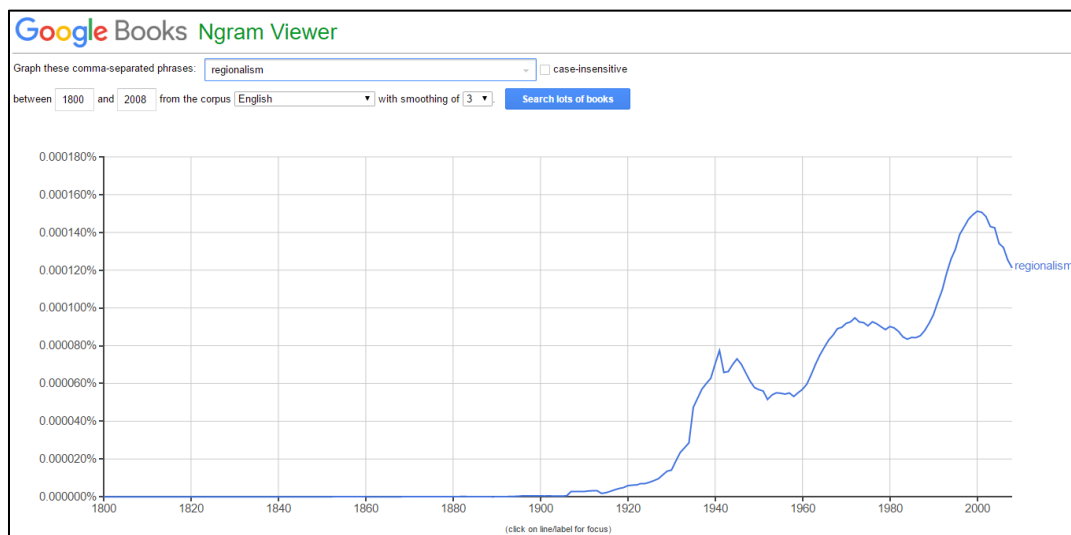


Figure II-4: Regionalism. Google books Ngram viewer. 2017.



Figure II-5: Regionalisation. Google books Ngram viewer. 2017.

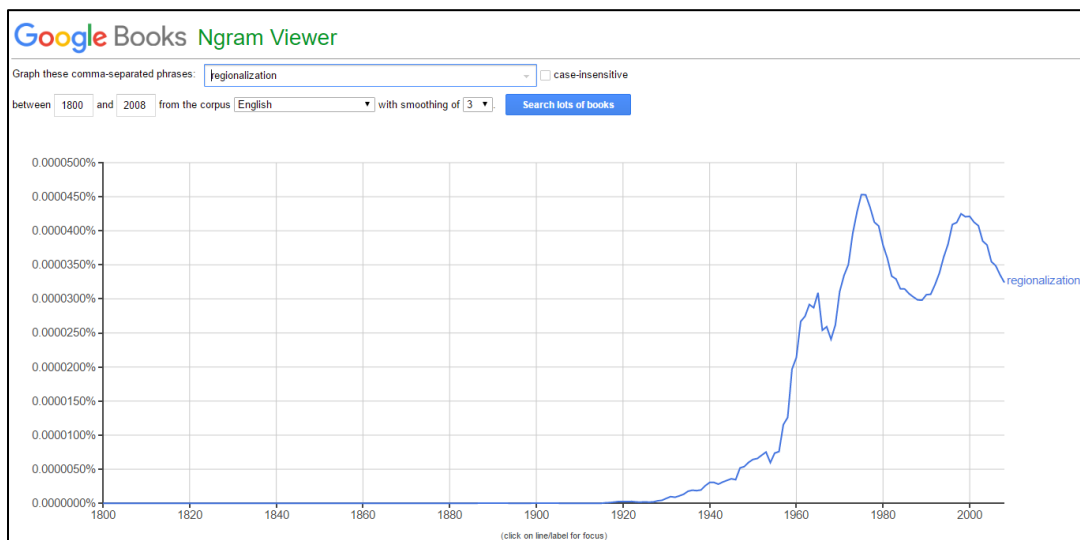


Figure II-6: Regionalization. Google books Ngram viewer. 2017.

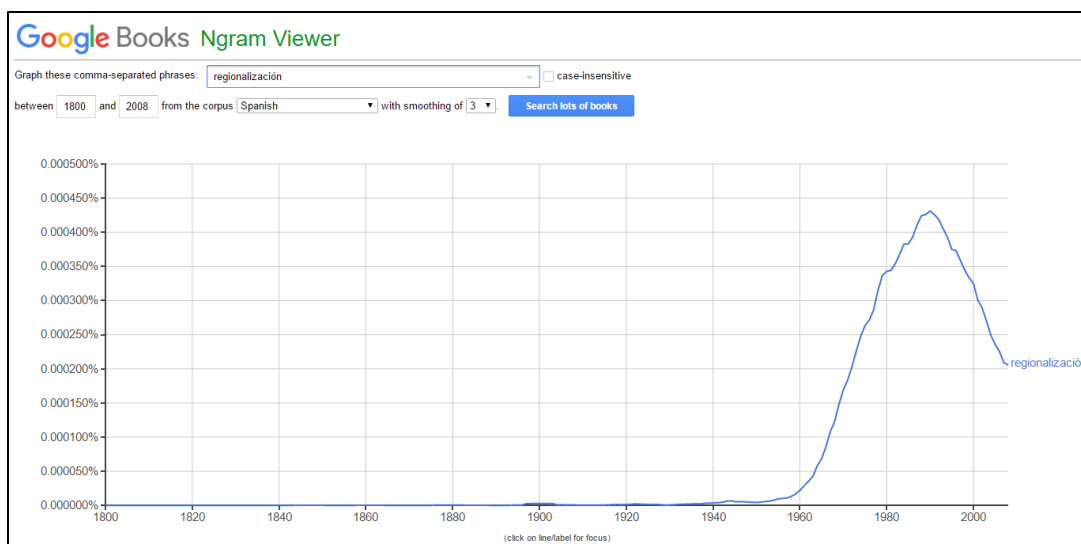


Figure II-7: Regionalización (Spanish). Google Books Ngram Viewer. 2017.

According to this database, academic production about the identified concepts decreased after a ‘boom’ of works during the Nineties that probably occurred as a result of the promotion of several political or economic regional integration processes (i.e., NAFTA, MERCOSUR, Andean Community, CELAC, the failed ALCA, the European Union expansion). Although that impulse, several integration initiatives entered into crisis or were rejected, which could explain the decrease in the interest in the concept of regionalization.

Nevertheless, in the recent history of regional studies, other concepts have appeared more frequently in academic production. *Governance* often appears after the fall of the Soviet block and during the consolidation and expansion of the European Union. However, governance is not visible frequently in the Spanish jargon of multilateral institutions or policymakers in Latin America.

II.2.6. Regionalization

The region is a fundamental category of analysis in studies on post-Cold War globalization and international relations (Söderbaum & Shaw, 2003), as an independent process with historical

roots and as a response strategy to the new challenges of the globalized world (Fawn, 2009). The prominence of region between 2000 and 2015 was based on the expansion of the free market, the popularization of regional trade agreements, and the development of governance models promoted mainly by the United States and the European Union through multilateral institutions.

Therefore, the concept of region can only be analyzed from the study of regionalization processes. Thus, regionalization is the region built as multiple and overlapping processes that Haesbaert defined as, 'simple methodological procedure, as an instrument of analysis proposed by the researcher, or as dynamics effectively lived and produced by social groups.' (Haesbaert, 2019, p. 28). Regionalization processes are always created by actors as builders of space in a permanent relationship with territoriality. Thus, regionalization has a contingent chorographic and a built geographic dimension.

Regionalization can be an integration process through the export of a project, policy, or phenomena from a local or nano level to other levels located in different geographical spaces. This focus is different from understanding regionalization as the integration of state entities that are categorized as non-state actors according to public law. Here is another semantic divergence, regionalization in international public law, and regionalization as an economic or cultural process.

There is also a macroeconomic understanding of regionalization promoted by the expansion of globalization and free-market models. The mid-1980s were significant for LAC countries. This period was a time of economic reforms aimed at introducing greater openness and liberalization for integration with the global economy (Bustillo, 2005, p. 28). In addition, 'On the principles of the unilateral liberalization, together with the agreements of the sets of free trade, the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) has conceptualized a term of 'an open regionalism' (ECLAC, 1994) quoted by (Bustillo, 2005, p. 28)'.

Regional integration was useful to the international public policy serving as a counterbalance for foreign policy misunderstandings. ‘Regional integration can play an important role in stabilizing the policy environment for national and local policies and signaling policy direction’ (Giordano, 2005, p. 8). Regionalization has been the keystone of the debates about regional integration. The regional integration has supported its expansion on the regionalization construction, mainly in economic integration developments.

A thorough regional integration schema, characterized by a sufficient level of trade intensity and strong collective institutions, may play a crucial level of trade intensity and strong collective institutions may play a crucial role for the sustainability of territorial development policies. Trade is a powerful anchor for a broad range of cooperation initiatives, including those at the local level. When regional collective bodies have adequate technical capacity, sufficient institutional independence, and relevant financial power, they can strengthen coherent policy frameworks for territorial initiatives. (Giordano, 2005, p. 22)

The regionalization process can also be seen as a way to create production chains for import substitution, resulting in *industrial corridors*, global value chains and comparative advantages, and local production systems. Another approach is called *strategic regionalization*, which refers to other concepts like associativity, inter-territorial competitiveness, and ‘glocalization.’ Claudia Tomadoni defines it as:

Strategic regionalization is an action that reinforces cultural, historical, economic and/or physical elements that give identity to the territory in the face of the penetrating influences of globalization. In the case that is considered here, strategic regionalism is characterized by the search and creation of economic space, the region, to assume market power. Regional integration has been primarily conceived as an instrument for balancing differences and offensively coping with globalization. (Tomadoni, 2016, p. 5)

Regionalization tends to be understood as a desire for regional, ideological order. This thesis does not assess regionalism, rather it describes possible impacts. At the same time, this research recognizes the tendency in the literature to see regionalism as necessary within an increasingly deregulated global order.

Regionalization had a new boom during the 2000s, mainly due to the promotion of new regionalism theory. Multiple investigations are published in that decade, with a considerable decline after 2011 (De Lombaerde, Söderbaum, Fawn, 2009; Hettne & Söderbaum, 2000; Van Langenhove, & Baert, 2010).

Some authors supported a new theory of regionalization (Hettne & Söderbaum, 2000). Although, with the clarification made by Norris (2001) that the definition of regionalization will depend on the choice of the two preponderant schools on regionalism, if the old regionalism or the new regionalism. Thus, a comprehensive definition arises under the English-language concept of *regionness*. This concept has no direct translation into Spanish. Regionness is useful for this research as it accepts forms of regional construction that allow for actor participation at various levels and opens the possibility of the nano-level in a logic of governance between levels. The nano-level is defined in Chapter Three.

Table II.2-4 proposes a tool for understanding the concepts:

Table II.2-3		
<i>An explanation frame for understanding regionalism, regionalization, regioness, and inter-regionalism</i>		
<u>Concept</u>	<u>Refers to</u>	<u>Lead to</u>
Regionalism	Ideological, program	Formal institution building
Regionalization	Empirical process	Patterns of cooperation and interaction within a cross-national space
Regionness	Tool to investigate	The state of regionalization in different contexts
Region building	Fact	Territory built by regionalization processes
Inter-regionalism (Koff, 2016)	Cooperation	Relations between regions

Table II.2-3: An explanation frame for understanding regionalism, regionalization, regioness, and inter-regionalism.
Source: Own elaboration.

II.2.7. Regionalization led by regional institutions

To conceptualize the interactions between actors within regionalization, Hettne and Söderbaum propose three pillars. These pillars are useful for establishing analytical categories for the study of classic processes of regionalization (regional organizations, core regions, or transboundary phenomena), concentrating on interaction at the state level or between blocks of countries.

The pillars are: 1) global social theory, 2) social constructivism and 3) comparative regional studies. These pillars rescued the unlinked analysis of a national space promoted by the *global social theory*. The interactions of local actors are assumed to be uncoordinated possibilities of exchange that are regulated by the States and its policy operationalization apparatus.

Based on this analysis, Söderbaum (2004) proposes the disciplinary incorporation of the links between micro-regionalisms and macro-regionalisms. However, it is important to highlight the contrast between the scope of these proposals and the regionalization of local initiatives of nano-level that this thesis tries to demonstrate. Söderbaum developments do not advance to the level of nano-analysis, that is, neighborhood or citizen agents on a street scale. Its analysis also does not configure a single macro-regionalization process from micro-regionalizations. What is important to note is that the expansion of macro-regionalisms means an increase in State actions, which decreases their capacity to intervene at lower levels. Söderbaum says, “the expansion/dilution syndrome,” implies that continuing enlargement and expansion of macro-regionalism affects its functioning and reinforces lower-level regional dynamics, leaving state and non-state actors alike to concentrate their energies at a more meso- or micro-level’ (Söderbaum, 2004, p. 102).

The existence, sovereignty, and legitimacy of national States as subjects of public law is known in relationship to the micro- or nano-level. Local actors at the micro- or nano-level interact regionally without separating from the State. Thus, mayors and other municipal officials who participate in IDB initiatives are equally understood as representatives of the State. By acting locally, they are a manifestation of the nation-state on the internal levels. They are separated from State and foreign policy that are dictated by heads of state and foreign ministries.

These micro and nano-level actors are not operators of meso-levels (national) due to the principle of administrative autonomy contemplated, in the case of study of this thesis, within the political-administrative frameworks of the Republic of Colombia and the United Mexican States. For this analysis, local authorities will always have the double status as decision-makers and as independent promoters within a macro and meso regulatory framework. Research on local actors

dynamics always accepted the co-existence of macro-levels in a dynamic that is not necessarily dialectical. As Söderbaum would say, ‘In fact, the external and internal processes are intimately linked, which at the same time explains why micro-regionalism and macro-regionalism often hang together’ (Söderbaum, 2004, p. 89).

Söderbaum's conclusion that there is a gap in the analysis between macro-regionalism and micro-regionalism is relevant for this thesis (Söderbaum, 2004, p. 87). This gap may explain the absence of analysis of the local causes of regionalization. It also builds a bridge for understanding the correlations between macro and micro. In this way, the gap relates to the parable that this thesis proposes (see Chapter Three).

Hybrid regionalism, as proposed by is closer to the hypothesis of this thesis (2016, p. 120). In his research, Ziafati Bafarasat introduces this concept to understand the dynamics of English regionalism between 1997 and 2008. The concept of hybrid regionalism is based on the acceptance of a holistic level of government over local, territorial entities and the willingness of local agents to promote adjustments in the spatial model.

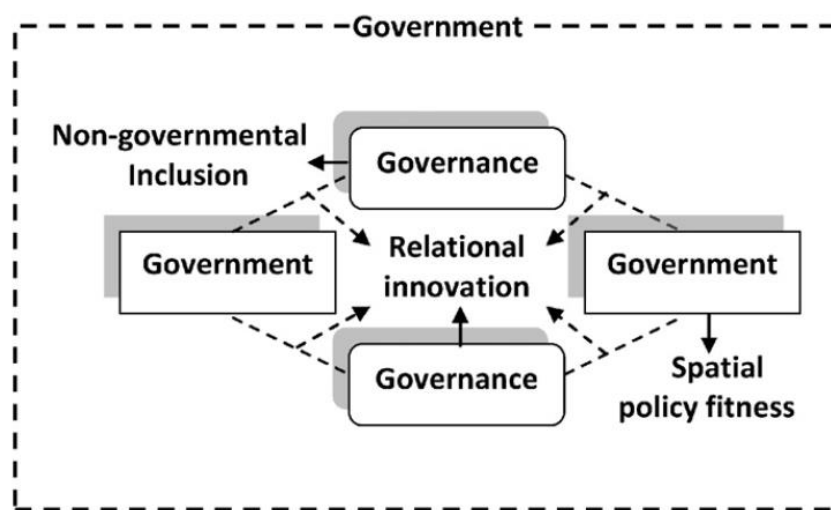


Figure II-8: Hypothetical outcomes of hybrid regionalism. Source: Ziafati, 2016.

Ziafati proposes two types of regionalism that have similarities to the regionalism promoted by the IDB. The author introduces *hybrid regionalism* and *departmental new regionalism*. Both concepts are suitable for the characteristics of urban planning in northern England and they offer interesting features for the analysis of local actors. Hybrid regionalism has a holistic approach, a formal and informal, vertical, and horizontal hierarchical structure. Additionally hybrid regionalism promotes linking non-governmental actors and aims to improve space policies (Ziafati Bafarasat, 2016, p. 126).

II.2.8. Regions, levels and actors: cities and stakeholders

Understanding that regions do not exist without the interactions that build them puts value on stakeholder participation. These actors are at various levels of interaction, some at decision-making levels, others at operational levels, and others at levels of users, public policy recipients, or citizen promoters. The social constructivism identified by Hettne and Söderbaum (2000, p. 460) is useful to this research because it inserts the actors into the process of regional creation. These interactions work in the normative, ideal, and material spheres.

Table II.2-4 shows the region conceived in different forms:

Table II.2-4		
<i>Region conceived as spatial practice, concrete, and perceived</i>		
Spatial practice	Concrete	Perceived (real)
Representation of region	Abstract	Conceived (imagined)
Spaces of representation	Meaning	Lived (real and imagined)

Table II.2-4: Region conceived as spatial practice, concrete, and perceived. Source: Own elaboration.

This means that the actors have interests and motivations before participating in a regionalization process. It is these motivations that define the character of the regionalized initiative, not the other way around.

Are regionalization processes capable of activating political subjects to motivate collective territorial transformations? Questions like this have a degree of complexity that exceeds the definition of a geographical region. At the same time, to think about the ability to mobilize an active subject that demands new spatialities is perhaps to overestimate the effects of a region as a construction. That is important regarding a process of cross-border and multi-level regionalization. To achieve this, initial research on New Regionalism Theory already warned of the need to explore in more detail the characteristics of micro-regionalisms (Hettne & Söderbaum, 2000, p. 471), if they operate in a unidirectional way or are the product of a heterogeneous phenomenon.

Another orientation gains strength within the multiple interpretations of the region following the neo-structuralist, bio-regional, and neo-Marxist analyzes. In works by Scott (1998) and Soja (2000), the city-region emerges as an alternative to the conception of the region at macro- and meso- levels. Here, the literature turns to the development of the concept of region tied to the conditions and characteristics of the territory where a city and its adjacent areas are based and the people who connect to the city through the environmental services offered. Based on the principle of non-autarchy in the urban-rural relationship, urban debates are absorbed within the regional. In this regard, the notion of *global city-region* (suggested by Haesbaert, who was citing Storper and Scott) points out that it is the city that creates the region and not the other way around (Haesbaert, 2019, p. 73). In this sense, nation-states do not build regions. Rather, regions are built by municipalities through a network of financial and commercial circuits. Within this urban prominence, regional governance, led by non-meso (national level) actors, emerges.

From the perspective of the city-region, cities are global spaces where agents at the nano-level lead the transfer and exchange of techniques. The State loses regulatory capacity by assigning part of its sovereignty, in terms of the capability to materialize policies, to citizens and actors involved at the micro- and nano-level. However, this approach does not mean the loss of configuration of zonal regions due to the superposition of a networked region. The latter because the actors do not deny the preexistence of an inter-state, regional-zonal structure. In fact, for some purposes, nano-level actors can coexist and benefit from regional inter-state systems.

The conceptualization of city-region is similar to the idea of regionalization proposed by the IDB. Chapter Three will show the characteristics of this regionalization process. For now, it is worth highlighting the role that cities have regarding the development of post-Fordist capitalism with multiple forms of investment and capital circulation.

Cities are spaces that offer services and generate value and spaces where financial capital invests in speculation projects. This feature opens the possibility for the return to capital-land within the global financing logic. Multilateral entities and regional organizations pointed to the real estate market as a source of surplus investment (which led to the worldwide 2007 crisis represented by ‘toxic’ mortgage loans delivered to creditors with doubtful ability to incur obligations). Urban regeneration projects began to be seen as an alternative for boosting economic growth. These initiatives came hand in hand with efforts to plan the territory to prevent the effects of climate change and population growth.

Additionally, city-regions are well-connected to global networks. The cities contain the most efficient infrastructures for the development of interconnected economies, the most qualified workforce, and the ideal stability for the flourishing of new commercial initiatives. Economic agents orient their offers towards networks despite the meso-level macroeconomic policies that

can go in search of an exclusive zone-region, or even the implementation of mercantile tariff policies. Thus, the most accurate definitions of city-region are those that describe the interactions that allow the construction of a region after 2010 (Boisier Etcheverry, 2006; Rodríguez-Pose, 2008).

Another element to analyze is who leads the regionalization. The classical literature on the theme conceived the region as a geographical space. In this space, the States were primary subjects of international law, and they created geographical or interest-based connections. Studies on new regionalism have incorporated analyzes of regional organizations as co-protagonists of the interaction process. However, in the case of this work, the IDB, as the actor who leads the regionalization process, does not fall into these orthodox categories.

The Inter-American Development Bank is a development-oriented, multilateral financial institution. Its statutory composition rests on the Member States in their various forms of participation (donors, debtors, observers). Still, it is not an international organization in terms of public international law. This positional ambivalence vis-à-vis states, grassroots communities, and other institutions gives makes the IDB exceptional. Their interventions combine both the logic of a financial entity, the requirements of a standardization body, and the political commitments of a development agency. In this way, the IDB has multiple roles that boost the construction of regions through the activation of subjects in the territories within a funded project.

Following this example, multilateral banks, or similar institutions, can be the decision-makers in a regional construction process. These actors are not necessarily in competition with States, nor do they try to usurp their functions. What is likely to happen is that a decrease in the state role in some interconnected territories means a strengthening of the construction of the region.

A regionalization process can be cultural, political, economic, ideological, or a combination of any of the above.

However, the process of building the region goes through several stages. The stages of shaping a region refer to the levels at which the region is located within a multi-level governance system. The greater consolidation of integration processes, exchange of ideas, recognition of mutual ties, the more regionness there is in the process.

The following are the levels of the regionalization process within the theory of new regionalism (Söderbaum & Shaw, 2003) (Schirm, 2002):

- Regional space: territorial or geographical attachment.
- Regional complex: historical bonds.
- Regional society: state interaction orientated.
- Regional community: when the region develops his own identity.
- Region-state: formal and real regions are similar to state-formation and nation-building.

A regional community can emerge from below. However, according to the new regionalization theory, the interaction capacities between actors are always regulated by the formal, legal state or supra-state level. State centralization is overcome as local actors replace the central State through voluntary, interlocal cooperation measures (Friskén & Norris, 2002), although these theoretical developments generally oriented towards the promotion of regional economic development.

A regionalization initiative can be understood as the entrance of a regional institution into the action sphere of a State, or as 'the process whereby an international organization acquires responsibility for taking an increasing number of decisions in areas which were previously reserved to the state' (Taylor, 1983; quoted in Anderson, 1999, p. 3).

Confusion exists between concepts. Politicians' indistinguishable use of the concept of regional integration when they refer to the process of cooperation or concurrence is rampant (Jenne, Schenoni, & Urdinez, 2017; Sanahuja J. A., 2014).

For this reason, this thesis proposes the following definition of regionalization: Regionalization is a broad spectrum of interactions, connections, and flows between different actors in a multilevel space. Accordingly, this research proposes a new conceptualization of the region as a dynamic system of interaction between actors. Actors can develop a new regionalism through regionalization understood as a process of interaction between levels that connects neighborhood initiatives with macro-processes.

II.3. Introducing the nano region



Figure II-9: Parque de Berrío, Medellín. Source: Author's collection

Different approaches have been introduced to inquire about macro-regionalism and micro-regionalism. Hettne and Söderbaum (2000) developed an analysis of *regionness* from the global social theory perspective looking to ‘bridge the rift between macro-regionalism and micro-regionalism’ (2000, p. 460).

This type of regionalization has functions at the macro-level (regional) and meso-level (state), only exceptionally descending to the micro-level (municipalities). The classification by levels is typical of studies of comparative politics (Caramani, 2011), analysis of constitutional law and political systems (Howlett, Ramesh, & Perl, 2009), and studies on planning and territorial planning.

The design and operationalization of a territorial management plan require communication between normative, fiscal, and political levels. However, it is essential to clarify that this research proposes an analysis from a lower level, called the *nano-level*. This level is below the micro-level. The micro-level is commonly understood as the level of local governments, such as districts or communes. The nano-level is related to community interactions at the neighborhood scale, at the street level. The recognition and analysis of the nano-level in the regionalization of urban planning are also part of the proposed originality of this dissertation.

The term nano, introduced by H. Lohman in 1902, comes etymologically from Latin, which means dwarf or small. In turn, Latin took it from the Greek *vavoc*, translated into prefix (Giraldo Gallo, 2018, p. 21).

Usually, the term is used in the biological and computational sciences (Gross, 1999) to refer to miniaturization processes in many studies on small units of the international measurement system. It is the thousandth of the thousandth of the thousandth of the applied unit of measure.

Also, the nano prefix implies the use of a unit of measurement (length, time, mass) a thousand times smaller than the micro prefix. Its popularity grew as technical developments increased on microscopic scales. As Giraldo Gallo illustrates, 'In many circumstances, the reader will have come across the term nano, and if he consults it on the web, some hundreds of millions of results will appear only in English and Spanish, an extraordinarily large number, comparable precisely to micro' (p. 56). The term has also extended to fields of the humanities such as ethics, sociology, and public administration.

Giraldo also points out that the literature on the subject assumes that changes at the nano-level have effects on the macro (p.69). This nano-level has its own levels of complexity. This systemic vision allows this research to propose the extrapolation of the concept to the field of urban-regional studies.

The nano concept is useful for understanding the regionalization phenomenon. Top-down and bottom-up are characteristic strategies for ordering and refining knowledge, especially in the social sciences. The analysis of the regionalization process begins at a nano-level, then knowledge is transferred to the macro level. Finally, it is downloaded to a nano level in another territoriality.

In this study, the geographical characteristics of this nano-level are the street, the city block, and the housing unit, where the inhabitants have a close relationship that allows them to get to know each other personally and share a common spatiality. The nano-level is legally and politically below the micro-level (the municipality). Its closest level of interaction is the municipality, without implying that it is not related to the other levels. Accordingly, this thesis proposes a definition of the nano-level as the scale in which the nano-level actors of the territories materialize the decision maker's initiatives, i.e., the street, the neighborhood, the square.

The nano-level is a scale in which citizens interact politically within the territory under a higher-level budget administration. In this way the Nano-level actors of the territories materialize the decision maker's initiatives. The nano level is related to community interactions at the neighborhood scale.

II.4. Transferral

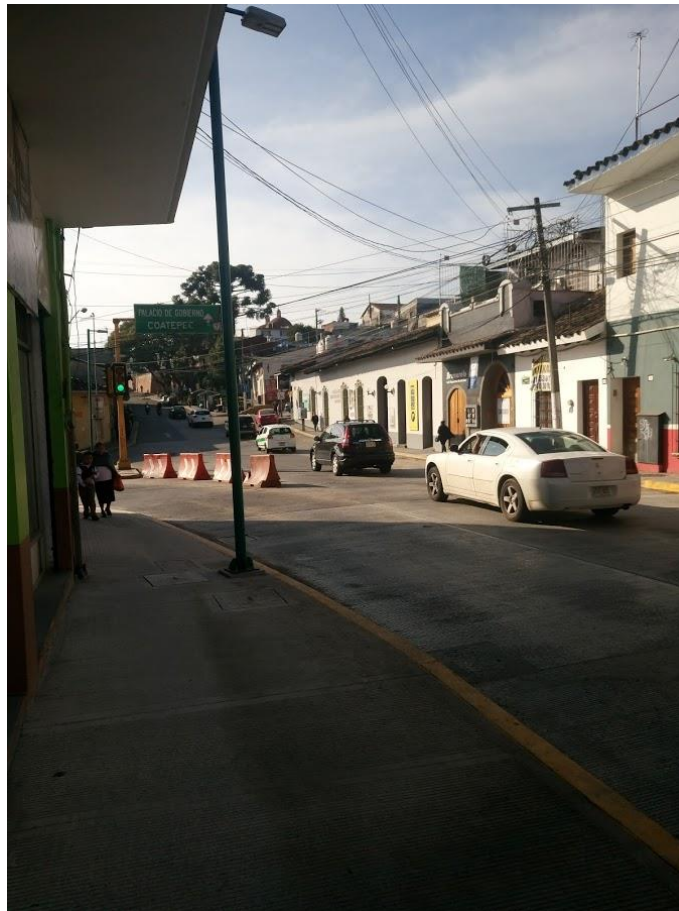


Figure II-10: Calle Enríquez start, Xalapa. Source: Author's collection

Actors at the nano-level within the regionalization process studied here share know-how with other territories through a program. This program is a channel to transfer technology. For this reason, it is essential to explain the conceptualization of transference within this investigation briefly.

The interaction between institutions happens within a political and legal framework. Each actor interacts according to their needs and possibilities. These interactions happen within the level's dynamic. For instance, a local actor seeking a solution for a problematic situation interacts with the upper level and waits for output in response to their demand. Classical political culture theory, as explained by David Easton (1997), proposes the so-called black-box to explain the operation of political culture in democratic systems. The citizens present demands to the government through a constellation of actors that are mediators. The government uses those demands and converts them into a cognitive dimension, analyzes the possibilities to respond, and then produces an output to answer the demand.

This research is focused mainly on two institutions located on different levels. A taxonomic separation in levels is useful for understanding the limits and capacities, as well as the responsibilities, of each level. The IDB, which, as a multilateral institution, is transnational and supra-state is one of the two levels. The communities and nano-level actors located in the neighborhood, or even on a specific street, are the other level. Representatives of both levels are inserted in the framework of local or municipal interactions.

In this sense, the development of this research proposes a classification by levels to understand the operation of the regionalization process from recognition of the place of its actors.

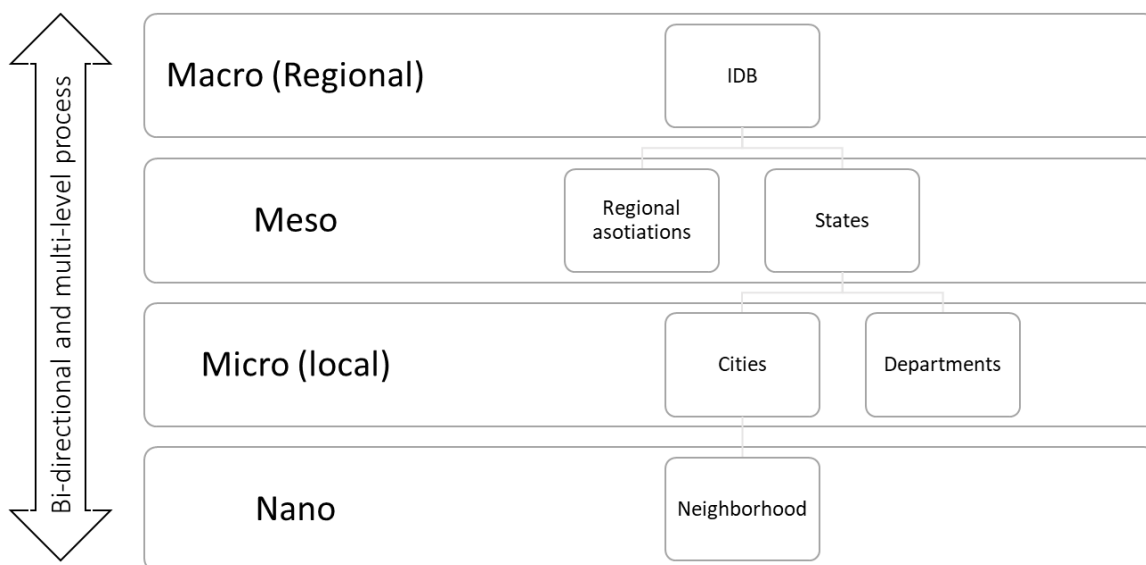


Figure II-11: Levels' schema proposed; from nano to macro. Source: Own elaboration.

According to the multi-dimensional meaning of region proposed, both institutions, the Bank and the grassroots communities, have regional interactions within and across their levels. However, all of the institutions interact in the system have multi-scalar interactions. In this context, the communities produce, push, and demand public policies through their interaction with local governments.

Legal frameworks delimit these levels, political jurisdictions, and the scope of activity of each institution. The IDB plays a role in incidence in all the levels. As a regional institution, the IDB has contact with national governments, with the principles produced in global summits, with municipal policymakers, and with intra-national territorial entities.

De Lombaerde proposes a methodology to connect the macro-level with the micro-level. Despite his conceptualization of each level is different from the conceptualization proposed in this thesis, his strategy is helpful to visualize the interaction processes.

I distinguish three ways to connect micro-regions with macroregions: (i) the merger of micro-regions and macro-regions into one conceptual category; (ii) the consideration of micro-regions and macro-regions as similar emerging international actors; and (iii) the consideration of (cross-border) micro-regions and macro-regions as related processes. (De Lombaerde, 2010, p. 32)

The interaction between macro-level and the lower meso-level seems natural insofar as each level responds to the demands from the other. Nevertheless, within the trend of new regionalism, there is a shift in meaning and scope of the possibilities for action at the micro-level. Micro-level actors jump to upper instances looking for adequate solutions:

According to Durán et al. (2009), in this evolution towards more international actorness, three ‘waves’ can be distinguished. In a first wave, starting in the 1980s, certain micro-regions started to get involved in the promotion of foreign direct investment (FDI) and tourism, and the affirmation of their culture and identity. (De Lombaerde, 2010, p. 34)

Fedrik Söderbaum illustrates one of the difficulties in exploring the connection between micro-level and macro-level. He points out the gap in the discourses of both levels and how these differences produce missing links (Söderbaum, 2004, p. 87):

Not only can one find coinciding objectives (commercial interest, political objectives, affirmation of identity), but macro-regions and micro-regions are also faced with common issues and obstacles when pursuing these objectives. These issues include their unclear diplomatic status and the issue of representation in multilateral scenarios. Macro-regions and micro-regions can thus be seen as similar emerging international actors.

Thus, technology transfer occurs between levels that have difficulties in recognizing their roles in the bi-directional and multi-level relationships of the regionalization process.

The first element is to recognize the communicating within the transfer. Communication is based on the principle that the transfer implies contact between interacting societies (Gualda, 1983). Traditionally, technology transfer is understood as the 'movement and diffusion of a technology or product from the context of its original invention to a different economic and social context,' usually through trade and investment (Becerra, 2004).

Another view is from the private sector, which includes the transfer of technological progress from scientists to productive companies (López G, Mejía C , & Schmal S, 2006). This is oriented to the adaptation of technology to produce improvements that optimize and innovate in the market. Depending on the cultural and regulatory framework, the rights over what is transmitted are shared or used by a single party (Aceytuno & Cáceres, 2012).

However, just as there is commercial transmission, information can be mobilized from social, cultural, or political interactions outside the market. As Gualda shows, literature in the social sciences has understood transfer as the 'engine of social change' (Gualda, 1983, p. 66).

Municipal officials and citizens participating in the planning process in Medellín created a new technology. The systematization of experience converted the information from the Medellín experience into technology. This technology was offered to various institutions at other micro and macro levels. In this logic of exchange, knowledge was produced as a commodity and then exchanged as capital.

Another peculiarity of this transfer schema is that it occurred horizontally between southern societies in developing countries. However, as it circulates, it made a stopover in Washington D.C. to be processed by the IDB and retransmitted. The connection between nano-level territories is typical within undeveloped countries. In this regard, Gualda mentions that,

'While in developed countries the transfer of information on technological innovations is carried out in the sphere of the productive forces, in the underdeveloped is reflected in the cultural field, by modifying consumption habits and generating a market for the production of useful goods and services, but not for that socially priority' (Gualda, 1983, p. 72).

In turn, Goulada warned of threats to culture and local ways of doing things when models are imported. If the transfer is not consensual, feelings of imposition can arise or failure to incorporate the new imported knowledge can occur.

Regions are technology transmitters. After their positioning as economic engines, it became clear that generation of regional knowledge was important for competitiveness (Gertler & Levitte, 2003; Giudice, Carayannis & Maggioni, 2017). Based on the concept of international technology transfer (Ruscheweyh, Deppe, Lohmann, et al., 2013), Asprilla (2018) emphasizes the value of agents, including institutions and networks, for transfers within systems of regional innovation (p. 165).

There are two typical paths for transfers. One path is when developed countries seek to send non-developed states their technology to exploit their market and take advantage of their raw material. The other path is an interactive transfer between developed societies in which they exchange not only knowledge, but also labor and capital.

Thus, the transfer schema led by the IDB is not traditional. It developed in a horizontal dynamic between actors from undeveloped countries and was mediated by a non-state institution whose interests fluctuate between promoting development and maintaining a financial model. The transfer schema in the regionalization process is:

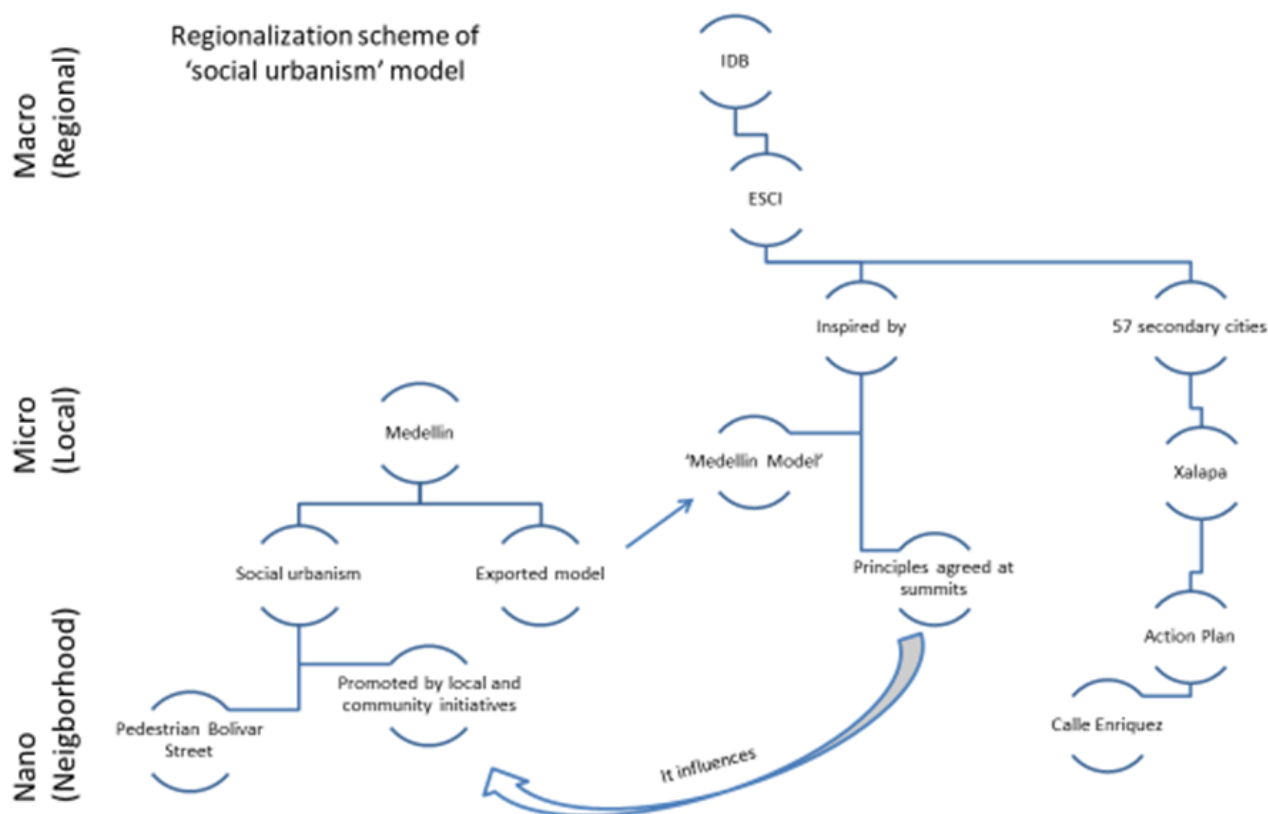


Figure II-12: Regionalization of nano-level initiatives schema. Source: Own elaboration.

II.5.Regional governance

In the world of private enterprise, the concept of *governance* describes management cooperation around specific issues between different bodies within the same organization or amongst different organizations. The term has been used in political science and political arena to describe the devolution of power from central governments to other administrative bodies, actors or institutions. In these accounts, governance has come to identify horizontal management, as opposed to more vertical, government-led management. Nonetheless, despite its vast and recurrent adoption in the policy-making vocabulary, there is little clarity in traditional political thought about what governance means at the institutional level (who does what) or in terms of political outcomes

(who gets what and how). Regardless of how scholars look at it, globalization has indeed influenced the way politics has been thought of so far. The ever-expanding flows of capital markets, backed by progressive waves of neoliberal reforms on a global scale (Brenner, Peck, & Theodore, 2015), have transcended the boundaries of the nation-state. Additionally, the dichotomy between public and private has become fictitious, blurry and too narrow. Political dimensions have thus reframed vertically, by scaling up in geographical scope (European Union, United Nations, International Monetary Fund, World Bank, MERCOSUR), and horizontally, aligning themselves along trajectories that escape the hierarchical structure of the nation-state.

However, while governance has emerged alongside globalization as a topic in political science, geography, and international relations, it continues to focus on ‘actors’ and ‘agents’ pursuing individual interests. This focus excludes broader socio-political and cultural factors that shape these transformations beyond individuals’ will or alleged awareness. Territory seems to be missing from the equation at the intersection with society and economy, especially as a local-spatial dimension of global phenomena. Regions are thus the contested spaces between a narrow, neo-liberal understanding of economy and society and the outward push for social cohesion, environmental concern, and sustainability. New regionalism reflects this quest for democratic processes to be locally reinstated to achieve ‘government as an authoritative system of policy-making whose ultimate test of legitimacy is democratic and inclusive rather than narrowly functional or economic’ (Keating, 2011).

The rationale for connecting approaches from multilevel governance is related to the need to connect levels of interaction. This connection should illustrate that the actor capacity and decisions define policy and spread over multiple levels. Thus, the governance view allows studies about regional construction to understand that ‘there is a complex set of actors (state and non-state) who

are nested into different policy scales, which in turn blurs the distinction between the international and the domestic' (Söderbaum, 2004, p. 90).

The concept of governance was created in the European context for a specific political need looking for allowance of the coordination within several governments and on various levels. However, it has been studied in depth by academics and politics in other regions. Thus, it is valid to analyze the reception of governance in the Latin-American context, with a focus on the multilateral and intergovernmental organizations in the American continent (Balanzo, A. et al., 2020). The aim is to show how the governance assimilation process operates, and how the critical postures about the pertinence of governance approach work considering the regional particularities.

Due to the lack of Spanish literature and sources in Spanish about the concept of governance in LAC, I decided to use my experience and expert judgment. In the digital database a-z.lu, there are only 27 findings of governance in Latin America in Spanish, in contrast to 6283 entries in English (Accessed 12/02/2017). This difference is not only quantitative. In the Spanish language literature it is evident that the authors use the concept without defining it. Meanwhile, in English academic production, the authors use the idea of governance from a consensual meaning.

II.5.1. Governance or how to propose a binding participation

European academics have developed a new paradigm to understand the horizon of possibilities for public affairs. With the rise of European institutions after the consolidation of the European integration project, it became necessary to create a new category that incorporated a non-hierarchical decision-making process. From this point forward, the exercise of government is

no longer understood in a pyramidal way with bottom-up logic, where the government is the least responsible for giving answers and outputs.

Thereby, governance is a move away from centralized authority where a central State does all the decision making. Instead, decision making is dispersed across multiple centers of authority (Hooghe & Marks, 2003). Governance includes the ability to design and plan the framework for public management in the context of actor interconnectedness. These actors can be a constellation of dedicated interest groups, as well as citizens or public institutions, regardless of the national, regional, or local levels. Additionally, these actors promote inter-level, two-way communication and connections between actors at the local and regional levels (Arangueren, 2010).

The capacity to design public policies has a sense as long as the actors can decide them. The decision-making process operates in a non-traditional way with communication from the central government level to the local level and vice-versa. The capacity for mobilization of the actors is then experimentation, which means that the government should have enough political capital to support the political cost of the policy implementation process. It is an equilibrium of interests mediated by balance in the decision-making process. However, the balance includes the possibility of failure and options for recovery.

The concept of governance is frequently associated with other ideas. It is easy to find similarities between governance and older notions with a similar meaning, such as the concept of public policies (Thoenig and Meny, 1978), political culture, systems theory (Easton, 1976), and public management. Governance is the product of frequent reshuffle and conceptual mutation in which academics take elements from previous theories, and with a semantic shift, they change the semiotic, all the while maintaining meaning.

For example, in the Basque country, governance has been assumed as a process in which the local development agencies took on competencies for tax administration and economic development (Arangueren, 2010).

Another constitutive element of governance is the capacity to mobilize. Actors compete for synergies, fundraising and political will. In the European context, it is possible to see how several initiatives at different scales mobilize human resources and capital. These resources come from intergovernmental institutions and thematic commissions at the European level (Faludi, 2012). One example is the public-private effort to promote the Olympic Games in London (Girginov, 2012).

Seeing the concept of governance as ‘any mode of coordination of interdependent activities’ (Jessop, 1998), the concept of the system serves to interpret the flows of demands and decisions. It is not only a regular flow of demands and requirements from one of the actors or stakeholders.

Following the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) (2001), good governance implies that all administrative levels coordinate their activities to achieve overall policy improvement. Furthermore, civil society and firms are invited to participate in collective decision-making and in projects to strengthen such decision-making.

In terms of decision-making, proposals for action are made in self-organized task forces, the final decision about implementation (with the assignment of a budget) is made in a management board where all stakeholders have representatives, and the decisions are implemented by stakeholders. (Arangueren, p. 55)

Hooghe & Marks (2003), in their article about the considerations in how multi-level governance jurisdictions should be structured, defined that governance has become (and should be) multi-level. This article distinguishes two types of multi-level governance that represent alternative responses to fundamental problems of coordination and are based on distinct notions of community. The two types of multi-level governance show two characteristics:

1: dispersion of authority to general-purpose, nonintersecting, and durable jurisdictions.

2: dispersion of authority to task-specific, intersecting, and flexible jurisdictions.

Table II.5-1	
<i>Types of Multi-level Governance</i>	
<u>Types of Multi-level Governance</u>	
<u>Type I</u>	<u>Type II</u>
General-purpose jurisdictions	Task-specific jurisdictions
Non-intersecting memberships	Intersecting memberships
Jurisdictions at a limited number of levels	No limit to the number of jurisdictional levels
<i>System wide</i> architecture	Flexible design

Table II.5-1: Types of Multi-level Governance. Based on Hooghe & Marks (2003)

Other essential elements for governance are jurisdiction and limitations. These limits affect the possibilities and capacities of actors. Jurisdictions can be nested (one central authority, e.g., the EU, with non-overlapping member states, each of which has their own system of provinces and municipalities), or they can be overlapping and compete (multiple, functionally-specific, policy regimes with overlapping (national) memberships).

A feature of governance is the jurisdictional or level dispersion that it can create. As Hooghe and Marks said, ‘All the literature agrees that dispersion of governance across multiple

levels is more flexible than the concentration of governance in one jurisdiction' (p.235). Beyond this agreement, the authors quoted disagree on how multi-level governance should be structured.

Finally, there is the challenge of creating indicators to measure the incidence or strength of a governance exercise. The main problem with the indicators built to analyze regional integration is that they were created only to measure the number of interactions, not to analyze the process as a whole. Moreover, the indicators lack pertinence in different contexts. Universalizing the measures for actor interactions if the political culture or the system organization is different is not a valid approach.

II.5.2. Regional governance in Latin-America

In the Latin American context, there is a gap in the comprehension of governance concepts due to problems in its interpretation. Balanzo's work showed how studies on governance in Latin America focus on the analysis of environmental governance in a globalized context (Balanzo, A. et al., 2020). Local politicians frequently use common concepts but unclear definitions. This is the case for government (*gobierno*), governance (*gobernabilidad*), and governmentality (*gubernamentalidad*). Homophones could mean semantic dispersions and deviations. Due to the indiscriminate use of these words by politicians and decision-makers, there is no consensus about the meaning of governance. Consequently, citizens have not appropriated the concept that was developed in the political arena.

Besides, it is problematic to think about governance or multi-level governance in the space of national state consolidation. A slow process of democratic strengthening of the State characterizes the Latin American political configuration. Even today, the region is still trying to

establish balance at international borders and improve state sovereignty, while trying to develop a better definition of the State, its limits and goals.

The political system of most American countries is presidential. Except for the British and Dutch ex-colonies, there are no other countries that have decided to implement a parliamentary model. Governance implies participation, which can also be seen as a value. The participation works inside a scenario of direct representation, appearing in the national parliaments, regional or local councils. However, within a presidential system, the executive power has more weight and influence on decision-making. That might explain why stakeholders or interested actors feel skeptical about presenting ideas to their government. Furthermore, they do not trust that their demands will be listened to or that creating a collective co-government is possible.

According to Castro-Gómez (2010), political behaviors in Latin America are rooted in recognition of centralized authority and acceptance of the concentration of power in the executive branch. Local participation is not a generalized value and that reduces importance to the constellation of actors involved in the democratic system. An example is the Inter-municipal cooperation, it is a micro-level governance exercise, however, as Villalba and others (2020) show, its appearance is given in multiple events that exceed the provision of services and, In this way, the governance is diluted among private interests and bureaucracy.

Hence, it is essential to advise some challenges in the incorporation of the concept. Considering the particularities of the Latin American context, to speak about governance and the limits in its incorporation:

- Legitimation without commitment (not binding decisions).

- Legitimation without credibility: The few common spaces for decision-making are not legitimated because the national parliaments do not participate in the process and usually is led by the chancelleries, e.g., the political claims in international conferences without parliamentary ratification.
- Integration without fixed borders: It is difficult to resolve planning problems in border zones when the national borders are not defined. Proof of that is the number of demands of border delimitation in course at the International Court of Justice (e.g., Nicaragua vs. Colombia, Bolivia vs. Chile, Chile vs. Peru, Belize vs. Honduras).
- Regional decisions or parallel actions: Some regional decisions are parallel to other decisions made in other multilateral organizations. For instance, when the Andean Community makes a regional decision counter to the political will of the OAS.
- Legitimation or community-building: The local actors are not present in multilateral governance, and it is not easy to see how the integration process influences the daily life of the communities (e.g., the Venezuela-Colombia border region of Cúcuta-San Antonio-San Cristóbal).

Rivalries between multilateral organizations are common in the American context. Consequently, there is a lack of governance and cooperation in resolving border issues, defining borders, and developing geo-strategic projects.

At the regional and local levels, stakeholders are not used to interacting with actors from entities at other level. Similarly, actors are not accustomed to cross-border interactions.

The categories aimed at promoting and understanding regional integration do not work in the American context. The market is not a principal factor in the foreign affairs of countries with geopolitical conditions determined by its periphery location in the global work distribution. The diplomatic decisions made by LAC countries are motivated by raw material and energy extraction. LAC countries are encouraged to incorporate their economies in the north-south flow of global capital, not to develop cooperative goals or merged planning processes.

Finally, local participation and citizen participation are not generalized. For instance, none of the regional organizations has public elections, except the Andean Parliament (Andean Community).

Some basic differences between government and governance (based on: [Savitch & Vogel, 2000](#), pp. 161-162).

Government	Governance
Vertical and firmly institutionalized	Horizontal and flexible
Formal and directed from above	Informal and self-regulating
Regional government connects to localities through demarcated procedures	Inter-local agreements are looser and less confined by boundaries
Emphasizes the centralizing features of regionalism	Stresses the decentralizing virtues of local cooperation

Figure II-13: Differences between government and governance. Source: (Ziafati Bafarasat, 2016, p. 120)

For these reasons, governance provides little conceptual clarity for the study of regionalization in Latin America. In response to this shortcoming, this dissertation uses the Quality of Democracy framework to study regions.

II.5.3. The Quality of Democracy

As seen in Chapter One, this thesis proposes to approach the regionalization of local initiatives from the perspective of the Quality of Democracy. This is not an audit of democracies but the use of the QoD categories as an assessment tool. Through this proposal, I offer an original point of view that moves away from the traditional exercises of application of the tool to evaluate democracy. Comparative policy measurements at the national or meso-level usually use the Quality of Democracy. Comparative studies try to use the QoD approach to imbricate spatial transformation projects with the democratic quality of the territories where the projects are developed. Hence, a definition of democracy and quality is necessary for this analysis.

Democracy has spread across the planet as the predominant type of government. Since the creation of the United Nations (UN) in 1945 and the signing of the Charter of Fundamental Rights, democracy has gained strength as the ideal model, particularly within societies with liberal market economies. Democracy has multiple interpretations, from the popular democracy of Marxism to liberal representative democracy. However, what has marked the trend is the idea of the absence of deterministic impossibilities for the implementation of an effective system of power distribution among citizens.

Larry Diamond, leaning on Huntington's definition of the wave of democratization, wonders about the possibility of universalizing democracy. Diamond states that the reach of any government depends on the will of the actors in power to implement it (Diamond, 2003, p. 10). Thus, it has been accepted that the conditions for the implementation of a democratic government can be met by any country regardless of its cultural tradition or level of development. For example, Diamond illustrates that there is no relationship between the United Nations Human Development Index and the establishment of democracy. However, the characteristics of newer democracies

certainly change according to objective economic conditions, without a correlation between the level of development and transitions to democracy (Diamond, 2003, p. 26).

Following this analysis, democracy can be divided into two traditions. A minimalist democracy is a democracy in which electoral systems coexist with plural participation, problems arising from corruption, limits to political rights, and weakness in the rule of law. The other tradition is a democracy with freedoms, in which the conditions that allow citizens expel the subjects who hold positions of power are met. In this way, a holistic understanding of democracy accepts a combination of democracy with liberal values and the operation of the rule of law.

The need to conceptualize a methodology to study democracy that exceeds the limitations of an ideological position begins to break down. Diamond, O'Donnell, and Morlino (1999) stand out in these initial proposals. The schematization of the characteristics starts by talking about requirements. In principle, three dimensions are necessary for the fulfillment of democratic conditions: 1) free, periodic, and multi-party elections (democratic component), 2) limitations on the actions of the State against individual freedoms (liberal component), and 3) a guarded government through institutional accountability (a Republican-style rule of law component). Thus, these novel proposals focus attention on the analysis of democratic quality from the perspective of the citizen and not exclusively from the point of view of State as the primary agent. The 'good' democracy will be understood from the quality regarding the result.

Most countries attached to the United Nations system call themselves democratic countries. In 2017, the *Democracy Index* prepared by The Economist magazine presented a list of 167 countries (165 independent States and two territories), of which 19 were categorized as full democracies, 57 as imperfect democracies, 39 as hybrid regimes, and 52 were characterized as non-democratic nations classified as authoritarian regimes (The Economist. Intelligence Unit,

2018). This analysis shows that only 4.5% of the world's population lives in full democracies (44.8% live in imperfect democracies and 16.7% live under a hybrid regime) (2018, p. 2). A hybrid regime is one in which practices that limit the freedom to choose coexist with periodic election exercises (Diamond, 2002, p. 28). These data show the tendency to spread democracy as a type of government.

Most countries in Latin America are in the category of imperfect democracies. Uruguay is the only country in the region categorized as a full democracy. Five nations in Latin America were categorized as having hybrid regimes and two were categorized as authoritarian regimes. There are 14 countries in the region in the category of imperfect democracies in transition towards full democracy. Since the *new wave of democratization* in the 1980s, the region has undergone a dynamic democratization process (Huntington, 1994). This process is characterized by the transition from civic-military dictatorships to representative, liberal democratic regimes.

For the purposes of this research, Mexico and Colombia were categorized as imperfect democracies. Colombia is in position 53, and Mexico is in position 66. The six measurement categories are scored numerically 0 to 10, where 0 is the absence of the condition, and 10 is full compliance.

Table II.5-2							
<i>Democracy rank position for Colombia and Mexico</i>							
	<u>Rank</u>	<u>Overall score</u>	<u>Electoral process and pluralism</u>	<u>Government functioning</u>	<u>Political participation</u>	<u>Political culture</u>	<u>Civil liberties</u>
<u>Colombia</u>	53	6.67	9.17	6.79	4.44	5.00	7.94
<u>México</u>	66	6.41	7.83	6.43	7.22	4.38	6.18

Table II.5-2: Democracy rank position for Colombia and Mexico. Based on Democracy Index 2017. (The Economist. Intelligence Unit, 2018)

The analysis of this report gives two main conclusions. Both countries are within the global average of democratic states. Additionally, both show strength in the electoral process and political pluralism.

In terms of freedom associated with democracy, the Freedom House scale gives results that coincide with the results from the Democratic Index. Over the last decade there has been a sustained decline in the freedoms index. The conditions for optimal democratic performance selected by this measurement are the right to choose freely in fair elections, freedom of the press, and the rule of law (Freedom House, 2018).

Both Colombia and Mexico are in an intermediate position in the Freedom House index. Colombia is considered partially free with a score of 65/100, where 100 is mostly free. Additionally, Colombia scored 3/7 (one is mostly free, and seven is less free) for political rights and civil liberties. For its part, Mexico has a score of 62/100 and one of 3/7 for political rights and civil liberties.

Additionally, the *Index of democratic development of Latin America*, a multi-dimensional report prepared by the German foundation Konrad Adenauer, categorized Mexico and Colombia as countries with low (Mexico) and minimum (Colombia) democratic development in 2016 (IDD-LAT, 2016).

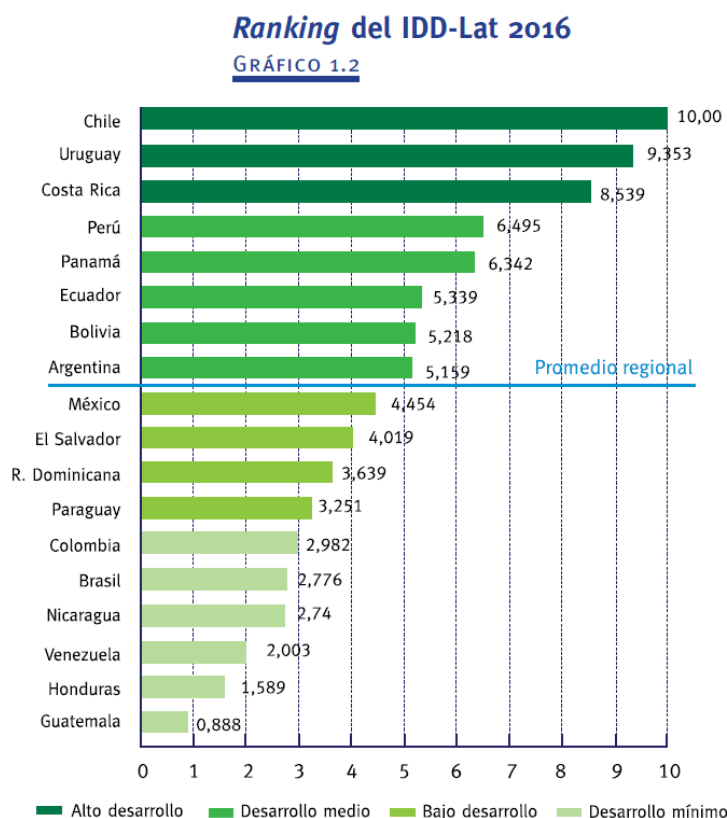


Figure II-14: Ranking IDD-LAT 2016. Source: (IDD-LAT, 2016)

Colombia is in the 13th position of 18 countries, in the minimum democratic development category with a score of 2,982 over 10 (10 being full democratic development). Regarding the conditions for full democratic development, Colombia stands out in this analysis for its low overall performance, mainly concerning its ability to generate well-being.

Table II.5-3

Scores of Colombia in the IDD-LAT ranking

<u>Respect for political rights and civil liberties</u>	<u>Institutional quality and political efficiency</u>	<u>Ability to generate policies that ensure well-being</u>	<u>Ability to generate policies that ensure economic efficiency</u>
2,903	3,647	-0,613	0,207

Table II.5-3: Scores of Colombia in the IDD-LAT ranking. Source: (IDD-LAT, 2016)

For its part, Mexico is ranked 9th out of 18. Its overall score was 4,454, making it a country categorized as having low democratic development.

Table II.5-4			
<i>Scores of Mexico in the IDD-LAT ranking</i>			
<u>Respect for political rights and civil liberties</u>	<u>Institutional quality and political efficiency</u>	<u>Ability to generate policies that ensure well-being</u>	<u>Ability to generate policies that ensure economic efficiency</u>
4,255	3,806	0,466	0,652

Table II.5-4: Scores of Mexico in the IDD-LAT ranking. Source: (IDD-LAT, 2016)

According to this ranking, the main differences between the two countries focus on economic and distribution capacities, while there is proximity in the institutional quality dimension. This ranking shows that Colombia, with negative values, has a flaw in policies that promote well-being. That said, Colombian values in relationship to well-being are not far from Mexico's values.

Aside from comparative politics, it is relevant to understand democracy in relationship to legitimacy. The democratic practices grant the legitimacy inside the political culture where it expresses; it depends on the political culture. Therefore, a broad comparative perspective opens a space for a Latin American political culture that conceives participation outside a single framework of demands and proposes co-management (de Sousa Santos, 2005). That broader scope is the valuable advance proposed by Morlino to understand the democratic transitions in Latin America (Monedero, 2014).

Quality of Democracy elaborates a valuation schema for democracy in a country based on the concept of quality. The concept of quality is complex. Its origin in the economy refers to a

meaning close to the final product characteristics in a productive process. In turn, quality has the epistemological problem of proposing an ideal state of affairs of the relationship between the product produced and the product demanded. Defining the optimum in a political relationship is impossible due to the countless interpretations of the connection among subject-power-institutions in which each individual has his or her criteria. This multiplicity makes it difficult to standardize what is the optimum level of democratic quality. This makes it necessary to define the ideal democracy before proceeding with its evaluation. Defining the concept touches on the problem of the diversity of authors who have theorized about a totalizing definition of democracy, as well as the ideological schools that study, promote, or incorporate it into their political actions.

The idea of *quality of democracy* is not limited exclusively to the conceptual schema developed by Diamond and Morlino. As Andreev points out, the phrase has been used since the 1960s to refer subjectively to the conditions for advancing democracy in a given context without stopping in the process to prioritize the results (Andreev, 2005, p. 1). The term has often been used without trying to define it. This vagueness is not visible in the literature about the quality of democracy in Spanish language studies in Latin America. Translations of articles and other references are generally based on the works of Diamond and Morlino, recognizing the effort of both authors to synthesize a sense of democratic quality and avoid the problems of developmentalism.

The concept of QoD is comprised of two concepts: quality and democracy. Democracy, as a concept, has been approached by classical and contemporary political theory with multiple definitions. Within the recent developments are two fundamental schools. One school of thought is procedural, based on the concept of *polyarchy* by Robert Dahl (Dahl, 1971), limiting democracy to the procedures that regulate access to political power. The other school is processual and

understands democracy beyond polyarchy and incorporates substantive issues related to objective conditions and results (see the work of Diamond & Morlino, 2004; Hagopian, 2005; Schmitter, 2005). The definition of quality is complex, in part because the word can be used as an adjective and a noun. In this regard, Andreev quotes Morlino to explain the possible uses of the term quality:

Morlino (2003) has pointed out that the term *quality* can lay stress on (1) the procedure as to how the political policy is organized, (2) the content of the regime's structure and policies, and (3) the result of the government's activity. Hence, it could be concluded that the notion of quality itself contributes substantially to the *multidimensionality* and diverse understanding of the concept of the QoD. (Andreev, 2005, p. 2)

There are procedural and processual approaches to democracy. The achievement of Morlino's method is that it combines these approaches within a single schema and thus limits ideological biases. Within the procedural approach, actions previously regulated by rules for political performance are included. The activities of the actors involved in the power relations are also included in the procedural component. Thus, quality is related to the fulfillment of responsibilities by the actors respecting their actions within the regulatory framework.

Similarly, there is an agreement among researchers that the requirements necessary to talk about democratic quality refer to the basic principles of democracy, which are free competition, participation and representation, equality before the law, instruments of accountability, responsibility, obligation in response to citizen demands, and the co-responsibility of citizens to participate in political life at all levels.

Andreev defines QoD as 'a relatively stable and legitimate arrangement' (Andreev, 2005, p. 3). For this author, democratic quality has a contractual bias that requires an agreement within

a state framework. That is, it assumes that the actors only interact democratically within a regulatory spectrum of the meso-level (state).

Nevertheless, the definition to be sought for purposes of the application of the democracy quality approach in urban projects emphasizes those conceptual approaches that incorporate the dimensions of the method of the quality of democracy as a model to define the democratic qualities of a political entity. This conception advocates for a procedural view of the constitution of governments and the operationalization of political power and the objective conditions necessary for the emergence of democratic logics, from political culture to conditions of productions, that include expanded forms of democracy.

The twentieth century witnessed the expansion of democracy as a form of government. Yet, discussions about implementation respond to unfinished debates about the forms of representation and political power. The contemporary debate around the concept of democracy has had two pivotal moments. Boaventura de Sousa Santos and Leonardo Avritzer (2005), moved the focus of the academic discussion from the desirability of the application of democracy to the popularization of the need to democratize political structures. This results in a change of perspective regarding concerns about its applicability. For this approach, the right of less qualified actors to exercise political rights is not considered a risk. In consequence, legitimacy is valued more than administrative efficiency. This will have profound consequences for the insertion of the principles of citizen participation in urban projects because it highlights the tension between the widespread knowledge of citizens and the technical knowledge of public officials and contractors who are in charge of the projects.

Thus, the first moment was a debate around the organization of political structures that allow the election of leaders via suffrage (Kelsen, Schumpeter, Schmitt, Bobbio, Weber) and the

second moment focused on the objective conditions that a social group requires for the operationalization of democratic political actions (Moore, Foucault, O'Donnell, Dahl, Sen). Moreover, the historical and conceptual development of the concept of democracy, as explained by De Sousa Santos and Avritzer, allow us to situate ourselves in a definition of democracy that avoids the discussion of Marxist critiques of liberal democracy. Wealth redistribution and the search for social justice do not necessarily conflict with the generation of wealth. Multilateral institutions, such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, expand liberal democracy in coexistence with other democratic practices that broaden the perspective of social participation.

Hence, I proposed this research on the understanding of the transformation of the conceptualization of contemporary democracy into what De Sousa Santos and Avritzer define as 'a new historical grammar' (2005, p. 43). This conception not only recognizes the role of institutional capacities for the emergence of democracy but also understands democracy as 'a way of perfecting human relations' (2005, p. 42). The latter refers to the relationship between procedure and social participation. Social participation is an essential addition to the QoD framework because it was an integral part of the experience of democratic extension in Latin America during the 70s and 80s. Social participation depends on the incorporation of dialogue between actors into public administration at the local scale.

The accent on social participation also led to a redefinition of the appropriateness of the non-participatory and bureaucratic solution at the local level, posing once again the problem of scale within the debate on democracy. The success of most of the participatory experiments in the recently democratized countries in the South is related to the ability of the social actors to transfer

practices and information from the social level to the administrative level. (de Sousa Santos & Avritzer, 2005, p. 45)

In terms of political participation, there is a recurring debate about the possibility of subtracting the analysis of the democratic quality of the characteristics of the political culture of the population to be studied. Questions about what type of government can be expected based on culture have been overcome. Yet, it is still common to associate certain practices with specific types of government.

Measuring democratic quality and its operationalization is possible from two perspectives. One perspective focuses on the actions of a democratic government and the other perspective focuses on the democratic performance of social processes. Andreev summarizes ways to measure QoD before the development of Morlino's proposal (Andreev, 2005).

Author	Indicators
Lijphart (1999)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Women's parliamentary representation – Women's cabinet representation – Family policy – Rich-poor ratio – Voter turnout – Satisfaction with democracy – Government distance – Voter distance – Corruption index – Popular cabinet support
Valenzuela (1992) and O'Donnell (1994)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Absence of 'reserved domains' – 'Horizontal accountability'
Huntington (1991) and Przeworski, <i>et al.</i> (1996)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – GDP per capita (and PPP) – Political stability and regime's survival rate
Gasiorowski and Power (1998)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Democracy persistence (and consolidation) – Time

Table II.5-5: Table of common measures of the QoD. Source: (Andreev, 2005)

Morlino makes a methodological distinction by moving past a limited approach to modernization and transition to democracy in favor of an analysis of the contents of democracy. That is, he seeks a democracy with conditions different from preexisting versions.

Since the mid-2000s, when the first version of Morlino's work was translated to Spanish, the QoD framework has had a successful insertion in research work in Latin America (Cansino & Covarrubias, 2005). Many of these academics, among them Alcántara Sáez (2008), Munck (2004), Olivares-Lavados & Canale-Mayet (2009), Rivas Leone (2013) and Sahui Maldonado (2016) focused on methods for transferring the methodology to the Latin American context.

The questions focused on the need to find a democratic quality measurement model that would include multiple criteria outside traditional measurement via rankings. There are various ranking and econometric style mechanisms in the region, including the Latinobarometer, the Observatories '*Cómo Vamos?*' (How are we doing?), the Latin American Development Index of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation, and the oldest United Nations Development Program report *Democracy in America Latin Towards a citizens democracy* (2011), and reports from international organizations and regional development banks.

All of these indicators fall short of understanding dimensions such as citizen participation and interactions at levels other than the nation-state. As Murillo Castaño and Osorio Ramírez (2007) point out, indexed measurements are usually limited to monitoring the actions of each State. Such measures tend to restrict the analysis to the reductionist understanding of democracy as mere electoral exercise.

The QoD criteria is applied to a regionalization process in this process. Regionalization processes are not comparable to the functioning of a state democratic regime. However, both the

procedural and substantive dimensions, with their associated indicators, can be observed in citizen processes as long as they are governed by the same principles that imbue the mainstream state framework. That is, democratic principles survive on the nano- and micro-levels, making it possible to describe the conditions in which actors interact at these levels. QoD criteria can be used to analyze the nano-level actors' performance according while reducing the scale and keeping the same logic of the higher levels.

Years later, the social urbanism experiment in Medellín will capitalize on citizen participation to configure participative action. Also, the municipality proposed the social urbanism as the forms of creative interaction between the subjects and the State as an epistemological telos of public action. However, these modes of citizen participation are not an overload of the democratic system, which is what makes them novel. The State does not assume demands made by new actors that emerge from the nano-level and from populations previously excluded from participation (the case of indigenous peoples, afro-descendants and displaced populations due to economic hardship or conflict) as an excessive burden. On the contrary, instead of perceiving these demands as threats to the accumulation of capital, the Medellín Model sought to insert citizen demands in the productive circuits. The city generated value through revaluation of soil or connectivity of labor with new service-based production clusters.

In democratic terms, the experience of the Medellín Model as a dialogue between different actors and levels illustrates the complementarity and coexistence of representative democracy and participatory democracy. The various levels of governance interacting with one another legitimize the existence of the other levels.

The acceptance of horizontal and vertical accountability went through a similar process. The QoD framework proposes the need for accountability as a necessary element in democratic

procedures. Alternatives such as the Medellín Model used the possibilities of a new constitutional framework in Colombia to take advantage of mechanisms of civic control for public administration. The Political Constitution of 1991 (Senado de Colombia, 1991) created seven mechanisms of citizen participation and four oversight bodies. In this way, accountability is legally protected and there is a general sense of its validity and effectiveness.

The QoD framework overcomes result-based categories of analysis. The following approach proposes an analysis of the genesis, execution, and performance of the ESCI.

The Quality of Democracy framework is comprised of minimal elements. Classical literature proposes universal suffrage, free, competitive and periodic elections, a multi-party system, and accurate and independent sources of information as essential requirements for democracy. Further studies also include freedom of association and organization, freedom of expression, the right of leaders to compete in elections, the right to be elected, the existence of institutions capable of responding to the demands expressed by citizens in elections as additional requirements.

Morlino proposes to analyze the quality of democracy from three axes that allow its measurement: 1) results, 2) contents, and 3) procedures (see figures II-15 below).

- Results Axis: This axis is related to responsiveness to citizenship demands. It is related to the quality measured by consumer satisfaction.
 - Responsiveness: There is a reciprocity between decision-makers, public policy implementers, and citizen expectations.
 - Legitimacy: Obedience to public policy is generated by acceptance. This legitimacy is understood as rational-legal legitimacy (Weber). For this, the previously agreed

upon procedures for the exercise of power are fulfilled, and therefore the sovereignty of said power is voluntarily accepted.

- Content Axis: This axis evaluates freedom and equality as fundamental principles. It is related to the quality measured by product attributes.
 - Equality: means equitable distribution of wealth, duties, and responsibilities.
 - Freedom: freedom of participation, expression, and development.
- Procedural Axis: This axis is responsible for the necessary foundations of democracy based on the principle of respect for the decision of the majority. It is related to the fulfillment of the production processes of the product.
 - Responsibility: This is related to the rendering of accounts vertically and horizontally. Vertical accountability is sought in the periodic electoral cycles, while horizontal accountability appears in the daily control of public action exercised by the citizenry or fiscal, criminal, or administrative control bodies.
 - Legality: This refers to the division of powers and proper functioning of the rule of law. It avoids the legal breach of the precept that no end can justify a transgression of legally agreed upon means.

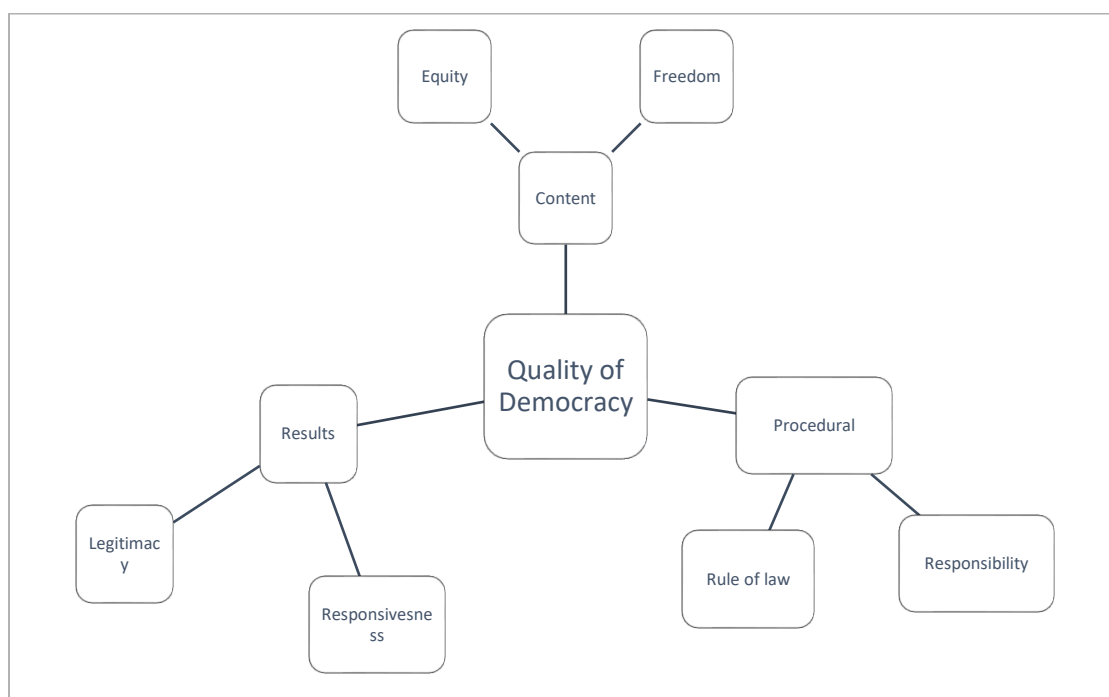
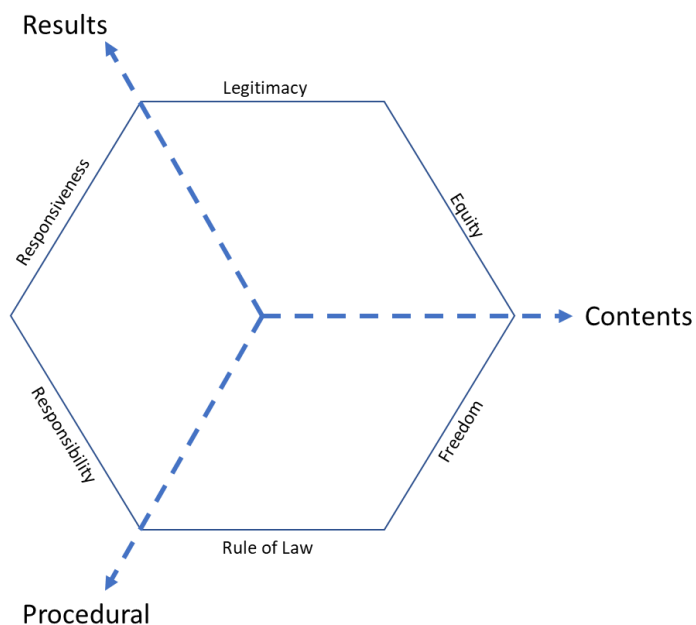


Figure II-15: Quality of democracy components. Source: Own elaboration based on Morlino (2009) and Gil Calvo (2010).

It is also important to classify the principles that the Quality of Democracy framework incorporates in its analysis. When referring to principles, the QoD framework refers to procedural conditions that have value in and of themselves. These principles include citizen participation,

precise and free information, the efficiency of the institutional structure, and the election of leaders in free competition. For the purposes of this thesis, the most relevant principle for understanding the regionalization of the ESCI initiatives is ‘the communities do planning.’ Both the analysis of the situation understood as problematic, as well as the ways of solution of these should be expressed in the same political community where the problem occurred. Within this horizon of stakeholder interactions, the Quality of Democracy framework gives an essential role to intermediate structures of mediation. These nano-level actors interacting with macro and regional-level ones will play a central role in the analysis of the multilevel interactions between social urbanism and the ESCI within new regionalization, which includes a multilevel pattern of governance; logic that theorized by Hettne and Söderbaum in their *regioness* proposal (2000, p. 458).

Another advantage that allows the QoD approach to evaluate democratic performance is that measurement avoids establishing a hierarchy among democracies based on a strictly procedural revision (Monedero, 2014). From this perspective, some countries are in higher categories that preclude an evaluation outside criteria with a claim of universal validity. Hence, the Quality of Democracy framework is useful to analyze two cases located in Latin American cities because it includes dimensions of content and results. The recognition of alternative democratic political cultures is based on this analysis. Although Morlino considers that democratic trajectory, as a historical process, is critical for the evaluation of the quality of democratic process. Methodologically, this interpretation can be extended to a revision of the path dependency of the operationalization of an urban planning project.

Additionally, the QoD framework is useful for the objectives because of its roots in economy as a field of study (Gil Calvo, 2010). Even though an economic perspective on human

interactions has the risk of converting political subjects into clients, as proposed by neoliberalism, these categories are adequate because the ESCI is promoted by the IDB.

Rule of law defines participation as a democratic exercise. By rule of law, I am not only referring to the Weberian (cultural) interpretation, but to the guarantee of legality for each citizen, based on clear, previously stated (not retroactive) rules. In *Horizontal Accountability in New Democracies*, O'Donnell (1998) explains:

Yet the very illiberalism of such regimes (including their lack of truly law-based rule) imperils their democratic character. A weak rule of law will likely mean that participation by the poor and marginalized is suppressed, individual freedoms are insecure, many civic groups are unable to organize and advocate, the resourceful and well-connected are unduly favored, corruption and abuse of power run rampant, political competition is unfair, voters have a hard time holding rulers to account, and overall democratic responsiveness is gravely enfeebled. (Diamond & Morlino, 2004, p. 23)

According to the brief explanation of the categories of Quality of Democracy, a schema was proposed that applies the main elements of democratic quality to the regionalization of local initiatives at the nano level. This schema focused on using the categories as a tool for reviewing the democratic quality of each moment of the regionalization process, as well as the impact of the regionalization process on democratic quality. The proposed schema addresses quality in terms of results, content, and procedure.

This schema concentrated on the categories in one single dimension. It merged several categories according to the specific need to revise the political will of the interested actors within the regionalization process. I adapted it for urban projects analysis.

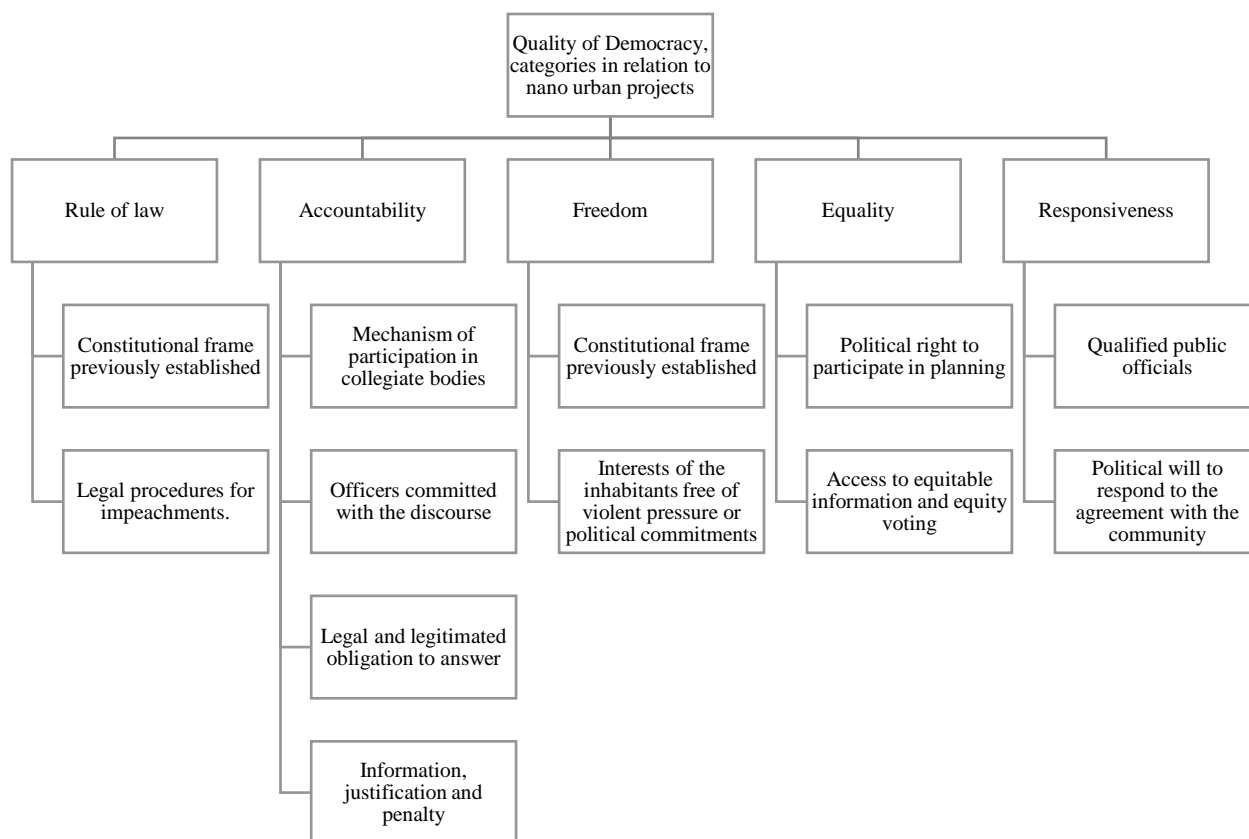


Figure II-16: The categories of Quality of Democracy and their operationalization in urban projects. Source: Own elaboration.

The regionalization of a local planning initiative can be analyzed outside the standard criteria of the literature on regional studies, regional integration, planning, and territorial development. All criteria of the Quality of Democracy framework can be used to analyze the process of technology transfer and the consequent political shifts. This study looks at the quality of the democratic exercise in the process of regionalization at the genesis of the process, during the transfer process, and in the download, with a focus on connection between nano-levels.

Both territories included in the study are liberal democracies. Mexico and Colombia include participatory democracy as the foundation of the State-citizenship relationship. Similarly, the IDB respects the Inter-American Human Rights System and the democratic charter of the

Organization of American States. The IDB focuses on development, but its lines of action point to a commitment to strengthening the objective conditions necessary for democratic quality in accordance with the principles proposed by Morlino.

Likewise, territorial planning is increasingly associated with democratic conditions. To talk about planning today is to talk about citizen participation in the process. In this way, if we speak about the regionalization of a planning mode, we are talking about citizen participation in the parable of the transfer. This participation necessarily requires the minimum democratic criteria of information transparency and easy access, free representation in the advisory and decision-making bodies, and a previously established regulatory framework.

Thus, accountability, in my criteria, will have greater prominence when analyzing regionalization as a process. Citizen participation from the nano-level pulls the other categories. Guaranteed free participation and representation is a condition for the democratic quality of a technology export process. Participation is the engine that motivates communities to express their demands to higher levels.

A brief explanation of the political and normative context regarding territorial planning and planning in both Mexico and Colombia follows. Both Colombia and Mexico are liberal democracies. Despite the multiple rankings, indices, and measurements that place each country at different democratic levels, it is commonly accepted that their political structure is democratic. Their constitutions and other forms of exercise of political representation foresee this. This precept is important because democratic quality analysis can only be applied to societies with a minimum degree of democratization(Barreda, 2011, p. 267), or as Andreev points out:

it is necessary to stipulate that, in order to be able to measure the various aspects of the QoD, one has to be sure that the political regime under consideration is a *political democracy*, albeit minimal, so that its qualities can be enumerated and evaluated (Andreev, 2005, p. 5)

In this same sense, discussion about types of democracies, or qualities, exceeds the object of this research. Therefore, this thesis accepts that both countries have a model of representative, liberal democracy, that is minimally participatory.

The current Political Constitution of Colombia defines the country as a rule of law state in the first article:

Article 1. Colombia is a social state under the rule of law, organized in the form of a unitary republic, decentralized, with autonomy of its territorial units, democratic, participatory, and pluralistic, based on the respect of human dignity, the work and solidarity of the individuals who belong to it, and the prevalence of the general interest. (Senado de Colombia, 1991)

For its part, Mexico has had an established democratic tradition over the last two decades after a long period of single-party government. The *Partido Revolucionario Institucional*, Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) ruled Mexico for 71 consecutive years, from its founding in 1921 until the year 2000, when the *transition to democracy* began (Olvera, 2009). This does not mean that there was a single-party regime for 71 years. This time was marked by periodic interparty elections and the constant triumph of the PRI. The democratic transformation came after the victory of the *Partido Acción Nacional*, National Action Party in 2000. The PRI returned to power in 2012, and the *Movimiento de regeneración Nacional*, National Renewal Movement party won the federal presidency after the 2018 elections.

In Mexico, citizen participation, as a fundamental right, has been a timid but constant process. The Constitution of the United Mexican States contains various articles that guarantee conditions of democratic quality, including:

- Artículo 6: El derecho a la información.

Para el ejercicio del derecho de acceso a la información, la Federación, los Estados y el Distrito Federal, en el ámbito de sus respectivas competencias, se regirá por los siguientes principios y bases: Toda la información en posesión de cualquier autoridad, entidad, órgano y organismo federal, estatal y municipal es pública y sólo podrá ser reservada temporalmente por razones de interés público en los términos que fijen las leyes. En la interpretación de este derecho deberá prevalecer el principio de máxima publicidad.

- Artículo 8: El derecho de petición.
- Artículo 26: El Estado organizará un sistema de planeación democrática del desarrollo nacional.

La ley facultará al Ejecutivo para que establezca los procedimientos de participación y consulta popular en el sistema nacional de planeación democrática, y los criterios para la formulación, instrumentación, control y evaluación del plan y los programas de desarrollo. Asimismo, determinará los órganos responsables del proceso de planeación y las bases para que el Ejecutivo Federal coordine mediante convenios con los gobiernos de las entidades federativas e induzca y concierte con los particulares las acciones a realizar para su elaboración y ejecución.

Additionally, Article 6 of the Federal Law for the Promotion of Activities Performed by Civil Organizations says:

Las organizaciones de la sociedad civil tienen los siguientes derechos:

Participar, conforme a la Ley de Planeación y demás disposiciones jurídicas aplicables, como instancias de participación y consulta; Integrarse a los órganos de participación y consulta instaurados por la Administración Pública Federal, en las áreas vinculadas con las actividades a que

se refiere el artículo 5 de esta ley, y que establezcan o deban operar las dependencias o entidades; Participar en los mecanismos de contraloría social que establezcan u operen dependencia y entidades, de conformidad con la normatividad jurídica y administrativa aplicable; - Participar, en los términos que establezcan las disposiciones jurídicas aplicables, en la planeación, ejecución y seguimiento de las políticas, programas, proyectos y procesos que realicen las dependencias y entidades, en relación con las actividades a que se refiere el artículo 5 de esta ley.

Citizen participation has a normative component and some policy requirements. For the analysis of citizen participation in Mexico, Serrano Rodríguez (2015, p. 97) proposes the following policy requirements: 1) respect for individual guarantees, 2) institutional channels and legal frameworks, 3) information and 4) citizens' trust in democratic institutions.

Measuring the democratic quality of the regionalization of nano-level planning initiatives within the ESCI moves away from traditional forms of measurement. These are usually comparative studies between states (Barreda, 2011; Vollenweider & Ester, 2018) that focus on actors and decision-making processes. In turn, this analysis of QoD is not limited to an empirical analysis of the procedural dimension (which is the easiest to measure), but instead attempts to analyze the decision-making process imbricated with the documents produced during the transferal.

However, this research starts with the schema in three moments. During the genesis of the process, this research studied the MSU as a conceptual and methodological proposal. It was analyzed through a literature review and interviews without applying the QoD framework because Medellín did not participate in the ESCI. Therefore, it is difficult to compare the results of social urbanism in Medellín with the effects of ESCI in Xalapa. Consequently, the analysis of the

regionalization process begins with an analytical description of the process at its origin without numerical measurement.

For the moment of the transfer process, I used the proposed QoD framework but limited to observing the interactions between actors within the decision-making process.

In the third moment, related to downloading and connection between nano levels, the QoD framework is applied. The results are averaged and contrasted with previous analyzes on the development of nano-level planning in Medellín.

According to the model for QoD analysis summarized by Andreev (2005, p. 6), it is necessary to clarify whether the process of regionalization is democratic and then check if the set of qualities of the decision-making process are accurately described. The first requires a definition of democracy within a regionalization process. Many definitions of democracy have been written within the already limited space of the possible measurement of quality. These definitions avoid understanding the concept as an adjective and attempt to substantiate it. For example, Schmitter stated that democracy ‘is a regime or system of government in which the actions of rulers are monitored by citizens who act indirectly through competition and the cooperation of representatives’ (Schmitter, 2005). To do this, the definition of QoD developed by Victoria Graham is useful when superimposed on the actors involved in the parable of transmission. Thus, good Quality of Democracy:

must be one that delivers in terms of procedure, content, and result; that is one which presents a stable institutional structure that realizes the liberty and equality of citizens, and that strives to satisfy citizen’s expectations through the legitimate and correct functioning of its institutions and mechanisms. Therefore of its institutions and mechanisms. (Graham, 2015, p. 92)

Democratic quality adheres to the essence, interests, and ways of operating of the actors involved in political processes at the nano-level. Nano-level actors are legally recognized as valid for political interaction. Constitutionally and legally, nano-level actors have guarantees and mechanisms that protect their right to participate in planning. They have legitimacy in terms of the acceptance (with higher acceptance in Colombia than in Mexico) from its participation in nano and micro-planning community processes.

The IDB is a hybrid organization. It is part of a framework of democratic principles, but its nature as a financial institution restricts access to transparent information. It is not made up of elected officials, and it answers to the interests of the member states.

The second step requires the review of quality conditions for decision making. Here, it suggests a review of QoD categories within the three dimensions, results, content and procedure, proposed by Diamond and Morlino (2004). Procedural refers to how the QoD framework relates to a 'stable institutional structure' (Rivas Leone, 2013, p. 4) that allows transparent processes, inclusive competition, accountability mechanisms, and minimum guarantees within the rule of law.

In the content dimension, concomitant rights with democratic values are understood as substantive, which enables the enjoyment of democracy itself. In other words, these rights are the conditions platform that facilitates participation. In a later article, Morlino simplifies the three dimensions to a single group with five categories: 1) the rule of law, 2) accountability, 3) responsiveness, 4) freedom, and 5) equity (Morlino, 2009).

The results dimension looks at the State's capacity to respond to citizen demands. For this thesis, I opted for a framework that merges content and procedure, and incorporates results within the content dimension. I propose this reinterpretation to transfer the dimensions from the

evaluation of meso-level (state) political action to the regionalization of a nano-level model of urban planning.

My analysis disaggregates the dimension into categories. The categories determine other categories by recognizing that they interact within the dimension. A schema of this nature allows measurements in infinite categories that hinder any operational analysis. Therefore, the research suggests a framework that limits the variables trying, while trying to connect them with common elements in recent literature about urban projects. Each connection between the dimension and categories is designed to respond to a need for analysis within the framework of the ESCI objectives. In other words, it is not a descriptive taxonomy.

There are three possible approaches to democratic quality in Latin America, see Barreda's summary of work by PENDHS (2001), Mainwaring and Pérez-Liñán (2008), Levine and Molina (2007), Altman and Pérez-Liñán (2002). All three approaches are for comparative analysis between states. The first approach is a qualitative approach based on citizen workshops. The second approach is a quantitative approach based mainly on indicators provided by analysis centers and think-tanks. Finally, the third approach is a mixed approach that combines quantitative results with qualitative research based on interviews and secondary information (See the works of Corbetta and Pérez-Liñán (2001), Hagopian (2005), Abente-Brun (2007) cited by Barreda (2011).

In this sense, there are quantitative, but not factorial, that serve as a reference for contrast based on the triangulation of three data sources: interviews, reports and press reviews. Individual values fluctuate on a scale of -2 to 2, on the following classification valued for each category within the dimension and then averaged:

Table II.5-6

Meanings of the QoD scores

<u>Valor</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
+2	It strengthens the quality of democracy heavily.
+1	It strengthens the quality of democracy lightly.
0	It does not have an incidence in the quality of democracy.
-1	It diminishes the quality of democracy lightly.
-2	It diminishes the quality of democracy heavily.

Table II.5-6: Meanings of the QoD scores. Source: Own elaboration based on (Graham, 2015)

Based on this classification of values, a numerical calculation is performed. The goal is to achieve a weighting according to the following equation:

Quality of democracy global value:

$$QoD = \frac{DV + IE + II}{3}$$

Where:

- Assessment of documentary information (DV): understood as the number of positive or negative mentions about the category included in reports, legislation, minutes, press releases.
- Estimation of interviews (IE): recognized as the number of positive or negative remarks about the category given by the interviewees.
- Estimation of indicators (II): understood to be estimated based on the three global indicators for the country and local indicators for the nano-level.

Quality of democracy by category:

$$QoDxC = \frac{\sum c}{X}$$

Where:

- $\sum C$ = Sum of each category.
- X = number of variables.

The proposed framework for analysis is discussed in the next section. Is as follows.

II.5.4. The rule of law

Rule of law refers to the legal system that allows citizens,' civil, and political rights to be enforced. It involves, in turn, to respect constitutional principles for achieving the ends.

The World Bank index for the rule of law was also reviewed. Its results are the sum of indicators like protection of property rights, applicability of contracts, independence of the judiciary, and the effectiveness of the legal system. The values of this indicator in the World Bank index range between –2,5 (minimum guarantee of the rule of law) and 2,5 (maximum guarantee).

Variables:

- Previously established constitutional framework.
- Legal procedures for impeachments.

II.5.5. Accountability

Accountability can be vertical and horizontal. Vertical accountability is guaranteed through periodic and transparent elections. However, for this research, an alternative approach is proposed that avoids an electoral system analysis. Thus, the mechanisms for participating in multiple stages of the urban project are reviewed through the collegiate bodies created by the ESCI, e.g., the citizen observatories.

Variables

- Officers committed to the sustainable planning discourse.
- Mechanisms for participation in collegiate bodies.

Horizontal accountability is guaranteed through oversight institutions and procedures, or checks and balances. The regionalization of an initiative should review two categories. First, the legal and legitimate obligation of decision-makers to respond to citizen demands should be considered. This is rational-legal legitimacy that Weber suggests is acceptance that produces obedience because procedures are followed. In this case, I paid special attention to whether the ESCI proposes accountability mechanisms within different stages of implementation of the Action Plan. For this, the legal framework applicable to the territory contrasts with the possible tools included in the Initiative to propitiate a government response. Second, I verify whether there are information channels regarding the projects, the justification given to the communities for each stage, and the possible sanctions and controls available.

The corruption perception index of Transparency International is reviewed and compared with the interviews.

Variables

- Legal and legitimated obligation to answer.
- Information, justification, and penalty.

II.5.6. Freedom

Freedom is a fundamental value of democracy. The word freedom comes from the Greek *isegory* which is related to the right to participate. In representative democracies that guarantee participation, freedom manifests as the ability to express oneself politically free from external incidents. Thus, for urban planning projects, freedom focuses on the previous norms that guarantee free participation. These guarantees are visible in the constitutional text and local laws and regulations, along with a review of the conditions of freedom in that participation, mainly focused on violent pressure and incidence of partisan clientelism. The interviews were crossed with transparency indicators.

To measure freedom, I use Freedom House's indicators about civil and political rights. These indicators are contrasted with the data extracted from interviews.

Variables:

- Previously established constitutional framework.
- The interest of inhabitants free of pressure or political promises.

II.5.7. Equality

Equality has become a familiar concept to urban studies that focus on equity as a goal of planning (i.e., fair cities that allow city construction with equitable distribution of municipal

services). However, in this thesis, I review equality from the procedural conditions and not from the results. In this way, I am able to show the existence of political rights that allow participation in local planning processes and to check the effectiveness of access to information about the objectives and scope of the planning exercise. There is also an examination of equity in participation in decision-making processes.

Participation is merged here due to its variables and the subject. Equality variables are conditions related to participation. The relationship between equality and participation can be understood within what this research calls the 'the paradigm of not exceeding the system,' similar to what Huntington explains as a requirement not to exceed the limits of the political system. Citizen initiatives must be immersed in legal forms of participation. If citizen initiatives are not contained they can undermine the very foundations of the level that responds to their demands.

Thus, participation leads to what Barreda understands as democratic health, where 'the higher the level of participation, the greater the likelihood that the government and its decisions represent the preferences of a large number of citizens' (Barreda, 2011, p. 270). In this sense, citizen participation has been related to the idea of social capital. Abente Brun (2007) points to the correlation between high social capital and the development of democratic quality from citizen interaction and debate.

Knowledge about projects means understanding participation as more than a mere transmission of information. The mechanisms of the legal framework for local citizen participation are analyzed with those proposed by the ESCI. In turn, in the category of local participation dynamics, I study the number of citizen organizations participating in the ESCI and their representation and leadership processes. In this way, I mark distance with Morlino's approach to path dependency. The democratic tradition of both territories is not evaluated because the

regionalization process is not historically anchored, but the IDB initiative has a point zero when it was created.

Data about election participation was collected from the Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance Voter Turnout of the DataGob database. The data are contrasted with the averages of participation in local elections and interviews.

Variables:

- Political right to participate in planning.
- Access to equitable information and voting equity.

II.5.8. Responsiveness

It is not feasible to measure the state's response to civil claims. As noted by Vollenweider and Ester (2018), there is no unanimity against an indicative criterion on the effectiveness of state response. This condition is related to citizens' expectations regarding the State, which makes measurement challenging because demands change over time. However, perception surveys with levels of citizen satisfaction are usually used. Here it is important to note that, for Latin America, the primary indicator is based on the responses of the Latinobarometer prepared by the IDB in its DataGob database. Thus, I opted for Dahl's definition of responsiveness, which is related to the government's "aptitude" to respond to citizens' demands (Dahl, 1971, p. 13).

The IDB's Latinobarometer was used to measure the level of citizen satisfaction in a functioning democracy. This information was contrasted with information from interviews. For the regionalization of an urban planning model, the criteria focus on an adequate number of public officials who are qualified to receive the IDB initiative. Besides, in which the decision-makers

have the political will to sign an agreement with the community where the project is going to be developed, or with a nano-level group that demands a territorial transformation project. Thus, this measure proposes an estimate of the degree of reciprocity between the public policies resulting from the urban planning project and the demands of the participating civic groups.

Variables:

- Qualified public officials.
- The political will to respond to the agreement with the community.

III. Chapter Three: Exploring a parabola of regionalization through the Emerging Sustainable Cities Initiative

The parabola of regionalization works as follows: Medellín united its population around the benefits of the MSU and the value of transforming the city to leave behind the despair of the past. To this end, the city developed agreements with various local actors to systematize the experience of implementing the principles enshrined in the MSU. Once systematized, the experience became an innovative model that could be shared on the market. Subsequently, the IDB developed its own model, inspired by the MSU, by acquiring technology from the micro- and meso-levels in Medellín. Then the IDB transferred this technology to another micro- and meso-levels in Xalapa through the ESCI platform.

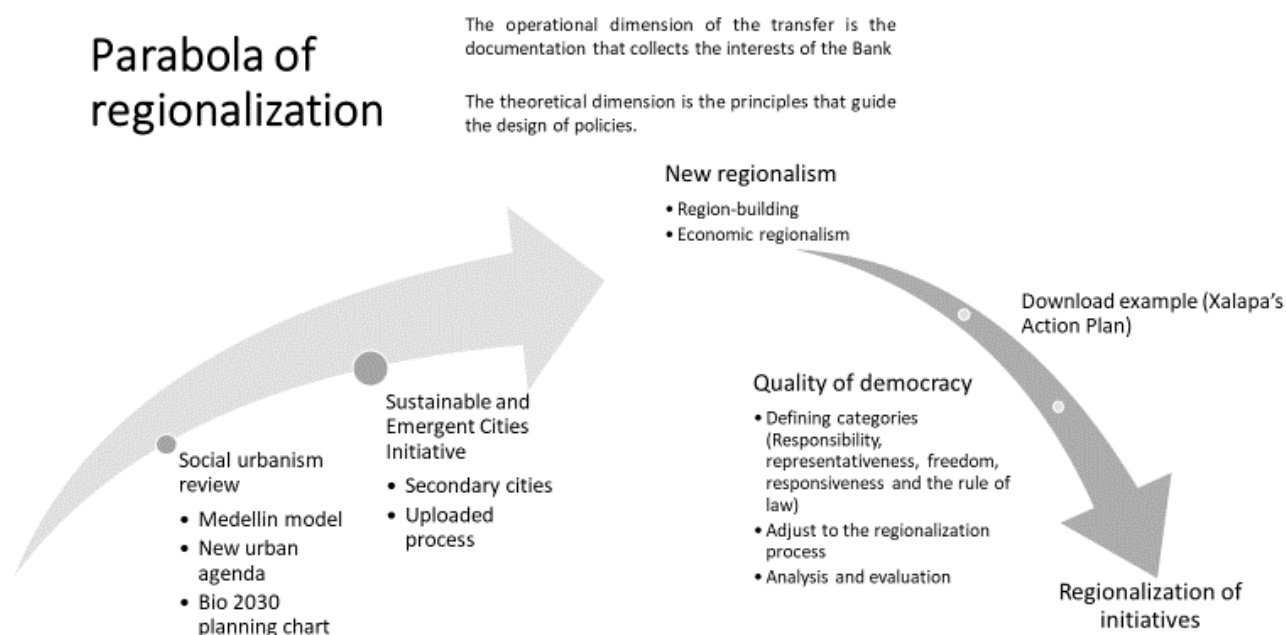


Figure III-1: The parabola of regionalization. Source: Own elaboration.

The regionalization process is, in turn, framed in a framework of application of paradigms, narratives, and principles developed at international summits about urban territories. However, the relationship between x and y is not always a one-way flow from top to bottom. Some activities at the city level permeate from the bottom up to other higher levels.

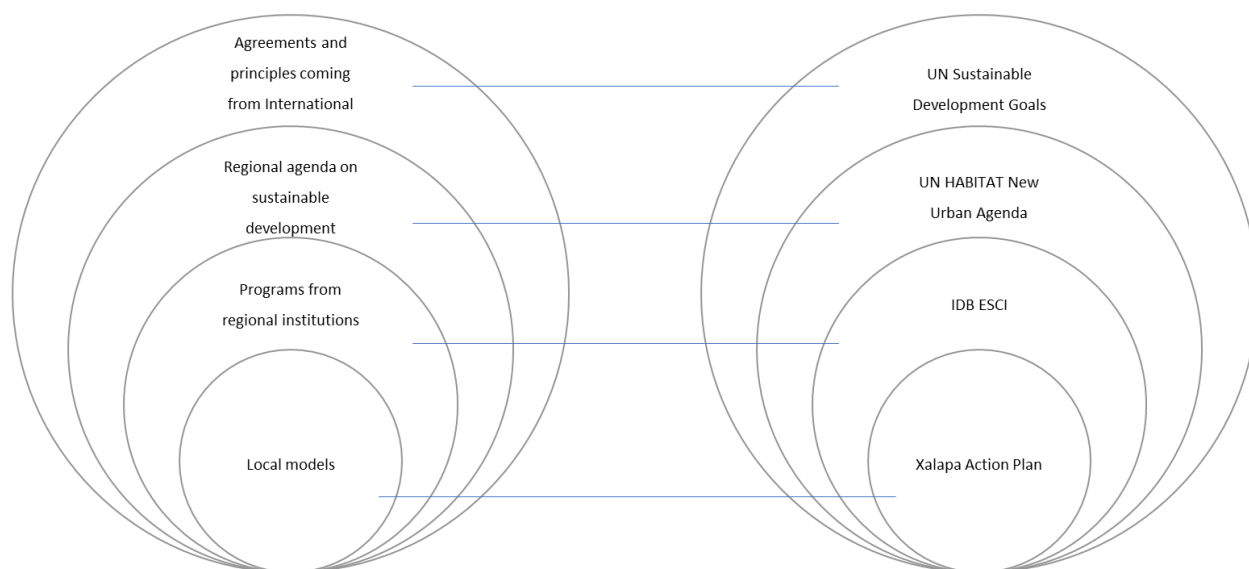


Figure III-2: Schema of principles flow within regional governance frame. Source: Own elaboration

III.1. Uploading: from nano to macro

To understand the dynamics of the regionalization of nano-level urban projects, it is necessary to understand the *Medellín Model of Good Governance and Integral Social Development* which the IDB used to create the ESCI (Alcaldía de Medellín. BID, 2012). Chapter One of this thesis described the features of the Medellín experience. However, it is necessary to briefly mention some facts regarding the conception of the model and its implication for the city.

During the last two decades, the urban transformation of Medellín was publicized widely in architecture and public administration circles. Medellín's transformation offered visible results with a high degree of success in improving indicators of quality of life and reduction of violence. As a result of a marketing campaign (Mazo González, 2016), the city became a benchmark for public managers and academics interested in what the media called the 'Medellín Miracle.' Many of these reviews were included in the compendium *Our New Medellín Before the Eyes of the World*, (Alcaldía de Medellín, 2015) with entries from both Nobel Laureate Joseph Stiglitz and prestigious international media, as well as numerous press releases, like the World Bank's *Medellín, World Laboratory on Urban Development*, that reported on the transformation of the city (Banco Mundial, 2017).

To summarize, the miracle consisted of the integral revitalization of marginal areas through architectural and infrastructure projects developed within the framework of a policy of citizen participation aimed at co-management. In the words of former Mayor Aníbal Gaviria:

The metamorphosis of Medellín ... is not casual, nor does it respond to individual efforts. On the contrary, it has been possible thanks to the strength and contribution of its citizens. Furthermore, that, politically, Medellín has been the sum of several successive and tuned good governments. Regardless of the political affiliation, the style and without ignoring episodes of controversy and citizen oversight, its rulers have wanted to get it right and with many works have added to the current city scenario.

Moreover, there has been a tacit agreement: there are common works and purposes that must always be continued because here we have a long-term vision. (Alcaldía de Medellín, 2015, p. 9)²²

²² Original in Spanish: 'La metamorfosis de Medellín... no es casual, ni obedece a esfuerzos individuales. Por el contrario, ha sido posible gracias a la fortaleza y aporte de su ciudadanía. Y también a que, en lo político, Medellín ha sido la suma de varios buenos gobiernos sucesivos y sintonizados. Sin importar la filiación política, el estilo y sin



Figure III-3: Images of MSU projects and marketing pieces. Source: Alcaldía de Medellín.

By taking advantage of the advertising boom, the municipal administration promoted Medellín as an obligatory reference for urban planners and scholars interested in understanding the replicability of the intervention strategies applied. This marketing campaign is what the anthropologist Zuly Quinchía calls the discursive practice of social urbanism within the discourse, ideology, and power in the *production of the city* (Quinchía Roldán, 2011). Alternatively, the Medellín's strategy could be called as the *strategic production of space*, as Lozano Gómez coined when he explained the development of the marketing strategy (Lozano Gómez, 2020). Social

desconocer episodios de controversia y veeduría ciudadana, sus gobernantes han querido acertar y con muchas obras han sumado al escenario actual de ciudad. Y ha existido un acuerdo tácito: hay obras y propósitos comunes que siempre deben ser continuados, porque aquí tenemos una visión de largo plazo.' (Alcaldía de Medellín, 2015, p. 9)

urbanism is operationalized in infrastructure projects, but also in a discursive device that legitimizes it and converts it into a myth.

Jaime Samper Escobar investigated the direct consequences of urban projects in Medellín on urban violence. Based on his review of the discourse of social urbanism during the Sergio Fajardo administration, he concluded that ‘The perception of increased participation with state decisions, especially in their communities, makes the community feel included in the development process’ (2010, p. 199). Samper Escobar’s conclusions point to the limitations of state territorial control determined by the scope of infrastructure projects.

...the city, now perceived as a totally different place with a homicide rate 10 times lower, is seen as an example of how to engage with conflict and violence as urban peace process. The policies involved were physical and programmatic interventions in violent neighborhoods through the planning and construction of new facilities. (2010, p. 4)

Medellín hosted a critical number of congresses and seminars on urbanism. It became the venue for international conferences, developed a cluster specializing in the management of urban projects, and created a school of thought. In this context, the IDB appropriated the approach as a successful experience and an opportunity for replication in other locations. Thus, the IDB financed and provided technical advice for the *Laboratorio Medellín* that ‘ar[ose] to promote the systematization, dissemination, and training in policies, programs and processes of urban transformation’²³ (Alcaldía de Medellín, 2011, p. 20) that ‘build the bridge between human security and the right to the city’ (2011, p. 14). The IDB viewed Medellín as a ‘laboratory city’:

²³ Original in Spanish: ‘surge con el fin de promover la sistematización, difusión y capacitación en políticas, programas y procesos de transformación urbana.’

...To conclude, the Inter-American Development Bank is called to close this publication. For several years now, it has been a crucial ally that has encouraged Medellín to observe and study itself from the very institutional point of view. The results obtained from these systematization exercises and documentation allow the IDB to assess from its extensive knowledge of Latin America and the Caribbean, to what extent the experience of Medellín is the catalyst for the great challenges of the region and, in this sense, to validate his proposal to open a dialogue on development, with a view to South-South cooperation.²⁴ (Alcaldía de Medellín, 2011, p. 27)

Mayor Sergio Fajardo Valderrama's (2004-2007) administration built the Medellín Model. His arrival to power through the political movement *Compromiso Ciudadano* 'Citizen Commitment,' marked a milestone in local political dynamics because he was the first candidate elected outside of the two traditional parties, the Liberal Party and the Conservative Party, which had exchanged local and national power since the period of the National Front²⁵. Fajardo's development plan was characterized by the insertion of political practices that recognized active citizenship. Alternative strategies appeared at the same moment that Mayor Fajardo proposed his development plan.

Fajardo obtained the highest vote for a mayor to date, giving him enough legitimacy to propose a model that differed from those proposed by the leaders of traditional political parties. The objective of Fajardo's proposal was to transform decades of political violence and the fight

²⁴ Original in Spanish: 'Para finalizar, el Banco Interamericano de Desarrollo es el llamado a cerrar esta publicación. Desde hace varios años es un aliado crucial que ha impulsado a que, desde su misma institucionalidad, Medellín se observe y estudie a sí misma. Los resultados obtenidos de estos ejercicios de sistematización y documentación le permiten al BID evaluar desde su amplio conocimiento sobre América Latina y el Caribe, hasta qué punto la experiencia de Medellín constituye el catalizador de los grandes desafíos de la región y, en este sentido, validar su propuesta de abrir un diálogo sobre el desarrollo, con miras a la cooperación sur-sur.' (Alcaldía de Medellín, 2011, p. 27)

²⁵ The National Front was a strategy of appeasement to political violence after 1948, implemented by the two legally recognized Colombian political parties, the Liberal and the Conservative, in order to alternate the national government for a period of four presidencies. During its validity, only candidates of the party who had the turn to govern could stand for election. It was in rigor from 1958 to 1974. (Melo, 2017)

against drug trafficking into a grassroots development policy to reach an in-peace developed territory. Fajardo explained:

Few cities in the world have experienced the level of violence and brutality that characterized Medellín, Colombia, during the 1980s and 1990s. The escapades of Pablo Escobar, Colombia's preeminent drug lord until his death in 1993, Hollywood movie depictions such as *Clear and Present Danger* (Clancy 1989), and sensational news exposés of drug- and guerilla related murders in the city, have shaped many people's perception of Medellín as one of the world's most dangerous urban environments (Borrell 1988) (Drummond, Dizgun, & Keeling, 2012)

In 2002, the city was recovering from, *Operation Orion*, a military intervention in which then president Álvaro Uribe Vélez ordered the national government to occupy Commune 13, an entire commune of Medellín (Suárez Gómez, 2014). *Operation Orion* resulted in combat, disappearances, and violations of human rights by paramilitary groups, guerrilla militias, and members of the security forces (Espinal, Giraldo Ramírez, & Sierra, 2007; Giraldo Ramírez, 2008; Rozema, 2008).

Thus, the military appropriation of sectors of the city, the paramilitary onrush throughout Medellín, the expulsion of the communist guerrillas from the neighborhoods where they had widespread support, and the beginning of urban projects within the logic of social urbanism coincided temporally.

After the Orion, the city of Medellín and the businessmen of the city made a large investment in the area -155 million dollars- and today there are tours of foreigners who visit the graffiti or its famous electric escalators. The commune began to emerge during the administrations of Sergio Fajardo (2004-2007) -current presidential candidate- and Alonso Salazar (2008-2011), just as the 'miracle of Medellín' began, with its social investment to curb inequality and violence.

The homicide depends fundamentally on the arrangements or disarrangements in organized crime, not on public policies,’ says Jesús Ramírez, former Secretary of Security during the Salazar administration. ‘The ‘DonBernabilidad,’ the agreement between Sebastián and Valenciano or El Pacto del Fusil are examples of which homicides are a manipulable indicator.’²⁶ (Pacifista!, 2018)

The following table shows the relationship between the murder rate in Medellín and events related to the Colombian armed conflict. During the years of expansion of social urbanism in Medellín, homicides decrease. This decrease also coincides with the demobilization of the paramilitary groups.

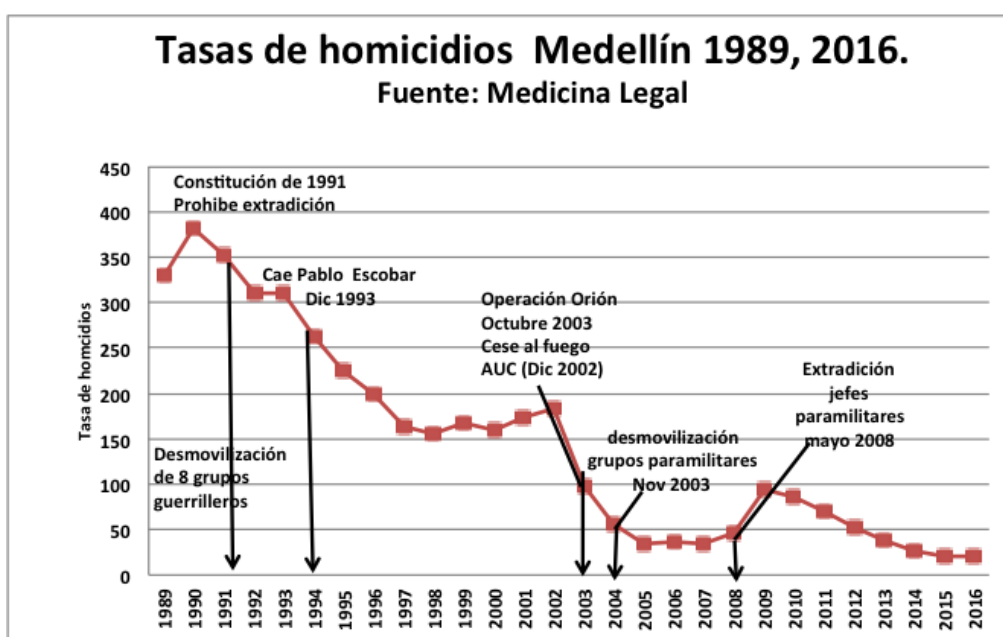


Figure III-4: Murder rate in Medellín 1989-2016. Source: Instituto de Medicina Legal, 2017.

²⁶ Original in Spanish: ‘Después de la Orión, el ayuntamiento de Medellín y los empresarios de la ciudad hicieron una gran inversión en la zona —155 millones de dólares— y hoy se observan tours de extranjeros que visitan los grafitis o sus célebres escaleras eléctricas. La comuna empezó a emerger durante las administraciones de Sergio Fajardo (2004-2007) —actual candidato a la presidencia— y Alonso Salazar (2008-2011), justo cuando comenzaba el “milagro de Medellín”, con su inversión social para frenar la desigualdad y la violencia.

“El homicidio depende fundamentalmente de los arreglos o desarreglos en el crimen organizado, no de las políticas públicas”, dice Jesús Ramírez, ex secretario de Seguridad durante el gobierno de Salazar. “La Don Bernabilidad, el acuerdo entre Sebastián y Valenciano o El Pacto del Fusil son ejemplos de que los homicidios son un indicador manipulable”.’ (Pacifista!, 2018)

According to Quinchía (2011), who quotes a Corporación Región think-tank report on the socioeconomic context of the city for 2002-2008 period, the budgetary conditions of the national order and more significant local revenue allowed the Fajardo administration to invest in social items, in particular education. The objective was to reduce inequality by promoting education in the poorest sectors of the city. *Urban acupuncture* projects known as *library parks* arose during this time (Lerner, 2016). The most relevant urban projects since 2004 in Medellín are listed below:

Table III.1-1		
<i>MSU main projects</i>		
<u>Project</u>	<u>Opening year</u>	<u>Mayor</u>
Metrocable	2004	Sergio Fajardo
PUI, Comprehensive urban project	2004	Sergio Fajardo
Moravia cultural center	2004	Sergio Fajardo
Botanical garden	2005	Sergio Fajardo
‘Buen Comienzo’ Kindergarden	2007	Sergio Fajardo
Library Parks	2007	Sergio Fajardo
Parque Explora and Carabobo Norte	2007	Sergio Fajardo
Linear Parks	2007	Sergio Fajardo
Juan Bobo, bridge and pilot moving project	2008	Alonso Salazar
Quality schools	2008	Alonso Salazar
Entrepreneurship district and Ruta N	2009	Alonso Salazar
Metropolitan green belt	2013	Aníbal Gaviria
Metroplus and tram	2014	Aníbal Gaviria

Table III.1-1: MSU main projects. Source: Own elaboration.

In Colombia, Municipal Development Plans are the instrument that guides the exercise of local government (Plan de Desarrollo Municipal). The one proposed by Sergio Fajardo (Alcaldía de Medellín, 2004) focused on government co-responsibility between citizens and public officials.

This required making public space an effective protagonist for citizen encounters. Hence, Fajardo's Development Plan proposed a package of public works for the revitalization of central spaces focused on optimizing systems of territorial connection and improving existing infrastructures, mainly in the northern area of the municipality. Thus, the Development Plan positioned transparency and respect for the public as a guiding principle. Imaginaries of trust in local co-management capacities permeated the future citizen participation.

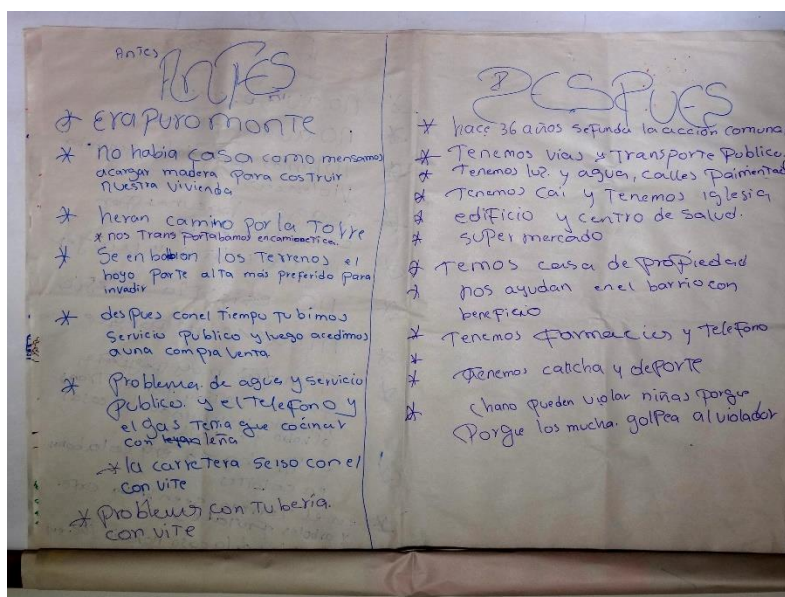


Figure III-5: Participatory workshop example. Source: Author's collection.

The previous images show an example of the widespread use of participatory planning workshops, and the popularization of instruments such as territorial social mapping.

Law 388 of 1997 was the most important legal and political tool used to instrumentalize participatory planning. This law created a framework for coordinating between various previous tools proposed since the 1991 Constitution, such as Law 99 of 1993 (related to the national environmental system) and the mechanisms of citizen participation enshrined in the constitution itself.

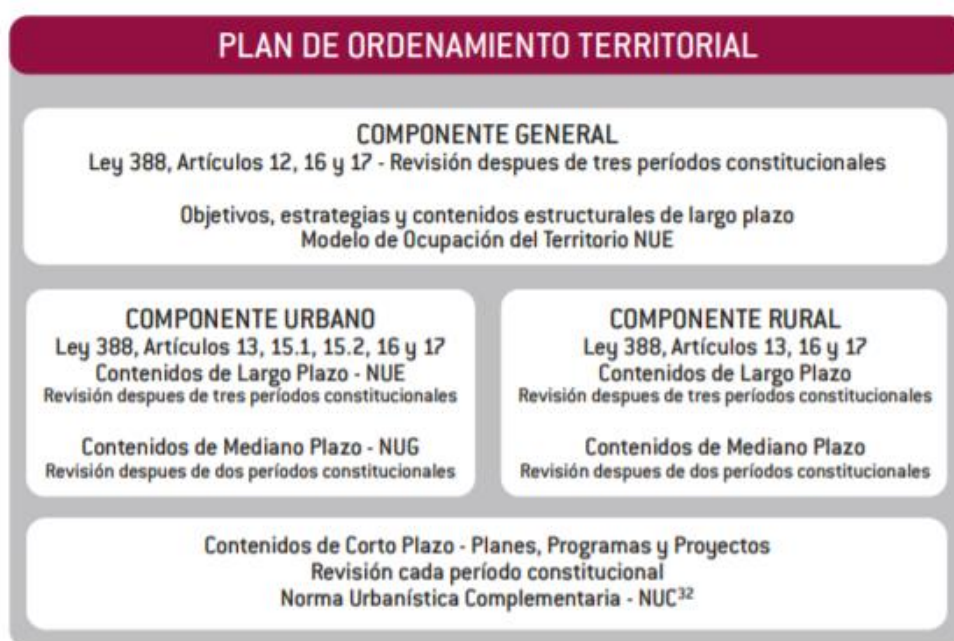


Figure III-6: Legal structure of the territorial arrangement plan. Source: DNP, 2017.

Quinchía documented the preexistence of the concept of social urbanism in projects in Spain (2011, p. 21). Yet, the idea of social urbanism in Medellín was not previously designed or theorized (2011, p. 18). On the contrary, social urbanism began to be used by municipal officials in Medellín at an undetermined moment. Then it became a common phrase in the jargon of politicians and academics. The phrase's popularity resulted in the creation of a new school of

thought designed to give scientific and academic support to the new social urbanism model.²⁷

Social urbanism in Medellín differed from notions of social urbanism in other places because it was applied in the context of extreme violence and state weakness.

The interventions and spatial transformations proposed by the Medellín Model were characterized by its multi-dimensional approach to citizen participation. The physical features became relevant from an aesthetic point of view, 'In this sense, we think of aesthetics as an engine of social change' (Alcaldía de Medellín, 2009). Besides, citizen participation obtained a prominent place in the city's development plan:

Participation. In order for interventions and their equipment to be legitimate, social participation is essential. Important learning that the model has obtained on the fly has been to listen and understand that not necessarily the public official knows more. The community has become a fundamental actor in the orientation of development, involving in it the phases of design, implementation, and socialization of the different programs and projects and, also, participating directly through the Local Planning and Participatory Budgeting program. (Alcaldía de Medellín, 2011, p. 26)²⁸

²⁷ The EAFIT University created the Urban and Environmental Studies Institute URBAM, which in the words of the rector of the Juan Luis Mejía University in the framework of the meeting 'Inclusive Cities, learning from Medellín' said:

For the EAFIT University it is an honor to be the epicenter of a meeting of such importance, on inclusive cities and the Annual Meeting of Mayors, organized by the IDB. It is the opportunity to offer not only the hospitality that characterizes the inhabitants of Medellín but also the opportunity to show how this city has evolved and how EAFIT has contributed to the transformation and change of this capital. The creation of our Center for Urban and Environmental Studies; and the generation of studies that have a positive impact and generate well-being in society confirm this effort. It is to highlight how a university can be linked to the transformation of a city. So, we are very happy to be hosts and we hope that the meeting will be a success, and that they will keep an indelible memory of Medellín and EAFIT (Inter-American Development Bank, 2018).

URBAM has written multiple investigations, publications and technical consultancies to systematize Medellín's transformation experience. The Institute even offers a master's degree in environmental studies with a focus social urbanism, and a diploma in transformation of the city.

²⁸ In the original: 'Participación. Para que las intervenciones y sus equipamientos sean legítimos, es imprescindible la participación social. Un aprendizaje importante que ha obtenido el modelo sobre la marcha ha sido escuchar y comprender que no necesariamente el funcionario público sabe más. La comunidad se ha convertido en actor fundamental de la orientación del desarrollo, involucrándose en él las fases de diseño, implementación y socialización

Shared territorial planning, in which the future users of the intervention participate in the initial design, is necessary. The Medellín Model proposed horizontal and vertical systems for monitoring and oversight. However, some challenges, mainly of public order, played against the legitimacy of the interventions in Medellín.



Figure III-7: Citizen resistance example against macro projects in Medellín. Source: Author's collection.

At the same time, the transformation of Medellín was not an exercise in complete consensus. Citizens also demonstrated against the sustainable urban projects. Among the most representative dissenters were the neighborhood organizations for the protection of informal settlers, the *Movimiento Cruzando el Campo y la Ciudad* 'Crossing the countryside and the city' movement, and the collectives participant in the Urban Social Forum, an alternative event to the UN- Habitat World Urban Forum.

de los diferentes programas y proyectos y, además, participando directamente a través del programa Planeación Local y Presupuesto Participativo'.

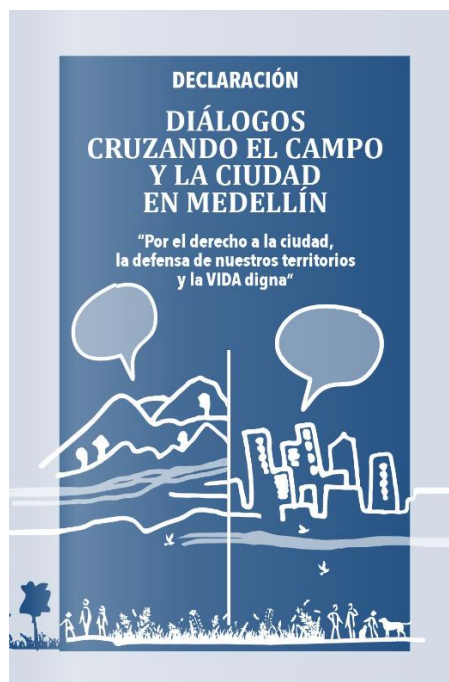


Figure III-8: Cover of the declaration ‘Diálogos, cruzando el campo y la ciudad en Medellín’. Source: Author's collection.

III.1.1.Regions in Colombia

In the Colombian political scene, region is understood in two ways — one as an internal political subdivision inside the meso-level departments that aims to group municipal territorial entities. For instance, the Department of Antioquia has nine sub-regions. Yet, in other departments, like Santander, the same divisions are called provinces. It is also common to see the use of the word ‘region’ to divide the national territory according to orographic or climate criteria. An example of this is the five regions of Colombia (Andean, Amazon, Caribbean, Orinoquian, and Pacific).

Of most importance for this study, the Colombian Political Constitution understands a region as a congregation of departments. The territorial administrative division of the state is based on ‘territorial entities’ that have the legal status of a person. Article 286 of the Magna Carta says:

Territorial entities are departments, districts, municipalities, and indigenous territories. The law may give them the character of territorial entities to the regions and provinces that are constituted in the terms of the Constitution and law. (República de Colombia, 1991)

Additionally, the Colombian Organic Law for Territorial Order (Law 1454 of 2011) contemplates two categories of regions: 1) the Administrative and Planning Region and 2) the Planning and Management Region (Congreso de Colombia, 2011).

In Article 3 about the principles of territorial order, the law incorporates regionalization as a duty of the state:

5. Regionalization. Territorial planning will promote the establishment of Planning and Management Regions, administrative and planning regions and the projection of Territorial Regions as geographical, economic, cultural, and functional frameworks based on biotic and biophysical ecosystems, local cultural identities, Of economic and productive facilities and infrastructures, and of relations between rural and urban life forms, in which Colombian society develops and where the model of the Republican Unitary State must tend. In this sense, the creation and development of Planning and Management Regions, Administrative and Planning Regions, and the regionalization of public resources and competencies are part of a vision of development towards complementarity, in order to strengthen national unity. (Congreso de Colombia, 2011)

Nevertheless, these categories of regions are not orientated towards territorial integration, not even in political terms. The structure of the territorial entity is preserved, but it works in favor of economic integration and joint economic projects.

Article 307 of the Constitution says:

Article 307. The respective organic law, the prior concept of the Commission of Territorial Order, will establish the conditions to request the conversion of the Region into a territorial entity. The

decision taken by the Congress will be submitted in each case to a referendum of the citizens of the departments concerned. The same law will establish the attributions, the organs of administration, and the resources of the regions and their participation in the management of the revenues coming from the National Royalty Fund. It will also define the principles for the adoption of the special status of each region.

Thus, after local debates, the territories with similar economic vocation, comparative economic advantages, or cultural similarities could create a territorial entity or region. Unless regionalization modifies statutory law, the regions would only have coordination functions, aiming to promote programs or strategies beyond the government's exercise of budget management or public policy development. According to this administrative frame, the regions would be constricted to the same role the departments already have.

III.1.2. Region-building and the IDB: A new approach

The region proposed by the IDB in its process of regionalization of a planning model can be homogeneous, functional, or both. The neo-positivist classification of the principles of homogeneous and functional regions is fundamental for this analysis. Homogenous regions are determined by homogeneity, and functional regions are determined by cohesion. In this regard, the classification made by Rogerio Haesbaert is useful for the analysis (Haesbaert, 2019, p. 45):

Cuadro 1. Regiones homogéneas y regiones funcionales

	Región homogénea (principio de homogeneidad)	Región funcional (principio de cohesión)
Propiedades básicas	Uniformidad Estabilidad ("fijos", espacios zonales, yuxtapuestos) "Realidad horizontal" (De Jong)	Organización/cohesión Movilidad ("flujos", espacios reticulares, sobrepuestos) "Realidad vertical" (De Jong)
Fenómenos privilegiados	Acciones en área	Acciones en red
Método de regionalización	"Diferenciación" o "clasificación de áreas" (Hartshorne, Grigg)	Jerarquización de polos y flujos (centros y periferias)

Table III.1-2: Homogeneous and functional regions. Source: Haesbaert, 2011.

According to the Bank's literature, the IDB promotes a narrative (sustainability), a framework of agreements (sustainability), an intervention model (social urbanism), a mode of distribution and land use (densification), a technology (ESCI method), and operationalization instruments (credit financing).

Table III.1-3	
<i>Structure of the IDB proposal on urban planning within the ESCI</i>	
<u>Narrative</u>	Sustainability
<u>Framework for further agreements</u>	Sustainability
<u>Intervention model</u>	Social urbanism
<u>Mode of distribution and land use</u>	Densification
<u>Technology</u>	ESCI method
<u>Operationalization instruments</u>	Credit financing

Table III.1-3: Structure of the IDB proposal on urban planning within the ESCI. Source: Own elaboration.

The search for the ESCI purposes does not affect whether the regionalization method used by the IDB is functional or homogenous. They are useful purposes for both types of region, as long as sustainability is not excluded from the fundamental properties in either type of region.

When the Bank intervenes in a municipal entity without proposing reforms or modifying the capacity of local planning instruments and processes, it is based on the principle of homogeneity. The IDB looks for a homogeneous and functional region rather than a 'mobile' region. The Bank understands territories as fixed regions where network actions are not promoted, for example, when the ESCI promotes consultation workshops, but participation in them is uncertain, as well as the results of the ESCI ex-post observatory.

The ESCI does not promote the principle of cohesion. Therefore, the region built by the IDB is not functional. The intervention territories do not develop a dynamic of hierarchical flows. Similarly, explicit links or communication channels between communities at the nano-level in different cities are not created. Communication channels between actors at the nano-level in the same cities are not even created, except for a forum of mayors and the IDB's urban metadata window.

Consequently, the IDB proposes a type of alternative region, which I define as a dysfunctional standard region (DSR). By standard, I mean interest in creating a standard, template type, spatial intervention pattern. The ESCI has a user manual for this. Being a methodology expressed as a user manual that proposes a canon of action from which the actors involved should not diverge. By dysfunctional, I refer to the physical disconnection of the communication channels in the chain of information transmission and the objective realities of the communities located at the nano-level. This means that in the implementation process there is no dialogue between spatially separated communities.

Table III.1-4	
<i>Dysfunctional standard region structured after ESCI</i>	
<u>Dysfunctional standard region</u> (principle of standardization)	
<u>Basic properties</u>	Offshoring Random movements Rhizomatic spaces 'Loop Reality'
<u>Privileged phenomena</u>	Short-term actions
<u>Regionalization method</u>	Interchange levels

Table III.1-4: Dysfunctional standard region structured after ESCI. Source: Own elaboration.

DSR characteristics are determined by the nature of the interactions between the actors at different levels and the means used in transfer. In this case, the operational dimension of the transfer is the documentation that includes the Bank's interests and the guidelines to be followed. In turn, the theoretical dimension is the principle that guides the design of policies.

Table III.1-5	
<i>Dimensions of the DSR within the ESCI</i>	
<u>Operational dimension</u>	<u>Theoretical dimension</u>
Documentation	Principles

Table III.1-5: Dimensions of the DSR within the ESCI. Source: Own elaboration.

The other obstacle to understanding the region promoted by the IDB comes from the generation of a 'network society.' This network is contrary to a regionalized territorial society typical of the debates of the 1990s. At that time, the expansion of global capital made academics doubt about the persistence of the concept of region (Badie, 1996), in a dichotomy between a

regional zonal logic versus reticular network logic. These networked areas were characterized by the fluidity and prominence of ‘microphysics’ (Haesbaert, 2019, p. 54), to the detriment of meso-levels. This regional geography gives the actors a role, which is located in one place, but they also build a place themselves (Thrift, 1993). City networks are valuable assets in the transformation process towards sustainability. For instance, proposals such as those by Mendes and Franco (2018) point to the creation of a model to measure factors that affect the connection between cities, considering creativity and the cultural sector that usually develops in exchange networks and circuits of shows and artistic stays. However, this analysis does not include other nano/micro-interactions between actors outside the cultural sector, but it is useful when describing how the search for ingenious solutions to global problems starts from development on a community scale.

The IDB downloads its proposal in territories where inhabitants create a place. This place is not necessarily geographic. It can be a place located on digital or discursive platforms, and reflected in public policy texts or collective citizen projects.

Thus, the ESCI initiative developed a regionalization process based on the four perspectives collected by Haesbaert (2019, p. 148): 1) regionalization as an instrument of analysis (artifice), 2) regionalization as an instrument of practice (fact), 3) regionalization as an instrument of intervention (plan), and 4) regionalization as a process (practical dimension as representations).

The result of the regionalization process created by ESCI experience is a tool that allows me to understand the transfer process. In this first perspective, the analysis to show the transfer focuses on a spatial variable that connects Medellín and Xalapa through the transmission of information.

Second, intervention initiatives from the nano-level generate regionalization as an instrument of practice for the actors involved. These agents depend on the pre-established region as a fact and the actions of these subjects generate actions that regionalize the projects.

Third, regionalization, as a planning instrument, aims to homogenize a code of action, a process manual. It is characterized by the prediction and searches for future scenarios towards the administrative dynamic that suits the interests of the actors with economic and political power. In this case, the IDB regionalizes its benefits as a financial institution.

Fourth, the ESCI experience has promoted regionalization as a process that articulates nano-level social actors with other levels. These nano-level actors are represented not only at higher or lower levels but also in contextualized representations. In other words, participants understand that they are the subject of a transfer that progressively binds the continental region as well as urban, micro-regions.

The regionalization process started with the implementation of a public relations campaign to sell the experience from Medellín. In 2008, the IDB had a summit of governors in Medellín. It was at this meeting that the Bank saw the opportunity to develop a new strategy of urban development through technical cooperation.

Hettne and Söderbaum (2000) characterized the process as bottom-up by explaining that:

The NRT seeks to describe this process of regionalisation in terms of levels of 'regionness,' i.e. the process whereby a geographical area is transformed from a passive object to an active subject capable of articulating the transnational interests of the emerging region.... Various dimensions of regionalisms and regionalisation occur at different spatial levels of regions, which to a large extent are all related to one another (and therefore must be understood within the same analytical framework). It is particularly

important therefore to explicitly integrate ‘micro-regions’ and microregionalisms into the analysis...Micro-regionalism is related to macro-regionalism in the way that the larger regionalisation (and globalisation) processes create possibilities for smaller economically dynamic sub-national or transnational regions to get a direct access to the larger regional economic system, often bypassing the nation-state and the national capital, sometimes even as an alternative or in opposition to the challenged state and formal state-led regionalisms. (p. 461 and 465)

Regionalism, understood from the theory of the new regionalism, opens a space for the subsequent insertion of the nano-level, urban projects, and the transmission of territorial governance experiences. In this regard Bafarasat exposed:

As a third-way alternative to a regional government and competing autonomous localities, this school of thought thus promotes horizontal policy networks between localities, governmental agencies, and private and Third sector organizations to plan for and meet region-wide interests, especially the attraction of external private capital (Visser, 2004). (Ziafati Bafarasat, 2016, p. 120)

III.2. Downloading: from macro to nano

III.2.1. The arrival to Xalapa



Figure III-9: Xalapa's downtown. Source: Author's collection

The IDB completes the parabola of regionalization of initiatives by taking ESCI to intermediate cities such as Xalapa. Articles 27, 73, and 115 of the Federal Constitution, the 1992 Agrarian Law, the 1996 Human Settlements Law of 1996, the 2006 Federal Housing Law, and

the National Urban Development Program 2014-2018 conformed the federal level regulatory framework for urban development when the ESCI was implemented in Xalapa.

At the federal level, the institution responsible for the promotion of urban development is the State Delegation of the Ministry of Agrarian, Territorial and Urban Development (SEDATU) that was created by the 2013 public administration reform (DOF, 2013). Article 41 of this reform includes the following actions:

- I. Promote, in coordination with state and municipal authorities, the planning of the national territory for maximum use, with the formulation of policies that harmonize:
 - a. The growth or emergence of human settlements and population centers;
 - c. Urban development with uniform criteria regarding planning, control, and growth of the quality of the country's cities and metropolitan areas, in addition to population centers in general, as well as their respective communications and services infrastructure;
 - d. Housing planning and development;
- X. Plan and project the adequate distribution of the population and territorial planning of population centers, cities, and metropolitan areas, under sustainable development criteria with the corresponding Federal Public Administration agencies and entities; coordinate the actions that the Federal Executive agrees with the governments of the federal and municipal entities to carry out actions in this matter, with the participation of the social and private sectors;
- XI. Provide national land needs for urban development and housing, considering the availability of water determined by the Ministry of Environment and Natural Resources and regulate, in coordination with the governments of federal and municipal entities, the mechanisms to meet these needs;
- XII. Develop, support and execute programs to meet the needs of urban land and the establishment of provisions and territorial reserves for the proper development of population centers, in coordination

with the corresponding Federal Public Administration agencies and entities and federal and municipal governments with the participation of various social groups;

- XIII. Promote and arrange housing and urban and metropolitan development programs, and support their execution, with the participation of federal and municipal governments, as well as social and private sectors, so that national urban development be oriented towards sustainable planning and integration;
- XV. Plan, design, promote, support and evaluate financing mechanisms for regional and urban development, as well as for housing, with the participation of the corresponding Federal Public Administration agencies and entities, federal and municipal governments, credit institutions, and various social groups;
- XVII. Facilitate the coordination of actions by the public entities responsible for urban and metropolitan planning in the states and municipalities when they so agree;
- XVIII. Project and coordinate regional and development planning with the participation of corresponding federal and municipal governments;
- XX. Promote the construction of infrastructure and equipment for regional and urban development, in coordination with state and municipal governments and with the participation of social and private sectors. (DOF, 2013)

At the state level, the institution in charge of urban development is the Veracruz Institute of Housing INVIVIENDA. INVIVIENDA is regulated by the Law of Urban Development, Territorial Planning, and Housing for the state of Veracruz de Ignacio de la Llave (GOEV, 2011) and Law 56 on the Planning of the State of Veracruz of Ignacio de la Llave (GOEV, 1987), which incorporates in its articles 10 and 11 the basis of citizen participation in planning. Within this framework, citizens participate through the Planning Committee for the Development of the State

of Veracruz, and the Planning Committees for Municipal Development. In Articles 10 and 11, this interaction with the State in matters of planning is explained as:

- Art. 10. [...] consultation and participation of the various organizations representing workers, peasants and popular groups will take place; of academic, professional and research institutions; of the various political parties; of business organizations; of the different student, youth and women's organizations, as well as other social groups, so that the population express their opinions for the elaboration, update, execution and control of the State Development Plan, the Municipal Development Plans, and of the programs referred to in this Law.
- Art. 11. [...] popular consultation forums may be held, and for this purpose the social groups mentioned in said precept will be invited, and also, the Deputies to the State Legislature, Magistrates of the Superior Court and Judges, and the members of the interested municipalities. (GOEV, 1987)

The Veracruz Development Plan ‘propose[d] the specific development of the Special Urban Development and Metropolitan Zones Program that was not carried out by the municipalities’ (Barreto Bermúdez, 2017, p. 61) during the 2011-2016 legislature which coincides with the period studied in this research,

Additionally, the State of Veracruz legislated the ‘Urban Development, Land Management and Housing Law for the State of Veracruz de Ignacio de la Llave’ (GOEV, 2011), the State amended the law in 2015. This law defines urban development and planning, the terms in which the plans and projects should be developed, and the entities and officials in charge of the analysis. The law also details the mechanisms for urban design and forms of participation.

In its Article 2, this law understands urban development and sustainable urban development in the following terms:

IX. Urban development: The occupation or transformation of the territory for the realization of urban activities, through the construction, remodeling, improvement or demolition of works; the introduction or improvement of equipment or infrastructure; the fractioning, merger, subdivision, lotification or relocation of land; the change of the real estate property regime, as well as other tends towards the conservation or modification of the use of the land;

X. Dictum on Sustainable Integral Urban Development: The legal instrument carried out by experts in urban development, which aims to determine the capacity of infrastructure networks, urban equipment, and other existing public services to supply subdivisions and development real estate, and public or private works in any of its modalities, which produce a significant impact in the region. Additionally, it will determine the negative impacts derived from the eventual execution of the fractioning or project analyzed, as well as the mitigation measures and strict compliance regulations necessary for each of the cases in question. (GOEV, 2011)

On the municipal scale, there are two planning instruments. The ‘Organic Law of the Free Municipality’ (GOEV, 2001). This law, among other provisions, defines the municipality as 'the basis of the territorial division and the political and administrative organization of the State.' Also, the law characterizes a municipality as a city when the population center has more than 30,000 inhabitants and the necessary urban infrastructure for the provision of its public services' (GOEV, 2001).

The total gross income collected by the municipality for the year 2012 was 1,079,707,515 Mexican pesos from direct collection. Coming from federal distributions, Xalapa received 427,831,412 Mexican pesos in 2012.

In 20120, gross expenditures were 1,079,707,515 Mexican pesos, of which 257,849,706 Mexican pesos were destined for public investment, with a final availability of 0 (INEGI, 2014).

At this time, there was a political decision to prioritize investments in physical infrastructure over community development programs. David Barreto demonstrated the preponderance of hard construction projects after analyzing public policies between 2001 and 2016 in Xalapa (Barreto Bermúdez, 2017).



Figure III-10: Information post, pedestrianization project within the framework of the ESCI, Xalapa. Source: Author's collection

The Bank arrived in Xalapa in 2012. After the public announcement about the opening of the diagnostic stage, Xalapa's social sectors prepared to collaborate with the IDB's technical team. However, the IDB carried out the rapid diagnosis stage in the field in 2014 under circumstances that deviated from what was announced by official advertising and the Bank's manuals.

The IDB technical team opted for a diagnosis led by foreign personnel. These professionals spent a month in Xalapa collecting primary information from workshops with citizens and secondary data from official reports provided by the mayor's office. The Bank led the rapid diagnosis process based on opinion polls. Although the survey was carried out by a local institution belonging to the Universidad Veracruzana (UV), its contract as an external consultancy did not guarantee the incorporation of local knowledge. There are several universities in Xalapa and a research corpus on planning. The UV even has a faculty specialized in planning. Despite this, the IDB did not consult UV experts beyond inviting them to the communication workshops.

Nevertheless, the consultation exercises with residents had several episodes in which the actors denounced the lack of participation mechanisms. For example, the territorial division for data analysis did not obey the forms of territorial demarcation typically used by citizens. The definition of the areas of action is consistent with indicators and not with a territorial reading that allows a participatory construction of intervention polygons (a polygon is a defined intervention zone for project building).

Furthermore, the prioritization of the polygons included public opinion as the first element to be considered. The citizen participation was not an easy exercise; it required a prior conceptualization of the scope of the projects and the measurement of public opinion. These workshops had problems with the lack of objectivity associated with the project's design.

Citizen participation was not evident in the stages of rapid diagnosis of urban quality of life and identification of priorities, or the design of the Action Plan. Despite the official claims regarding participation, both in the methodological guides (IDB, 2014) and in subsequent revisions (Terraza, Rubio Blanco, & Vera, 2016), the information collected in the field shows an absence of participation of social organizations and intervening actors from the implementation territory. In Xalapa, the Initiative reduced citizen participation to a monitoring network after the elaboration of the Action Plan. The city never installed the network. Each project suggested by the Plan's strategies should include its schedule, financial structure, and the responsible municipal office. Projects must be executed within the medium- and long-term plans. The Bank insisted that 'This Plan constitutes the city's navigation chart on its path to sustainability' (IDB, 2014, p. 23). In the end, the ESCI methodology said the corresponding instances must validate the Plan, without mention which are.

The ESCI methodology proposed a stage of citizen monitoring. In Xalapa, this stage was merely symbolic. The citizen monitoring system was ex-post. This implementation strategy broke with the principles of social urbanism of the Medellín Model, in which local citizen initiatives at the nano-level guided all actions. Further proof of this rupture is the mention of monitoring within the Action Plan. Of the 341 pages of the Plan, only two were dedicated to the citizen monitoring system. One of them lacked content and the possible organizations that would integrate, and be responsible for, the monitoring system were not even identified.



Figure III-11: Monitoring system proposed by the Xalapa Action Plan. Source: (Ayuntamiento de Xalapa, 2014, p. 316)

According to the ESCI methodology, the surveillance and citizen follow-up work should have focused on the creation of an observatory. While the observatory existed formally, several sources indicated that a small group of professionals co-opted the observatory to meet their own interest in being granted contracts for the execution of projects. These kind of rumors and accusations resulted in the observatory being closed to interested stakeholders outside of this group.

Moreover, financial and participatory sustainability within the rapid diagnosis proposes citizen participation as the first element to consider. However, in the ESCI methodology participatory planning is diluted by being a specialized technical team that draws up project proposals. It is not clear what the Bank understood by participatory planning since the ESCI guide did not define it, and the fieldwork methodology assumed it to mean the spread of information.

The generation of indicators proposed from the ESCI 2011 framework includes the comparability of results between cities. Establishing standard criteria between intermediate cities in different countries was the origin of the regionalization process.

The Bank, in turn, influenced local technical capacities. For example, the use of new concepts such as tactical urban planning, pedestrianization, and pocket parks, among others, changed the technical jargon of municipal officials. The same happened with the architecture students at the University of Veracruz who participated in the *Public Space Public Life* exercise led by Gehl Architects (Gehl Architects, 2014).



Figure III-12: Gehl architects workshop call. Source: Gehl Architects, 2015.

The Gehl project resulted in a pilot project to improve the pedestrian infrastructure of *Calle Enríquez* and *Parque de Los Berros*, within a proposal for a pedestrian circuit for the city center. The architecture office developed a quick analysis that generated a pilot intervention in the park. However, the pedestrian infrastructure was collected by the municipal cleaning company two days

after its implementation on public roads. The academic sector denounced the lack of institutional coordination and the use of students for the construction of the project without receiving recognition in subsequent reports and publications. In turn, the report published by Gehl was criticized by scholars because it ignored the dynamics of the Xalapa public transport private business model, making the implementation of what Gehl proposed impossible. This is an example of the lack of installed, institutional capacity to assume the challenges and scope of the Action Plan.



Figure III-93: Xalapa's public transport system. Source: Author's collection.

The ESCI guide states that the IDB provides additional support for the search for long-term financing channels. According to the diagnosis, short-term financing depends on an improvement in cadastral collection capacity. However, the Action Plan does not connect with the municipal

budget framework. The spending plans of both mayoralities involved in the plan failed to include the Action Plan within their budgets for the time period the operation was planned. The IDB offers technical assistance and is clear in stating that it does not execute strategies. However, the municipality did not allocate resources towards execution either, so they turned the opportunity to begin a novel territorial planning process into a study without viability. The Initiative in Xalapa cost USD 1.100.000, which was assumed by the IDB, led to innocuous waste.

Public officers and public opinion forgot the results of the experience with the Action Plan. According to the interviews conducted, the political establishment buried the Action Plan through a directive to hide it in 2016. The Xalapa Master Plan was not executed and therefore was forgotten and is not mentioned in official speeches or the municipality's publications. All of this, despite the promises and pomp that the launch and publication of the Plan generated. The burying of the plan was the product of a combination of events that subtracted political capital and legitimacy from the mayor to execute the Plan. The project was met with resistance during the diagnosis and in the pre-feasibility stage. Unfortunately, Xalapa participated in the ESCI to position the image of the mayor, who was interested in becoming state governor at the time. All sources indicated that the Action Plan was made only for the prestige of working with the IDB. Consequently, the IDB was suspicious about the Xalapa case and modified its methodology after the experience in Xalapa. The methodology that is used today does not conduct opinion polls for phase one, nor does it impose foreign experts.

Nevertheless, in 2017, the IDB announced the budget allocation of USD\$ 13.7 million for basic sanitation projects within the framework of the ESCI in three Mexican cities, including Xalapa (IDB, 2017). This package included a biodigester project. However, there are inconsistencies in how the IDB presents the biodigester project. In October 2017, the IDB webpage

registered it as a program framed within the ESCI. Then, on December 6, the Bank announced it as a result of the Sustainable Cities Pilot Program of the Global Environment Facility without any mention of the ESCI (IDB, 2017). This is an example of the lack of transparency in the relationship between the IDB ESCI and Xalapa.

Regarding institutional capacity, Xalapa never created an office, resolution, nor decree that assigned the execution or monitoring of the Plan to any municipal dependency. Resistance, from several sectors, to the IDB methodology also played a role in the difficulties of implementation. The academic sector was resistant because local experts were omitted, but the ESCI team used its databases. In the same way, some social organizations, especially the mobility council and environmental groups, did not collaborate enthusiastically. The ESCI operation also received sharp criticism from opposition political parties. It was not well received that the IDB hired foreign professionals to prepare the Plan (Gehl architects and the University of Cantabria).

It is also important to point out the inconsistency of studies from international organizations on the same territory at the same time. In 2016, UN-Habitat evaluated Xalapa through the Basic Index of Prosperous Cities (ONU-HABITAT, 2016). This index does not look at the same elements as the ESCI experience. The development teams of both projects do not appear to have communicated with each other.

The IDB used a traffic light technique to prioritize the most urgent needs. The results of the diagnosis delivered by the IDB was broad in scope and detail, and it exceeded local institutional capacity. Finally, despite the proper education of the department chiefs, the bureaucracy for planning and urban policy is small. There is a deficit in the technical qualification of the municipal officials in charge of operationalizing the strategies.

Finally, the political landscape around local and state corruption scandals represented a political challenge for the execution of the Plan, especially when the urban planning strategies suggested infrastructure projects or land management that generated citizen resistance.



Figure III-104: Landscape of the Northwest side of Xalapa. Source: Author's collection

III.3. Results

The process of data collection and analysis in the field focused on addressing the main objective: to analyze the transfer of nano-level urban development programs through regional institutions. The research works on the five categories of quality of democracy and 12 variables previously defined.

Thus, the research design sought to obtain information in two moments. A first moment defined the map of actors that could deliver relevant details within a qualitative approach based on semi-structured interviews. A second moment focused on crossing information derived from interviews with other tools. I triangulated the data to control information on the understanding of a small sample of interviews.

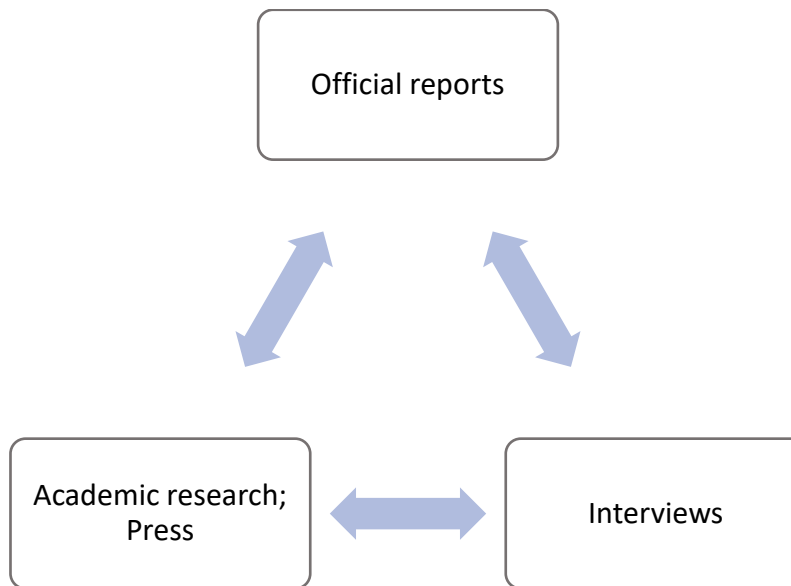


Figure III-115: Data control model for data collection. Source: Own elaboration.

I collected information in the field over four episodes between 2017 and 2019, two of them in Medellín and two in Xalapa. In Medellín, I had the support of Uniremington University Corporation and the Faculty of Legal and Political Sciences, and in Xalapa I had the support of Instituto de Ecología and the Environment and Sustainability Group. The information-gathering process was concentrated in the City of Xalapa de Enríquez. This temporal choice made it possible to trace the arrival and implementation process of the ESCI in two moments. Each visit had a different municipal administration, with municipal presidents coming from political parties located

at opposite ends of the Mexican political spectrum and a framework of similar federal and state government change.

These visits allowed for a review of the ESCI at two crucial moments in its implementation, allowing for comparison with the transformation experience of the Medellín Model. In 2017, the ESCI was just completed, and the Xalapa Action Plan document had recently been published by the IDB and the local mayor's office. By 2019, the time that the ESCI methodology proposes for the consolidation of the citizen participation mechanism included in the final stages had elapsed.

The matrix of decision-makers and participants sought to identify the sources of information for each presumption within each sub-hypothesis. The literary review gave an initial selection of actors. The feasibility of obtaining appointments and care of potential information (considering bank secrecy, private information, possible costs in political capital for some officials, resources to develop them) were analyzed.

In 2016 preparation for an academic forum in Medellín began. The purpose of the forum was to identify possible relevant actors for the research process, associated topics, and bibliography that would provide data for the initial stakeholder mapping. The forum was at the Uniremington University in downtown Medellín, in a special issue of the university's annual event called *Public Policy and Environment Forum*. This forum focused on the construction of the Land Use Plan (POT) and citizen participation. It included the participation of various government decision-makers, more than 50 inhabitants of the downtown area, managers of social organizations, university researchers, and project designers within the logic of urban social planning.



Figure III-126: V Forum of Public Policies and Environment. Medellín. Source: Author's collection.

The Forum produced data regarding thematic relevance and citizen concern about the continuity of urban social planning. It highlighted the democratic quality in Medellín in terms of citizen participation in infrastructure projects.

Table III.3-1		
<i>Forum minutes, Uniremington 2016</i>		
<u>Forum Main Ideas</u>		
<u>Regarding MSU</u>	<u>Regarding Medellín's influence in other planning models abroad</u>	<u>Regarding Bolívar street open gallery project</u>
Social urbanism did not incorporate informal traders and the black-market economy into the infrastructure facilities projects.	Mention is made on the invitation to delegations from foreign municipalities to learn about the implementation of the city center's partial plan, as well as the international open call for the design of the Bolívar Gallery.	There was frequent mention of technical innovation as a principle of social urbanism.

The land-use plan (POT) includes the principles of social urbanism in an advanced phase of inserting its policies within the population of the city.	The inhabitants of the territory viewed proposals such as "pocket parks," urban acupuncture, and social transformation through art with skepticism.
The right to the city is a common claim in people's narratives.	
The State responds with infrastructure works within the framework of a participatory social contract.	
There was concern on the part of citizens regarding the end of social urbanism before the change of municipal administration.	

Table III.3-1: Forum minutes, Uniremington 2016. Source: Own elaboration.

Based on the forum results and the literature, I proposed a classification of relevant actors in five categories: 1) actors from the academia or research centers, 2) actors who served as public servants in the two municipalities studied and who participated in decision-making on the ESCI project, 3) actors in charge of the ESCI within the regional financial organization in both countries, 4) actors belonging to civil organizations interested in urban development projects and who have participated as part of the pedestrianization process of Bolívar street in Medellín and Enríquez street in Xalapa, and 5) local actors in the territory in the area of influence of both urban projects.

Types of actors

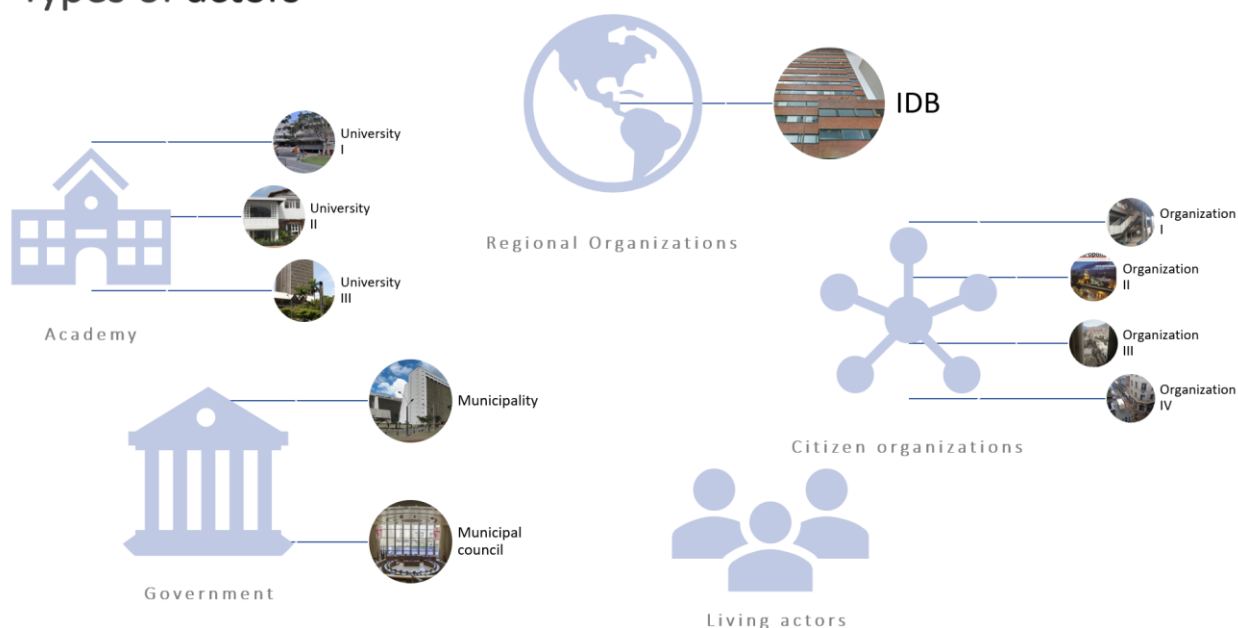


Figure III-17: Types of actors for research analysis. Source: Own elaboration.

This initial mapping yielded 15 relevant actors to interview in the first phase (2017), and then by snowball technique, or due to changes in administration, 14 more actors to interview during 2019 field visits.

Table III.3-2

Number of interviews by country

<u>Colombia</u>		<u>Mexico</u>	
Total number of interviews	12	Total number of interviews	17
Academia actors	3	Academia actors	3
Government actors	4	Government actors	5
Associations	3	Associations	6
Regional actors	1	Regional actors	2
Nano-level actors	1	Nano-level actors	1
Total interviews: 29			

Table III.3-2: Number of interviews by country. Source: Own elaboration.

Figure III-18 and appendix 4 shows the actors within a relationship map created using the free software ONODO (www.onodo.com). The information search schema was: Main objective> question> specific objective / hypothesis> presumption> tool> what type of instrument or who delivers the information> expected result. A number assigned to each actor and all interviewees were anonymized under an identification code corresponding to an acronym.

Table III.3-3 <i>Code assigned to each type of actor by city</i>		
<u>Type of actor</u>	<u>Actor Code</u>	
Academia actor	MUP (Medellín)	XUP (Xalapa)
Government actor	MM (Medellín)	MX (Xalapa)
Citizen associations	MO (Medellín)	XO (Xalapa)
Regional actor	BC (Colombia)	BM (Mexico)
Nano-level actor	ML (Medellín)	XL (Xalapa)

Table III.3-3: Code assigned to each type of actor by city. Source: Own elaboration.

Information was collected political will in decision making, levels of interest and participation, and life experiences in 2017 and 2019. Political will is understood as the interest of decision-makers in the accomplishment of their program ponderated with the agreed with stakeholders. The exercise identified which participating actors could have relevant data according to their position in the decision-making process, published research on the subject, or leadership in interested organizations. Secondary information and literature were the base for selection. I had the viability of interview and openness to sharing information as criteria. Despite being an academic interview adhering to European legal protocols for the care of personal data, it was evident that several of the possible interviewees do not wish to speak on the subject. Low interest in talking could have been due to an institutional directive or fear of possible repercussions ranging from political attrition to physical security issues.

Figure III-18 leads to two conclusions. First of all, the three actors from Xalapa (XM5, XM1, and XM4) concentrate most of the information crossings to meet the expected results. Secondly, two expected results (ER3 and ER5) contain more relevance for solving the main question. Appendix 4 condenses the data about proximity and relevance in the framework.

Upon completion of this analysis, it was possible to design the interviews. Below is a systematization of the interviews done. Each interview was evaluated according to the categories and subcategories of the Quality of Democracy. Some interviews have several systematization tables as their information responds to various assumptions and expected results within the proposed framework.

Documentary analysis was also used, initially to inform interview design and the selection of potential interviewees, and subsequently to triangulate the interview data, especially where conflicting accounts were given. The document analysis included a range of materials such as national legislation, white papers, regional strategy documents of various kinds and stages of preparation, public examination reports, and online comments from various actors. Institutional mapping involved various regional organizations and informal forums.

Assumption Three: Medellín municipality systematized its experience and then sold it to regional institutions

Total interviews A3:

Total: interviews A3										
Medellin systematized its experience and then offered it to regional institutions										
sub-category	Rule of law	value	Accountability	value	Freedom	value	Equality	value	Responsiveness	value
Variable	Constitutional frame previously established	1	Mechanism of participation in collegiate bodies	2	Material conditions to participate freely	1	Political right to participate in planning	2	Qualified public officials	2
	Legal procedures for impeachments	0	Officers committed with the discourse	1	Residents' interests are free of violent pressure or political commitments.	-1	Equitable access to information and voting in equity	0	Political will to respond to the agreement with the community	1
	total	0	Legal and legitimated obligation to answer	0	total	0	total	1	total	1
			Information, justification and penalty	0						
			total	1						
						Value	Meaning			
						2	It strengthens the quality of democracy heavily			
						1	It strengthens the quality of democracy lightly			
Total						0	It does not have incidence in the quality of democracy			
						-1	It diminishes the quality of democracy lightly			
						-2	It diminishes the quality of democracy heavily			

Table III.3-4: Interviews A3. Source: Own elaboration.

Total reports A3:

Total: reports A3										
Medellin systematized its experience and then offered it to regional institutions										
sub-category	Rule of law	value	Accountability	value	Freedom	value	Equality	value	Responsiveness	value
Variable	Constitutional frame previously established	1	Mechanism of participation in collegiate bodies	0	Material conditions to participate freely	0	Political right to participate in planning	-1	Qualified public officials	1
	Legal procedures for impeachments	0	Officers committed with the discourse	1	Residents' interests are free of violent pressure or political commitments.	-1	Equitable access to information and voting in equity	-1	Political will to respond to the agreement with the community	0
	total	1	Legal and legitimated obligation to answer	0	total	0	total	-1	total	1
			Information, justification and penalty	-1						
			total	0						
						Value	Meaning			
						2	It strengthens the quality of democracy heavily			
						1	It strengthens the quality of democracy lightly			
Total						0	It does not have incidence in the quality of democracy			
						-1	It diminishes the quality of democracy lightly			
						-2	It diminishes the quality of democracy heavily			

Table III.3-5: Reports A3. Source: Own elaboration.

Total indicators A3:

<div> <div>Total: indicators A3</div> <div>Medellin systematized its experience and then offered it to regional institutions</div> </div>										
sub-category	Rule of law	value	Accountability	value	Freedom	value	Equality	value	Responsiveness	value
Variable	Constitutional frame previously established	1	Mechanism of participation in collegiate bodies	-1	Material conditions to participate freely	0	Political right to participate in planning	1	Qualified public officials	1
	Legal procedures for impeachments	-1	Officers committed with the discourse	2	Residents' interests are free of violent pressure or political commitments.	-1	Equitable access to information and voting in equity	-2	Political will to respond to the agreement with the community	-1
	total	0	Legal and legitimated obligation to answer	-1	total	0	total	-1	total	0
			Information, justification and penalty	-1						
			total	0						
						Value	Meaning			
						2	It strengthens the quality of democracy heavily			
						1	It strengthens the quality of democracy lightly			
Total						0	It does not have incidence in the quality of democracy			
						-1	It diminishes the quality of democracy lightly			
						-2	It diminishes the quality of democracy heavily			

Table III.3-6: Indicators A3. Source: Own elaboration.

Total assumption 3:

<div> <div>Total: A3</div> <div>Medellin systematized its experience and then offered it to regional institutions</div> </div>										
sub-category	Rule of law	value	Accountability	value	Freedom	value	Equality	value	Responsiveness	value
Variable	Constitutional frame previously established	1	Mechanism of participation in collegiate bodies	0	Material conditions to participate freely	0	Political right to participate in planning	1	Qualified public officials	1
	Legal procedures for impeachments	0	Officers committed with the discourse	1	Residents' interests are free of violent pressure or political commitments.	-1	Equitable access to information and voting in equity	-1	Political will to respond to the agreement with the community	0
	total	0	Legal and legitimated obligation to answer	0	total	0	total	0	total	1
			Information, justification and penalty	-1						
			total	0						
						Value	Meaning			
						2	It strengthens the quality of democracy heavily			
						1	It strengthens the quality of democracy lightly			
Total						0	It does not have incidence in the quality of democracy			
						-1	It diminishes the quality of democracy lightly			
						-2	It diminishes the quality of democracy heavily			

Table III.3-7: Total assumption 3. Source: Own elaboration.

This assumption sought to show whether Medellín did indeed develop a strategy aimed at selling its territorial planning model. The parable of the regionalization of the initiative begins at the nano-level in Medellín, making it necessary to know what type of interests motivated its design and development as an exhibition model.

As shown in Table III.3-7, the absolute value of the triangulation between Tables III.3-4, III.3-5, and III.3-6 was 0.12, which indicates that the export of the model does not affect the democratic quality of the regionalized model itself. However, interviews with relevant stakeholders to find out this incidence showed that the incidence was slightly positive. Accountability, equality, and responsiveness are positive, highlighting the assessment of the qualification of officials, the right to participate in planning, and mechanisms for participation in collegiate bodies as heavy incidences.

This data verifies that Medellín developed the strategy to promote a political project with aspirations for promotion in national power. Medellín's political establishment developed the MSU as a political springboard. This project had citizen participation as a pillar to differentiate it from other urban planning models, which explains the value obtained in the boxes in Table III.3-4 with a score (+2). These values allude to the valuation given to the right to participate as a central axis. Additionally, municipal officials were later hired by various municipalities throughout the continent, which explains the value of +2 for the technical capacity of these professionals and their commitment to the MSU's discourse. The possibility of exporting the MSU meant that the city objectively had a transformation.

The export process of the MSU served as a screen to hide practices of illegal territorial control. The arrival of regional organizations boosts the real estate market and public debt for financing macro-projects. Various Colombian officials linked to investment funds arrived at the

Bank. The employment of formal public officials generates negative value at equality, due to the absence of transparency in the information about IDB's operation and staff hiring.

In turn, the interviewees highlight that the interest in winning international competitions was always present. Looking for publicity could explain the negative score on equitable access to information and fair vote (-1) in Table III.3-7. Medellín had several calls from the IDB to review its MSU experience, represented in the positive value (+2) in the establishment's commitment to promoting the model. Joint publications (referenced in Chapter Two) emerged from this interest on the part of the IDB. Citizens participated in the designs of the projects but did not affect the subsequent advertising and marketing campaigns of those same projects.

Additionally, the city used several research centers to systematize the MSU process academically. Even though the interviewees linked to the government respond positively about the advantages of the model and its democratic benefits, it was evident with the indicators and reports that there was an objective transformation in the urban fabric of the city. Indeed, the city implemented the MSU on an ambitious scale. The city, in turn, used various universities and publishing centers to promote the MSU experience as an exportable innovation. Still, in Table III.3-7, the negative value in access to information and free interest (-1) explains that citizens did not have equal access to the data produced by these centers of thought.

Academic interviewees and reports sharply criticized the lack of citizens' will for participation free of pressure, as shown in the square in Table III.3-5 (-1). They also criticized the incoherence between the enthusiasm to promote involvement as a milestone. The lack of legal instruments that force officials to respond and the absence of active penalties for those who do not respond was also criticized.

Interviews and reports show that the Social Urbanism process affected real estate speculation in Medellín. The negative value explains this in the variable of free interest and without political commitments. The three sources of information indicated that the presence of armed groups with territorial control affected freedom to participate. Curiously, these same groups promoted participation, seeking to obtain profits on extortion of construction companies and capture of property titles with higher values.

The MSU required a prior constitutional framework that allowed citizen participation and the development of nano-level projects, the political right to participate in design, and the commitment of officials to recognize this dynamic, as shown by the positive value in Table III.3-7.

In conclusion, the city implemented the MSU and put it on display. The political culture of participation from the neighborhoods was the milestone for policy change. Yet, there were doubts about citizen control of this investment in city marketing. Then the IDB took the MSU as an inspiring model. The positive assessment of responsiveness illustrates that the city not only implemented the MSU but also generated frequent demands on public servants with effective responses from them.

Assumption Four: The IDB based its definition of secondary city and the focus of the ESCI on the MSU

Total interviews A4:

Total: interviews A4												
The IDB based its definition of secondary city and the ESCI focus on the MSU												
sub-category	Rule of law	value	Accountability	value	Freedom	value	Equality	value	Responsiveness	value		
Variable	Constitutional frame previously established	-1	Mechanism of participation in collegiate bodies	-1	Material conditions to participate freely	-1	Political right to participate in planning	0	Qualified public officials			
	Legal procedures for impeachments	0	Officers committed with the discourse	0	Residents' interests are free of violent pressure or political commitments.	0	Equitable access to information and voting in equity	-1	Political will to respond to the agreement with the community	-		
	total	0	Legal and legitimated obligation to answer	-1	total	0	total	0	total			
			Information, justification and penalty	1								
			total	0								
						Value	Meaning					
						2	It strengthens the quality of democracy heavily					
						1	It strengthens the quality of democracy lightly					
Total						0	0	It does not have incidence in the quality of democracy				
						-1	It diminishes the quality of democracy lightly					
						-2	It diminishes the quality of democracy heavily					

Table III.3-8: Interviews A4. Source: Own elaboration.

Total reports A4

Total: reports A4										
The IDB based its definition of secondary city and the ESCI focus on the MSU										
sub-category	Rule of law	value	Accountability	value	Freedom	value	Equality	value	Responsiveness	value
Variable	Constitutional frame previously established	0	Mechanism of participation in collegiate bodies	-2	Material conditions to participate freely	-1	Political right to participate in planning	0	Qualified public officials	
	Legal procedures for impeachments	0	Officers committed with the discourse	2	Residents' interests are free of violent pressure or political commitments.	0	Equitable access to information and voting in equity	-2	Political will to respond to the agreement with the community	-
	total	0	Legal and legitimated obligation to answer	-2	total	-1	total	-1	total	-
			Information, justification and penalty	-2						
			total	-1						
						Value	Meaning			
						2	It strengthens the quality of democracy heavily			
						1	It strengthens the quality of democracy lightly			
						0	It does not have incidence in the quality of democracy			
						-1	It diminishes the quality of democracy lightly			
						-2	It diminishes the quality of democracy heavily			
Total				-1		0				

Table III.3-9: Reports A4. Source: Own elaboration.

Total indicators A4

Total: indicators A4											The IDB based its definition of secondary city and the ESCI focus on the MSU	
sub-category	Rule of law	value	Accountability	value	Freedom	value	Equality	value	Responsiveness	value		
Variable	Constitutional frame previously established	0	Mechanism of participation in collegiate bodies	0	Material conditions to participate freely	0	Political right to participate in planning	1	Qualified public officials			
	Legal procedures for impeachments	0	Officers committed with the discourse	1	Residents' interests are free of violent pressure or political commitments.	0	Equitable access to information and voting in equity	-1	Political will to respond to the agreement with the community			
	total	0	Legal and legitimated obligation to answer	-1	total	0	total	0	total			
			Information, justification and penalty	-1								
			total	0								
						Value	Meaning					
						2	It strengthens the quality of democracy heavily					
						1	It strengthens the quality of democracy lightly					
Total						0	It does not have incidence in the quality of democracy					
						-1	It diminishes the quality of democracy lightly					
						-2	It diminishes the quality of democracy heavily					

Table III.3-10: Indicators A4. Source: Own elaboration.

Total assumption 4:

Total: A4											The IDB based its definition of secondary city and the ESCI focus on the MSU	
sub-category	Rule of law	value	Accountability	value	Freedom	value	Equality	value	Responsiveness	value		
Variable	Constitutional frame previously established	0	Mechanism of participation in collegiate bodies	-1	Material conditions to participate freely	-1	Political right to participate in planning	0	Qualified public officials			
	Legal procedures for impeachments	0	Officers committed with the discourse	1	Residents' interests are free of violent pressure or political commitments.	0	Equitable access to information and voting in equity	-1	Political will to respond to the agreement with the community	-		
	total	0	Legal and legitimated obligation to answer	-1	total	0	total	0	total			
			Information, justification and penalty	-1								
			total	-1								
						Value	Meaning					
						2	It strengthens the quality of democracy heavily					
						1	It strengthens the quality of democracy lightly					
Total						0	It does not have incidence in the quality of democracy					
						-1	It diminishes the quality of democracy lightly					
						-2	It diminishes the quality of democracy heavily					

Table III.3-11: Total assumption 4. Source: Own elaboration.

Assumption Four shows whether the IDB based the ESCI on the MSU, how much the MSU influenced the ESCI design, and how the Bank approached Medellín. Table III.3-11 shows that the absolute value of the triangulation of the data presented in Tables III.3-8, III.3-9, and III.3-10 was 0.24, without the incidence of this presumption in the QoD of the regionalization of initiatives.

Table III.3-11 highlights that accountability has a negative value (-1). The IDB does not have mechanisms for participation in collegiate bodies because it follows a private logic. The Bank is not governed by effective legislation that forces it to respond as a citizen (it must report back to the office of each government). Consequence, the Bank did not require the information, justification, and penalty.

Interviews with Bank officials show a divergence in how officers in Washington and officers in the field understand the five categories of QoD used here. Table III.3-10 shows that field officers have a negative assessment in the global value (-1) and each category, while central office officials highlight the responsiveness (+1) of the IDB in its interactions with Medellín. The positive score also highlights the participation of former Medellín officials in the ESCI staff.

Table III.3-9 shows a negative score across reports except for the rule of law. This indicates that the existence of a previous legal framework does not affect QoD for the connection process between the regional and local levels. The non-regulated connection process served as a direct bridge between localities and the IDB without going through the meso-level. Even though the Bank used Medellín as a benchmark for participatory planning processes, the ESCI did not replicate the model exactly. As shown in Tables III.3-8 and III.3-9, the differences between mechanisms of citizen participation in Xalapa and Medellín stood out in accountability, freedom, and equity, in the reports and interviews. Translating the MSU to the ESCI was a complex process

because of budgetary limitations in intermediate cities. Often, secondary cities do not have the resources to execute urban planning processes.

Bank officials are committed to the MSU's discourse because it coincides with the sustainable development agenda, which expresses the positive assessment (+1) in the overall score (Table III.3-11) for the variables of commitment and qualification but not in the Bank's interest to be audited by the political control mechanisms. Yet, the IDB that the ESCI originated based on the experience in Medellín.

The results noted initial complications in the implementation due to administrative differences between Medellín and Xalapa.

In conclusion, accountability decreases QoD in the regionalization process due to the non-obligation for the Bank to circulate information, its decision-making process without community representation, and without any action that can be audited by citizenship.

Assumption Five: Results of the regionalization process are visible in Xalapa

Total interviews A5:

Total: interviews A5											
It exists visible results of the regionalization process in Xalapa											
sub-category	Rule of law	value	Accountability	value	Freedom	value	Equality	value	Responsiveness	value	
Variable	Constitutional frame previously established	0	Mechanism of participation in collegiate bodies	-2	Material conditions to participate freely	0	Political right to participate in planning	0	Qualified public officials		
	Legal procedures for impeachments	0	Officers committed with the discourse	-1	Residents' interests are free of violent pressure or political commitments.	0	Equitable access to information and voting in equity	-1	Political will to respond to the agreement with the community	-	
	total	0	Legal and legitimated obligation to answer	-1	total	0	total	-1	total		
			Information, justification and penalty	-1							
			total	-1							
						Value	Meaning				
						2	It strengthens the quality of democracy heavily				
						1	It strengthens the quality of democracy lightly				
Total						-1	It does not have incidence in the quality of democracy				
						-1	It diminishes the quality of democracy lightly				
						-2	It diminishes the quality of democracy heavily				

Table III.3-12: Interviews A5. Source: Own elaboration.

Total reports A5:

Total: reports A5												
It exists visible results of the regionalization process in Xalapa												
sub-category	Rule of law	value	Accountability	value	Freedom	value	Equality	value	Responsiveness	value		
Variable	Constitutional frame previously established	0	Mechanism of participation in collegiate bodies	-1	Material conditions to participate freely	0	Political right to participate in planning	0	Qualified public officials			
	Legal procedures for impeachments	-2	Officers committed with the discourse	0	Residents' interests are free of violent pressure or political commitments.	-1	Equitable access to information and voting in equity	-2	Political will to respond to the agreement with the community	-		
	total	-1	Legal and legitimated obligation to answer	-1	total	0	total	-1	total	-		
			Information, justification and penalty	-1								
			total	-1								
						Value	Meaning					
						2	It strengthens the quality of democracy heavily					
						1	It strengthens the quality of democracy lightly					
Total						-1	0	It does not have incidence in the quality of democracy				
						-1	It diminishes the quality of democracy lightly					
						-2	It diminishes the quality of democracy heavily					

Table III.3-13: Reports A5. Source: Own elaboration.

Total indicators A5:

Total: indicators A5											It exists visible results of the regionalization process in Xalapa	
sub-category	Rule of law	value	Accountability	value	Freedom	value	Equality	value	Responsiveness	value		
Variable	Constitutional frame previously stablished	1	Mechanism of participation in collegiate bodies	-1	Material conditions to participate freely	0	Political right to participate in planning	1	Qualified public officials			
	Legal procedures for impeachments	0	Officers committed with the discourse	0	Residents' interests are free of violent pressure or political commitments.	0	Equitable access to information and voting in equity	0	Political will to respond to the agreement with the community			
	total	1	Legal and legitimated obligation to answer	0	total	0	total	1	total			
			Information, justification and penalty	-1								
			total	-1								
						Value	Meaning					
						2	It strengthens the quality of democracy heavily					
						1	It strengthens the quality of democracy lightly					
						0	It does not have incidence in the quality of democracy					
						-1	It diminishes the quality of democracy lightly					
						-2	It diminishes the quality of democracy heavily					
						Total	0					

Table III.3-14: Indicators A5. Source: Own elaboration.

Total assumption 5:

Total: A5											It exists visible results of the regionalization process in Xalapa	
sub-category	Rule of law	value	Accountability	value	Freedom	value	Equality	value	Responsiveness	value		
Variable	Constitutional frame previously stablished	0	Mechanism of participation in collegiate bodies	-1	Material conditions to participate freely	0	Political right to participate in planning	0	Qualified public officials	1		
	Legal procedures for impeachments	-1	Officers committed with the discourse	0	Residents' interests are free of violent pressure or political commitments.	0	Equitable access to information and voting in equity	-1	Political will to respond to the agreement with the community	-1		
	total	0	Legal and legitimated obligation to answer	-1	total	0	total	0	total	0		
			Information, justification and penalty	-1								
			total	-1								
						Value	Meaning					
						2	It strengthens the quality of democracy heavily					
						1	It strengthens the quality of democracy lightly					
Total						0	It does not have incidence in the quality of democracy					
						-1	It diminishes the quality of democracy lightly					
						-2	It diminishes the quality of democracy heavily					

Table III.3-15: Total assumption 5. Source: Own elaboration.

Downloading the ESCI to a different local territory highlights visible results of the regionalization process and shows the parabola at the ending point. In this regard, as Table III.3-15 shows, the absolute score was 0.35 without overall incidence. These results explain the almost null incidence of the QoD categories. In Xalapa, project secrecy was the cause of that incidence after the delivery of the Action Plan. The Bank did make efforts to develop the Action Plan in Xalapa, but local financing conditions prevented it. Thus, the lack of budget and political will stopped the Plan's execution. Regionalization is not only evident with the MSU-style infrastructure work, but through the development of participation mechanisms. In the case of the ESCI in Xalapa, it only incorporated a monitoring observatory without any subsequent participation. Therefore, in Table III.3-8, accountability is negative (-1). This deficiency is reflected in the global value of legal procedures for impeachment (-1), the absence of a known framework for participation in Xalapa, and the scarcity of information provided to citizens.

The negative values from interviews and reports (Tables III.3-12 and III.3-13) show citizen disappointment in the dialogue with the Bank. The arrival of the IDB with the ESCI ignored previous local planning initiatives with investments by the mayor.

Xalapa public officials highlighted that the elaboration of the Action Plan and its subsequent execution was suspended because there was no capacity to implement the strategies. Furthermore, the IDB, with the Medellín Model as its example, concentrated on infrastructure for urban regeneration, with little attention to social programs.

The Action Plan was not executed by the Zuñiga or Rodríguez administrations. The negative value in the willingness of local governments to respond to citizens commitments (Table III.3-13) reflects this discontinuity.

By contrast, Table III.3-14 shows that the remaining indicators give positive or non-incidence values in all categories except accountability. The explanation is in the official nature of the indicators; public offices, or institutions funded by states, produced the indicator's reports. These values acknowledge the prior existence of participatory legal framework that was not popularized in Xalapa political culture.

According to three interviewees, the non-execution of the Action Plan in Xalapa responds to the lack of political will and lack of coordination between municipal offices. Thus, Table III.3-12 shows responsiveness is negatively affected based on the unwillingness of officers to respond to agreements (-1). Likewise, the Bank did not provide detailed scale studies for the execution of the Plan's strategies. Therefore, the Plan cannot be used for much beyond being a general guide to planning strategy. This decreases accountability in all its variables (-1 to -2).

Interviews with citizen organizations agreed with press releases regarding the lack of transparency in decision-making and equality (-1) (Tables III.3-12 and III.3-13), which reflects the call to participate in tactical urbanism projects led by the IDB without further communication about results or project continuity. The insufficiency of oversight mechanisms distanced the ESCI from the MSU, with ratings of -2 in freedom and the rule of law. Thus, it was not possible to implement MSU principles because they would have generated social resistance in Xalapa due to the differences in participatory political culture and different modes of settlement.

In conclusion, the results of the regionalization process are scarce. They only promoted the image of public officials trained to understand the operation of the ESCI, but with the absence of citizen's mechanisms to demur the results of the projects. Accountability deteriorated due to the concealment of the Action Plan without penalties on the suspension of the initiative.

Assumption Six: Xalapa has incorporated the ESCI recognizing the legacy of Medellín Social Urbanism

Total interviews A6:

Total: interviews A6											Xalapa has incorporated the ESCI recognizing the legacy of the Medellin Social Urbanism	
sub-category	Rule of law	value	Accountability	value	Freedom	value	Equality	value	Responsiveness	value		
Variable	Constitutional frame previously established	-1	Mechanism of participation in collegiate bodies	-2	Material conditions to participate freely	0	Political right to participate in planning	0	Qualified public officials			
	Legal procedures for impeachments	0	Officers committed with the discourse	0	Residents' interests are free of violent pressure or political commitments.	0	Equitable access to information and voting in equity	-1	Political will to respond to the agreement with the community			
	total	-1	Legal and legitimated obligation to answer	0	total	0	total	-1	total			
			Information, justification and penalty	-1								
			total	-1								
						Value	Meaning					
						2	It strengthens the quality of democracy heavily					
						1	It strengthens the quality of democracy lightly					
Total						0	It does not have incidence in the quality of democracy					
						-1	It diminishes the quality of democracy lightly					
						-2	It diminishes the quality of democracy heavily					

Table III.3-16: Interviews A6. Source: Own elaboration.

Total report A6:

Total: reports A6											Xalapa has incorporated the ESCI recognizing the legacy of the Medellin Social Urbanism	
sub-category	Rule of law	value	Accountability	value	Freedom	value	Equality	value	Responsiveness	value		
Variable	Constitutional frame previously established	-1	Mechanism of participation in collegiate bodies	0	Material conditions to participate freely	0	Political right to participate in planning	0	Qualified public officials			
	Legal procedures for impeachments	-1	Officers committed with the discourse	1	Residents' interests are free of violent pressure or political commitments.	0	Equitable access to information and voting in equity	-1	Political will to respond to the agreement with the community			
	total	-1	Legal and legitimated obligation to answer	-1	total	0	total	-1	total			
			Information, justification and penalty	-1								
			total	0								
						Value	Meaning					
						2	It strengthens the quality of democracy heavily					
						1	It strengthens the quality of democracy lightly					
Total						0	It does not have incidence in the quality of democracy					
						-1	It diminishes the quality of democracy lightly					
						-2	It diminishes the quality of democracy heavily					

Table III.3-17: Reports A6. Source: Own elaboration.

Total indicators A6

Total: indicators A6		Xalapa has incorporated the ESCI recognizing the legacy of the Medellin Social Urbanism									
sub-category	Rule of law	value	Accountability	value	Freedom	value	Equality	value	Responsiveness	value	
Variable	Constitutional frame previously established	0	Mechanism of participation in collegiate bodies	1	Material conditions to participate freely	-1	Political right to participate in planning	-1	Qualified public officials		
	Legal procedures for impeachments	0	Officers committed with the discourse	-1	Residents' interests are free of violent pressure or political commitments.	-1	Equitable access to information and voting in equity	-2	Political will to respond to the agreement with the community	-	
	total	0	Legal and legitimated obligation to answer	1	total	-1	total	-2	total	-	
			Information, justification and penalty	-1							
			total	0							
						Value	Meaning				
						2	It strengthens the quality of democracy heavily				
						1	It strengthens the quality of democracy lightly				
Total						-1	0	It does not have incidence in the quality of democracy			
						-1	It diminishes the quality of democracy lightly				
						-2	It diminishes the quality of democracy heavily				

Table III.3-18: Indicators A6. Source: Own elaboration.

Total assumption 6:

Total: A6			Xalapa has incorporated the ESCI recognizing the legacy of the Medellin Social Urbanism							
sub-category	Rule of law	value	Accountability	value	Freedom	value	Equality	value	Responsiveness	value
Variable	Constitutional frame previously established	-1	Mechanism of participation in collegiate bodies	0	Material conditions to participate freely	0	Political right to participate in planning	0	Qualified public officials	
	Legal procedures for impeachments	0	Officers committed with the discourse	0	Residents' interests are free of violent pressure or political commitments.	0	Equitable access to information and voting in equity	-1	Political will to respond to the agreement with the community	
	total	-1	Legal and legitimated obligation to answer	0	total	0	total	-1	total	
			Information, justification and penalty	-1						
			total	0						
						Value	Meaning			
						2	It strengthens the quality of democracy heavily			
						1	It strengthens the quality of democracy lightly			
Total						0	It does not have incidence in the quality of democracy			
						-1	It diminishes the quality of democracy lightly			
						-2	It diminishes the quality of democracy heavily			

Table III.3-19: Total assumption 6. Source: Own elaboration.

Table III.3-19 shows the absolute score for this assumption is 0.25. Accordingly, the influence of the MSU on the democratic quality of the regionalization process upon arrival in Xalapa has no relevance. The overall score in Table III.3-19 shows positive responsiveness (+1). This value indicates that public officials in Xalapa were qualified to understand the MSU and the importance of applying it in Xalapa. The MSU is well known to Xalapa public officials, for example the mayors had been to Medellín. Nevertheless, the lack of equality (-1) obtained in the overall score, especially regarding equal access to information, limited the desire of the population to join the planning exercises. The Action Plan team openly referred to Medellín, but only within a framework of multiple references where the Medellín Model is just one example of social control.

The negative value (-1) of the previous legal framework for participatory planning also stands out. The Law of Citizen Participation of the State of Veracruz did not effectively execute processes at the nano-level. This was affirmed by several interviewees and corroborated by the participation indicators, which had negative values like equality and the participation mechanisms in collective bodies. The IDB downloaded the Action Plan in Xalapa without including programs aimed at social inequality and poverty. This is a difference in the reception of the model compared with the MSU. The IDB exported the narrative, but not the content of the Medellín Model. The indicators in Table III.3-18 show that freedom (-1) is curtailed by the pressures of local political elites who, during the diagnosis and writing stage of the Action Plan, pressured communities to participate, or prevented them from speaking in the workshops.

Several interviewees, including officials, mentioned their lack of knowledge about mechanisms for citizen participation in technical designs. The expectations around infrastructures compelled people to participate in a methodological design which they did not completely understand.

Initiatives within the IDB program do not start at the neighborhood or community level. The ESCI consulted with the community, and people intervened, but they did not have the legal authority for planning.

Although the parabola actors recognized the influence of the Medellín Model, new urban planning in Xalapa after 2017 did not incorporate the Action Plan. The value of -1 in the rule of law (Table III.3-19) illustrates the inconsistency between a foreign planning model and the local norms of the territory that receives it. Xalapa was not ready to incorporate the MSU despite the managers' good intentions during the writing of the Action Plan.

Therefore, an experience like MSU is not repeatable in Xalapa because the conditions of access to land and the offer of institutional services are dissimilar between the localities.

Assumption Seven: The regionalization process is expressed in a territorial project at a nano-level in Medellín

Total interviews A7:

Total: interviews A7										
The regionalization process is expressed in a territorial project at a nano level in Medellín										
sub-category	Rule of law	value	Accountability	value	Freedom	value	Equality	value	Responsiveness	value
Variable	Constitutional frame previously established	1	Mechanism of participation in collegiate bodies	1	Material conditions to participate freely	0	Political right to participate in planning	2	Qualified public officials	2
	Legal procedures for impeachments	1	Officers committed with the discourse	1	Residents' interests are free of violent pressure or political commitments.	-1	Equitable access to information and voting in equity	1	Political will to respond to the agreement with the community	1
	total	1	Legal and legitimated obligation to answer	1	total	0	total	1	total	1
			Information, justification and penalty	1						
						Value	Meaning			
						2	It strengthens the quality of democracy heavily			
						1	It strengthens the quality of democracy lightly			
Total						0	It does not have incidence in the quality of democracy			
						-1	It diminishes the quality of democracy lightly			
						-2	It diminishes the quality of democracy heavily			

Table III.3-20: Interviews A7. Source: Own elaboration.

Total reports A7:

Total: reports A7										
The regionalization process is expressed in a territorial project at a nano level in Medellín										
sub-category	Rule of law	value	Accountability	value	Freedom	value	Equality	value	Responsiveness	value
Variable	Constitutional frame previously established	1	Mechanism of participation in collegiate bodies	2	Material conditions to participate freely	1	Political right to participate in planning	2	Qualified public officials	2
	Legal procedures for impeachments	1	Officers committed with the discourse	2	Residents' interests are free of violent pressure or political commitments.	0	Equitable access to information and voting in equity	1	Political will to respond to the agreement with the community	2
	total	1	Legal and legitimated obligation to answer	1	total	1	total	2	total	2
			Information, justification and penalty	1						
						Value	Meaning			
						2	It strengthens the quality of democracy heavily			
						1	It strengthens the quality of democracy lightly			
Total						0	It does not have incidence in the quality of democracy			
						-1	It diminishes the quality of democracy lightly			
						-2	It diminishes the quality of democracy heavily			

Table III.3-21: Reports A7. Source: Own elaboration.

Total indicators A7:

<div> <div>Total: indicators A7</div> <div>The regionalization process is expressed in a territorial project at a nano level in Medellin</div> </div>										
sub-category	Rule of law	value	Accountability	value	Freedom	value	Equality	value	Responsiveness	value
Variable	Constitutional frame previously established	1	Mechanism of participation in collegiate bodies	1	Material conditions to participate freely	1	Political right to participate in planning	1	Qualified public officials	1
	Legal procedures for impeachments	1	Officers committed with the discourse	1	Residents' interests are free of violent pressure or political commitments.	0	Equitable access to information and voting in equity	0	Political will to respond to the agreement with the community	1
	total	1	Legal and legitimated obligation to answer	0	total	1	total	1	total	1
			Information, justification and penalty	0						
			total	1						
						Value	Meaning			
						2	It strengthens the quality of democracy heavily			
						1	It strengthens the quality of democracy lightly			
Total						0	It does not have incidence in the quality of democracy			
						-1	It diminishes the quality of democracy lightly			
						-2	It diminishes the quality of democracy heavily			

Table III.3-22: Indicators A7. Source: Own elaboration.

Total assumption 7:

<div> <div>Total: A7</div> <div>The regionalization process is expressed in a territorial project at a nano level in Medellin</div> </div>										
sub-category	Rule of law	value	Accountability	value	Freedom	value	Equality	value	Responsiveness	value
Variable	Constitutional frame previously established	1	Mechanism of participation in collegiate bodies	1	Material conditions to participate freely	1	Political right to participate in planning	2	Qualified public officials	2
	Legal procedures for impeachments	1	Officers committed with the discourse	1	Residents' interests are free of violent pressure or political commitments.	0	Equitable access to information and voting in equity	1	Political will to respond to the agreement with the community	1
	total	1	Legal and legitimated obligation to answer	1	total	0	total	1	total	1
			Information, justification and penalty	1						
			total	1						
						Value	Meaning			
						2	It strengthens the quality of democracy heavily			
						1	It strengthens the quality of democracy lightly			
Total						0	It does not have incidence in the quality of democracy			
						-1	It diminishes the quality of democracy lightly			
						-2	It diminishes the quality of democracy heavily			

Table III.3-23: Total assumption 7. Source: Own elaboration.

This assumption revised the characteristics of the parabola of regionalization. The research focused on the pedestrianization of the Carrera Bolívar in the center of Medellín (a nano-level project). Table III.3-23 shows that the absolute value for the source triangulation was 0.93 which represents a slight impact on the democratic quality of the regionalization process of local initiatives. The pedestrianization of the Carrera Bolívar is an example of a project that included citizens in all its stages. People participated in the nano-territorial reading since the design phase until the opening to the public.

In Table III.3-23, all categories have a value of +1 except for freedom (0). The regionalization process complies with the principles of urban social planning. This process is framed in the pretense of exporting the experience as an intervention model. Freedom is less valued because of the incidence of pressure from armed groups, without impeding the democratic quality of the regionalization process. The values obtained reflect the convergence of data between interviewees, reports, and indicators on the benefits of the MSU, especially concerning citizen participation. The management plan for the intervention in Medellín's center incorporated various projects proposed and designed with the participation of residents. Resident participation requires conditions that were fulfilled by the MSU. The rule of law has positive incidence values as a result of the preexistence of a national and local constitutional framework oriented to participatory democracy.

The development of urban projects with a community base was the axis of the transformation of Medellín. Local participation in every step, from participatory budgeting and collaborative design, helped to improve the quality of life indicators. This claim relates to a positive score (+1) of the variable of material conditions to participate freely in urban planning

design processes in Table III.3-23. The projects were connected to master plans that improve multidimensional security conditions in the district where the nano project was implemented.

However, some interviewees (mainly academics) and reports mention that the MSU and nano projects made Medellín a laboratory for real estate experiments disguised by the MSU narrative. These real estate operations reduce the interest of citizens or limit the freedom to participate because of fear of being harmed by possible gentrification.

It was difficult for project designers to incorporate suggestions from residents effectively. However, this difficulty did not affect the relationship between actors.

In conclusion, Medellín has extensive experience in territorial planning processes from community-based perspectives. However, its budgetary peculiarities for infrastructure projects call into question the model's exportability. The regionalization process truly started in Medellín. Regional bodies frequently invited delegations to Medellín to learn about the experience and repeat it in their countries of origin. There was a tourist and academic circuit for foreigners to visit the projects that gave birth to the transformation of Medellín.

Assumption Eight: The regionalization process is expressed in a territorial project at a nano-level in Xalapa

Total interviews A8:

Total: interviews A8										
The regionalization process is expressed in a territorial project at a nano level in Xalapa										
sub-category	Rule of law	value	Accountability	value	Freedom	value	Equality	value	Responsiveness	value
Variable	Constitutional frame previously established	0	Mechanism of participation in collegiate bodies	0	Material conditions to participate freely	-1	Political right to participate in planning	0	Qualified public officials	1
	Legal procedures for impeachments	-1	Officers committed with the discourse	1	Residents' interests are free of violent pressure or political commitments.	0	Equitable access to information and voting in equity	0	Political will to respond to the agreement with the community	-1
	total	0	Legal and legitimated obligation to answer	0	total	0	total	0	total	0
			Information, justification and penalty	-1						
				total	0					
						Value	Meaning			
						2	It strengthens the quality of democracy heavily			
						1	It strengthens the quality of democracy lightly			
Total						0	It does not have incidence in the quality of democracy			
						-1	It diminishes the quality of democracy lightly			
						-2	It diminishes the quality of democracy heavily			

Table III.3-24: Interviews A8. Source: Own elaboration.

Total reports A8:

Total: reports A8										
The regionalization process is expressed in a territorial project at a nano level in Xalapa										
sub-category	Rule of law	value	Accountability	value	Freedom	value	Equality	value	Responsiveness	value
Variable	Constitutional frame previously established	-1	Mechanism of participation in collegiate bodies	-2	Material conditions to participate freely	0	Political right to participate in planning	0	Qualified public officials	0
	Legal procedures for impeachments	0	Officers committed with the discourse	0	Residents' interests are free of violent pressure or political commitments.	0	Equitable access to information and voting in equity	-1	Political will to respond to the agreement with the community	-1
	total	-1	Legal and legitimated obligation to answer	-1	total	0	total	-1	total	-1
			Information, justification and penalty	-1						
				total	-1					
						Value	Meaning			
						2	It strengthens the quality of democracy heavily			
						1	It strengthens the quality of democracy lightly			
Total						-1	It does not have incidence in the quality of democracy			
						-1	It diminishes the quality of democracy lightly			
						-2	It diminishes the quality of democracy heavily			

Table III.3-25: Reports A8. Source: Own elaboration.

Total indicators A8:

<div> <div>Total: indicators A8</div> <div>The regionalization process is expressed in a territorial project at a nano level in Xalapa</div> </div>										
sub-category	Rule of law	value	Accountability	value	Freedom	value	Equality	value	Responsiveness	value
Variable	Constitutional frame previously established	0	Mechanism of participation in collegiate bodies	0	Material conditions to participate freely	1	Political right to participate in planning	1	Qualified public officials	1
	Legal procedures for impeachments	0	Officers committed with the discourse	1	Residents' interests are free of violent pressure or political commitments.	0	Equitable access to information and voting in equity	0	Political will to respond to the agreement with the community	1
	total	0	Legal and legitimated obligation to answer	0	total	1	total	1	total	1
			Information, justification and penalty	-1						
			total	0						
						Value	Meaning			
						2	It strengthens the quality of democracy heavily			
						1	It strengthens the quality of democracy lightly			
						0	It does not have incidence in the quality of democracy			
						-1	It diminishes the quality of democracy lightly			
						-2	It diminishes the quality of democracy heavily			
						Total	0			

Table III.3-26: Indicators A8. Source: Own elaboration.

Total assumption 8:

<div> <div>Total: A8</div> <div>The regionalization process is expressed in a territorial project at a nano level in Xalapa</div> </div>										
sub-category	Rule of law	value	Accountability	value	Freedom	value	Equality	value	Responsiveness	value
Variable	Constitutional frame previously established	0	Mechanism of participation in collegiate bodies	-1	Material conditions to participate freely	0	Political right to participate in planning	0	Qualified public officials	1
	Legal procedures for impeachments	0	Officers committed with the discourse	1	Residents' interests are free of violent pressure or political commitments.	0	Equitable access to information and voting in equity	0	Political will to respond to the agreement with the community	0
	total	0	Legal and legitimated obligation to answer	0	total	0	total	0	total	0
			Information, justification and penalty	-1						
			total	0						
						Value	Meaning			
						2	It strengthens the quality of democracy heavily			
						1	It strengthens the quality of democracy lightly			
						0	It does not have incidence in the quality of democracy			
						-1	It diminishes the quality of democracy lightly			
						-2	It diminishes the quality of democracy heavily			
						Total	0			

Table III.3-27: Total assumption 8. Source: Own elaboration.

According to Table III.3-9, the absolute value of this assumption was 0.0. Territorial nano-level projects in Xalapa have no impact on the regionalization process. Xalapa had two nano-level projects within the framework of the ESCI. One of them was the pedestrianization of Calle Enríquez, and the other was a pilot project of tactical urbanism for small-scale mobility in Parque Los Berros. Both projects had substantial modifications that distanced them from the principles of the MSU.

In table III.3-24, all the categories have an overall score of (0), and the press releases in table III.3-25 marked negative (-1), expressing mistrust in the non-continuity of the ESCI process, or ignoring journalistic coverage of the progress. In Table III.3-27, accountability stands out because of its negative score due to criticisms about the absence of participation mechanisms and collective bodies for monitoring projects.

There were no public works projects designed from a community perspective in Xalapa beyond the two pilots mentioned above. The parabola of regionalization faced that no initiatives came from the communities, mainly in Xalapa's center. Table III.3-26 express how projects from the Action Plan were not carried out because they were not a priority despite the positive score in public officers' commitment (+1), and their qualifications (+1). Also, the relationship between the city and the IDB turned towards financing some regional public infrastructure projects. The implementation of the Action Plan was not attempted.

Table III.3-24 confirms what several interviewees pointed out that the projects emanating from the strategies of the Action Plan did not correspond to the real needs of the city, mainly projects outside the mobility issue. The variable of political will to respond to the community got (-1). It was clear to the set of interviewees that the mayor's office took no actions to fulfill the commitments of the Action Plan.

Finally, there was an absence of coordination between the IDB and the municipal officers due to the short fieldwork by IDB professionals. The inhabitants felt that the IDB did not take local knowledge and their demands seriously. In this way, the MSU had no incidence in Xalapa without due to disinterest in further development.

Assumption Nine: The IDB applied all the ESCI methodology in Xalapa

Total interviews A9

<div> <div>Total: interviews A9</div> <div>The IDB finished all the ESCI methodology in Xalapa</div> </div>										
sub-category	Rule of law	value	Accountability	value	Freedom	value	Equality	value	Responsiveness	value
Variable	Constitutional frame previously established	0	Mechanism of participation in collegiate bodies	0	Material conditions to participate freely	0	Political right to participate in planning	-1	Qualified public officials	0
	Legal procedures for impeachments	0	Officers committed with the discourse	0	Residents' interests are free of violent pressure or political commitments.	0	Equitable access to information and voting in equity	0	Political will to respond to the agreement with the community	-1
	total	0	Legal and legitimated obligation to answer	-1	total	0	total	-1	total	-1
			Information, justification and penalty	-1						
						Value	Meaning			
						2	It strengthens the quality of democracy heavily			
						1	It strengthens the quality of democracy lightly			
Total						0	It does not have incidence in the quality of democracy			
						-1	It diminishes the quality of democracy lightly			
						-2	It diminishes the quality of democracy heavily			

Table III.3-28: Interviews A9. Source: Own elaboration.

Total reports A9

Total: reports A9											The IDB finished all the ESCI methodology in Xalapa	
sub-category	Rule of law	value	Accountability	value	Freedom	value	Equality	value	Responsiveness	value		
Variable	Constitutional frame previously established	-1	Mechanism of participation in collegiate bodies	-1	Material conditions to participate freely	-1	Political right to participate in planning	-1	Qualified public officials	0		
	Legal procedures for impeachments	-1	Officers committed with the discourse	1	Residents' interests are free of violent pressure or political commitments.	-1	Equitable access to information and voting in equity	-2	Political will to respond to the agreement with the community	-2		
	total	-1	Legal and legitimated obligation to answer	-1	total	-1	total	-2	total	-1		
			Information, justification and penalty	-1								
			total	-1								
						Value	Meaning					
						2	It strengthens the quality of democracy heavily					
						1	It strengthens the quality of democracy lightly					
Total						-1	0	It does not have incidence in the quality of democracy				
						-1	It diminishes the quality of democracy lightly					
						-2	It diminishes the quality of democracy heavily					

Table III.3-29: Reports A9. Source: Own elaboration.

Total indicators A9

Total: indicators A9											The IDB finished all the ESCI methodology in Xalapa	
sub-category	Rule of law	value	Accountability	value	Freedom	value	Equality	value	Responsiveness	value		
Variable	Constitutional frame previously established	1	Mechanism of participation in collegiate bodies	1	Material conditions to participate freely	1	Political right to participate in planning	1	Qualified public officials	2		
	Legal procedures for impeachments	-1	Officers committed with the discourse	1	Residents' interests are free of violent pressure or political commitments.	0	Equitable access to information and voting in equity	1	Political will to respond to the agreement with the community	1		
	total	0	Legal and legitimated obligation to answer	0	total	1	total	1	total	2		
			Information, justification and penalty	0								
			total	1								
						Value	Meaning					
						2	It strengthens the quality of democracy heavily					
						1	It strengthens the quality of democracy lightly					
Total						1	0	It does not have incidence in the quality of democracy				
						-1	It diminishes the quality of democracy lightly					
						-2	It diminishes the quality of democracy heavily					

Table III.3-30: Indicators A9. Source: Own elaboration.

Total assumption 9

Total: A9											The IDB finished all the ESCI methodology in Xalapa	
sub-category	Rule of law	value	Accountability	value	Freedom	value	Equality	value	Responsiveness	value		
Variable	Constitutional frame previously established	0	Mechanism of participation in collegiate bodies	0	Material conditions to participate freely	0	Political right to participate in planning	0	Qualified public officials			
	Legal procedures for impeachments	-1	Officers committed with the discourse	1	Residents' interests are free of violent pressure or political commitments.	0	Equitable access to information and voting in equity	0	Political will to respond to the agreement with the community	-		
	total	0	Legal and legitimated obligation to answer	-1	total	0	total	0	total			
			Information, justification and penalty	-1								
			total	0								
						Value	Meaning					
						2	It strengthens the quality of democracy heavily					
						1	It strengthens the quality of democracy lightly					
Total						0	0	It does not have incidence in the quality of democracy				
						-1	It diminishes the quality of democracy lightly					
						-2	It diminishes the quality of democracy heavily					

Table III.3-31: Total assumption 9. Source: Own elaboration.

Formally, Xalapa developed all the stages of the ESCI methodology. Table III.3-31 shows that the evaluation of this assumption is 0 without the incidence of the diagnosis stage and the elaboration of the Action Plan in the democratic quality of the regionalization process. The score explains the distance between the IDB and the city for executing the methodology.

The IDB team did not socialize the steps of the ESCI methodology with the Xalapa community. It was not possible to fully execute the ESCI method because the fieldwork period was only one month.

This does not negatively affect democratic quality because as there were no citizen demands included in the project, the political expectations of the inhabitants did not change. The exception was a collaboration with the Faculty of Architecture of the Universidad Veracruzana and the use of students for the transit census. The results booklet of the tactical urban planning

pilot in Parque Los Berros ignored the students. This situation annoyed some teachers because they did not have mechanisms to enforce a guarantee of rights to the mayor's office or the IDB. This situation explains the negative value (-1) in the variable of information, justification, and penalty displayed in Table III.3-28. Despite following the steps of the methodology, the IDB did not include many social sectors and community organizations. The Bank contracted American and European universities and research centers for the collection of information for the rapid diagnostic. The IDB sought to guarantee transparency in the data by hiring outsiders. The lack of trust between stakeholders from Xalapa and the IDB technical team resulted in negative values in interviews and press reports regarding responsiveness (-1) (Tables III.3-28 and III.3-29).

The IDB fulfilled the function of *engaging the politicians* to discuss future planning. However, the ESCI methodology was followed, except for citizen observatories and subsequent monitoring systems. The observatories closed soon after the IDB team left Xalapa.

It is also remarkable that after the Xalapa experience, the IDB modified the ESCI methodology guide and published the third edition in 2017.

Assumption Ten: The Municipality of Xalapa started the operationalization of the strategies included in the Action Plan

Total interviews A10

The Xalapa municipality started the operationalization of the strategies included in the Action Plan										
Total: interviews A10										
sub-category	Rule of law	value	Accountability	value	Freedom	value	Equality	value	Responsiveness	value
Variable	Constitutional frame previously established	-1	Mechanism of participation in collegiate bodies	-1	Material conditions to participate freely	0	Political right to participate in planning	1	Qualified public officials	
	Legal procedures for impeachments	-1	Officers committed with the discourse	0	Residents' interests are free of violent pressure or political commitments.	-1	Equitable access to information and voting in equity	-1	Political will to respond to the agreement with the community	-1
	total	-1	Legal and legitimated obligation to answer	-1	total	-1	total	0	total	
			Information, justification and penalty	-1						
			total	-1						
						Value	Meaning			
						2	It strengthens the quality of democracy heavily			
						1	It strengthens the quality of democracy lightly			
Total						0	It does not have incidence in the quality of democracy			
						-1	It diminishes the quality of democracy lightly			
						-2	It diminishes the quality of democracy heavily			

Table III.3-32: Interviews A10. Source: Own elaboration.

Total reports A10

The Xalapa municipality started the operationalization of the strategies included in the Action Plan										
Total: reports A10										
sub-category	Rule of law	value	Accountability	value	Freedom	value	Equality	value	Responsiveness	value
Variable	Constitutional frame previously established	-1	Mechanism of participation in collegiate bodies	-1	Material conditions to participate freely	-1	Political right to participate in planning	-2	Qualified public officials	-1
	Legal procedures for impeachments	-1	Officers committed with the discourse	-1	Residents' interests are free of violent pressure or political commitments.	0	Equitable access to information and voting in equity	-1	Political will to respond to the agreement with the community	-1
	total	-1	Legal and legitimated obligation to answer	-1	total	-1	total	-2	total	-1
			Information, justification and penalty	-1						
			total	-1						
						Value	Meaning			
						2	It strengthens the quality of democracy heavily			
						1	It strengthens the quality of democracy lightly			
Total						-1	0	It does not have incidence in the quality of democracy		
						-1	It diminishes the quality of democracy lightly			
						-2	It diminishes the quality of democracy heavily			

Table III.3-33: Reports A10. Source: Own elaboration.

Total indicators A10

<div> <div>Total: indicators A10</div> <div>The Xalapa municipality started the operationalization of the strategies included in the Action Plan</div> </div>										
sub-category	Rule of law	value	Accountability	value	Freedom	value	Equality	value	Responsiveness	value
Variable	Constitutional frame previously established	0	Mechanism of participation in collegiate bodies	-1	Material conditions to participate freely	0	Political right to participate in planning	0	Qualified public officials	0
	Legal procedures for impeachments	0	Officers committed with the discourse	-1	Residents' interests are free of violent pressure or political commitments.	0	Equitable access to information and voting in equity	0	Political will to respond to the agreement with the community	1
	total	0	Legal and legitimated obligation to answer	0	total	0	total	0	total	1
			Information, justification and penalty	0						
			total	-1						
						Value	Meaning			
						2	It strengthens the quality of democracy heavily			
						1	It strengthens the quality of democracy lightly			
Total						0	It does not have incidence in the quality of democracy			
						-1	It diminishes the quality of democracy lightly			
						-2	It diminishes the quality of democracy heavily			

Table III.3-34: Indicators A10. Source: Own elaboration.

Total assumption 10

<div> <div>Total: A10</div> <div>The Xalapa municipality started the operationalization of the strategies included in the Action Plan</div> </div>										
sub-category	Rule of law	value	Accountability	value	Freedom	value	Equality	value	Responsiveness	value
Variable	Constitutional frame previously established	-1	Mechanism of participation in collegiate bodies	-1	Material conditions to participate freely	0	Political right to participate in planning	-1	Qualified public officials	0
	Legal procedures for impeachments	-1	Officers committed with the discourse	-1	Residents' interests are free of violent pressure or political commitments.	0	Equitable access to information and voting in equity	-1	Political will to respond to the agreement with the community	-1
	total	-1	Legal and legitimated obligation to answer	-1	total	0	total	-1	total	0
			Information, justification and penalty	-1						
			total	-1						
						Value	Meaning			
						2	It strengthens the quality of democracy heavily			
						1	It strengthens the quality of democracy lightly			
Total						-1	It does not have incidence in the quality of democracy			
						-1	It diminishes the quality of democracy lightly			
						-2	It diminishes the quality of democracy heavily			

Table III.3-35: Total assumption 10. Source: Own elaboration.

Table III.3-35 shows that the score regarding the operationalization of the strategies of Xalapa's Action Plan is negative (-1). Only freedom and responsiveness have no impact. The Bank applied advanced technologies for diagnosis and planning intervention strategies. These tools were out of the municipality's reach due to their cost and the knowledge required to operate them. The municipal officials did not accompany the ESCI methodology. The only project developed was the biodigester within the solid waste management strategy.

The press releases analyzed in Table III.3-33 had a negative evaluation of equality (-2) and responsiveness (-2). The press does not positively value the absence of political rights for planning or demands for increased participation, although they do not refer directly to the Action Plan.

The two mayoral administrations did not incorporate the Action Plan in their government programs. The magnitude of the Plan's interventions created fear. Thus, the city moved available resources from macro-projects to social programs in poor neighborhoods. For some interviewees, this move meant a gap in the political will to respond to the agreement with the community that was signed in the few open planning workshops and the launch of the Action Plan.

The Bank did not mention the Action Plan again at post-ESCI meetings. Also, the non-continuity of the Action Plan cost Mayor Zúñiga political capital. Contrary to the Medellín experience, the ESCI process does not serve as a portfolio of developed actions. The non-execution of the strategies in the Action Plan had a negative impact on the democratic quality of the regionalization process. The legal and enforceability framework for the implementation of the ESCI did not exist. Monitoring mechanisms for local planning were insufficient or unknown. The observatories did not have continuity over time and lacked technical resources for their operation. In addition, equality in access to the debate processes for future projects reduced the democratic quality of the regionalization of the MSU.

Assumption 11: Communities at the nano-level in Xalapa take part in urban planning projects such as Medellín

Total interviews A11:

Total: interviews A11										
Communities at the nano level in Xalapa are facing urban planning projects such as Medellín										
sub-category	Rule of law	value	Accountability	value	Freedom	value	Equality	value	Responsiveness	value
Variable	Constitutional frame previously established	-1	Mechanism of participation in collegiate bodies	-1	Material conditions to participate freely	-1	Political right to participate in planning	0	Qualified public officials	0
	Legal procedures for impeachments	-1	Officers committed with the discourse	0	Residents' interests are free of violent pressure or political commitments.	0	Equitable access to information and voting in equity	-1	Political will to respond to the agreement with the community	-1
	total	-1	Legal and legitimated obligation to answer	-1	total	0	total	0	total	0
			Information, justification and penalty	-1						
				total	-1					
						Value	Meaning			
						2	It strengthens the quality of democracy heavily			
						1	It strengthens the quality of democracy lightly			
Total						0	It does not have incidence in the quality of democracy			
						-1	It diminishes the quality of democracy lightly			
						-2	It diminishes the quality of democracy heavily			

Table III.3-36: Interviews A11. Source: Own elaboration.

Total reports A11:

Total: reports A11										
Communities at the nano level in Xalapa are facing urban planning projects such as Medellín										
sub-category	Rule of law	value	Accountability	value	Freedom	value	Equality	value	Responsiveness	value
Variable	Constitutional frame previously established	-1	Mechanism of participation in collegiate bodies	-1	Material conditions to participate freely	-1	Political right to participate in planning	-1	Qualified public officials	0
	Legal procedures for impeachments	-1	Officers committed with the discourse	0	Residents' interests are free of violent pressure or political commitments.	-1	Equitable access to information and voting in equity	-2	Political will to respond to the agreement with the community	-1
	total	-1	Legal and legitimated obligation to answer	-1	total	-1	total	-2	total	-1
			Information, justification and penalty	-1						
				total	-1					
						Value	Meaning			
						2	It strengthens the quality of democracy heavily			
						1	It strengthens the quality of democracy lightly			
Total						0	It does not have incidence in the quality of democracy			
						-1	It diminishes the quality of democracy lightly			
						-2	It diminishes the quality of democracy heavily			

Table III.3-37: Reports A11. Source: Own elaboration.

Total indicators A11

<div> <div>Total: indicators A11</div> <div>Communities at the nano level in Xalapa are facing urban planning projects such as Medellin</div> </div>										
sub-category	Rule of law	value	Accountability	value	Freedom	value	Equality	value	Responsiveness	value
Variable	Constitutional frame previously established	-1	Mechanism of participation in collegiate bodies	-1	Material conditions to participate freely	0	Political right to participate in planning	0	Qualified public officials	1
	Legal procedures for impeachments	0	Officers committed with the discourse	1	Residents' interests are free of violent pressure or political commitments.	0	Equitable access to information and voting in equity	-1	Political will to respond to the agreement with the community	0
	total	-1	Legal and legitimated obligation to answer	-1	total	0	total	-1	total	1
			Information, justification and penalty	-1						
						Value	Meaning			
						2	It strengthens the quality of democracy heavily			
						1	It strengthens the quality of democracy lightly			
Total						0	It does not have incidence in the quality of democracy			
						-1	It diminishes the quality of democracy lightly			
						-2	It diminishes the quality of democracy heavily			

Table III.3-38: Indicators A11. Source: Own elaboration.

Total assumption 11

<div> <div>Total: A11</div> <div>Communities at the nano level in Xalapa are facing urban planning projects such as Medellin</div> </div>										
sub-category	Rule of law	value	Accountability	value	Freedom	value	Equality	value	Responsiveness	value
Variable	Constitutional frame previously established	-1	Mechanism of participation in collegiate bodies	-1	Material conditions to participate freely	-1	Political right to participate in planning	0	Qualified public officials	0
	Legal procedures for impeachments	-1	Officers committed with the discourse	0	Residents' interests are free of violent pressure or political commitments.	0	Equitable access to information and voting in equity	-1	Political will to respond to the agreement with the community	-1
	total	-1	Legal and legitimated obligation to answer	-1	total	0	total	-1	total	0
			Information, justification and penalty	-1						
						Value	Meaning			
						2	It strengthens the quality of democracy heavily			
						1	It strengthens the quality of democracy lightly			
Total						-1	It does not have incidence in the quality of democracy			
						-1	It diminishes the quality of democracy lightly			
						-2	It diminishes the quality of democracy heavily			

Table III.3-39: Total assumption 11. Source: Own elaboration.

Assumption Eleven was essential for understanding the parabola's starting and end points. Xalapa developed, like Medellín, a pedestrianization project for one of its central streets. The overall score in Table III.3-39 was -1, which shows the decrease in QoD in the regionalization process, influenced by the last project results at the nano-level in Xalapa. The ESCI promoted the improvement of downtown roads, but not including oversight principles and citizen participation affected the result. Xalapa received the narrative of MSU-style projects, but in practice, due to budgetary limits, the city did not build them out. There were also no promoters who lobbied for citizen projects.

All three sources of information showed that the tactical urbanism project in Parque Los Berros and Calle Enríquez used students and community members. Still, in the end, the results were based on information from secondary sources unknown to the inhabitants. In turn, the projects carried out from the Action Plan were the cheapest. They only showed quick results and improved the ESCI's public relations. For example, some social organizations developed small self-financed infrastructure projects without the authorization of the mayor's office.

Moreover, participatory processes were interrupted by mayoral elections that resulted in changes in city leadership from one side of the political spectrum to the other. Participation in planning projects as a model for promoting democratic values is characteristic of MSU. Yet, in Xalapa, the lack of a cultural and budgetary platform did not allow the Medellín experience to be repeated. Thus, projects with the characteristics of the MSU did not happen in Xalapa because of the absence of laws about citizen participation. The city did not have a participatory budget. Nor was there a public call for the shared design of public projects.

Additionally, the monitoring system failed because it did not extend beyond the first few weeks after the launch of the Action Plan. The opinion polls used for the diagnostic did not generate citizen empowerment in community planning.

Assumption 12: Municipality of Xalapa has developed participatory strategies at the nano-level

Total interviews A12:

<div> <div>Total: interviews A12</div> <div>Xalapa municipality has developed participatory orientated strategies at the nano level</div> </div>										
sub-category	Rule of law	value	Accountability	value	Freedom	value	Equality	value	Responsiveness	value
Variable	Constitutional frame previously established	-1	Mechanism of participation in collegiate bodies	0	Material conditions to participate freely	-1	Political right to participate in planning	1	Qualified public officials	1
	Legal procedures for impeachments	-1	Officers committed with the discourse	0	Residents' interests are free of violent pressure or political commitments.	-1	Equitable access to information and voting in equity	1	Political will to respond to the agreement with the community	-1
	total	-1	Legal and legitimated obligation to answer	0	total	-1	total	1	total	0
			Information, justification and penalty	-1						
			total	-1						
						Value	Meaning			
						2	It strengthens the quality of democracy heavily			
						1	It strengthens the quality of democracy lightly			
Total						0	It does not have incidence in the quality of democracy			
						-1	It diminishes the quality of democracy lightly			
						-2	It diminishes the quality of democracy heavily			

Table III.3-40: Interviews A12. Source: Own elaboration.

Total reports A12:

<div> <div>Total: reports A12</div> <div>Xalapa municipality has developed participatory orientated strategies at the nano level</div> </div>										
sub-category	Rule of law	value	Accountability	value	Freedom	value	Equality	value	Responsiveness	value
Variable	Constitutional frame previously established	-2	Mechanism of participation in collegiate bodies	-1	Material conditions to participate freely	-1	Political right to participate in planning	-1	Qualified public officials	-1
	Legal procedures for impeachments	-2	Officers committed with the discourse	-1	Residents' interests are free of violent pressure or political commitments.	-2	Equitable access to information and voting in equity	-1	Political will to respond to the agreement with the community	-2
	total	-2	Legal and legitimated obligation to answer	-1	total	-2	total	-1	total	-2
			Information, justification and penalty	0						
			total	-1						
						Value	Meaning			
						2	It strengthens the quality of democracy heavily			
						1	It strengthens the quality of democracy lightly			
Total						-1	It does not have incidence in the quality of democracy			
						-1	It diminishes the quality of democracy lightly			
						-2	It diminishes the quality of democracy heavily			

Table III.3-41: Reports A12. Source: Own elaboration.

Total indicators A12:

<div> <div>Total: indicators A12</div> <div>Xalapa municipality has developed participatory orientated strategies at the nano level</div> </div>										
sub-category	Rule of law	value	Accountability	value	Freedom	value	Equality	value	Responsiveness	value
Variable	Constitutional frame previously established	1	Mechanism of participation in collegiate bodies	-1	Material conditions to participate freely	0	Political right to participate in planning	1	Qualified public officials	1
	Legal procedures for impeachments	0	Officers committed with the discourse	1	Residents' interests are free of violent pressure or political commitments.	0	Equitable access to information and voting in equity	1	Political will to respond to the agreement with the community	1
	total	1	Legal and legitimated obligation to answer	0	total	0	total	1	total	1
			Information, justification and penalty	0						
			total	0						
						Value	Meaning			
						2	It strengthens the quality of democracy heavily			
						1	It strengthens the quality of democracy lightly			
Total						1	It does not have incidence in the quality of democracy			
						-1	It diminishes the quality of democracy lightly			
						-2	It diminishes the quality of democracy heavily			

Table III.3-42: Indicators A12. Source: Own elaboration.

Total assumption 12:

<div> <div>Total: A12</div> <div>Xalapa municipality has developed participatory orientated strategies at the nano level</div> </div>										
sub-category	Rule of law	value	Accountability	value	Freedom	value	Equality	value	Responsiveness	value
Variable	Constitutional frame previously established	-1	Mechanism of participation in collegiate bodies	-1	Material conditions to participate freely	-1	Political right to participate in planning	0	Qualified public officials	0
	Legal procedures for impeachments	-1	Officers committed with the discourse	0	Residents' interests are free of violent pressure or political commitments.	-1	Equitable access to information and voting in equity	0	Political will to respond to the agreement with the community	-1
	total	-1	Legal and legitimated obligation to answer	0	total	-1	total	0	total	0
			Information, justification and penalty	0						
			total	0						
						2	<div> <div>It strengthens the quality of democracy heavily</div> <div>It strengthens the quality of democracy lightly</div> <div>It does not have incidence in the quality of democracy</div> <div>It diminishes the quality of democracy lightly</div> <div>It diminishes the quality of democracy heavily</div> </div>			
						1				
Total						-0,38				
						-1				
						-2				

Table III.3-43: Total assumption 12. Source: Own elaboration.

Assumption 12 focused on citizen participation as the main characteristic of the MSU. Citizen participation is a measure of the democratic quality of the regionalization process because it illustrates the dynamics of political will and decision-making in the ESCI uploading and downloading process. The absolute score in Table III.3-43 is -0.38. This value shows that there is no significant impact on citizen participation in nano projects in Xalapa in the initiative's regionalization process.

The absence of a framework for participation in infrastructure projects and lack of knowledge about the Participation Law explain the negative value in the rule of law (-1) in Table III.3-43. The national participation law in force during the ESCI did not develop the principles proposed by the IDB in the methodological guide. In turn, planners and citizen organizations interested in planning did not know the State Participation Law. Table III.3-43 gives freedom to participate in nano-level projects a score of -1 due to comments and press releases about the

incidence of perceived corruption in territorial planning processes and fear of criminal groups. Likewise, evidence shows that that citizen participation was limited to attendance at information workshops.

Thus, there is no model of citizen participation in Xalapa that guarantees future involvement or project supervision. Local observatories or planning committees did not influence the ESCI or demand its implementation. The observatories' weakness explains the divergence between the assessment of equality between the interviews (Table III.3-40) and the reports and indicators (Tables III.3-41 and III.3-42). The inhabitants attended workshops, but they were only spaces for information dissemination about decisions that had already been made.

Most of the projects were informally built, meaning that there was selfishness amongst the inhabitants and not a sense of mutual connection to the development of the neighborhood. This situation is expressed in the negative value in the desire to participate freely, the political will to respond from the state, and unarticulated processes by community organizations. The municipal administration did call for participation, but people were not clear enough about their rights to participate in projects. Besides, people did not trust that there would not be further reaction from the mayor.

Finally, the size of the municipality with minimal installed capacity did not allow a broad institutional framework to direct processes of citizen participation.

Assumption 15: Medellín Social Urbanism has promoted QoD

Total interviews A15:

Total: interviews A15										
Medellin social urbanism has promoted quality of democracy										
sub-category	Rule of law	value	Accountability	value	Freedom	value	Equality	value	Responsiveness	value
Variable	Constitutional frame previously established	1	Mechanism of participation in collegiate bodies	2	Material conditions to participate freely	0	Political right to participate in planning	2	Qualified public officials	1
	Legal procedures for impeachments	1	Officers committed with the discourse	1	Residents' interests are free of violent pressure or political commitments.	0	Equitable access to information and voting in equity	0	Political will to respond to the agreement with the community	1
	total	1	Legal and legitimated obligation to answer	0	total	0	total	1	total	1
			Information, justification and penalty	1						
						Value	Meaning			
						2	It strengthens the quality of democracy heavily			
						1	It strengthens the quality of democracy lightly			
Total						0	It does not have incidence in the quality of democracy			
						-1	It diminishes the quality of democracy lightly			
						-2	It diminishes the quality of democracy heavily			

Table III.3-44: Interviews A15. Source: Own elaboration.

Total reports A15:

Total: reports A15										
Medellin social urbanism has promoted quality of democracy										
sub-category	Rule of law	value	Accountability	value	Freedom	value	Equality	value	Responsiveness	value
Variable	Constitutional frame previously established	2	Mechanism of participation in collegiate bodies	1	Material conditions to participate freely	1	Political right to participate in planning	2	Qualified public officials	2
	Legal procedures for impeachments	1	Officers committed with the discourse	2	Residents' interests are free of violent pressure or political commitments.	-1	Equitable access to information and voting in equity	2	Political will to respond to the agreement with the community	1
	total	2	Legal and legitimated obligation to answer	1	total	0	total	2	total	2
			Information, justification and penalty	0						
						Value	Meaning			
						2	It strengthens the quality of democracy heavily			
						1	It strengthens the quality of democracy lightly			
Total						0	It does not have incidence in the quality of democracy			
						-1	It diminishes the quality of democracy lightly			
						-2	It diminishes the quality of democracy heavily			

Table III.3-45: Reports A15. Source: Own elaboration.

Total indicators A15:

Total: indicators A15			Medellin social urbanism has promoted quality of democracy							
sub-category	Rule of law	value	Accountability	value	Freedom	value	Equality	value	Responsiveness	value
Variable	Constitutional frame previously established	1	Mechanism of participation in collegiate bodies	1	Material conditions to participate freely	1	Political right to participate in planning	2	Qualified public officials	
	Legal procedures for impeachments	1	Officers committed with the discourse	1	Residents' interests are free of violent pressure or political commitments.	0	Equitable access to information and voting in equity	1	Political will to respond to the agreement with the community	
	total	1	Legal and legitimated obligation to answer	1	total	1	total	2	total	
			Information, justification and penalty	0						
			total	1						
						Value	Meaning			
						2	It strengthens the quality of democracy heavily			
						1	It strengthens the quality of democracy lightly			
Total						1	0	It does not have incidence in the quality of democracy		
						-1	It diminishes the quality of democracy lightly			
						-2	It diminishes the quality of democracy heavily			

Table III.3-46: Indicators A15. Source: own elaboration.

Total assumption 15:

Total: A15										
Medellin social urbanism has promoted quality of democracy										
sub-category	Rule of law	value	Accountability	value	Freedom	value	Equality	value	Responsiveness	value
Variable	Constitutional frame previously established	1	Mechanism of participation in collegiate bodies	1	Material conditions to participate freely	1	Political right to participate in planning	2	Qualified public officials	
	Legal procedures for impeachments	1	Officers committed with the discourse	1	Residents' interests are free of violent pressure or political commitments.	0	Equitable access to information and voting in equity	1	Political will to respond to the agreement with the community	
	total	1	Legal and legitimated obligation to answer	1	total	0	total	1	total	
			Information, justification and penalty	0						
			total	1						
						Value	Meaning			
						2	It strengthens the quality of democracy heavily			
						1	It strengthens the quality of democracy lightly			
Total						1	0	It does not have incidence in the quality of democracy		
						-1	It diminishes the quality of democracy lightly			
						-2	It diminishes the quality of democracy heavily			

Table III.3-47: Total assumption 15. Source: Own elaboration.

Assumption 15 inquired about the impact of the regionalization process on the promotion of democratic quality in Medellín. The overall value in Table III.3-47 is positive (+1). This score indicates that most of the variables in the QoD categories had a positive impact on the creation of nano-level projects and their export as a model.

The MSU consolidated a process of democratic opening towards urban planning. Territories with state absence became poles of development after citizen participation exercises for the design of infrastructure projects. Medellín has a participatory budget articulated legally and politically to the civil rights framework of the 1991 Constitution, making the rule of law positive

Table III.3-47 also shows that responsiveness is positive (+1). Local initiatives at the neighborhood level generated a representative democratic tradition and permanent vigilance over public service projects. Moreover, the participatory budget created social agreements that could not have been reached in any other way within a scenario of internal conflict.

The material conditions to participate in planning reflect a positive value. Rates of violence and multidimensional poverty in Medellín decreased after the MSU public policy, and these improvements over time created a rights protection platform for those who wished to participate freely.

Various experiences, like tactical urban planning, linear pathways, library parks, and master plans aimed at recovering public space from the hands of the armed groups, helped improve democratic quality. However, the MSU also served to hide the Colombian internal conflict and allowed for some illegal armed groups to establish territorial control in areas of Medellín. This phenomenon appears in the negative assessment (-1) in the reports on interest free of pressure in

Table III.3-45. Although MSU initiatives did not come from armed groups, they did benefit builders' associations.

In turn, citizen participation created a clientelist logic among neighborhood leaders who led resource allocation processes according to their interests. Additionally, some interviewees from the academic sector pointed out that some projects within the MSU served to drive real estate speculation and gentrification. Moreover, exporting the experience of the Medellín Model helped create a feeling of hope after decades of urban violence. Tourists visiting community projects helped legitimize the exercise of local neighborhood planning.

Table III.3-47 also shows that the right to participate in the planning obtained a value of +2, which is tied to wide-spread knowledge about the right to participatory planning in the population of Medellín.

In conclusion, Medellín openly promoted and incorporated most of the variables of the QoD categories. This had a positive impact on strengthening QoD in the process of exporting the model and its use by the IDB.

Assumption 16: Xalapa Action Plan has promoted QoD during all its working stages

Total interviews A16:

Total: interviews A16										
Xalapa Action Plan has promoted quality of democracy during all its working stages										
sub-category	Rule of law	value	Accountability	value	Freedom	value	Equality	value	Responsiveness	value
Variable	Constitutional frame previously established	1	Mechanism of participation in collegiate bodies	-1	Material conditions to participate freely	0	Political right to participate in planning	-1	Qualified public officials	0
	Legal procedures for impeachments	0	Officers committed with the discourse	0	Residents' interests are free of violent pressure or political commitments.	-1	Equitable access to information and voting in equity	-1	Political will to respond to the agreement with the community	-2
	total	0	Legal and legitimated obligation to answer	0	total	0	total	-1	total	-1
			Information, justification and penalty	-2						
				-1						
					Value	Meaning				
					2	It strengthens the quality of democracy heavily				
					1	It strengthens the quality of democracy lightly				
					0	It does not have incidence in the quality of democracy				
					-1	It diminishes the quality of democracy lightly				
					-2	It diminishes the quality of democracy heavily				
				Total	0					

Table III.3-48: Interviews A16. Source: Own elaboration.

Total reports A16:

Total: reports A16										
Xalapa Action Plan has promoted quality of democracy during all its working stages										
sub-category	Rule of law	value	Accountability	value	Freedom	value	Equality	value	Responsiveness	value
Variable	Constitutional frame previously established	-1	Mechanism of participation in collegiate bodies	-1	Material conditions to participate freely	0	Political right to participate in planning	0	Qualified public officials	1
	Legal procedures for impeachments	0	Officers committed with the discourse	1	Residents' interests are free of violent pressure or political commitments.	-1	Equitable access to information and voting in equity	-2	Political will to respond to the agreement with the community	-1
	total	-1	Legal and legitimated obligation to answer	-1	total	-1	total	-1	total	0
			Information, justification and penalty	-1						
				-1						
				total	-1					
					Value	Meaning				
					2	It strengthens the quality of democracy heavily				
					1	It strengthens the quality of democracy lightly				
					0	It does not have incidence in the quality of democracy				
					-1	It diminishes the quality of democracy lightly				
					-2	It diminishes the quality of democracy heavily				
				Total	-1					

Table III.3-49: Reports A16. Source: Own elaboration.

Total indicators A16:

Total: indicators A16			Xalapa Action Plan has promoted quality of democracy during all its working stages							
sub-category	Rule of law	value	Accountability	value	Freedom	value	Equality	value	Responsiveness	value
Variable	Constitutional frame previously established	-1	Mechanism of participation in collegiate bodies	0	Material conditions to participate freely	1	Political right to participate in planning	1	Qualified public officials	2
	Legal procedures for impeachments	0	Officers committed with the discourse	1	Residents' interests are free of violent pressure or political commitments.	0	Equitable access to information and voting in equity	0	Political will to respond to the agreement with the community	1
	total	-1	Legal and legitimated obligation to answer	0	total	1	total	1	total	2
			Information, justification and penalty	0						
			total	0						
						Value	Meaning			
						2	It strengthens the quality of democracy heavily			
						1	It strengthens the quality of democracy lightly			
Total						0	It does not have incidence in the quality of democracy			
						-1	It diminishes the quality of democracy lightly			
						-2	It diminishes the quality of democracy heavily			

Table III.3-50: Indicators A16. Source: Own elaboration.

Total assumption 16:

Total: A16			Xalapa Action Plan has promoted quality of democracy during all its working stages							
sub-category	Rule of law	value	Accountability	value	Freedom	value	Equality	value	Responsiveness	value
Variable	Constitutional frame previously stablished	0	Mechanism of participation in collegiate bodies	-1	Material conditions to participate freely	0	Political right to participate in planning	0	Qualified public officials	1
	Legal procedures for impeachments	0	Officers committed with the discourse	1	Residents' interests are free of violent pressure or political commitments.	-1	Equitable access to information and voting in equity	-1	Political will to respond to the agreement with the community	-1
	total	0	Legal and legitimated obligation to answer	0	total	0	total	0	total	0
			Information, justification and penalty	-1						
			total	0						
						Value	Meaning			
						2	It strengthens the quality of democracy heavily			
						1	It strengthens the quality of democracy lightly			
Total						0	It does not have incidence in the quality of democracy			
						-1	It diminishes the quality of democracy lightly			
						-2	It diminishes the quality of democracy heavily			

Table III.3-51: Total assumption 16. Source: Own elaboration.

The promotion of democratic quality in Xalapa during the implementation of the Action Plan had no impact on the QoD of the regionalization process. In this case, the parabola does not diminish or improve the democratic quality of the MSU technology transfer by the ESCI.

As shown in Table III.3-51, the absolute value for this assumption was 0.2. The overall score in Table III.3-51 confirms that despite the qualifications of local officials and their commitment to the MSU and ESCI narrative, the participation processes in planning did not improve. Neither equitable access to information nor the right to vote on projects advanced. The ESCI experience in Xalapa did not transcend nor did it promote a new paradigm of citizen participation and territorial planning practices.

The administration's response to citizen demands was not efficient because it was not direct. Bureaucracy and party interests diluted public action. These behaviors explain the negative assessment of responsiveness (-1) by interviewees (Table III.3-48). Table III.3-48 contrasts with the official indicators in Table III.3-50 that show a positive evaluation of the response capacity of public servants (+2). Tables III.3-49 and III.3-50 show the lack (-1) of instruments of political or fiscal control during the operationalization of the Action Plan.

Finally, some interviewees stated that the Action Plan acted against citizen participation and transparency because it affected citizens' confidence in the administration's promises. The Action Plan was a failure of public administration. Non-execution damaged the social fabric of those who participated in the gathering of information and eroded confidence in planning instruments.

The overall score for the QoD

The overall score for interviews:

Total interviews										
sub-category	Rule of law	value	Accountability	value	Freedom	value	Equality	value	Responsiveness	value
Variable	Constitutional frame previously established	0	Mechanism of participation in collegiate bodies	-1	Material conditions to participate freely	0	Political right to participate in planning	0	Qualified public officials	1
	Legal procedures for impeachments	0	Officers committed with the discourse	0	Residents' interests are free of violent pressure or political commitments.	0	Equitable access to information and voting in equity	0	Political will to respond to the agreement with the community	0
	total	0	Legal and legitimated obligation to answer	0	total	0	total	0	total	0
			Information, justification and penalty	-1						
			total	0						
						Value	Meaning			
						2	It strengthens the quality of democracy heavily			
						1	It strengthens the quality of democracy lightly			
						0	It does not have incidence in the quality of democracy			
						-1	It diminishes the quality of democracy lightly			
						-2	It diminishes the quality of democracy heavily			
Total						0				

Table III.3-52: Overall score for Interviews. Source: Own elaboration.

The final score for interviews in Table III.3-52 shows the positions of the interviewees, close to zero due to the balance in their affiliation. It means some interviewed were critic to the ESCI and some of them not. The QoD principles had no impact on the regionalization process and its implementation in the territories to which it is downloaded.

Table III.3-52 also shows that, despite the qualification of officials, many of whom were trained by the IDB in Medellín, and programs to promote sustainable urban planning, participation has variables with negative assessment. Reasons for these scores were the lack of information about the process, the justification to legitimize it, and sanctioning mechanisms to enforce the planned projects.

The qualification of the actors in the entire regionalization process of the initiative was a recurring theme. All the actors referred to training processes, enthusiasm for the MSU and the

ESCI, and budgets for sustainable development. However, it was common to mention the deficiencies in the formation of collegiate citizen bodies for the verification and monitoring of projects.

Due to their status as officials, many of the interviewees did not refer to the existence of a sanctioning framework that required citizens to be included in the projects. Interviewees from social organizations and academia were highly critical of the lack of transparency in the handling of information and the subsequent use of information collected from the small spaces for interaction with inhabitants at the nano-level.

The overall score for reports:

Total reports										
sub-category	Rule of law	value	Accountability	value	Freedom	value	Equality	value	Responsiveness	value
Variable	Constitutional frame previously established	0	Mechanism of participation in collegiate bodies	-1	Material conditions to participate freely	0	Political right to participate in planning	0	Qualified public officials	1
	Legal procedures for impeachments	-1	Officers committed with the discourse	1	Residents' interests are free of violent pressure or political commitments.	-1	Equitable access to information and voting in equity	-1	Political will to respond to the agreement with the community	-1
	total	0	Legal and legitimated obligation to answer	-1	total	0	total	-1	total	0
			Information, justification and penalty	-1						
			total	0						
						Value	Meaning			
						2	It strengthens the quality of democracy heavily			
						1	It strengthens the quality of democracy lightly			
						0	It does not have incidence in the quality of democracy			
						-1	It diminishes the quality of democracy lightly			
						-2	It diminishes the quality of democracy heavily			
						Total	0			

Table III.3-53: Overall score for reports. Source: Own elaboration.

Table III.3-53 displays that the reports point to equality as a category that slightly decreases democratic quality in the regionalization process. It coincides with the interviews and indicators in highlighting the qualification of the decision-makers and their commitment as an incidence that

strengthens QoD. However, the other categories do not affect democratic quality because they are contained in the material conditions that improve the possibility of participating and the political right to participate within a pre-existing legal framework.

The reports also pointed to the qualification of municipal officials in the two cities. Despite this, various news reports were critical of the lack of follow-through on the commitments made with citizens who participated in workshops and forums. In both Medellín and Xalapa, the press did not cover lack of access to information about future projects. There are press notes in both cities on the incidence of armed groups in the planning process. This interference happened in different contexts of violence, but with similar kinds of pressures that manifested themselves in coercion and constraint on the few citizens who dared to participate in planning spaces.

The overall score for indicators:

Total indicators										
sub-category	Rule of law	value	Accountability	value	Freedom	value	Equality	value	Responsiveness	value
Variable	Constitutional frame previously established	0	Mechanism of participation in collegiate bodies	0	Material conditions to participate freely	0	Political right to participate in planning	1	Qualified public officials	1
	Legal procedures for impeachments	0	Officers committed with the discourse	1	Residents' interests are free of violent pressure or political commitments.	0	Equitable access to information and voting in equity	0	Political will to respond to the agreement with the community	0
	total	0	Legal and legitimated obligation to answer	0	total	0	total	0	total	1
			Information, justification and penalty	-1						
			total	0						
						Value	Meaning			
						2	It strengthens the quality of democracy heavily			
						1	It strengthens the quality of democracy lightly			
Total						0	It does not have incidence in the quality of democracy			
						-1	It diminishes the quality of democracy lightly			
						-2	It diminishes the quality of democracy heavily			

Table III.3-10: Overall score for indicators. Source: Own elaboration.

According to Table III.3-54, the indicators assessed non-incidence in the regionalization process, except for responsiveness, which shows a slight strengthening (+1) of the QoD in the transfer. A positive evaluation of territorial intervention processes led by multilateral institutions was frequent in the indicators reviewed. Additionally, positive ratings on the qualifications of the officials, along with their commitment to the narrative were documented.

A noteworthy fact is that there are no episodes of citizen requests to the authorities asking for the development of the projects. The principles of participatory development do not have experiences with accountability at the nano-level, nor is accountability required from the regional institution.

The score of zero in most of the categories indicates that official and observatory reports do not record relevant data related to the influence of QoD on regionalization. There are measurements on similar criteria, but they are not connected to urban planning processes.

Overall score for Medellín

Total: Medellin										
sub-category	Rule of law	value	Accountability	value	Freedom	value	Equality	value	Responsiveness	value
Variable	Constitutional frame previously established	1	Mechanism of participation in collegiate bodies	0	Material conditions to participate freely	0	Political right to participate in planning	1	Qualified public officials	1
	Legal procedures for impeachments	0	Officers committed with the discourse	1	Residents' interests are free of violent pressure or political commitments.	-1	Equitable access to information and voting in equity	0	Political will to respond to the agreement with the community	0
	total	0	Legal and legitimated obligation to answer	0	total	0	total	0	total	1
			Information, justification and penalty	0						
			total	0						
						Value	Meaning			
						2	It strengthens the quality of democracy heavily			
						1	It strengthens the quality of democracy lightly			
Total						0	It does not have incidence in the quality of democracy			
						-1	It diminishes the quality of democracy lightly			
						-2	It diminishes the quality of democracy heavily			

Table III.3-55: Overall score for Medellín. Source: Own elaboration.

Table III.3-55 shows that the absolute score obtained in the weighted total of the sources for the QoD in Medellín was 0.3. There was no incidence of these categories in the process of regionalizing the planning initiative, neither in the uploading from Medellín to the Bank nor in the downloading from the Bank to cities included in the ESCI. The MSU has pros and cons in its operation in the city that only affect responsiveness. The positive value in responsiveness recognizes the extension of the MSU narrative within an academic and advertising apparatus. In Medellín, a good urban planner or territorial manager uses the MSU categories in their work. In this way, participation is enshrined as a fundamental condition. At the same time, armed groups and criminal gangs constrain free access to participatory spaces.

Another interesting finding is the non-incidence of the existence of collegiate bodies to participate in planning processes. This happened because the Bank connected the territories indirectly, instead of directly. That is, citizens participated at the nano-level in proposing and designing projects, but they did not interact with the regional institution. Usually, nano-level actors in Medellín communicated with the municipality at the micro-level, which institutionalized the nano experience and transferred it. The same process occurred with the material conditions to participate. The population did not require infrastructure or communication platforms with the IDB because they did not know that they were transferring their technology and connecting territories outside the state framework.

The overall score for IDB

Total: IDB										
sub-category	Rule of law	value	Accountability	value	Freedom	value	Equality	value	Responsiveness	value
Variable	Constitutional frame previously established	-1	Mechanism of participation in collegiate bodies	-1	Material conditions to participate freely	-1	Political right to participate in planning	0	Qualified public officials	
	Legal procedures for impeachments	0	Officers committed with the discourse	1	Residents' interests are free of violent pressure or political commitments.	0	Equitable access to information and voting in equity	-1	Political will to respond to the agreement with the community	-1
	total	0	Legal and legitimated obligation to answer	-1	total	0	total	0	total	
			Information, justification and penalty	-1						
			total	0						
						Value	Meaning			
						2	It strengthens the quality of democracy heavily			
						1	It strengthens the quality of democracy lightly			
Total						0	It does not have incidence in the quality of democracy			
						-1	It diminishes the quality of democracy lightly			
						-2	It diminishes the quality of democracy heavily			

Table III.3-56: Overall score for IDB. Source: Own elaboration.

According to Table III.3-56, the general score for the Bank was 0.3, with no incidence of the IDB on the QoD of the regionalization process. A detailed analysis shows that there is equilibrium between the variables. The Bank does not have a legal framework that regulates the vertical relationship between citizens, decision-makers, and contractors outside of the country's domestic legislation. Thus, if the country lacks effective participatory mechanisms, then the Bank uses the existing political dynamic.

The overall score for Xalapa

Total: Xalapa										
sub-category	Rule of law	value	Accountability	value	Freedom	value	Equality	value	Responsiveness	value
Variable	Constitutional frame previously established	0	Mechanism of participation in collegiate bodies	-1	Material conditions to participate freely	0	Political right to participate in planning	0	Qualified public officials	
	Legal procedures for impeachments	0	Officers committed with the discourse	0	Residents' interests are free of violent pressure or political commitments.	0	Equitable access to information and voting in equity	-1	Political will to respond to the agreement with the community	-
	total	0	Legal and legitimated obligation to answer	-1	total	0	total	0	total	
			Information, justification and penalty	-1						
			total	0						
						Value	Meaning			
						2	It strengthens the quality of democracy heavily			
						1	It strengthens the quality of democracy lightly			
Total						0	It does not have incidence in the quality of democracy			
						-1	It diminishes the quality of democracy lightly			
						-2	It diminishes the quality of democracy heavily			

Table III.3-57: Overall score for Xalapa. Source: Own elaboration.

The incidence of the democratic quality of the download of the regionalization process in Xalapa was nil. The assessment in Table III.3-57 is 0.3. All the categories also obtain a score of zero in the democratic quality of the process. Thus, the conditions in the territory did not affect the ESCI implementation exercise. The Bank carried out the diagnosis and projection of the Action Plan without altering the political culture of the city.

Quality of democracy overall score:

Total QoD										
sub-category	Rule of law	value	Accountability	value	Freedom	value	Equality	value	Responsiveness	value
Variable	Constitutional frame previously established	0	Mechanism of participation in collegiate bodies	0	Material conditions to participate freely	0	Political right to participate in planning	0	Qualified public officials	
	Legal procedures for impeachments	0	Officers committed with the discourse	1	Residents' interests are free of violent pressure or political commitments.	0	Equitable access to information and voting in equity	-1	Political will to respond to the agreement with the community	
	total	0	Legal and legitimated obligation to answer	0	total	0	total	0	total	
			Information, justification and penalty	-1						
			total	0						
						Value	Meaning			
						2	It strengthens the quality of democracy heavily			
						1	It strengthens the quality of democracy lightly			
Total						0	It does not have incidence in the quality of democracy			
						-1	It diminishes the quality of democracy lightly			
						-2	It diminishes the quality of democracy heavily			

Table III.3-58: Quality of democracy overall score. Source: Own elaboration.

The democratic quality of regionalization stages does not determine the regionalization process. According to the weighting, there is no incidence of the categories in the performance of the regionalization process. Yet, technology transfer takes place within a balance between categories.

The process of regionalization of local initiatives with technology transfer reviewed from the QoD categories shows that the process does not go beyond reducing or improving political dynamics in the whole of the territories where it operates. It happens marginally, without recognition. This does not mean that there are no processes in which practices can be evaluated as incidents or not individually.



Xalapa
Medellin



IV. Chapter Four: Macro Lessons from Nano-regions

This chapter presents the results of two spatial intervention projects (pedestrianization of main streets), in the centers of the two cities studied, developed during the same time period and converging within a framework of principles that defined their design and the implementation process.

Both the pedestrianization of Calle Bolívar in Medellín and the pedestrianization of Calle Juan de la Luz Enríquez in Xalapa are projects for urban regeneration within the framework of urban environmental sustainability. However, the two projects were difficult to implement, which is why the construction of the physical space differs from what the original plans projected. This variation between what was planned and what was built exemplifies the difficulties of exporting integration principles to divergent territorialities.

IV.1. Pedestrianization of Bolívar Street in Medellín

This section presents the experience of regionalization in a case located at the base of the transfer process. Despite not being connected to the results of similar infrastructure projects within the same program, the presented project gathers the fundamental elements of the regionalization process that originated at the nano-level. It offers the pedestrianization of a central road in Medellín as a recent example of nano-level project implementation. This experience is relevant to understanding other similar cases, like the 2015 urban intervention to improve Calle Enríquez and surrounding areas in the center of Xalapa, where the experience in Medellín was downloaded by the ESCI.

Reviewing the pedestrianization project in Medellín, and comparing it with a similar project in Xalapa, allows us to identify the shared characteristics of higher level narratives and citizen response in each territory.

Medellín's urban planning model had a hierarchical scale of intervention, in which nano-level projects obey a larger-scale instrument called *partial plans*. These partial plans develop the guidelines of the Land Use Plan that is agreed upon by various levels of the city government every seven years.

Bolívar Street, in the center of Medellín, was the object of urban interventions from the project called *Bolívar Gallery*, later renamed *Bolívar Urban Walk*. This project was designed in a public competition in 2014 and executed between 2015 and 2018 (Alcaldía de Medellín, 2014). Located between Calle San Juan and Calle Colombia, the urban walk project is a new spatial understanding of the space between the administrative center and the founding plaza of Medellín. This intervention (Alcaldía de Medellín, 2015, pág. 72) was proposed within as a renewal or transformation zone by the Land Use Plan in the context of potential short-term market change.

Once the winning design was selected (Departamento Administrativo de Planeación, 2014), it was in the best interest of the design firm and the mayor's office to renew the street along 800 meters from San Juan Street to La Plazuela Nutibara square. Artistic and symbolic interventions supported the renovation. Its objective was to transform way of inhabiting the territory through infrastructure projects aimed at promoting a subjective creation processes stimulated by decorative pieces, façade changes, iconographic pieces, and improvements to the urban public space. The pedestrianization of Bolívar Street was part of a trend in different countries around the world to return pedestrian-oriented cities (Cócola, 2016; IDB; Edu and Alcaldía de Medellín, 2014).

Bolívar Street is in Commune 10, La Candelaria, the founding and historical center of Medellín. The location of the city center expresses the complexity of the centrality of the Aburrá Valley. In the city center land is used for a broad diversity of activities. Commune 10 is a node in the regional economy dominated by commerce and services in small-format units or small and medium-sized companies, in 37% of city GDP, with 20,970 registered companies (Ospina Trejos, 2018). According to Ospina Trejos, a similar number of formally unregistered companies operate in Commune 10. Commercial transactions in La Candelaria represent 30% of the city's income. In 2015, the population in the city center was 149,227 inhabitants (Alcaldía de Medellín, 2015, pág. 29). Additionally, approximately 1,300,000 people transit the city center daily (Ospina Trejos, 2018, pág. 99). The metropolitan train receives 42,000 passengers a day at the Parque de Berrío station (Caracol Radio, 2016); the metro trips were 121893 per day in Commune 10 (Área Metropolitana del Valle de Aburrá, 2017). It is also important to note that various illegal groups exercise territorial control in competition with state security devices (Análisis Urbano, 2019) (Muñoz Tejada, 2018).

In this sense, the discourse about the *recovery of the center* framed the intervention on Bolívar Street. The discourse began in 1992 by the mayor of Medellín supported by the United Nations Development Program with the *Intervention Plan for the City Center of Medellín*. This plan included the construction of the Parque de San Antonio, the Plaza de la Cultura, the restoration of the Plazuela de San Ignacio, and the adaptation of parks, buildings and avenues. Many years later, in 1997, many of these projects were taken up and reformulated by the *Strategic Plan for Medellín and the Metropolitan Area* and the first Land Use Plan (Alcaldía de Medellín, 1999) (González, 2012, p. 102-103). These plans from the 90s marked the beginning of the execution of a series of projects aimed at updating the urban landscape, consolidating the public transport system, and

planning a compact city (Franco Restrepo, 2011). The construction of the Medellín Metro took place around the same time. Thus, Bolívar street became an axis of connectivity, sharing space with the elevated metro viaduct, from its starting point on the *Avenida Regional* highway. The metro crosses Commune 10 at the edge of the Bolívar Street and connects the tram and Line B at the San Antonio station, the La Alpujarra administrative center, the Berrío park, the Nutibara square, and the Prado station.

The transformation of the city center extended over at least three decades (Franco Restrepo, 2006, 2011). This time period was marked by two important historical developments. The first historical development has to do with the rearrangement of the centers of economic and political power in the city-region, due to the wear and tear of the industrial model and the adoption of a flexible, post-Fordist type of production (Melo, 2017) in the tertiary sector and the competitiveness of the city based on distinctive features (Franco Restrepo, 2006; Jessop, 1999).

The second historical development started in the early 90s was the association between the Antioquian capital and imagery related to the war between drug cartels and the need to change this imagery. To this end, spaces were transformed and new city references were created that made the feeling of *a new Medellín* possible, at least in formal terms (Alcaldía de Medellín, 2015; Pérez Jaramillo, 2019).

Interventions in the city center created the appearance of an environment that was detached from its violent past, which was functional for a city model that aimed to distinguish itself by its service platform. In this context, rhetoric was loaded with explanations of how the new civil projects and other policies designed in a market-based framework reinforced the *traditional values* that characterize the *Antioquia entrepreneur*. The innovative interventions in the city center

became attractions that, in many cases, were not consistent with the representations or practices of the traditional inhabitants.

The new postmodern model of city marketing, supported by the epistemological rupture posed by works such as those of De Elizagarate (2008), Friedmann (2005), Fernández & Leva, (2004), and Friedmann & Fernández (2007), proposes city management as a company. Seeing city management in this way implies that the relationship between the administration and the population should change to envoir the citizens as customers. According to the neoliberal logic, the city must be innovative to be attractive and internationally competitive. In other words, the city should invest in entrepreneurship, the creation of leisure, events, shopping centers, and privatize services. From this perspective, the market becomes the space for individual satisfaction of fundamental rights and needs and the state withdraws from the guarantee of the socio-economic rights of its citizens. The result of these approaches is a city without citizenship, that is, a depoliticized space, without struggles or social demands or, as Choay (2009) would say, an empire of the urban that annihilates the city. This reflection questions whether the production of this city model demerits the town.

Research has indicated that these practices can be exploited by the private sector to develop businesses (Ceballos Guerra, 2013), as is the case with productive activities related to tourism and investments, despite the blurred information about the origin of capital, especially in the real state sector in the last times in Medellín (Agamez, 2019; La Lonja, 2019). Added to this are the possible negative side effects, like gentrification, of public development projects (Kavilando & Redipaz, 2018). An example of this was the Metro. Although it is currently considered a point of pride for the city, residents resisted its construction because it was considered a transgressor of the downtown urban landscape (González Escobar, 2012, p. 102-103).

Many downtown spots disappeared due to the land rent speculation, for instance, the urban landscape that adorned the routes, and that was part of the cultural and architectural heritage of the city. The Junín Theater, the Europa Hotel, the Ismael Correa Building are just some cases of buildings demolished under the idea that the *city was obsolete*. González affirms, 'That is why Medellín is always young, because every twenty-five years its facade changes. The forgetfulness to which the urban inhabitant has been subjected is of such magnitude that it retains few references (...)' (González Escobar, 2012, p. 90)



Figure IV-1: Bolívar Street from the Nutibara Hotel. 1971. Source: 'Digar'
<https://www.instagram.com/p/B8NT1iFg420/>.

Another significant influence in the adaptation of the city center was the evolution, in the early 21st century, of urban forms that centered the pedestrian experience. There is a symbolic difference between the colonial center, the modern industrial proto, and most recently the *Smart City* center (Ugarte del Valle & Alonso del Val, 2016). The urban infrastructure of the centrality subtracts political or religious value and concentrates on the rationality and efficiency of the city's operation. The heterodox and idiosyncratic gap is visible in the center of Medellín.

Urban transformation plays an important role in the economic growth of the city. The city offered new interventions, parks, leisure centers, and other new and old references as part of an experience that is accessible only by those who can pay for it. The city, in its entirety, is seen as an entertainment center or, at best, a business center. In this sense, the new walk in Bolívar Street frees up pedestrian space to provide not only a comfortable perception of the processes that take place around the passerby but also an understanding of the political, social, and cultural essence of these processes.



Figure IV-2: Bolívar pedestrianization works, 2017. Source: Author's collection

Being a territory dominated by retail and commercial use, the design of the pedestrianization included a series of events aimed at promoting the interaction of passersby with commercial spaces. This was achieved through the refurbishment of facades, new business premises along the sidewalk, modification of the road, *pocket squares*, and urban furniture. This relationship thus generates what we could assume as a space built for the practice of induced consumption.

A contemporary consumer culture then refers to a heterogeneous urban world in which new socio-economic, political, urban, and affective identities are possible as consumption of certain objects. Objective appropriation condenses subjective singularity, that is, each one elaborates his subjectivity based on what he consumes (Baudrillard, 2009 as cited by (Castrillón & Cardona Osorio, 2014, pág. 44).

The pedestrianization of Bolívar exemplifies some consequences of a nano-level project developed within the principles of sustainable development. The project has been criticized for its configuration and commercial purposes, but in turn, it has been key to the spatial organization of the urban centrality. The experience of Bolívar Street allows for the consideration of a territorial connection between the centrality of Medellín and the centrality of Xalapa. The capital of Veracruz also had a process of physical intervention in its historic center under the same principles as Bolívar, but within the framework of the ESCI.



Figure IV-3: Project results, Bolívar street, Medellín. Source: Author's collection

IV.2. Juan de la Luz Enríquez Street in Xalapa

Within the framework of the Emerging and Sustainable Cities Initiative, the city of Xalapa carried out actions for the physical intervention on Enríquez Street in downtown Xalapa within the *Pilot Project for the Comprehensive Improvement of Enríquez-Parque Juárez Street*. The Action Plan proposed this pilot within framework of *urban sustainability*, as part of the *Program for the Regeneration of Public Space in the Central Area* (Ayuntamiento de Xalapa, 2014, p. 236). This was the only project related to mobility and public space improvement that materialized as a result of the ESCI.

Xalapa already suffered from inertia regarding interventions to improve spatial quality and attempts at urban regeneration in its historic center. In 2019, interviews with municipal officials showed the positioning of the *green agenda* and the assessment of the economic potential of regeneration had already been internalized by the officials of the secretariats in charge of urban

development.²⁹ Some relevant antecedents for the historic center are the construction of the Mirador de Los Lagos, the rehabilitation of the 5 de Febrero Park and the pedestrianization of González Aparicio Street (Gómez Gómez, 2014, p. 28) (the latter is an entertainment hub known as *El callejón*). At the same time, the city built the pedestrianization of Miguel Palacios Street, Miguel Arrieta Street, Alcalde y García Street with its *Gastronomic Square*, and the remodeling of the San José Market. This market energized the surrounding area in a nano-level urban regeneration pilot.

The center of Xalapa is a historical center. This does not mean a special administrative framework, but a recognition of its heritage value, as promoted by the document *Update of the Urban Planning and Revitalization Program of the Historic Center of Xalapa Veracruz* (Gobierno del Estado de Veracruz, 2005). According to the historic center regulation, any intervention in the historic center must respect the guidelines contained in the 2005 program. Interestingly, there was no evidence from this research that indicated that the ESCI team approached Xalapa as a historic center with special protection.

Mobility is a significant problem in Xalapa. Research has documented bus transport as the primary mode of transportation and the difficulties caused by an old fleet in the public transport system (Carillo Barradas, 2009). Traffic congestion in the historic center is frequent, due to the layout of the roads that connect the centrality with the expansion areas of the city. Xalapa's urban growth is characterized by a differentiated expansion processes, from the non-symmetrical colonial grid due to the rugged terrain, to the *fraccionamiento* subdivisions of the late 20th century.

²⁹ Three interviews conducted on June 10, 11 and 13, 2019.

This prevented the structuring of a road network that would have allowed deconcentrating the flow of vehicles from the center.

Additionally, Xalapa's location on the corridor between the Veracruz Port and Puebla and Mexico City increases the pressure of vehicular flow. The highway crosses part of Xalapa and affects congestion in the areas surrounding the corridor, which then spill over into the historic center. Besides, the conurbation with the municipalities of the metropolitan area makes the historic center a nucleus of the institutional and economic services the metropolitan area has to offer. Although the construction of the *Libramiento de Xalapa* highway diverted state traffic, congestion persists in the center due to the constant increase in the number of vehicles. In 2000, the number of vehicles in the city was 66,931, with 5.8 inhabitants per vehicle, and by 2010, the number of vehicles in the city had increased to 149,000, with four inhabitants per vehicle (Rodríguez, 2015).

In 2009, students from the Spanish University of Alcalá de Henares made a diagnosis of multidimensional mobility as a precedent to ESCI (Carillo Barradas, 2009, p. 55). That study concluded that it was necessary to manage the flow of traffic to the city center, promoting other modes of transportation such as a bicycle system or train. This early academic exercise already showed the deficit of citizen participation in solving the traffic problem beyond consultations for the construction of road infrastructure projects.

In another attempt to improve mobility in the historic center, the Universidad Veracruzana presented the *Master Plan for Sustainable Urban Mobility and Public Space in Xalapa, Veracruz: Phase I University Zone* in 2012 (Universidad Veracruzana, 2012).



Figure IV-4: Enríquez Street. Beginning of XX century. Source: Ángel Luis Hernández Jiménez.

Based on these antecedents, the Xalapa Action Plan proposed an intervention to pedestrianize Calle Enríquez. However, in the words of Américo Zúñiga, the acting mayor in 2016, the municipal administration considered the pedestrianization project inadmissible because of hospital infrastructure that depended on the street and the lack of an alternate avenue for east-west connectivity (Al Calor Político, 2016). The project migrated to improve a road section located between Parque Juárez and Primo Verdad Street. Gehl Architects designed a circuit of interventions in the public space that extended through the center of Xalapa, connecting useful locations to serve as effective public space.

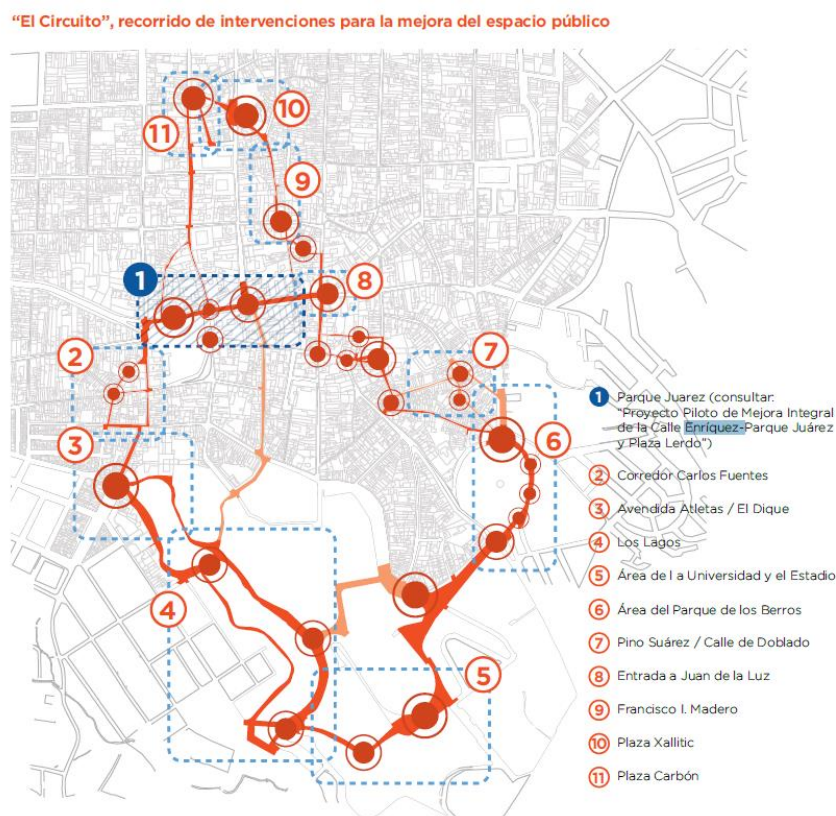


Figure IV-5: 'El Circuito' plan. Source: (Ayuntamiento de Xalapa, 2014)

Inside the circuit, the Plan suggested a nano intervention based on the idea called *Zone 30* (European network for 30 km/h, 2020). The definition of Zone 30 is as follows:

It is a set of streets in the city, where employing an urban redesign (which includes the placement of road devices and physical elements) the speed at which motorized vehicles circulate is reduced, establishing the limit at 30 km/h; at the same time as the number of vehicles circulating in it is decreased. As a result, an environment is created where different users can move safely without the speed of the car, posing a threat to those who travel in a non-motorized environment, whether on foot or by bicycle. (de Gyves, 2014)

The IDB made a quick diagnosis of street conditions, concluding that it was necessary to expand the pedestrian section and reduce the speed of motor traffic. Enríquez Street is a central axis of the

Xalapa road network. It crosses the historic center and connects important government, religious and cultural buildings in the city. Thus, the diagnostic showed the need to improve the physical conditions of the route to increase pedestrian stay-time. Based on the high comparative number of pedestrians, it became important to reduce the space for vehicles based on the low occupancy index.

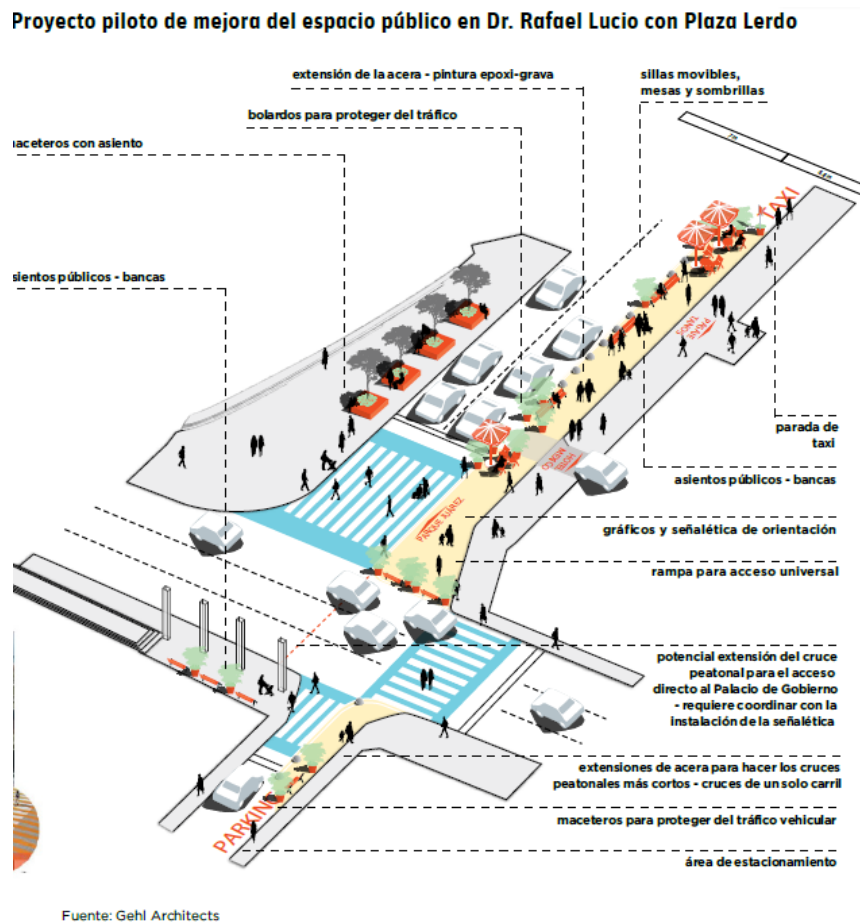


Figure IV-6: Enríquez Street intervention sketch. Source: (Ayuntamiento de Xalapa, 2014)

The city did not advertise the work done on Enríquez Street as a result of the ESCI, but rather as a product of the Gehl architectural firm.

The city postponed the intervention on Parque Juárez. However, the work done on Enríquez Street had unintentional repercussions on the public space oriented to the private use that the planners had not foreseen. In this regard, some investigations indicate the cooptation of the space. Private parties immediately took the renewed street after the inauguration of the intervened area (Gómez Gómez, 2014, p. 89). This problem added to the lack of integration of the projects within a master plan, together with the deficit of citizen participation in its design.

Finally, the city configured the intervention on Calle Enríquez as an improvement in spatial conditions, mainly for pedestrians, but it ignored the needs of other modes of transport. Curiously, the project was disassociated from the ESCI in the publicity and press notes about its opening to the public.

V. Conclusions

This research outlines a regionalization process of local initiatives led by the IDB. In this process, I contribute to debates about new regionalism in the field of regional studies and about the transmission of urban planning models in the field of urban studies.

The project answered the three research questions formulated above: How does regionalization affect territorial transformations in Latin American cities? How democratic are the different stages of the regionalization of urban planning models in Latin America? And how does the regionalization of local initiatives affect citizens at the neighborhood level? The analysis covered various fields due to the breadth of the question about the incidence of regionalization in spatial transformations in LAC. In this regard, the analysis showed that there is indeed a process of regionalization with effects on territorial planning at the local level. This regionalization affects

planning with diverse results but is always anchored to local decision-making processes. Achieving sustainable planning under this regionalization schema means cities depend on the Bank and the Bank depends on cities. The research described the existence of a new regionalization process that is made up of three spaces connected by innovation transfer. The first space is the model city, Medellín. The Colombian city is the generator of an intervention model, which it then proposed to replicate. The second space is the IDB's project analysis and execution apparatus, which was responsible for being the transmission belt, but also for adding elements to the ESCI based on sustainable urban development and the SDGs. The third space was the city of Xalapa, where the Bank implemented the ESCI up to the formulation stage of the Xalapa Action Plan. The Plan was not subsequently developed.

The parabola of regionalization worked as follows. Medellín united its population around the benefits of the MSU and the value of transforming the city to leave behind the despair of the past. Based on this understanding, the city developed an agreement with various local actors to systematize the experience of implementing the principles enshrined in the MSU. By systematizing the MSU, it became a technology that could be offered on the market. Subsequently, the IDB developed its model, inspired by the MSU and acquired technology from the micro- and meso-levels. Then the Bank transferred the model to another micro- and meso-level by using the ESCI platform to download the model in Xalapa.

My most relevant finding is theoretical. The data collected shows the existence of a regionalism with new characteristics regarding the interactions between the actors that promote it. There are theoretical proposals for traditional post-regionalism based on various interpretations of the relationships between actors, purposes, and methods. These new proposals already include new elements, some volitional, others substantive. I incorporated a new dynamic between classic actors

and the connections between emerging actors that are politically related by civil obligations and by trade-union interests.

Thus, a definition of new hybrid regionalism for the promotion of regionality in planning models is the ideal definition to epistemologically address the forms of regionalization promoted from above but based on models from the base. In this regard, there were findings on the need for state-level participation to materialize the exchange of ideas or techniques between non-governmental actors. If citizens at the micro- or nano-level in different geographical territories have established networks within a new regionalism, state assembly is still required to convert that connection into public planning policies. This answers the question about how this new regionalization affected territorial transformation in LAC cities. There are new territories made by new regional connections, but those are influenced by the democratic health of the regionalization process.

The new regionalization led by the IDB has the following characteristics. It is a process of vertical regionalization without claiming formal horizontality. Additionally, its repercussions are a material regionalization of knowledge. It is not a regionalization within the orthodoxy of the old or new regionalisms. It does not seek a supra-state or cross-border political configuration, nor does it generate a common legal framework in various territories.

This regionalization process focuses on two key concepts: transfer and homogenization. The Bank, while acting as the central actor transferred knowledge, discourse, and technology, while trying to homogenize public action for planning. Consequently, this regionalization builds a non-geographical region that is limited by urban territorialities. The result is territories confined in local planning that responds to universal principles and criteria.

This research assumes that the concept of region and regionalization are not 'dead.' The use of the region as a category of analysis remains relevant if there is no other concept with enough holistic breadth to link time, subject, and space. This works for all levels of understanding the region, be it geographical, legal-state, territorial, historical, or cultural. Consequently, it is valid to propose the survival of the concept of regionalization from the enunciation of a novel process of exchange of experiences at the continental level.

The regionalization process proposed by the IDB combined different forms of interpretation of what a region can be, on different scales, and with different agents. It moved between an interstate global (continental) regionalizing telos, and a non-transboundary offshore sub-national regionalization. The Bank wished to regionalize a technology and a discursive apparatus for the 77 cities participating in the ESCI initiative. Repeated local practices reflected this process. At the same time, the IDB promoted the conditions for the creation of a region in a geographically delocalized operational dimension, normatively supported by global principles, yet dysfunctional.

This thesis also proposes two additional findings regarding its methodological approach. Using QoD as a reference, but mainly, using the categories of its analytical framework was useful for determining the democratic characteristics of intangibles such as political will and decision-making processes. Thus, the QoD categories revealed that decision-making processes around public space or infrastructure projects invariably operate within the principles of sustainable development.

Another valuable achievement has to do with the analytical stance about Medellín. Studying a territory where there are armed conflicts, and their violent consequences, increases the potential for ideological bias while interpreting the problem. Carrying out an analysis that extended the review of Medellín showed that it is necessary apply a general perspective when analyzing the

phenomena of interaction between levels and actors. This requires setting aside biases that are often evident in the local literature that is critical of the transformation process and holistically incorporating the analyses of other academic and political sectors that advocate for a perspective of political agreement. In this sense, the transcendence of the Transformation of Medellín process was the achievement of pacts between diverse sectors, such as citizen sectors, business, state, and even illegal actors, for the joint search to overcome a situation of collective prostration in the aftermath of the war. This did not mean a reduction in the inequity and inequality associated with urban territorial conflicts.

The research offers a new view of the influence of a *sui generis*, local process on a macro-level, and its subsequent regionalization. How democratic are the different stages of the regionalization of urban planning models in Latin America? The research shows that the regionalization of nano-level initiatives has diverse moments in which the democratic health of decision-making affects the materialization of planning strategies, but not the regionalization itself. Despite the imperfections of its democratic system, city planners in Medellín detected the vital experience of a non-territorial, democratic transformation. This shows that if the MSU is institutionalized, it can build public understanding outside of marketing narratives.

The actors involved in the participatory design of urban projects at a nano-level were the protagonists of this planning model. The MSU focused its originality on inclusive citizen participation to legitimize the projects and delegitimize the armed groups with a presence in the territory.

The IDB led a transmission of technical knowledge through connected territories throughout the continent. The regional institution transmitted technology as a process manual, but not as a lived experience. Based on the experience in Xalapa, the strategy of urban renovation in Medellín

is not exportable. More than a just a technique or device, is the MSU was a way of understanding the democratic exercise in which the categories of analysis of political culture fall short of giving explanatory meaning. Thus, concepts like territory become useful for understanding that the dynamics of Colombian democratic participation implies specific conditions that give the experience a sense of non-repeatability.

The democratic exercise of each of the categories studied within the QoD framework demonstrates that democratic practice is linked to the conception of the purposes and meaning of human relationship within the design of vital spaces. In other words, democratic expression in the communities at the nano-level in Medellín reflects a new form of contract. This new contract was proposed by a participatory state in the context of extreme inequity and armed conflict that determined the freedom of action in the public sphere. The sources included in this research demonstrated that the MSU experience was a manifestation of the political will of the political and economic establishment of the city. However, it was also an expression of the ways nano-level communities inhabit and construct the habitat. This, in turn, raises the nano-scale and sheds light on the microphysics of power in planning. These power dynamics are embedded in a network of collective political agreements to overcome episodes of extreme violence. In this way, micro-urban and nano-urban levels coexist in a collective narrative that is linked to the principles of the MSU.

Thus, according to the objectives of an ideal democracy, the regionalization promoted by the IDB does not manage to affect the categories that allow the achievement of this ideal democratic quality. On the contrary, regionalization operates with democratic deficits in its implementation stages.

Although the MSU process and its subsequent developments (i.e. *comprehensive improvement of neighborhoods* and *macro projects for life*) have received criticism from academia and popular

sectors, there is no denying that the transformation of Medellín involved a multi-sectoral agreement throughout the territory. Within the dynamics of the Colombian internal armed conflict, this agreement coincided with military pacification in Medellín which was plagued, at the time, by the dominance by far-right groups linked to drug trafficking. This context explains, without being the only explanation or determining factor, the process of a political agreement for the creation of technology.

Social urbanism was executed as a product of the country's democratic political architecture resulting from the 1991 Constitution and as the effect of bids for territorial control by armed sectors. The violence linked to Colombia's internal armed conflict remains a repeated factor. A model cannot export political violence. The territory where the transfer downloaded did not have the same security conditions, meaning the dynamics of citizen participation were not the same.

The IDB knew the particularities of financing in Medellín, and other model cities where free investment capital was available for public projects. Other cities, mainly secondary ones, do not have this financial advantage. The Bank's literature noted this precariousness in resources before the formulation of the ESCI in Xalapa

This is why when the IDB tried to export the model, it failed. Xalapa is an example of the failure to connect territorialities within the umbrella of the transferred technology as a homogenizing device. Thus, the Xalapa experience invites researchers to reevaluate the capabilities of city-wide planning carried out by a reduced technical team within a short fieldwork time. There was an evident policy inconsistency between what is promoted by the ESCI in its objectives and the technical devices with which it was carried out. Neither the IDB literature, nor the interviewees, identified any express interest in promoting real estate speculation.

This investigation verified through secondary and primary sources the fact that Medellín influenced the construction of the ESCI directly and indirectly. It directly influenced by serving as a training, narrative, and laboratory platform to position the MSU's discourse with the added plus of being seen as an efficient way of containing contexts of violence.

The organization of the ESCI platform consisted of three devices: 1) city marketing, 2) the coherence of public policies for citizen participation in nano-level projects, and 3) financial and debt capacity to carry out infrastructure projects.

The city of Medellín has expertise in alternative processes of citizen participation. However, at the same time, it has an enormous marketing apparatus. The marketing apparatus allowed Medellín to position its image as the vanguard for the incorporation of the neologisms and principles adopted by the international summits. In this way, Medellín has been a resilient city, the most innovative in the world, a city that was transformed for life, the most educated city, the *new Medellín*. More recently, Medellín has also been the city best prepared to respond to the Covid-19 pandemic. The narrative of response uses innovative technologies based on the fruits of a process of consolidation of a strong institutionality oriented to an effective response. Interviews, reports, and press releases highlighted accountability and responsiveness as priorities. These categories of the QoD framework also appear in popular phrases coined by citizens of other regions of Colombia who see Medellín as having a democratic quality far above that of their local realities.

More recently, Medellín has presented an upsurge in homicides. During 2019, 542 people were murdered in the city. Since the signing of the peace agreement with the FARC guerrilla in 2016, the crime indicators have been rising. Of the crimes registered, the majority are in the communes that received the most significant investment within the social urbanism model.

For its part, Xalapa has a unique process of developing urban growth and planning strategies. Participatory political culture has not been the priority for decision-makers or citizens. Other categories, like the search for institutional stability and the positioning of new political actors, have played a more important role. Consequently, organized planning under technical parameters within the framework of the principles of sustainable development is not a priority. While planning is essential, it is not the center of the political agenda. Therefore, budget differences between Medellín and Xalapa were not relevant when executing the Action Plan. In the absence of political will for the execution of the Plan Xalapa, the need for resources did not emerge.

The financial, real estate, and local construction sector are the silent arm of planning processes in any city. Presenting them as just a gear in the planning machine is a mistake due to the lack of democratic control over these entities. Their importance in promoting urban policies is enormous. The case of Medellín showed that the local construction union not only influenced but also directed the territorial organization of the city and the metropolitan region in search of freeing up land for future real estate projects. Xalapa has a progressive process of expansion of its urban area, which is continuous, but not accelerated. The increase in housing density or built spaces corresponds to informal construction processes or the purchase of lots to be parceled by private operators in low and medium density projects.

The urban land renting exists in the two micro-levels connected by the IDB regionalization, Medellín and Xalapa, but on different scales. The Bank does not publicly mention its interest in promoting real state investment. Consequently, the IDB should not be blamed for being the lobbying representative of the construction sector. Nevertheless, in Medellín, drug trafficking and illegal mining by actors located in the Department of Antioquia and neighbors have laundered money in the construction sector. It is a constant flow of currencies that mark the entire national

economic chain and its connection to the construction sector. Thus, my initial hypothesis about the use of the MSU as an instrument for money laundering was distorted. In this sense, planning does not seek the investment of surplus capital to promote urban regeneration and the future increase in land value after speculation, but instead seeks a way to incorporate illegal income into a weak economy.

According to the information collected and analyzed, I conclude that the IDB innovatively developed the ESCI, with subsequent improvements in the proposal, without openly explaining the reasons behind the investment exercise. Before the execution of the ESCI methodology, the Bank knew the financial conditions of the municipalities where it was preparing to develop. Thus, the reason behind the IDB's continued desire to propose a wide-scale plan if its factual impossibility is known is not clear

A positive element to highlight is the modification made by the IDB to the ESCI methodology after the Xalapa case in 2017. Xalapa was the second Mexican city to participate in the Initiative, meaning that when it was implemented in Xalapa the ESCI was in an experimental stage. In the face of implementation failures in Xalapa, the IDB released a third edition of the guide to continue the regionalization process in subsequent cities. This confirms that the design of a planning strategy requires permanent modifications. At the same time, the release of the third edition of the guide confirmed that there were fundamental errors in the initial conceptualization of the ESCI that went against the principles of sustainable urbanism issued by international summits. Using a micro-level opinion poll as a nano-scale problem assessment tool or linking citizen monitoring systems without providing budgetary and legal tools for the exercise of its oversight are two problems experienced in Xalapa.

Citizen participation continues to be a problem for regulatory coherence in regionalization processes. Participation is a fundamental principle of sustainable urban planning, but it depends on the political and legal conditions of each territory. Thus, proposing a participation schema without stating its properties, financing, scope, and limits to its responsibility can lead to the failure of the co-governance strategy. The consequence is a delegitimization of the process and subsequent citizen skepticism regarding new initiatives. Given the lack of implementation of the ESCI in Xalapa, it is a risk for the Bank if LAC cities lose confidence in urban planning instruments. From this view, the regionalization proposed by regional initiatives could extend harmful elements for the quality of democracy throughout the continent, especially in the dimension of citizen participation, legitimacy, and responsiveness. In the case of Xalapa, the municipality did not meet the expectations generated by the hype in time.

Thus, the particularities of each locality obstruct the process of regionalization of local initiatives. Neither the city nor the Bank can export the Medellín model when local conditions are not the same. Moreover, sustainable development does not become participatory in the Bank's practice because it does not guarantee that the actors at the nano-level promote and participate in the execution of the projects. The prioritization of projects within the ESCI begins with the opinion survey. Using this tool opens the gate for debate on citizen consultations as a direct citizen exercise and discussions about types of government. There are risks inherent to direct democracy (opinion can be molded or prefabricated, citizens can be influenced by outside interests) and there are also methodological problems for the preparation of a sample and the integrity of responses.

On the contrary, defenders of a decision-making model based on popular opinion argue the benefits of the model if what is decided is covered by legitimacy. The ESCI methodology did not resolve this discussion between legitimacy versus instrumental or technical rationality. That an

opinion survey is the number one criterion for prioritization can create risk for the execution of the prioritized projects. Considering that urban intervention plans always generate resistance from the actors who benefit from the previous state of the urban network, it questioned whether the reasons are due to a logic of political revenues for the mayors on duty in search of gaining citizen support for the initiative.

Furthermore, the Medellín-IDB-Xalapa experience showed that it is more complicated for technical teams to articulate the territorial evaluation and intervention strategies when there is no clarity about scale and level of detail. Projects should be anchored in a framework based on levels of intervention. Otherwise, projects can be diluted in the overwhelming flood of data delivered to an unprepared municipal administration to analyze and respond effectively.

The ESCI does not operate the implementation of the strategies and projects resulting from the Action Plans. However, the regionalization of a technical language fulfills the role of homologation of a functional, specialized metalanguage in cities with different administrative trajectories. The Bank's operating guidelines, the principles to be followed by the contractors, the language of the terms of reference for hiring, and expected results, together with the concepts and instruments of measurement and analysis, homogenize urban knowledge in the region.

After the fieldwork, I concluded that the criticism of the most generalized technical tool is related to the distance between the territorial realities and the capacity to capture data from a rapid diagnostic. An exercise that regionalizes nano-scale experiences could not, therefore, base its implementation on expectations of micro- or meso-scale. Xalapa showed the error of proposing ideas that were fashionable in architectural circles in capital cities across the industrialized world, but which required a localized reinterpretation in territories with complexities of different scales. The leading example was Xalapa's real mobility system compared to that proposed by the

strategies contained in the Action Plan. The Plan ignored the particularities of a system in the hands of private entrepreneurs without legal obligations to modernize the vehicle fleet.

Another question that emerges from the analysis of the regionalization of technology is financial viability. When downloaded in Xalapa, the ESCI ran the risk of turning the Initiative into one more study, without the possibility of making its proposals viable and at a high cost in political capital and legitimacy vis-à-vis the citizens. This thesis points out that one condition that made the MSU possible was the enormous budgetary capacity of Medellín for investment in macro projects. This contrasts with other cities within the ESCI, such as Xalapa, and shows that regionalization depends on variables, like financial capacity, outside the scope of the intermediary level. Although the Bank has the resources, and its objective is the financing of development projects, in the case of the ESCI, it decided that its only role would be technical assistance. For Xalapa, this meant the loss of institutional interest in continuing the implementation stages of the Initiative. Policy inconsistencies like this hinder the city's response capacity to the challenges of sustainability.

In the same sense, the use of citizen observatory systems based on surveys is problematic when data is not crossed with other techniques to measure resident interests. The external monitoring system, based on the *Bogotá As We Go* model (Bogotá cómo vamos, 2019), offers a non-state option for generating data but does not guarantee monitoring and oversight of the implementation of associated projects.

In conclusion, this research outlines the characteristics of the regionalization process of local nano-level initiatives led by the IDB as a dysfunctional standard region. The following diagram shows its features both in its upload and download phases:

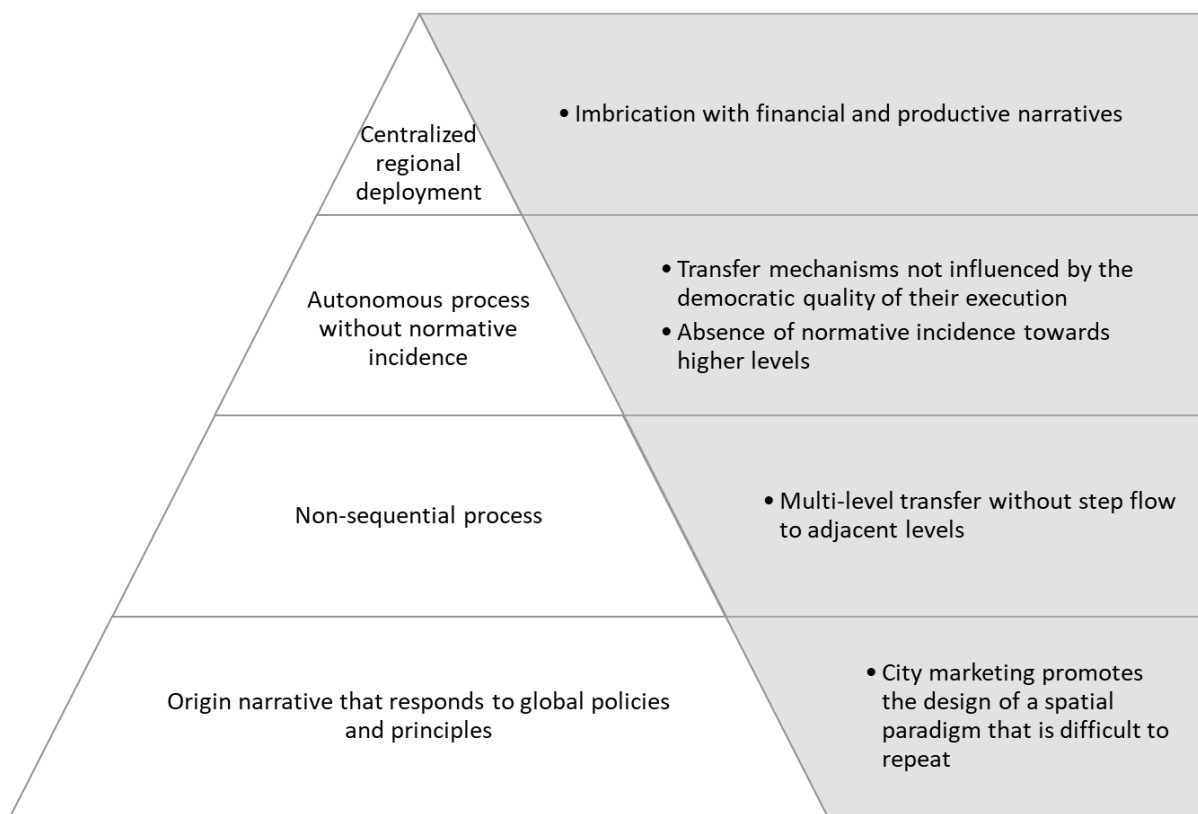


Figure V-1: Upload phase of DSR led by the IDB ESCI. Source: Own elaboration

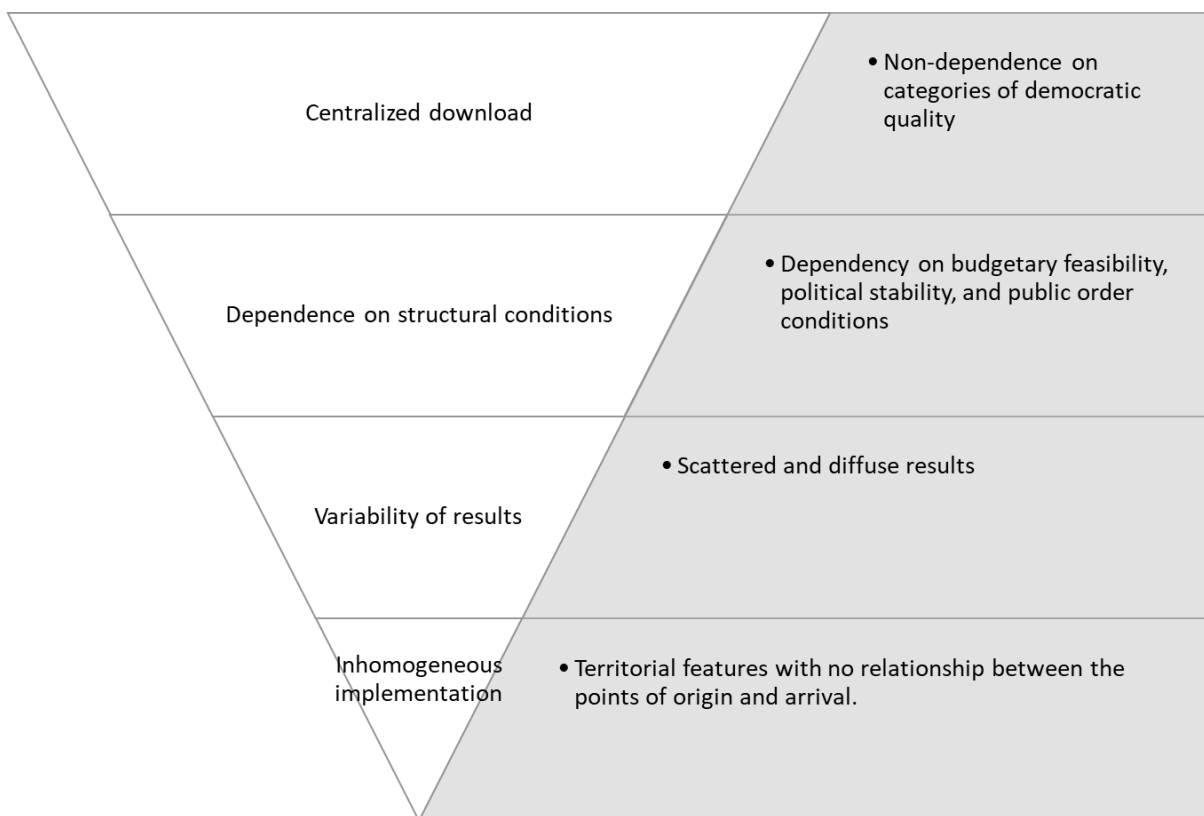


Figure V-2: Download phase of DSR led by the IDB ESCI. Source: Own elaboration

Finally, this research opens the possibility of thinking about how to express other ways of regionalization.



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Appendixes

Appendix 1, informed consent forms

University of Luxembourg

Consentimiento informado

Página 1 of 1

Formulario de consentimiento para la investigación con el título provisional:

'Analizando ciudades emergentes sostenibles. El Banco Interamericano de Desarrollo y las transformaciones espaciales'

Desarrollado por:
Santiago Mejía Idárraga

Yo, el participante abajo firmante, acepto participar en este proyecto. Le doy permiso específico a Santiago Mejía Idárraga para utilizar la grabación de la discusión grupal con fines de investigación y análisis. Entiendo que los extractos transcritos de la entrevista pueden presentarse en la investigación final escrita. Entiendo que la grabación no se utilizará para ningún otro propósito ni se distribuirá en cualquier lugar.

Al firmar a continuación, reconozco que 1) he leído este acuerdo cuidadosamente; 2) cualquier pregunta que tenga sobre el uso de mi grabación o el proyecto ha sido respondida satisfactoriamente; 3) me han entregado una copia de este formulario.

Respecto a la confidencialidad, preferiría que el investigador:

1. Use mi nombre propio: _____
2. Use el siguiente seudónimo: _____
3. Deje el nombre de los países y ciudades como se mencionó: _____
4. Borrar el nombre de los países y ciudades que mencioné: _____

Entiendo y acepto las condiciones descritas en este formulario de consentimiento y por la presente le permito a Santiago Mejía Idárraga usar esta discusión grupal con fines de investigación.

Firma del participante: _____

Firma del investigador: _____

Lugar y fecha: _____

Formulario de consentimiento para la investigación con el título provisional:

'Analizando ciudades emergentes sostenibles. El Banco Interamericano de Desarrollo y las transformaciones espaciales'

Desarrollado por:
Santiago Mejía Idárraga

Yo, el participante abajo firmante, acepto participar en este proyecto. Le doy permiso específico a **Santiago Mejía Idárraga para utilizar la grabación de mi entrevista con fines de investigación y análisis**. Entiendo que los extractos transcritos de la entrevista pueden presentarse en la investigación final escrita. Entiendo que la grabación no se utilizará para ningún otro propósito ni se distribuirá en otro lugar.

Al firmar a continuación, reconozco que 1) he leído este acuerdo cuidadosamente; 2) cualquier pregunta que tenga sobre el uso de mi grabación ha sido respondida satisfactoriamente; 3) me han entregado una copia de este formulario.

Entiendo y acepto las condiciones descritas en este formulario de consentimiento y por la presente le permito a Santiago Mejía Idárraga usar esta entrevista para fines de investigación.

Firma del participante: _____

Firma del investigador: _____

Lugar y fecha: _____

Appendix 2, model of interviews

University of Luxembourg
 Analyzing sustainable and emerging cities
 Xalapa case
 Interview guidelines, Spanish

Fecha y lugar de la entrevista:
 Lectura y firma del consentimiento informado.

Presentación:

Esta investigación indaga por un proceso de regionalización de iniciativas locales liderado por el Banco Interamericano de Desarrollo en Latinoamérica y el Caribe (BID). El BID desarrolla la Iniciativa de Ciudades Emergentes y Sostenibles (ICES) como instrumento de asesoría técnica a ciudades secundarias en diversos países de la región con el objetivo de alcanzar condiciones de ciudad sostenible. El Banco regionaliza un modelo de planeación urbana que genera una parábola de transferencia de un saber hacer para la planeación desde un origen barrial. Se estudia el proceso a través de un análisis en dos ciudades, Medellín (Colombia) y Xalapa (México). Medellín como uno de los referentes que dan origen a la ICES y Xalapa como ciudad participante de la Iniciativa. Por medio del esquema de la calidad de democracia se evalúa el resultado del proceso de regionalización y su incidencia.

Nombre, profesión, cargo.

Pasado

Me puedes contar un poco sobre tus estudios y vinculación con organizaciones u instituciones oficiales, ¿dónde y qué estudiaste y en qué organizaciones has participado?

¿Ahora me puedes contar sobre lo que estás haciendo en tu trabajo?

¿Conoces el "Plan de Acción Xalapa"?

- ¿Qué pensabas cuando este proceso estaba en marcha?
- ¿Conoces el Banco Interamericano de Desarrollo?
- ¿Conoces el modelo de urbanismo social y la transformación de Medellín?
- ¿Has tenido relación con el proyecto de peatonalización de la calle Enríquez cerca al parque Juárez? ¿Podrías narrarme cómo fue esa relación?

Presente

- ¿Cuál es tu vinculación con los procesos de transformación territorial de Xalapa en los últimos diez años? Cuáles y una breve descripción.
- ¿Hay algo específico en esa vinculación que creas que incidió en la configuración u origen de los procesos de transformación territorial en Xalapa?
- ¿Ha escuchado algo sobre la exportación del modelo de urbanismo social de Medellín hacia otros países, o hacia Xalapa?
- ¿Cómo crees proyectos como la peatonalización de la calle Enríquez dentro del Plan de Acción Xalapa y su proceso social asociado influye en otras experiencias similares en ciudades del continente?
- ¿Tiene contacto con otros actores presentes en el proyecto de intervención sobre los alrededores del parque Juárez? ¿Cómo describiría esta relación? ¿Los contactos son formales, informales o financieros?

Futuro

- ¿Cómo ves el futuro de la participación local a nivel nano (barrial) en los procesos de transformación territorial en Xalapa?
- ¿Qué crees que pasará con el proyecto de peatonalización de la calle Enríquez y las dinámicas de sus habitantes?

Appendix 3

Methodology logic framework

	Question	Specific Objectives	Hypothesis	Assumption	Tool	Actor, location	Result
<u>Primary Objective</u> To analyze the transfer of urban development programs between territories on a nano-level, regional institutions at a macro level, and the ways urban development is being used to propose new regional integration processes.	Q1. How does regionalization affect territorial transformations in Latin American cities?	To build a conceptual framework for development in emerging cities through the Quality of Democracy framework, transfer of knowledge, and regionalization processes.	H1. There is no previous research about the QoD for the transfer of knowledge in urban planning.	A1. The lack of theoretical bibliography about the regionalization of initiatives coming from a nano-level should be evident	T1. Literature review	Secondary sources: papers, books.	ER1. Conceptual framework
				A2. The QoD framework should be useful for analyzing regionalization processes	T2. Literature review		
			H2. Medellín developed a narrative, called Medellín Social Urbanism (MSU), that was imported by the IDB.	A3. Medellín municipality systematized its experience and then sold it to regional institutions	T1. Literature review	Local researches, Medellín	ER2. Subchapter describing the origins of the MSU origin and its adoption by the IDB
						Official publications, Medellín	
						Press notes, Medellín	
				T3. Interviews	MM1. Medellín decision-makers.		
					MM2. Medellín decision-makers		
					MM3. Medellín decision-makers		
				A4. The IDB based its definition of secondary city and the focus of the ESCI on the MSU	T3. Interviews	MUP1. Local researcher	
						BM1. IDB staff Mexico	
		BM2. IDB staff Mexico					
		To provide a general description of the regionalization process.	H3. There is a process of transfer of knowledge, which ends in a	A5. Results of the regionalization process are visible in Xalapa	T3. Interviews	BC1. IDB staff Colombia	
						IDB literature	
						XM5. Decision-makers: Xalapa mayor	
							XM1. Decision-makers: Xalapa

			secondary city (Xalapa).			development office direction	
						XO6. Stakeholder: Xalapa Mobility citizen association.	
						XL1. Stakeholder. Xalapa citizen.	
						XO1. Local scholar. Xalapa.	
						XO4. Stakeholder.Xalapa	
						XO3. Stakeholder. Xalapa	
					T1. Literature review	Xalapa Action Plan	
						IDB documents	
						Public policies, Xalapa	
				A6. Xalapa has incorporated the ESCI recognizing the legacy of Medellín Social Urbanism	T.3 Interviews	XM5. Decision-makers: Xalapa mayor	
						XM1. Decision-makers: Xalapa development office	
						XM2. Decision-makers: Xalapa public works direction.	
						XM4. Decision-makers: Xalapa public development advisor	
						XO2. Local scholar. Xalapa	
					T.1 Literature review	Minutes from the commission of the Cabildo, Xalapa	
					T.4 Press review	Press notes from the three most important newspapers, Xalapa	
			H4. There are two territories connected through the regionalization	A7. The regionalization process is expressed in a territorial project at a nano-level in Medellín	T.5 Project review	The pedestrianization of Bolívar Street, Medellín	ER4. ER4. Inform about the features of the projects at a nano-level
					T6. Participatory Observation		
					T3. Interviews	MO1. Nano-level actor. Medellín.	



			process at the nano level.			MO2. Nano-level actor. Medellín.	ER5. Subchapter with the results of the knowledge download.
						MM3. Medellín decision-makers	
						MUP3. Local scholar. Medellín	
						MO3. Association. Medellín	
						ML1. Stakeholder. Medellín	
				A8. The regionalization process is expressed in a territorial project at a nano-level in Xalapa	T5. Project review	The pedestrianization of Enríquez Street. Xalapa	
					T6. Participatory Observation		
					T3. Interviews	XM5. Decision-makers: Xalapa mayor	
						XUP2. Local scholar. Xalapa	
						XM4. Decision-makers: Xalapa public development advisor	
			H5. The IDB implemented the ESCI in Xalapa.	A9. The IDB applied all the ESCI methodology in Xalapa	T1. Literature review	Xalapa Action Plan	
						IDB Internal documents	
					T3. Interviews	XUP2. Local scholar Xalapa	
						XM1. Decision-makers: development office director , Xalapa	
						BM2. IDB staff Mexico,	
				A10. The Municipality of Xalapa started the operationalization of the strategies included in the action plan	T3. Interviews	XM5. Decision-makers: Xalapa mayor	
						XM1. Decision-makers: development office director Xalapa	
						XM2. Decision-makers: public works direction Xalapa	



















































						XM4. Decision-makers: Xalapa public development advisor	
					T4. Press review	Press notes from the three most important newspapers, Xalapa	
					T7. Public policy review	Local Development Plan, Xalapa	
						Minutes from the Cabildo, Xalapa	
					T6. Participatory Observation	Designated sites to be intervened within the Action Plan Xalapa	
	Q2. How does the regionalization of local initiatives affect citizens in the neighborhood?	To build an analytical framework for understanding the operationalization of the transfer of knowledge between levels of government.	H6. There are projects developed under the urban acupuncture or tactic urbanisms approaches.	A11. Communities at the nano-level in Xalapa take part in urban planning projects such as Medellín	T1. Literature review	Local development plan Xalapa	ER6. Data collection with examples of projects similar to those in Medellín
						Municipality investment reports 2014-2017 Xalapa	
					T3. Interviews	XUP1. Local scholar. Xalapa	ER.7 An inventory of local actors and community projects
						XO6. Mobility citizen association Xalapa	
						XM1. Decision-makers: development office director Xalapa	
						XUP3. Local researcher: Xalapa	
			H7. Municipality of Xalapa developed participative urban projects.	A12. Municipality of Xalapa has developed participatory strategies at the nano level	T1. Literature review	Local Development plan, Xalapa	ER.8 Subchapter describing citizen dynamics at the nano-level
					T3. Interviews	XUP1. Local scholar. Xalapa	
						XO6. Mobility citizen association, Xalapa	
						XM3. Decision-makers: local agency of citizen participation, Xalapa	
						XO3. Community organizations, Xalapa	

	Q3. How democratic are the different stages of the regionalization of urban planning models in Latin America?	To examine the transfer of knowledge between two projects based on the Quality of Democracy framework.	H8. A legal and political framework that allows the transfer of urban planning knowledge between cities exists	A13. Xalapa has a legal framework that allowed it to implement the MSU narrative and the ESCI methodology	T1. Literature review	Urban development Law of the State of Veracruz, Xalapa Minutes from the Cabildo, Xalapa	ER.9 Legal framework and report on the decision-making process
			H9. There is a lack of promotion of QoD in urban planning techniques within the regionalization process.	A.14 It is important to connect the QoD framework to Medellín Social Urbanism	T8. Building of the schema	Literature on QoD and MSU plus ESCI precepts, Medellín	ER.10 Schema
				A.15 Medellín Social Urbanism has promoted QoD	T1. Literature review	Literature on MSU, Medellín	ER.11 An analytical framework to connect it to the QoD schema and then measuring it
					T3. Interviews	MM3. Medellín decision-makers:	
						MM4. Medellín decision-makers:	
						MUP2. Local researcher. Medellín	
				A.16 Xalapa Action Plan has promoted QoD during all its working stages	T1. Literature review	Literature about ESCI in Xalapa	
					T3. Interviews	XM3. Decision-makers: local agency of citizen participation, Xalapa	
						XM5. Decision-makers: Xalapa mayor	
						XUP3. Local scholar Xalapa	
						XO3. Community organizations: Xalapa	

Appendix 4. Data actor's connections

Data of connections between actors; made with Onodo software.

		NODE	TYPE	DESCRIPTION	VISIBLE	IMAGE	CLUSTERS	CONNECTIONS	RELEVANCE	BETWEENNESS	CLOSENESS	CORENESS	
		ER3	Expected result	▼ 				2.00	12.00	1.00	240.62	0.36	4.00
		XM1	Actor	▼ 				1.00	10.00	0.90	225.09	0.35	4.00
		XM5	Actor	▼ 				2.00	10.00	0.85	344.17	0.40	4.00
		ER5	Expected result	▼ 				1.00	7.00	0.64	150.96	0.36	4.00
		A5	Assumption	▼ 				2.00	8.00	0.56	126.10	0.36	4.00
		XM4	Actor	▼ 				1.00	6.00	0.51	81.14	0.36	4.00
		A6	Assumption	▼ 				1.00	6.00	0.50	54.40	0.34	4.00
		A10	Assumption	▼ 				1.00	5.00	0.45	45.71	0.34	4.00
		XM2	Actor	▼ 				1.00	4.00	0.41	10.62	0.31	4.00
		XO6	Actor	▼ 				3.00	6.00	0.41	69.40	0.31	4.00
		XO3	Actor	▼ 				2.00	6.00	0.40	111.73	0.35	4.00
		ER4	Expected result	▼ 				5.00	9.00	0.32	327.62	0.36	3.00
		A11	Assumption	▼ 				3.00	6.00	0.30	119.67	0.31	4.00

		NODE	TYPE	DESCRIPTION	VISIBLE	IMAGE	CLUSTERS	CONNECTIONS	RELEVANCE	BETWEENNESS	CLOSENESS	CORENESS	
		ER11	Expected result	▼ 				4.00	7.00	0.29	255.42	0.38	3.00
		ER7	Expected result	▼ 				3.00	5.00	0.29	54.08	0.30	4.00
		A8	Assumption	▼ 				1.00	4.00	0.27	43.66	0.32	3.00
		A16	Assumption	▼ 				2.00	5.00	0.26	100.17	0.34	3.00
		XL1	Actor	▼ 				2.00	2.00	0.25	0.46	0.28	2.00
		XO1	Actor	▼ 				2.00	2.00	0.25	0.46	0.28	2.00
		XO4	Actor	▼ 				2.00	2.00	0.25	0.46	0.28	2.00
		XM3	Actor	▼ 				3.00	6.00	0.25	109.02	0.33	4.00
		XO2	Actor	▼ 				1.00	2.00	0.24	0.96	0.28	2.00
		XUP2	Actor	▼ 				1.00	4.00	0.23	35.07	0.31	3.00
		A9	Assumption	▼ 				1.00	4.00	0.23	60.45	0.34	2.00
		A12	Assumption	▼ 				3.00	5.00	0.20	69.77	0.29	4.00
		ER8	Expected result	▼ 				3.00	4.00	0.20	13.89	0.28	4.00

		NODE	TYPE	DESCRIPTION	VISIBLE	IMAGE	CLUSTERS	CONNECTIONS	RELEVANCE	BETWEENNESS	CLOSENESS	CORENESS	
		ER8	Expected result	▼				3.00	4.00	0.20	13.89	0.28	4.00
		H3	Hypothesis	▼				1.00	3.00	0.18	51.25	0.32	2.00
		XUP1	Actor	▼				3.00	4.00	0.16	8.48	0.25	4.00
		BM2	Actor	▼				1.00	4.00	0.15	133.50	0.31	2.00
		MM3	Actor	▼				4.00	5.00	0.12	280.36	0.36	2.00
		H5	Hypothesis	▼				1.00	3.00	0.12	26.65	0.31	2.00
		XO5	Actor	▼				3.00	2.00	0.09	0.60	0.24	2.00
		XUP3	Actor	▼				4.00	2.00	0.09	2.26	0.29	2.00
		Q1	Question	▼				1.00	5.00	0.06	155.48	0.33	2.00
		H4	Hypothesis	▼				1.00	3.00	0.06	53.10	0.30	2.00
		ML1	Actor	▼				5.00	2.00	0.06	7.43	0.28	2.00
		MO1	Actor	▼				5.00	2.00	0.06	7.43	0.28	2.00
		MO2	Actor	▼				5.00	2.00	0.06	7.43	0.28	2.00

		NODE	TYPE	DESCRIPTION	VISIBLE	IMAGE	CLUSTERS	CONNECTIONS	RELEVANCE	BETWEENNESS	CLOSENESS	CORENESS	
		ER8	Expected result	▼				3.00	4.00	0.20	13.89	0.28	4.00
		H3	Hypothesis	▼				1.00	3.00	0.18	51.25	0.32	2.00
		XUP1	Actor	▼				3.00	4.00	0.16	8.48	0.25	4.00
		BM2	Actor	▼				1.00	4.00	0.15	133.50	0.31	2.00
		MM3	Actor	▼				4.00	5.00	0.12	280.36	0.36	2.00
		H5	Hypothesis	▼				1.00	3.00	0.12	26.65	0.31	2.00
		XO5	Actor	▼				3.00	2.00	0.09	0.60	0.24	2.00
		XUP3	Actor	▼				4.00	2.00	0.09	2.26	0.29	2.00
		Q1	Question	▼				1.00	5.00	0.06	155.48	0.33	2.00
		H4	Hypothesis	▼				1.00	3.00	0.06	53.10	0.30	2.00
		ML1	Actor	▼				5.00	2.00	0.06	7.43	0.28	2.00
		MO1	Actor	▼				5.00	2.00	0.06	7.43	0.28	2.00
		MO2	Actor	▼				5.00	2.00	0.06	7.43	0.28	2.00

		NODE	TYPE	DESCRIPTION	VISIBLE	IMAGE	CLUSTERS	CONNECTIONS	RELEVANCE	BETWEENNESS	CLOSENESS	CORENESS	
		A15	Assumption	▼				4.00	4.00	0.04	48.82	0.29	2.00
		H7	Hypothesis	▼				3.00	2.00	0.03	15.86	0.24	2.00
		A4	Assumption	▼				6.00	4.00	0.03	45.23	0.26	2.00
		A3	Assumption	▼				6.00	5.00	0.03	92.73	0.30	2.00
		H2	Hypothesis	▼				6.00	3.00	0.02	67.23	0.29	2.00
		Q2	Question	▼				3.00	3.00	0.02	32.59	0.25	2.00
		PO	Primary Objective	▼				4.00	3.00	0.01	69.48	0.28	2.00
		BC1	Actor	▼				6.00	2.00	0.01	3.97	0.25	2.00
		BM1	Actor	▼				6.00	2.00	0.01	3.97	0.25	2.00
		MM1	Actor	▼				6.00	2.00	0.01	1.74	0.25	2.00
		MM2	Actor	▼				6.00	2.00	0.01	1.74	0.25	2.00
		MUP1	Actor	▼				6.00	2.00	0.01	1.74	0.25	2.00
		Q3	Question	▼				4.00	2.00	0.01	17.18	0.26	2.00

ANALYZING SUSTAINABLE AND EMERGING CITIES:

The Inter-American Development Bank and spatial transformations

